

The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture

*Proceedings of the International
Conference held at the Israel
Museum, Jerusalem
(July 6-8, 2008)*

Edited by

ADOLFO D. ROITMAN,

LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN,

AND SHANI TZOREF

BRILL

The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

Edited by

Florentino García Martínez

Associate editors

Peter W. Flint

Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar

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PREFACE

This volume represents the literary record of the international conference convened by the Israel Museum to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the discovery of Dead Sea Scrolls, entitled “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture.” In 1997, the Israel Museum hosted a gala international conference to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Dead Sea Scrolls. At that time, over three hundred scholars from Israel and around the world gathered to participate in nearly a week of sessions, in which more than a hundred lectures were presented on a broad range of topics. Rather than attempting to replicate that near-mythical event for the sixtieth anniversary of the discovery, the Israel Museum sought to implement an alternative model of commemoration. The conference held at the Museum in July 2008 was different in its scope, character, and aims.

This time, the conference was on a smaller scale, with presentations by thirty-eight scholars from Israel and abroad. Instead of parallel sessions, all of the lectures took place in a single hall in order to enable all of the participants to be exposed to the same content and to engage in spirited and fruitful dialogue. There was a particular emphasis on including outstanding young scholars in the field. Finally, the steering committee of the conference asked the participating scholars to look beyond the state of current scholarship, and to venture into new path-breaking fields of inquiry. The overall aim of the conference was to move beyond the strict confines of conventional scholarship and, as indicated by its title, to examine the place of the findings in contemporary culture.

Most of the presentations from the three-day conference have been gathered together in this volume. The book is divided into five main sections: (1) the Identity and History of the Community; (2) the Qumran “Library”: Origins, Use, and Nature (2a. Biblical Texts; 2b. Biblical Interpretation; 2c. Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Literature; 2d. Sectarian vis a vis Rabbinic Halakha); (3) Christianity in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls; (4) Gender at Qumran; and (5) New Perspectives (5a. Methodological Approaches; 5b. Educational Approaches).

The different sections faithfully reflect the approach of the organizers of the conference, who sought to enter into a deeper examination

of issues that have long been part of traditional Qumran studies (such as the identification of the community and the textual and exegetical aspects of the representation of Scripture in the scrolls), and at the same time, to engage in relatively more recent avenues of study (such as the question of gender), and also to re-open areas of examination that have been dormant (like Karaism and the scrolls), and to enter those that have never been explored before (such as the influence of the scrolls on Reform Judaism). It is particularly noteworthy that this was the first time that a session on “education and the scrolls” was included in an academic conference, representing the growth and development of an emerging field that is creating a new pedagogical-museological language for the dissemination of knowledge about Qumran and the scrolls amidst the broader community.

This reflected another aim of the conference organizers, namely the broadening of access to the findings of Qumran studies beyond the specialist academic community. If the “boutique” nature of the scientific sessions was intended to maximize the effectiveness of scholarly discourse, concomitant arrangements were made to include the general public in the event in appropriate fora. A special session conducted in Hebrew in the Weis auditorium of the Hebrew University campus at Givat Ram, entitled “Cherchez la Femme: The Presence of Women at Qumran,” attracted about 300 attendees. Two of the participating scholars in the conference, Professor John Collins and Professor James VanderKam, each led a public tour of the Shrine of the Book. A significant innovation was the fact that the conference sessions were streamed live on the internet, so that the proceedings could be viewed in real time around the globe.

While this volume was in press, we were saddened to learn of the passing of Professor Edna Ullman-Margalit (1946–2010), professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University, and a former director of the Center for the Study of Rationality at the University. Prof. Ullman-Margalit’s contribution to this volume, “Interpretive Circles: The Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” which built upon her recent book, *Out of the Cave: A Philosophical Inquiry into The Dead Sea Scrolls Research* (Magnes Press and Harvard University Press, 2006) exemplifies the broad multidisciplinary approach of the conference and this publication. יהי זכרה ברוך.

An event of this type could not have been possible without the assistance and efforts of the institutions and people whose time and energy brought the project from conception to fruition. We are grate-

ful to the director of the museum, James Snyder, to the Vice President for Development and International Relations, Daniel Ben-Natan, and to the chief curator of archaeology, Ms. Michal Dayagi-Mendels for their support for the concept. A special thank you is due to the Dorot Foundation and its directors—Prof. Ernest S. Frerichs, President, and Michael Hill, Executive Vice President, and to the Nussia and André Aisenstadt Foundation for their generous funding of the conference; and to the Hebrew University's Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature and to its then-director, Prof. Steve Fassberg, for their cooperation. Thank you also to Prof. Florentino García Martínez and to Brill Publishers for agreeing to publish this volume in the series devoted to Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Thank you to all the scholars who worked so hard to keep to designated timetables for submitting their articles. Finally, thank you from our hearts to the staff of the Israel Museum, Dr. Susan Hazan, Doron Eisenhamer and his staff, Nirit Zur and her staff, Roni Peled and his staff, Shai Yamin and his staff and, especially, to Carina Auerbach-Hod and Judith Amselem for their indispensable contribution to the success of the event. תבוא על כולם ברכה.

Dr. Adolfo Roitman
Prof. Lawrence H. Schiffman
Dr. Shani Tzoref

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary, Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AbrNSup	Abr-Nahrain: Supplement Series
AJAJ	<i>American Jewish Archives Journal</i>
AJT	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.</i> Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913
ArBib	Aramaic Bible
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATANT	<i>Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testa- ments</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.</i> Oxford, 1907
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissen- schaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CBA	Catholic Biblical Association of America
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCAR	Central Conference of American Rabbis
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls

CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i> . Edited by I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903–
DBSup	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i> . Edited by L. Pirot and A. Robert. Paris, 1928–
DCH	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by D. J. A. Clines. Sheffield, 1993–2001
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSSE	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . Edited by F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar. Leiden, 1997
DSSSEL	<i>The Dead Sea Library</i> . Edited by E. Tov. Leiden, rev. ed., 2006
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam. New York and Oxford, 2000
EH	<i>Etz Hayim: Torah and Commentary</i> . Edited by D. I. Lieber and J. Harlow. Philadelphia and New York, 2001
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IMJ	<i>Israel Museum Journal</i>
IOQS	International Organization for Qumran Studies
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCP	Jewish and Christian Perspectives
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>

JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSem	<i>Journal for Semitics</i>
JSIJ	<i>Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNTS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Old Testament Studies</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
RAC	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RelSoc	Religion and Society
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
StPB	Studia post-biblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 8 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974–
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WCJS	<i>World Congress of Jewish Studies</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZABR	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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KEYNOTE

SOME THOUGHTS AT THE CLOSE OF THE *DISCOVERIES IN
THE JUDEAN DESERT* PUBLICATION PROJECT

EMANUEL TOV

I would like to devote some thoughts to the publication process of the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially to its completion, and subsequently to some unknown aspects of the published texts. Such thoughts are offered at this juncture when we commemorate the find of the first scrolls sixty years ago.

At this point, we are rounding off a stage in the *life* of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Upon the imminent completion of the publication of these scrolls, the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (hereafter DJD) series will be discontinued. My predecessors had no idea what the final scope of the series would be, since Lankester Harding, when writing to Oxford University Press in 1955, thought in terms of four volumes for the Cave 4 publications. We ended up with twenty-seven volumes dedicated to the findings of that cave. When I started, I devised a master plan for the publications, but it turned out to be too minimalist. In 1991, I thought in terms of a total of thirty volumes for the DJD series, while we ended up with forty. I was asked to complete the publication in a decade, but it has taken us eighteen years, partly because we did more than we were asked to do. For example, we published the Jericho fragments that were found in 1986 and 1993 as well as the Wadi Daliyeh papyri that had nothing to do with the Judean Desert texts (vol. XXXVIII). My present declaration that we are now, in 2008, winding up the publication may sound like a familiar song, one that you heard already seven years ago. The announcement in 2001 was more or less correct, since by that time almost all the scroll fragments could be examined in scholarly editions. Subsequently, we have produced two more text volumes (vol. XVII, vol. XXXVII), an Introduction volume (vol. XXXIX), a Concordance (see n. 4) and two re-editions of Cave 1 scrolls (vol. XXXII, vol. XL). The publication of these re-editions somewhat blurred the nature of our enterprise since we had not been asked to produce such volumes when we started the project. The presence of these re-editions is, of course, a great blessing to scholarship.

The frequent appearance on the market of new scroll fragments likewise put into question the nature of our undertaking. The surfacing of these approximately forty fragments could not have been predicted in 1990, and accordingly they were not part of our original assignment. We published a few of these recently surfaced fragments in the final DJD volumes, but we could not wait for the remainder to be analyzed. In some cases, we merely know of the existence of a fragment, while in other cases photographs are known; in all cases one has to wait until the fragments have landed at a place where scholars have access to them. Most of these fragments are rather minute, while a few are substantial in size. The floating around, so to speak, of these fragments has created the impression that the publication of the scrolls has yet to be completed. However, we would probably have to wait another three to four years for a sufficient number of fragments to be ready to justify a book-size publication. Beyond all this, neither these fragments nor the re-editions of the Cave 1 scrolls were part of our assignment.

Every publication project needs a beginning and an official end. The publication started with DJD I, and ends with the three volumes that are currently in press.

The total number of volumes in the DJD series published by Oxford University Press is forty, to which we need to add Brill's concordance volumes by M. Abegg, one published, and two in preparation. Altogether there are now forty-one volumes, thirty-two of which we ourselves prepared. The last ones are the Stegemann-Schuller re-edition of 1QHodayot^a with parallels from 1QHodayot^b and the Cave 4 *Hodayot* texts (vol. XL), Puech's second Aramaic volume covering 4Q550–587 (vol. XXXVII), and the re-edition of the Cave 1 Isaiah scrolls by Ulrich and Flint (vol. XXXII).

When using these forty-one volumes, it will not be easy to digest, use, and absorb the enormous amount of information included in these sources. The DJD series may well be a treasure trove, but this treasure resembles that described in the Copper Scroll—often elusive. Use of these volumes is as difficult as those of the Oxyrhynchus papyri or any other fragmentary corpus. Each DJD volume contains many different texts, and one needs an index in order to locate the item(s) one is looking for. Many Cave 4 volumes are arranged by literary genre, but they don't contain all the texts belonging to that genre. For example, the contents of the so-called parabiblical volumes are not predictable. Various types of reference tools for locating texts are found in the

DJD introductory volume, vol. XXXIX.¹ One can also use the topical arrangement of the six-volume *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*² or that of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* by Florentino García Martínez.³ Or, when looking for a specific word, the printed concordance by Abegg is very helpful.⁴ When looking for a word, phrase, or grammatical feature, you may also use Abegg's module in the Accordance computer program for the Macintosh and *Logos*, or my own *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* for the PC,⁵ the latter covering only the non-biblical scrolls. That program also allows you to see the PAM images of each fragment together with the texts. The future looks even brighter. The IAA has announced a large photography and inventory project combining new color photographs of all the fragments together with the earlier photographs. The Charlesworth project continues to present new editions,⁶ *Logos* has announced a new electronic edition of the scrolls by Stephen J. Pfann, Qimron has announced his own printed edition of the non-biblical scrolls, and Ulrich plans a printed Qumran Bible in the source languages.⁷

Until now we dealt with the availability of editions and some tools surrounding these editions. Now that the Dead Sea Scrolls have been published and we think we know everything about them, it is time to contemplate on the things we do *not* know regarding the published fragments.

¹ Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002).

² Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005).

³ Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

⁴ Martin G. Abegg, Jr., with James E. Bowley and Edward M. Cook, in consultation with Emanuel Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance I. The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁵ *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*, Brigham Young University, Revised Edition 2006, part of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library of Brill Publishers* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). This contains “All the texts and images of the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, in the original languages and in translation, with morphological analysis and search programs.”

⁶ James H. Charlesworth et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (PTSDSSP; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994–).

⁷ See now Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTS 143; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

1. *Reconstruction of the Segments That Have Been Lost.* Scholars are used to working with the preserved fragments, but they also attempt to reconstruct the missing material. In multiple copies of the same composition, such as the *Community Rule*, the *Damascus Document*, and all the biblical scrolls, the overlapping texts are of great help for such reconstructions.

There are no objective criteria for such reconstructions. For example, Qimron and Puech reconstructed 4Q522 in a completely different way from one another. The left column of the largest fragment, frg. 9 ii, was published preliminarily by Puech in 1992 and described by him as dealing with “David and his son as well as the temple and tabernacle.”⁸ This topic was, according to Puech, the reason for the inclusion of the “Jerusalem Psalm,” Psalm 122, in that composition. The 1992 study by Puech also contains a long exposition on the Rock of Zion and the place of the altar. Reacting to this publication, Qimron republished frg. 9 ii with several new readings and reconstructions, based on the photograph published by Puech.⁹ Qimron proposed a completely different interpretation of this column, describing it as a fragment of what he named the “Joshua Cycles.”¹⁰ In the final publication of this text in DJD, Puech reflects this understanding when naming the text “Prophétie de Josué (4QApocrJosué?).”¹¹ A comparison of the publications by Puech and Qimron is a veritable exercise in the method of comparing the exegesis of Qumran fragments in which scholars necessarily read much into the lacunae.

A *cause célèbre* in this regard is 4Q341 that came into this world as 4QTherapeia in Allegro’s analysis in 1979. At that point, the text was taken as a transliteration in Hebrew of a Greek medical document containing such words as *Magnus* (line 4) and *Horqanus* (line 7). According to Allegro, its “language is an extraordinary mixture of transliterated Greek, Aramaic, and a grammatically irregular Hebrew,

⁸ Émile Puech, “La pierre de Sion et l’autel des holocaustes d’après un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte 4 (4Q522),” *RB* 99 (1992): 676–96.

⁹ Elisha Qimron, “Concerning ‘Joshua Cycles’ from Qumran,” *Tarbiz* 63 (1995): 503–8 (Hebrew with English summary).

¹⁰ In this interpretation, Qimron was actually preceded by Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1992), 89–93, who were probably the first to recognize the true meaning of this document.

¹¹ Émile Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 39–74.

giving the inescapable impression of deliberate obscurantism, not entirely unfamiliar in medical writing.”¹² This idea was taken up by J. H. Charlesworth who essentially accepted Allegro’s transcription.¹³ This interpretation gave rise to new theories concerning the nature of the Qumran community. However, not much later the real nature of this document was discovered by Naveh who demonstrated that this is a Hebrew writing exercise by a fairly skilled person, perhaps a scribe. This scribe used a small left-over piece of leather in order to write some meaningless words and letters while accustoming his hand to the pen and ink and to the writing material before beginning to write in earnest.¹⁴

In these two cases, the reconstruction pertained to the understanding of the scroll as a whole. On a smaller scale, should we indulge in reconstructing the missing material in 4QSam^a and, if so, in which way? The lacunae in this scroll should clearly not be reconstructed on the basis of MT since the preserved parts of that scroll do not reflect MT. Should they be reconstructed on the basis of the LXX since the Samuel scroll is often very close to the LXX? This was the practice of the DJD editors of that volume,¹⁵ and that procedure is probably correct in several cases, but not all reconstructions in the lacunae in the scroll should be based on retroversion from Greek into Hebrew.

Obviously, the understanding of important details often depends on the reading of single letters, which equally often are contested. Thus, as one of the proofs for the gradual development of the tripartite canon in the second century B.C.E., one always quotes 4QMMT C lines 10–11, “[...And] we have [written] to you so that you may study (carefully) the book of Moses and the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David” [כתב]נו אליכה שתבין בספר מושה [ו]בספר [י]הנביאים ובדויד [ד].¹⁶

¹² John M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth* (London: Prometheus, 1979), 235–40, pls. 16–17. The quote is from p. 235.

¹³ James H. Charlesworth, *The Discovery of a Dead Sea Scroll (4Q Therapeia): Its Importance in the History of Medicine and Jesus Research* (Lubbock, Tex.: Texas Tech University, 1985).

¹⁴ Joseph Naveh, “A Medical Document or a Writing Exercise? The So-called 4QTherapeia,” *IEJ* 36 (1986): 52–5, pl. II. This understanding was later accepted in Naveh’s edition in Stephen J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 291–93.

¹⁵ Frank Moore Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 1–216.

¹⁶ Restoration and translation according to Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma’āse ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 59.

The reading of the key words, based on the combination of three separate fragments on pl. VI, is very tentative. However, in a 2003 paper Ulrich suggested that these words should be read differently.¹⁷ According to him, the juxtaposition of the three fragments 18, 17, and 15 is far from certain, and the reading of the remnants of the preserved letters is likewise questionable. He shows that possibly Moses is not mentioned in this context, and that there was no phrase “books of the Prophets.”

Scholars approach these reconstructions in different ways. Also in DJD there have been different approaches towards the inclusion of reconstructions in DJD over the course of the years. In recent years, we have become accustomed to the inclusion of reconstructions, while the earlier volumes had no fixed system. This uncertainty is clearly visible in the different approaches of Barthélemy and Milik in DJD I (1955). Barthélemy hardly included any reconstructions of missing words, while Milik incorporated lengthy and often questionable reconstructions. Thus *1QDibre Moshe* (1Q22), a composition for which no parallels are known, has been reconstructed very generously.¹⁸

2. *Percentage of Scrolls Preserved.* How fragmentary the scrolls are can be determined only when we are aware of their complete text as in the case of the biblical scrolls and some other works. The scrolls are actually much more fragmentary than we realize. The great majority of the biblical fragments do not exceed more than 5 percent of the complete books. For example, the Genesis scrolls cover only between 0.2 and 3% of the book. In Exodus, most scrolls cover between 0.1 and 5%, while 4QExod^c covers 13.5% of the book, and 4QpaleoExod^m covers 36%.¹⁹ In the long book of Isaiah, most scrolls from Cave 4 cover between 0.1 and 7.0%, while 4QIsa^b and 4QIsa^c cover 17% and 5% respectively. Of course, the large Isaiah scroll from Cave 1 is complete. In the case of the non-biblical scrolls, it is difficult to ascertain the

¹⁷ “The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14.

¹⁸ By the same token, some published texts do not indicate exactly where in the column the fragments were placed, while others are very specific. Thus in some publications, the structure of individual text columns within a given composition, extant or reconstructed, is often based on physically unconnected fragments placed in an extant or reconstructed column sequence. Some scholars were more insistent than others regarding the reconstruction of the column structure of the scroll made on the basis of the preserved fragments.

¹⁹ The actual coverage of the words of the book is smaller, since I also counted single letters preserved as representing a complete verse.

percentage preserved because several ancient scrolls of what looks like the same composition contained different literary editions. A comparison of the scrolls of the *Damascus Covenant* with the medieval text of CD is therefore of limited value only. Three Cave 4 manuscripts of the *Damascus Covenant* (4QD^{a,b,c}) contain respectively 38%, 13% and 3% of the coverage of CD. The little fragment of the Targum of Leviticus, 4QtgLev (4Q156), contains no more than 1% of the whole book. Likewise, 4QLXXLev^a and 4QLXXLev^b covered 1% and 5% respectively of the Greek translation, while 4QLXXNum and 4QLXXDeut covered 2.0% and 0.1% respectively. These small percentages should lead to some modesty with regard to our statements on the scrolls. At the same time, for the non-biblical scrolls we often have no clue as to how much of the original composition has been preserved. Thus, in the case of the parabiblical texts relating to Jeremiah and Ezekiel published by Dimant in DJD XXX, we do not know whether these texts present for example 5%, 10%, or 30% of the complete compositions.

3. *Find-sites of the Scrolls.* Scholars worked out a detailed inventory system of the scrolls, but it is mostly based on information volunteered by the Bedouin and only very partially on controlled excavations. It is essential to know from which site and cave the documents derived, because several aspects of our analysis are based on such information. Cave 4 probably housed the community's central depository of scrolls, but we are not certain as to exactly which scrolls were found there. Thus 4QGen^b, a presumed Qumran scroll that is very close to the medieval MT, was suspected by its editor, Davila, to have derived from Murabba'at. Its script is late and among the Qumran scrolls this text, though fragmentary, is closer to the medieval text than the other scrolls.²⁰ The decision as to whether or not this text derives from Qumran is thus rather central to our study of the biblical text, since all the proto-Masoretic texts from Qumran (57 texts)²¹ are somewhat removed from the medieval text, while those from the other find-sites in the Judean Desert are identical to the medieval text. This evidence leads to certain conclusions regarding Masada, Naḥal Ḥever, and Murabba'at, while 4QGen^b forms an exception. On the other hand, if this text indeed derived from Murabba'at, there is no case for its being

²⁰ James R. Davila in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and Frank M. Cross; DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 [repr. 1999]), 31 ("late Herodian, or perhaps even post-Herodian").

²¹ 57 out of 127 texts that are sufficiently extensive for textual analysis.

a Qumran exception. It is not impossible that the Bedouin claimed that this text derived from Qumran in the hopes of receiving a better financial reward.

The same issue comes up with regard to the documentary texts 4Q342–348, 351–361 that are also rather exceptional among the Qumran texts. These texts contain deeds, letters, and accounts, types of documents rarely found at Qumran.²² Indeed, the collection of Qumran texts is exceptional among the corpora found in the Judean Desert, since all other Judean Desert corpora contain only or almost only documentary texts, while the Qumran corpus contains almost only literary texts. If some or all of 4Q342–361 derived from other sites in the Judean Desert, the Qumran collection would be more uniform. Indeed, 4Q347 and XHev/Se 32 (XHev/Se papDeed F) have been proven to be part of the same document deriving from Naḥal Ḥever. Further doubts on the alleged Qumran origin of these texts were raised by Cotton and Yardeni.²³ These and additional doubts on the origin of the scrolls were summarized in a valuable study by S. Reed in 2007.²⁴ For example, Reed pointed out that no more than ninety-four of the approximately 600 texts from Cave 4 derived from controlled excavations.²⁵ The original international team believed what was told them by the Bedouin, but it slowly dawned on scholars that this source of information was very questionable. After all, the Bedouin obtained a higher price for documents that were presented as “Qumran” or even Naḥal Ḥever. Likewise, most of the texts named Seiyal (Jordan) probably derived from Naḥal Ḥever (Israel), because the Bedouin did not want to admit in the 1950s that they had crossed the border into Israel and retrieved these texts from Naḥal Ḥever.²⁶

²² For a list, see Armin Lange in Tov, *The Texts*, 143–4.

²³ Ada Yardeni in Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 283–84.

²⁴ Stephen A. Reed, “Find-Sites of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 199–221. Among other things, Reed tabulated the finds in controlled archeological digs and by Bedouin, using the earlier analysis by Stephen J. Pfann in the *Companion Volume* to Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1993).

²⁵ Reed, “Find-Sites,” 206.

²⁶ See Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Robert A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIgr) (The Seiyâl Collection I)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 1: “At first the exact location of the find was unknown, but subsequent excavations in the ‘Cave of Horror’ in Naḥal Ḥever (Wādi Ḥabra) brought

4. *Position of the Fragments in the Caves.* Very little is known about the placement of the fragments in the caves at the time of their discovery. In most cases, the Bedouin were the first to enter the caves, where they collected some fragments and brought them to antiquity dealers. Thus, the Bedouin are the sole source of the information that the Cave 1 scrolls were found in jars.²⁷ In his sworn statement, Muhammed ed-Deeb said that one of the two jars found in Cave 1 contained three scrolls, two of which were covered with cloth, but we do not know which scrolls they were. Furthermore, we have no information at all regarding the placement of fragments in relation to each other. This lack of information greatly complicated the work of reconstruction. For one thing, the years-long identification work in the “scrollerly” in the Rockefeller Museum would have been greatly facilitated had this and similar information been available.

5. *Relation Between the Contents of the Individual Caves.* If we were to understand the relation between the contents of the individual caves we possibly would be in a better position to evaluate the writings found there. From a quantitative point of view, Cave 4 housed the central depository, including multiple copies of the same works. The other caves contained at least one copy of every composition represented by multiple copies in Cave 4, as noted by Devorah Dimant.²⁸ Addressing the relation between the caves from a different angle, Stökl Ben Ezra distinguished between Caves 1 and 4 that contained an older stage of the manuscript collection and Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, 11 that represented more recent stages.²⁹ According to him, “[i]n one hypothetical scenario, the scrolls from Cave 1 were hidden there long before 68 C.E., around the

to light a few scraps of the same scroll, together with other documents and artifacts, so that the place of origin of the scroll is now known.”

²⁷ See Anton Kiraz’s *Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. George A. Kiraz; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2005), 91 (undated statement relating to 1960–1965). See also Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 109. The Cave 1 scrolls covered with cloth and placed in jars were probably considered especially precious. Thus Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus—Ein Sachbuch* (9th ed.; Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1993) 90 = idem, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 1998), 81.

²⁸ Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *A Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58, at 30.

²⁹ Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Old Caves and Young Caves—A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 313–33, at 315–16.

turn of the era when Qumran was destroyed by a fire after an attack. Cave 4 might have been used as an emergency hiding place, library, or as a depository already around the same time, though some manuscripts were added later.”³⁰

Most caves contain similar proportions of the various literary genres, biblical manuscripts, community compositions, and non-community compositions.³¹ The only features characterizing the individual caves seem to be: (1) Cave 7 contains only Greek papyrus fragments (19 items), probably mainly biblical texts. (2) Most of the texts from Cave 6 are Hebrew papyri (21 papyri out of a total of 31 items), including a few biblical papyri. This collection of texts must have derived from a special source, different from that of the main depository of texts in Cave 4.³² (3) A large percentage of the identifiable texts from Cave 11 reflect the Qumran scribal system, or are sectarian, or are of interest to the Qumran community.³³

6. *Number of Scrolls Preserved.* We usually calculate the number of preserved Qumran scrolls as 930 items in our inventory, but we have no certainty at all that this number is even close to the truth. There are simply too many uncertainties relating to small fragments and scribal hands. It could be one hundred more or one hundred less. Obviously we do not know how many scrolls were originally deposited in the caves. Stegemann calculates the number of scrolls deposited in the caves at 1000, but we have no criteria for any type of calculation.³⁴

7. *Relation Between Multiple Copies.* There is no standard formula for evaluating the relationship between multiple copies of the same composition. For example, if we approach the 36 copies now named “Psalms” as copies of the biblical book of Psalms, we may be very far from the truth. All these copies indeed contain psalms, but not all of them are biblical psalms. Only one Qumran copy reflects the Maso-

³⁰ Stökl Ben Ezra, “Old Caves,” 316.

³¹ Dimant, “Qumran Manuscripts,” 35.

³² According to Michael O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini* (JSPSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 130–32, this cave housed a collection of private study copies.

³³ See my paper “The Special Character of the Texts Found in Qumran Cave 11,” in *Things Revealed. Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon et al.; JSJSup 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 187–96. On the other hand, García Martínez, “The Study of the Texts from Qumran: A Groningen Perspective,” in his *Qumranica Minora I: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism* (STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 297–310, at 306–9, believes that Cave 11 is as “sectarian” as Cave 1.

³⁴ *The Library of Qumran*, 79.

retic book of Psalms, 4QPs^c, while the other copies contain different collections of psalms. At least seven psalm collections from Caves 4 and 11 contain psalms in a different sequence from that in MT, sometimes with additional psalms to those in the canon. If the view suggested by Sanders, Wilson, and Flint carries the day,³⁵ according to which these scrolls reflect alternative biblical Psalters, it implies that the psalm texts from Caves 4 and 11 constitute the group of Qumran evidence that deviates most from MT. However, the arguments adduced in the past in favor of the assumption that 11QPs^a reflects a liturgical collection also hold with regard to the texts from Cave 4,³⁶ and this view seems preferable to us. The deviations from MT pertain to both the sequence of the individual psalms and the addition and omission of psalms, among them non-canonical psalms.

Consequently, a common name for compositions is not always meaningful, since the scrolls may represent different editions of the same or similar compositions. Likewise, the different Jeremiah texts reflect two different editions of the book, a long one (4QJer^{a,c}) and a short one (4QJer^{b,d}), differing greatly in scope and sequence. The various copies of the *Community Rule*, the *Damascus Document* and the *War Scroll* also show evidence of different editorial versions of these compositions. As a result, the naming by modern editors of all the texts of S, D, M, or of the Psalms texts or those of Jeremiah with a single name is convenient, but may be misleading for some. Nevertheless, it is a correct procedure since books that developed in such a fashion in antiquity may have existed in various forms.

I have been asked to share with you some of my thoughts at the close of the DJD Publication Project. I have used this occasion not only to describe all the positive things that have been achieved, but also to elaborate on some of the areas where our information is greatly deficient. Sometimes we need to stress how little we know, especially at this juncture of pride in our achievements of the past sixty years.

³⁵ James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965); Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985); Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

³⁶ 11QPs^a contains prose as well as poetry sections showing the purpose of the collection (focus on David). To one of the psalms (Psalm 145), the scroll added liturgical antiphonal additions.

1. IDENTITY AND HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

THE GRONINGEN HYPOTHESIS REVISITED

FLORENTINO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ

1. INTRODUCTION

I am most honored and thankful to the organizers of this joyous celebration of the sixtieth year since the Discovery of the Scrolls for inviting me to talk about “the Groningen Hypothesis” in the session dedicated to discussing the “Identity and History of the Qumran Community.”

When I first presented the core of what later became known as “the Groningen Hypothesis” at a symposium of Spanish Biblical Scholars in Córdoba in 1986,¹ only the first seven volumes of the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* Series had been published. Of course, the seven largest and most well preserved manuscripts from Cave 1 had been available for a long time, and many other fragments from Cave 4 were also known in preliminary form. But at that time, in 1986, not even a simple listing of all the materials found in the caves, which could have given us an idea of the collection as a whole, was publicly available. There was a list compiled by Elisha Qimron in the seventies, and a complete inventory of PAM photographs, Museum Plates, and compositions, completed by Strugnell in 1985, but those were not accessible to scholars. The first such list (culled from the most disparate sources) was the one I published in 1989 in the periodical *Henoch*.² This was followed by the much more complete listing, published by Stephen A. Reed, first in 14 fascicles, starting in 1991, and then in book form in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue* of 1994.³ This has been superseded since 1993 by the data-base prepared by Stephen Pfann and edited by

¹ Florentino García Martínez, “Orígenes del movimiento esenio y orígenes qumránicos: pistas para una solución,” in *II Simposio Bíblico Español* (ed. Vicente Collado-Bertomeu and Vicente Vilar-Hueso; Fundación Bíblica Española-Caja de Ahorro de Córdoba: Valencia-Córdoba, 1987), 527–56.

² Florentino García Martínez, “Lista de MSS procedentes de Qumrán,” *Henoch* 11 (1989): 149–232.

³ *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers*, Compiled by Stephen A. Reed, Revised and Edited by Marylyn J. Lindberg with the collaboration of Michael B. Phelps (SBLRBS 32; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994).

Emanuel Tov in the *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*,⁴ which, in turn, forms the base of the list published in DJD XXXIX and which gives an overview of the whole collection retrieved in the caves.⁵

This simple detail (of the very partial availability of the contents of the corpus) shows how pretentious I was (or I should say, unaware) to offer in 1986 a general hypothesis to explain a set of data that was so poorly known at the time. And nonetheless, during the last twenty five years the Groningen Hypothesis has been a useful tool which has helped us to understand the makeup of the collection of manuscripts and the group which collected and preserved them, to the point that in the words of Albert Baumgarten, one of its critics, “it is probably closest to being the scholarly consensus.”⁶

Now the situation is completely different since we have all the preserved evidence at our disposal (the latest DJD with the second part of the Aramaic texts of Starcky’s lot has been recently published by the Clarendon Press).⁷ We are no longer unduly dependent on the first published manuscripts (many with clearly “sectarian” characteristics) and we can analyze the collection as a whole. And the study of the collection as a whole (while we are very much aware of the fragmentary and circumstantial character of the evidence that has reached us) has yielded two fundamental insights (at least to me) that were not available at the moment the Groningen Hypothesis was formulated: First, the change in the *proportions* of which categories contain the majority of the collection’s manuscripts (i.e., the change of proportions among the so-called “biblical,” “para-biblical,” and “sectarian” manuscripts), and the increased importance of “para-biblical” materials as compared

⁴ Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Leiden: Brill-IDC, 1993 and 1995).

⁵ Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, “List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov et al.; DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002).

⁶ Albert I. Baumgarten, “Reflections on the Groningen Hypothesis,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 257. The same volume also contains the critical remarks on the Groningen Hypothesis of Charlotte Hempel, Mark A. Elliot, Torleif Elgvin, Lester L. Grabbe, Benjamin G. Wright, Timothy H. Lim, Shemaryahu Talmon, Émile Puech and Gabriele Boccaccini.

⁷ Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4. XXVII: Textes araméens deuxième partie* (DJD XXXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

with the two other categories, to the point where we may say without exaggeration that this sort of material constitutes the majority of the collection, adding up to more than the “biblical” and “sectarian” manuscripts together.⁸ Second, the questioning of those same labels as anachronistic and inadequate to reflect the historical reality the manuscripts reveal to us.⁹ This second insight seems to me highly relevant because the labels we use are not neutral designations, but are highly charged (in a conscious or unconscious way) with value.

In evaluating the Groningen Hypothesis in the twenty-first century, we must look critically at the “Groningen Hypothesis” with this new understanding of the collection as a whole, in order to test its validity as a global explanation of the Dead Sea Scrolls findings, and in this way try to answer the question put forth by Albert Baumgarten in his “Reflections on the Groningen Hypothesis”:

Has the Groningen Hypothesis reached the limits of its explanatory powers, such that it is ripe for replacement by some alternative, the inevitable fate of all human attempts to make sense of complex and messy reality?¹⁰

If the answer is yes, I will abandon it without regrets. If the “Groningen Hypothesis” has already lost its capacity to explain the data we now know, what better occasion to bury it definitively than this meeting in Jerusalem? But before we proceed to the Gehinnon valley for a solemn funeral, allow me to look at two basic elements of the Groningen hypothesis: the origins of the group as a breakaway from another group, and the general character of the collection, taking into account the two fundamental insights I have just have mentioned (the change of proportions of the compositions and the anachronistic and inadequate character of the labels).

2. THE QUMRAN GROUP AS A SPLINTER GROUP

What does the Groningen Hypothesis say about the identity and origins of the Qumran community? In the English version of my proposal

⁸ I have developed this point in a recent contribution, Florentino García Martínez, “Qumrán, 60 ans après la découverte,” *The Qumran Chronicle* 15 (2007): 111–38.

⁹ As I have also proved in a recent article, Florentino García Martínez, “¿Sectario, no-sectario o qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos,” *RevQ* 23/91 (2008): 383–94.

¹⁰ Baumgarten, “Reflections on the Groningen Hypothesis,” 258.

published in 1988, I summarized the aspects related to the origins and history of the community in the following way:

What we are here calling: “A Groningen Hypothesis” is an attempt (yet another) coherently to relate to each other the apparently contradictory data furnished by the Dead Sea manuscripts as to the primitive history of the Qumran Community.

In essence, this hypothesis proposes:

- 1) to make a clear distinction between the origins of the Essene movement and those of the Qumran group;
- 2) to place the origins of the Essene movement in Palestine and specifically in the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition before the Antiochian crisis, that is at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.E.;
- 3) to place the origins of the Qumran group in a split produced within the Essene movement in consequence of which the group loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness was finally to establish itself in Qumran;
- 4) to consider the designation of the “Wicked Priest” as a collective one referring to the different Hasmonean High Priests in chronological order;
- 5) to highlight the importance of the Qumran group’s formative period before its retreat to the desert and to make clear the ideological development, the halakhic elements, and the political conflicts taking place during this formative period and culminating in the break which led to the community’s establishing itself in Qumran.¹¹

The Groningen Hypothesis was operating within the usual categories of the time, which were, if I may say, “pan-Essenic.”¹² The core of the Hypothesis (if we disregard the labels, like “Qumran group,” “Essene movement” and “Apocalyptic tradition” I used at the time) was the consideration of the group who collected the manuscripts as a splinter group or offshoot from a parent group, taking seriously the indications of the beginning of the *Damascus Document* and the indications of some other manuscripts which mention the “Teacher,” like the *Pesher Habakkuk*. And that this split was centered around a person to whom these manuscripts refer as “Teacher of Righteousness.”

¹¹ Florentino García Martínez, “Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis,” *Folia Orientalia* 5 (1988): 113–36, repr. in *Qumranica Minora I* (STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–29.

¹² Charlotte Hempel, “The Groningen Hypothesis: Strengths and Weaknesses,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 251, underlines the different use of the terminology in German scholarship: “*essenich* in the sense of sectarian and its counterpart *vor-essenich*, in the sense of pre-sectarian.”

This element has been seriously criticized by the many colleagues (and with good arguments), who interpret the allusions to the rift that are present in the documents as a reference to the separation of the group from “all Israel” and not from a parent group. Some of the critics have been apparently misled by the dichotomist language of “sons of light” and “sons of darkness” in some of the manuscripts, although the three groups (the “we” group, the “you” group and the “they” group) present in 4QMMT should have given pause in the interpretation of the boundary fixing language used by the different documents. Others, like John Collins, have correctly insisted that the closest parallels with the classical description of the Essenes are in the *Serekh haYahad*, and that the *yahad* group should logically be considered the parent group.¹³

But, in spite of these criticisms, I think that it is precisely this element of the Groningen Hypothesis that has proved the most fruitful when dealing with the evidence published after its formulation. As I said at the beginning, the proportions of the categories of manuscripts have dramatically changed, and the so-called “sectarian” manuscripts are no longer a majority but a minority of the holdings recovered. Nonetheless, the new publications have brought to light some additional new “sectarian” texts previously unknown, and, what is much more important, many copies of the core documents, like the *Damascus Document* and the *Serekh haYahad*. In the collection, thus, we do have some writings produced by a particular group, or groups, of Jews who were different from (and opposed to) what we may call the rest of the Jews of the time. Even if they do not form the majority of the collection, the so-called “sectarian” documents are a reality, and these compositions can tell us something about the group that produced them and lived according to the norms there recorded.

The substantial number of copies of the *Damascus Document*, published in 1996,¹⁴ the equally substantial number of copies of the *Serekh*, published in 1998,¹⁵ and the single copy of 4Q265, known before

¹³ John J. Collins, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community’,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 93: “The identification of any group described in the Scrolls as Essenes rests primarily on the similarities between the Serek and the account in Josephus, and so if any group described in the Scrolls is to be identified as Essenes is the yahad.”

¹⁴ DJD XVIII.

¹⁵ DJD XXVI.

as 4Q*Serekh Damascus* and now as 4Q*Miscellaneous Rules*, published in 1999,¹⁶ have proved to us not only that the main “sectarian documents” have a long and complex redactional history of their own, but that, while addressing groups which are certainly different, they are all closely interrelated. Although the definition of the “other” in the *Damascus Document* and in the *Serekh* is clearly different, as I think I have proved elsewhere,¹⁷ these “sectarian” documents clearly show that the opposition between the “us” and the “others” is not limited to “us” and the other Jews, but includes also a parent group from which the group that penned the document separated. Philip Davies has formulated this perspective as follows:

Where the documents of the *yahad* are concerned with identity and difference, they are addressing not Israel as a whole, “Jewish society,” but the group that they have abandoned, or rather, as they see it, has abandoned them.¹⁸

I do not pretend that the Groningen Hypothesis can solve all the problems posed by the different manuscripts of “sectarian” compositions, far from it. Many colleagues are intensively working to disentangle the web of relationships with which the documentation now available furnishes us,¹⁹ and I have no doubt that we will see more clearly in the future. My only point is that this central aspect of the Groningen Hypothesis (that the people who brought together this wonderful collection of manuscripts were an offshoot or breakaway group from a parent movement) has not been disproved by the new publications and the increase of “non sectarian” compositions now available; on the

¹⁶ DJD XXXV.

¹⁷ García Martínez, “Invented Memory: the ‘Other’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora II* (STDJ 64; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 187–218.

¹⁸ Philip R. Davies, “‘Old’ and ‘New’ Israel in the Bible and the Qumran Scrolls: Identity and Difference,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 33–42, at 38.

¹⁹ See, among others, John J. Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111, Eyal Regev, “The Yahad and the Damascus Covenant: Structure, Organization and Relationship,” *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 233–62, the articles of Collins, “The Yahad and the ‘Qumran Community’,” Hempel, “Maskil(im) and Rabbim: From Daniel to Qumran,” and Sarianna Metso, “Whom does the Term Yahad Identify?” in Hempel and Lieu, eds., *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*, respectively 81–96, 133–56 and 213–36, and the book by Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

contrary, it has been somehow vindicated and is still a useful model to understand the evidence preserved.

3. THE CHARACTER OF THE COLLECTION

As a consequence of this basic insight, the Groningen Hypothesis took the diversity of origin and date of the materials preserved in the collection seriously. This diversity was evident since, from the beginning, everyone accepted the division of the manuscripts into “biblical” and “non-biblical,” as well as the further subdivision of the “non-biblical” manuscripts into “sectarian” and “non-sectarian” categories. But the Groningen Hypothesis took also very seriously the interconnection of all the materials as belonging to a “sectarian” Library, and that therefore all the texts, “biblical” and “non-biblical” alike, informed the thought of the group who collected, preserved and in certain cases wrote the compositions whose remains have reached us.

In the presentation of the Hypothesis during the congress held in Groningen in 1988, I expressed this basic assumption in this way:

One of the basic assumptions of our hypothesis is that all the manuscripts recovered from the caves of Qumran are remnants of the library of the group which used to live in and around Khirbet Qumran. Evidently not all the MSS found at Qumran are of Qumranic origin; nobody would ever dream of claiming a Qumranic origin for any one of the biblical MSS that make up a sizeable part of the remnants from the various caves; besides, the palaeographical dating of certain MSS formally rules out their having been composed or copied in Qumran, and the long editorial history of various works equally makes it clear that the oldest levels were written in a period prior to the establishing of the community beside the Dead Sea. But it is our contention that:

- 1) the texts found in the caves are not a disparate collection of loose elements without any connection; on the contrary, they are part of a whole and form a unity that we can describe as a religious library, and
- 2) that this library belongs to and reflects the interests of the group of Qumran, which amounts to saying that it is a sectarian library.²⁰

²⁰ Florentino García Martínez and Adam S. van der Woude, “A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” *RevQ* 14/56 (1999): 521–41, repr. in García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora I*, 31–52, at 31–32.

In general terms, we may say that the first part of this basic assumption has been confirmed now that the publication is complete, since with the exception of a few documentary texts (some of them of uncertain origin) it can be asserted that the collection as a whole is a “religious library,” and the so-called “parabiblical” texts which now form the majority are as religious as the rest of the compositions (be it “biblical” or other).

I am also convinced that the second part of this assumption (that the collection as a whole belongs to and has influenced the thought of the group) has proved true by the new publications, and in a much more radical way than I was able to imagine when I formulated it, since then I was accepting as evident the usual division in categories as reflecting the historical reality of the time when the collection was formed.

Now, we are much more aware that the only historical context we can apply with any certainty to the collection of compositions previously known (some as “biblical” and some as “non biblical”) as well as to the compositions previously unknown (some labelled “sectarian” and others “non-sectarian”) is the Qumran context. For compositions previously unknown it is evident that the only context we can give them is the collection where they have been found, and while this context is independent of their origins it tells us at least that these previously unknown compositions were acceptable to and cherished by the group to a greater or lesser degree, in the same manner that the compositions which later will become “Bible” in Jewish, Christian or Ethiopic canons were acceptable to and cherished by the respective group to a greater or lesser degree.

And now, since the work of Michael Stone,²¹ Robert Kraft²² and Marinus de Jonge²³ (among others), we are all well aware that the context in which a composition has been preserved and transmitted tells us as much or more about understanding this composition than its

²¹ See, for example, Michael E. Stone, “Categorization and Classification of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” *Abr Nahrain* 24 (1986): 167–77.

²² See, for example, Robert A. Kraft, “The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity,” in *Tracing the Treads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. John C. Reeves; SBLEJL 6: Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 55–86.

²³ See, for example, Marinus de Jonge, “The So-Called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early Christianity,” in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism* (ed. Peder Borgen and Soren Liversen; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1995), 59–71.

assumed origins.²⁴ For, as Baumgarten says, “discovering origins is not the ultimate objective of historical research. At best it is incidental and makes minimal contribution to understanding.”²⁵

I confess that with the Groningen Hypothesis I not only attempted to trace the origins of the Essene movement or the origins of Qumran, but I thought that the principle of compatibility or coherence with the thinking of the group could provide an instrument that would help us to determine the origin of previously unknown compositions found in the collection. I wrote:

Our assumption implies that although the fact of its having being found in Qumran is no guarantee of the Qumranic origin of a given work, it does assure us that the work in question was understood by the community as compatible with its own ideology and its own halakhah, that is as coming from the Essene movement or from the apocalyptic tradition which inspired it. Which amounts to saying that the non-biblical literature found as part of the Qumran library may be classified as follows:

- * sectarian works, representing the thought or the halakhah of Qumran in its most developed and typical form
- * works of the formative period, presenting a vision still not so clearly differentiated from the Essenism which is its ultimate source but containing indications of future developments and offering an already characteristic halakhah.
- * works which reflect Essene thought and accord with what the classical sources teach us about Essenism or what can be attributed to it
- * works belonging to the apocalyptic tradition which gave rise to Essenism and which were considered as part of the common heritage.²⁶

This fourfold division was a first attempt at taxonomy of the so-called “non biblical” compositions found in the collection, proceeding from the core texts of the group to the works that we knew were much older than the group itself, like *1 Enoch* or *Jubilees*. This attempt was later completed and developed in much more detail by the articles of Carol

²⁴ See the articles by Robert A. Kraft, Michael A. Knibb, Daniel C. Harlow and Christfried Böttrich, collected and edited by Jan Willem van Henten and Berndt Schaller in the monographic issue of the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, JSJ 32 (2001): 369–470.

²⁵ Baumgarten, “Reflections on the Groningen Hypothesis,” 257.

²⁶ García Martínez and van der Woude, “A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” in *Qumranica Minora I*, 35–36.

Newsom in 1990,²⁷ and of Devorah Dimant in 1995.²⁸ In my opinion, this attempt has proven to be of less lasting relevance, now that the publication of the whole collection has shown that the labels used to describe it were anachronistic and inadequate for reflecting the historical reality the manuscripts reveal to us.

It is now generally accepted that the most basic division reflected in the official publication of the collection in DJD (that of “biblical” manuscripts and all other) is a clear anachronism, since it reflects a much later period and a very different set of values, and does not correspond to the historical circumstances of the collection. This appears clearly in the terminology used in DJD I to divide the manuscripts into three categories: “Ouvrages canoniques” “Ouvrages non canoniques” et “Ouvrages de la bibliothèque essénienne.”²⁹ In fact, one of the things that the publication of all the manuscripts has shown us (and is evident in the work of Eugene Ulrich, George J. Brooke and many others)³⁰ is that, in as far as we can ascertain, there was no “Bible” at Qumran; what later will become the “Bible” in one or another of its “canonical” forms (be it the Hebrew Bible, or the Greek Bible, not to mention the Latin, Syriac, or Ethiopic Bibles, each one with its own “canon” of books that are “in” and books that are “out”) was not yet extant. It was in a process of forming, an advanced process to be sure, but a process which was not yet completed. In the collections found in the Caves we do find many books which later will become “biblical books,” and in many different forms, be it in clear different textual forms, or in different editions, or re-written in the form of new compositions, and all of them used indiscriminately. And we do find some indications that two groups of books, designated as “Moses (or the Torah) and the Prophets” were already considered as different and more authoritative than the others, although we do not know for sure what books were

²⁷ Carol A. Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. William H. Propp, Baruch Halpern and David N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87.

²⁸ Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 25–58. See now her more detailed article in Hebrew, “Criteria for the Identification of Qumran Sectarian Texts,” in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World* (ed. Menahem Kister; 2 vols.; Between Bible and Mishnah. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 1:49–86 (Hebrew).

²⁹ DJD I, 46–47.

³⁰ See the articles collected in Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).

included in these two groups, particularly in the group of the “Prophets.” What we do not find at Qumran is any indication of a closed list of authoritative books. We are still on the other side of the “Great Divide” as Talmon has put it.³¹

There were of course texts that were accepted as authoritative by the group of Qumran (and by other Jewish groups,) and some of these texts were much more authoritative than others. Their authority appears in the way they were used, quoted, interpreted, or rewritten in other compositions. But these authoritative texts were not identical with, nor limited to, those which later we will find in the Hebrew or in the Greek Bible. And many of these authoritative texts were present in very different textual shapes (short, long, revised, reworked, abstracted, versions) and even in very different editions. Which proves, as Ulrich has emphasized, that what was considered authoritative was the composition itself, not the concrete textual form of the book (or the scroll, to be precise), since all these forms and editions were kept harmoniously together in the same library and (to judge from the interpretations) were used indiscriminately. When looking at the collection of manuscripts found at Qumran we had best not use the labels “biblical,” “parabiblical” and the like, because they are clearly anachronistic in the collection’s historical context, and they imply a value judgment that may be ours, but certainly does not correspond to the group of people who brought the collection together.³²

The scholars of the so-called “biblical” scrolls found in the collection have tried to avoid the taxonomic impasse by focusing on the “authoritativeness” of the compositions within the collection as a whole. And I suggest that we can also come out of the impasse of the so-called “non-biblical scrolls” by giving more attention to the authority conferring strategies used in them and considering the collection as a whole. In an article recently published in the *RevQ*,³³ which originated as a response to two other articles by Dimant and Kugler proposing to

³¹ Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Crystallization of the ‘Canon of Hebrew Scriptures’ in the Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book. The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library, 2000), 14.

³² Florentino García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible: Sixty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research and Beyond,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19–36.

³³ García Martínez, “¿Sectario, no-sectario, o qué?”

change the generally accepted label of “non sectarian” to “sectarian” (Kugler for the *Qumran Aramaic Levi*)³⁴ or “non sectarian” to a new category “in between” (Dimant for the *4QApocryphon of Joshua*),³⁵ I have done precisely that and proposed that we abandon altogether our taxonomic differentiations. We should consider the collection as a whole in its historical perspective, a collection comprised of religious texts (in Hebrew or in Aramaic), whose origins in most cases cannot be determined, but whose formation has been influenced by other, preceding, religious texts considered as more or less authoritative.

It is my contention that we will be better off if we abandon the basic labels of our taxonomy: “sectarian” or “non-sectarian,” because in the historical context of the collection they are as irrelevant as the labels “biblical” and “non-biblical.” And this, not because these labels correspond better to a group of people than to a group of writings, but because with these labels we try to determine the origin of the writings (which we do not know, and in most cases we cannot know), and this to the detriment of the only thing we do know, the context in which they were used, preserved and transmitted.

And this context, both for the manuscripts we used to call “biblical” and for those we used to call “non-biblical,” is where the collection was brought together by a particular religious group of people who had peculiar ideas, some of them shared by other Jews of the time and some of them not. I think that the group which collected and preserved the manuscripts had appropriated and were influenced to a greater or lesser degree by all the compositions we have recovered, by those we used to call “biblical” as well as by those we used to call “non-biblical.” The fact is that the whole collection of manuscripts found at Qumran (with the exception of a few documentary texts) is comprised of religious texts (in Hebrew or in Aramaic) whose formation has been influenced by other preceding religious texts that were considered as more or less authoritative. And the same authority conferring strategies are used in all of them.

³⁴ Robert A. Kugler, “Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, By Way of Aramaic Levi,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 5–23.

³⁵ Devorah Dimant, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–34.

In the article co-authored with A. S. van der Woude already mentioned,³⁶ I pointed out the insurmountable difficulties of the hypothesis of those who, like Norman Golb,³⁷ denied any coherence to the corpus of writings which forms the collection, assuming they represent all the literary production of the time, being the *membra disjecta* of the different libraries of Jerusalem. Although this interpretation has found little echo among most of the Dead Sea Scrolls scholars, who hold fast to the connection between the Scrolls and the settlement, if I am not mistaken, it has become popular among the archaeologists who propose different understandings of the ruins, and not only attempt to interpret the archaeological remains by themselves but consider the Scrolls an obstacle to their interpretation. Hirschfeld, for example, asserted that “by suggesting that Jerusalem is the source of the Scrolls, we liberate Qumran from the burden of religious significance that has clung to it.”³⁸ But I remain convinced that the collection as a whole can be defined only as a repository of religious literature, as rich and variegated as the different authoritative books on which it is based. And the complete publication of all that has reached us by sheer luck, even in its very fragmentary state, confirms this understanding.

But it is time to close. To answer briefly my first question: should we proceed now to the burial of the Groningen Hypothesis? I do not know. The way it was formulated is certainly a product of the time in which it was written more than twenty years ago, and as such does not correspond to our present knowledge. But some of its basic insights are still helpful in making sense of the complex data we now have. At least, they have helped me (after my move from Groningen) to continue my quest to understanding “The Identity and History of the Qumran Community” and the Scrolls they collected and preserved for us.

³⁶ García Martínez and van der Woude, “A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” in *Qumranica Minora I*, 36–47.

³⁷ His different publications are summarized in Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

³⁸ Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 5.

1QS 6:2c-4a—SATELLITES OR PRECURSORS OF THE YAḤAD?

CHARLOTTE HEMPEL

I was asked to offer some reflections on the most recent scholarly developments on the question of the identity and history of the Qumran Community. The recent scholarship I have been asked to comment on has, in fact, made the term “Qumran community” exceedingly problematic. Thus, John Collins went as far as stating in a recent *Festschrift* for Michael Knibb: “We have [...] reached a point where it is no longer helpful to characterize any part of the textual evidence as describing “the Qumran community.”¹ This could, therefore, have been a very brief paper!

There has, of course, never been any doubt that the non-biblical Scrolls describe more than one type of community. Prior to the full publication of the evidence from Cave 4 our picture of the organization of the communities reflected in the Scrolls drew chiefly on the regulations on the camps as known from the legal part of the *Damascus Document* and the Yaḥad as described in the *Community Rule*.² The differences witnessed by both texts were often accounted for by referring to Josephus’s account of two types of Essenes, one married and one celibate (cf. *BJ* 2.120–121, 160).³ Rather than clarifying this existing picture the full publication of all the fragmentary manuscripts

¹ John J. Collins, “The Yaḥad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu; JSJ Sup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–96, at 96.

² See Sarianna Metso, “Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?” in Hempel and Lieu, *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*, 213–35.

³ See Eileen Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On*, (London: SCM, 2006), 80–81. For a recent discussion of the classical evidence on the celibacy question see Joan E. Taylor, “Philo of Alexandria on the Essenes: A Case Study on the Use of Classical Sources in Discussions of the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis,” in *Studia Philonica Annual* (2007): 1–28, esp. 20–26 and further literature referred to there. See also Sidnie White Crawford, “Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127–50.

from Cave 4 has muddied the waters considerably in a number of respects.⁴

Let me restrict myself to mentioning just three examples of new material that challenged our existing thinking on the relationship of the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*:⁵

- A large amount of penal code material that displays striking overlap with S is attested in 4QD.
- Some of the Cave 4 MSS of the *Community Rule* attest a radically different text from 1QS.
- 4Q265 *Miscellaneous Rules* comprises traditions that resemble D and S as well as material different from either of the two.

A number of key issues emerging or re-emerging succinctly in recent debates are:

- How many communities are reflected in the DSS?
- Which one resided at Qumran?
- Where were they before they settled at Qumran?
- How do the communities relate to one another?
- How do the communities relate to the rest of Jewish society?

It seems fruitful to reflect on these lines of scholarly investigation in analogy with the work of biographers. It is perhaps not too farfetched to describe the task at hand and the efforts of previous scholars as attempts to write a biography of the Yaḥad. In the Foreword to his forthcoming intellectual biography of Elias Bickerman, Albert Baumgarten provocatively asks himself and his readers: “why Bickerman?”⁶ Part of the answer he supplies stresses the extent to which a good biography will not only illuminate the life of its immediate subject,

⁴ See recently John J. Collins, “Sectarian Consciousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 199; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177–92 and Alison Schofield, “Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 *Serekh* Copies,” in *DSD* 15 (2008): 96–120.

⁵ For further literature on both texts see conveniently Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) and Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (CQS 9 / LSTS 52; London: T & T Clark, 2007).

⁶ See Albert I. Baumgarten, *A Twentieth Century Tale: Elias Bickerman as a Historian of the Jews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 1.

but rather, as in Bickerman's case, can shed light on the history of a century played out in various countries. I think the same applies to our efforts at refining the biography of the Yaḥad. Since the Scrolls were first discovered, and the *Community Rule* in particular began to be interpreted, scholarship has tended to write a biography of the Yaḥad that privileged the subject. It was as if we looked at a school photograph with a very dear relative in the photo. Our eyes are drawn to the one person we are most interested in. Admittedly, scholars have always looked beyond the Yaḥad, as any biographer would, to talk about the parents and the background into which the subject was born. However, there has been something of a shift in perspective in recent studies that has enhanced our awareness of the huge amount of light the Scrolls can shed on the wider background of our subject, the Yaḥad.⁷ More recently this trend has accumulated momentum.

The influx of a considerable amount of new and challenging texts over the last two decades or so has stimulated research on the Scrolls, including the *Rule* texts, immensely.⁸ The ripples of the challenges posed by incorporating the new evidence into our perceptions of the social realities behind the texts have not left our reading of long known passages untouched. One of those current ripples of scholarly investigation that is gradually gaining in size and becoming a fully-fledged wave will be the focus of what follows. In particular, the remainder of this chapter will offer some reflections on the work of a number of scholars who have recently argued that the *Rule of the Community*, a document that is customarily considered the Yaḥad's handbook, if you like, should be associated also with a geographically much broader phenomenon.⁹ To put it differently, scholars have gone beyond looking at non- or proto-sectarian texts in their search for life outside Qumran.

An early and rather extreme advocate of such a view was the late Hartmut Stegemann who identified the Qumran establishment as inhabited by "local members of the main Jewish union of Second

⁷ See recently, for instance, Philip R. Davies, "Sect Formation in Early Judaism," in *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances* (ed. David Chalcraft; London: Equinox, 2007), 132–55 and Michael E. Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Literary Landscape of Second Temple Judaism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill 2010), 15–30.

⁸ See Hempel, "Texts, Scribes, Caves and Scholars: Reflections on a Busy Decade in Dead Sea Scrolls Research," *Expository Times* 120/6 (2009): 272–76.

⁹ Already in 1960 Johann Maier tentatively asked whether the term *yaḥad* already had a "Sitz im Leben" in the days prior to the Qumran Community; see Maier, "Zum Begriff יַחַד in den Texten von Qumran," *ZAW* 31 (1960): 148–66, esp. 165.

Temple times”—almost a pan-Yahad hypothesis.¹⁰ More recently John Collins has made a strong case for the presence of “a variety of community forms” behind the texts in a number of publications.¹¹ He prefers to speak of the Yahad as an “umbrella organization” not an individual community based at Qumran, although he considers the Qumran branch as an “elite offshoot” of this broader movement.¹² In the wake of Collins’ publications, Sarianna Metso has offered a sober assessment of his hypothesis as well as suggesting an alternative line of interpretation on which I will say more below.¹³ Eyal Regev has argued that the *rabbim* of the *Community Rule* were the precursors of the much more spread-out camp organization of the *Damascus Document*.¹⁴ Devorah Dimant allows for the antiquity of some of the sources eventually incorporated into the *Community Rule* by a skilful compiler, some of which “may have been produced well before the Qumran community appeared on the historical scene.”¹⁵ Torleif Elgvin and Alison Schofield have both stressed the difficulties posed by Jodi Magness’ re-dating of the communal occupation of the site for traditional readings of the *Community Rule* as the vision and initial realization of the group’s foundation in the wilderness.¹⁶ Finally,

¹⁰ Hartmut Stegemann, “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union of Second Temple Times,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; 2 vols; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:83–166. See also Sidnie White Crawford “Not According to Rule,” 148–50. In their introduction to the translation of the *Community Rule*, Michael Wise, Martin Abegg and Edward Cook rightly stress the significance of the reference to the existence of “local chapters” (as they call it) throughout Palestine in the composition. See Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), 123–43.

¹¹ See Collins, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community’”; “Sectarian Consciousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls”; and “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Paul, *Emanuel*, 97–111.

¹² See his references to “[A]n extensive sectarian movement with multiple places of residence scattered through the land” in Collins, “Sectarian Consciousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 181. See also *ibid.*, 179–80 and *idem*, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community.’”

¹³ Metso, “Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?”

¹⁴ Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), esp. 163–96.

¹⁵ Devorah Dimant, “The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 615–30, at 622.

¹⁶ See Alison Schofield, “Rereading S”; and Torleif Elgvin, “The Yahad is More than Qumran,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 273–79.

in a recently published paper I identified a passage in 1QS 6:2c–4a that seems to me to give us a flavour of how communal life may have emerged long before the fully-fledged Yaḥad was born and settled at the site of Qumran.¹⁷ More particularly I argued that the small-scale gatherings described in the opening lines of 1QS 6 have a more pragmatic, less theologically charged flavour than what we learn about the council of the community in 1QS 8. With regard to 1QS 8 it has, of course, been suggested long ago that this part of the *Community Rule* reflects an early phase in the emergence of a community.¹⁸ Where I hope my own observations have added a new element to the discussion is by encouraging us to look at the opening lines of 1QS 6 for a more convincing picture of how things may have started.

At the same time as I was first thinking about this material I was delighted to read the work of Sarianna Metso, John Collins, and Eyal Regev¹⁹ on this same and previously rather neglected part of the *Community Rule* in 1QS 6. Here I would like to draw on the wonderful notion developed by Maxine Grossman, I am told, in conversation with Albert Baumgarten, of “orphaned passages.” This phrase, as I understand it, denotes passages that are deprived of their full impact because they do not chime with existing scholarly currents. In the case of 1QS 6:1–8 we may speak of a set of passages that was for a time orphaned— orphaned may even be too strong a term here and we should rather think of neglected children—and these children seem to have been adopted into a very lively family of scholars who are finally lavishing attention and care on this part of the *Community Rule*. In any case, the renewed interest in this material seems indicative of the current climate in Scrolls studies that is increasingly less Yaḥad-centric and Qumran-centric.

In a nutshell, my own position on this material is that it reflects some very primitive forms of social interaction among Second Temple Jews such as communal prayer, meals, and deliberation. I describe 1QS

¹⁷ In my recent article, I examined two passages in the *Rule of the Community* that describe rather primitive and small-scale communal gatherings esp. 1QS 6:2–4 and 1QS 8:1–7a. See Hempel, “Emerging Communal Life and Ideology in the S Tradition,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Others in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 43–61.

¹⁸ See already Edmund F. Sutcliffe, “The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A Note on 1QS 8:1ff.,” *JSS* 4 (1959): 134–38 and Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,” *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49.

¹⁹ See esp. Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, ch. 4.

6:2c–4a as portraying “a very basic level of social interaction between likeminded Jews.”²⁰ I translate the passage in question as follows,

And together (יחד) they shall eat, and together (יחד) they all pray, and together (יחד) they shall exchange counsel (עצה). And in every place where there are found ten people from the council of the community ([היחד]=) מעצת החיד a priest shall be present.” (1QS 6:2c–4a)

My sociologically trained colleague David Chalcraft has convinced me since that the term “primitive” is problematic and I would do better to speak in terms of an embryonic state of affairs.²¹ John Collins has recently applied the term “fossil” to this line of interpretation.²² I would suggest labelling the alternative favoured by Collins and others the “sprout” or “satellite” view. A variant of both is Sarianna Metso’s proposal which may be labelled a “sprouting fossil.” On the one hand she is a strong supporter of the view that 1QS 6:1–8 contains material distinct in origin from the remainder of 1QS 5–7 that was subsequently incorporated in its present context.²³ On the other hand, she suggests that one of the reasons for its inclusion into S was to accommodate travelling Yahadists.²⁴

This debate (fossil versus sprouts/satellites) is highly relevant for the historical evaluation of the Dead Sea Scrolls. If small-scale gatherings of like-minded Jews that pre-date the highly developed Yahad struc-

²⁰ See Hempel, “Emerging Communal Life and Ideology,” 45. My analysis of 1QS 6:2c–4a ties in well with Wassen and Jokiranta’s low tension spectrum, see the excellent article by Cecilia Wassen and Jutta Jokiranta, “Groups in Tension: Sectarianism in the Damascus Document and the Community Rule,” in Chalcraft, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances*, 205–45.

²¹ I am grateful to David Chalcraft for these comments in a personal communication.

²² John J. Collins, “The Nature and Aims of the Sect Known from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émil Puech, and Eibert Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 31–52, at 43.

²³ Thus Metso, following Leaney and Knibb, notes, “...an argument can be made that the passage may have originated in a different setting, described that which happened somewhere else than in the community behind the Serek, and then may have been secondarily borrowed and inserted into the Serek.” (“Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?” 218–19). See also Alfred R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 180 and Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 115.

²⁴ See Metso, “Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?” 225 and idem, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 135. She is tempted to speculate that the places the Yahadists travel to were camps, which may account for the similarities between 1QS 6 and CD 12:22ff. (“Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?” 226–27).

ture are attested in parts of the *Community Rule*, then such activities (fellowship) may well mirror similar gatherings of like-minded Jews in Second Temple times (cf. the reference to a quorum of 10 in *m. Sanh.* 1:6). My reading of this very particular passage in the *Rule* supports the plausible recent proposal by Martin Goodman that “attachment to a group of like-minded enthusiasts within the Jewish community” attested by the Scrolls and the New Testament (Goodman refers to Acts 4:32 in particular) may not have been all that unusual.²⁵

In short, the material describing small-scale gatherings legislated upon in the opening lines of column 6 of the *Community Rule* from Cave 1 and its parallels in Cave 4 has been at the center of some of the recent debates outlined briefly above. In the remainder of this chapter I would like to focus on one tiny but important detail rightly highlighted by two of my colleagues. Both Metso and Collins have astutely pointed out that when 1QS 6:3 refers to a gathering of ten (the small-scale aspect of which is a linchpin of my own interpretation) the ten are said to be “from the council of the community.” In other words, the preposition ׀ִנִּי seems to indicate that the organization as a whole—of which these ten form a part—is much larger.²⁶ The significance of the preposition ׀ִנִּי deserves more thought than I devoted to it in a footnote in my aforementioned article.²⁷ The impasse which the ׀ִנִּי may bring about with regard to my theory can be breached however. The clues

²⁵ Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: A Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), esp. 239–42. It is interesting to note the strong similarities and differences between the direction taken by John Collins, Alison Schofield, and myself. We share a less Qumran-centric vision, but in my case the focus is temporal on the pre-Yahad situation, the fossil approach. In their case the arguments seem to focus more on the much more spatially spread-out reality of the Yahad phenomenon. Both hypotheses share a broader perspective which is sure to stimulate further fruitful debate in the next decade. Robert Kugler, interestingly, has just moved in the opposite direction in a provocative article in *DSD* where he argues for traces of sectarian redaction in works generally considered non-sectarian referring to them as “hitherto unrecognized ‘sectarian’ compositions.” See Robert A. Kugler, “Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, By Way of Aramaic Levi,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 5–23. Beyond the level of the reception history of these texts and how they might have been read and received by members of the Yahad, I remain unconvinced of his case.

²⁶ Metso stresses that the presence of the preposition in 1QS 6, and only here in S, is one of several factors that marks the material as an interpolation. See “Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?” 218. See also Collins, “Nature and Aims of the Sect,” 42 and idem, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 88–89.

²⁷ Hempel, “Emerging Communal Life and Ideology,” 46 n. 14.

are found in one of the exciting passages of inter-textual intimacy that we come across between the *Rule* and the *Damascus Document*.²⁸ As is well known, a remarkably similar statement to the one in 1QS 6:3 is attested also in CD 13:2–3.

The close literary relationship between both texts at other points, esp. the penal code, makes reference to the *Damascus Document* methodologically acceptable here in the search for the earliest form of a shared passage.²⁹

The key texts are as follows:

1QS 6:2c–4a // 4QS^{d, g, i} 30

CD 13:2b–3a (not preserved in 4QD)³¹

ויחד יואכלו ויחד יברכו ויחד יועצו

ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים מעצת החיד אל ימש מאתם איש כוהן

ובמקום עשרה אל ימש איש כהן מבונן בספר ההגי על פיהו ישקו כולם

And together they shall eat, together they shall pray, and together they shall exchange counsel. And in every place where there are found ten people from the council of the community a priest shall be present.

And in a place of ten there shall not be lacking a priest learned in the Book of Hagi. All of them shall obey him.

Cf. also 1QS 6:6b–7a³²

ואל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם העשרה איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה תמיד עליפות <חליפות> איש לרעהו

²⁸ On the importance of similarities alongside differences between D and S see now Collins, "Sectarian Consciousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 183.

²⁹ See Steven D. Fraade, "Ancient Jewish Law and Narrative in Comparative Perspective: The Damascus Document and the Mishnah," *Diné Israel: An Annual of Jewish Law* 24 (2007): 65–99 and Charlotte Hempel, "CD Manuscript B and the Community Rule: Reflections on a Literary Relationship," *DSD* 16 (2009): 370–87.

³⁰ The Hebrew text is taken from Martin Abegg, in Emanuel Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (Leiden: Brill, revised edition 2006), henceforth *DSSSEL*.

³¹ The Hebrew text is taken from Abegg, in *DSSSEL*.

³² For the Hebrew text see Abegg, in *DSSSEL*.

and 1QSa 2:21–22³³

וכחוק הזה יעשׁו^{1]}
לכול מערכת כי יו[עדו עד עשרא אנשׁים] *vacat*

In light of the evidence of the *Damascus Document* there is no doubt in my mind that we have to allow for a stage in the circulation of this passage that lacked any association with the council of the community—a council-free version of the passage. In its present context in CD, the passage containing the reference to the quorum of ten is attached to the previous statement (the division of the camp community into thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens) on the basis of the catchword “ten” and forms part of a piece of legislation on the organization of the camps.³⁴ It is noteworthy that the statement on a quorum of ten is rather loosely related to the macro-structures of the camps in the *Damascus Document* by means of a catchword. The related passage in the *Community Rule* is similarly loosely connected to its context since it is found in a passage that contains a diverse collection of regulations in 1QS 6:1–8. If we consider further the very fact that the same item of legislation is attested in both D and S, all of these indications give the impression of a tradition that pre-dates both compositions and was incorporated into two rather different contexts. I prefer to think of a floating tradition that was incorporated into both D and S where it evolved in different ways.³⁵ As far as S is concerned the passage falls within my own category of early S strata that run across the manuscript spectrum before the manuscripts went their separate ways, so to speak.³⁶ Whether we follow the Geza Vermes/Sarianna Metso line³⁷ that 1QS is expansive over against 4QS^d or Philip Alexander’s position³⁸ that 1QS was abbreviated in 4QS^d, the material in common

³³ Dominique Barthélemy, “Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa),” in Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 108–15, repr. in *DSSSEL*.

³⁴ See Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions and Redaction* (STDJ 29. Leiden: Brill, 1990; Paperback edition Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 107–14.

³⁵ See Hempel, *Laws of the Damascus Document*, 111.

³⁶ See Charlotte Hempel, “The Literary Development of the S Tradition—A New Paradigm,” in *RevQ* 22 (2006): 389–401. See also Schofield, “Rereading S,” 87–88.

³⁷ See Metso, *Textual Development*, 89–90, and Geza Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Cave 4,” *JJS* 42 (1991): 250–55.

³⁸ See Philip Alexander, “The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yaḥad*: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–53.

between 1QS/4QS^d must predate the parting of the ways between 1QS and 4QS.

To conclude my discussion of this particular example: the full impact of the preposition ׀ in the 1QS 6 passage deserves due acknowledgment and consideration. It is equally short-sighted, however, to read the 1QS 6 passage in isolation from the occurrence of a sister passage in an entirely different context. In the end, taking both of these considerations seriously seems to indicate that both the fossil and the sprout hypothesis encapsulate parts of the truth: what started as a fossil eventually sprouted—at least literarily through the addition of “from the council of the community” in 1QS 6:3.³⁹ I am thus left, like Metso, with a sprouting fossil view although I remain unconvinced about her travelling Yahadists theory.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

It is a commonplace to refer to Qumran as offering a unique window into Second Temple Judaism.⁴⁰ What I tried to reflect upon in this paper is, in essence, the question what sort of a view we get out of that window. Because it is in the nature of windows that they do not allow us to scan the entire horizon, it is possible that some of the landscape we see in the texts may span across a much wider area.⁴¹

³⁹ My own conclusion comes close to Metso’s view when she astutely observes, “Since the passages are often thematically very similar, we may suspect that they have undergone redaction in light of each other, perhaps changing the details of the settings from which they originated, and also to have undergone reworking in the contexts in which they were inserted” (“Whom Does the Term Yahad Identify?” 215). Metso is to be commended for studying the references to gatherings of ten in 1QS 6 from a broad perspective that incorporates CD and other texts beyond. See further Stephen J. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community. Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66. Leiden: Brill, 2007), 215–16, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 84–85.

⁴⁰ Thus, recently Schuller, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22.

⁴¹ For recent reflections on such questions see Stone, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Literary Landscape.”

WHAT KIND OF SECT WAS THE YAḤAD? A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

EYAL REGEV

This article presents the Yaḥad, its ideology and social life, in light of the sociological concept of sects, as well as comparisons with other (and much later) sects of the same type. The article summarizes some of the ideas developed in my book *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*,¹ incorporating several fresh insights and more recent scholarship on the Yaḥad and the *Community Rule*.

1. WHO WERE THE YAḤAD? THE GROUP AND ITS WRITINGS

Although the term Yaḥad is commonplace in scholarship, its meaning is not always clear. Common use of terms such as “the Qumran community,” “the Qumran sectarians,” and “the Qumran Essenes,” obscure the relationship between the group(s) represented in documents found in the Qumran caves, the identity of the inhabitants at the archaeological site at Khirbet Qumran, and the classification of these groups as the Essenes.² Even more confusing is the exact identity of the groups in the scrolls themselves. It is clear that *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* (1QS) and *Serekh ha-‘Eda* (1QSa) are related to the group called Yaḥad. But what about the scrolls other than 1QS and 1QSa?

Given that the Yaḥad is a designation of a certain social organization, it is important to recognize that not all of the so-called sectarian documents found at the Qumran caves pertain to the Yaḥad. There were other related groups, perhaps very similar to the Yaḥad. One of them identified itself as the members of “the new covenant in the land of Damascus” (CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33–34; 20:12). Many texts, such as MMT and the so-called wisdom texts, do not mention a specific

¹ Eyal Regav, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (RelSoc 45; Berlin: de Gruyter), 2007.

² John J. Collins, “The Yaḥad and ‘the Qumran Community,’” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission, Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–95, at 81–85.

designation and thus it is impossible to identify the group or organization to which they may relate.

Scholars have related to the term *Yaḥad* (as a noun or as an adverb) using two main approaches. The noun *Yaḥad* itself has been explained as meaning a biblical designation for a community, council or covenant,³ or as a Hebrew designation for the Greek *to koinon*, that is, a community or association.⁴ Recently, several scholars have tried to understand the organization and internal structure of the *Yaḥad*, namely—to which social entity the term refers, be it an entire group or, in some cases, only certain parts of it.⁵ Yet, scholars neglected the questions: what documents from Qumran apart from 1QS and 1QSb represent the *Yaḥad*, and what was the historical and social relationship between the *Yaḥad* and the other groups or factions which are represented in the other so-called sectarian scrolls.

These questions require a much broader discussion. For the present purpose of clearing the way for my comparative analysis, I will focus specifically on identifying the *Yaḥad* and its writings. Documents related to the *Yaḥad* can be identified according to the use of the *Yaḥad* as a *noun*, that is, the group's designation. These include the *Community Rule*, the *Pesharim* (1QpHab, 4Q161–174, 4Q177, 4Q181), and the *Hodayot*.⁶ It is also more than probable that texts which contain multiple references to the *Yaḥad* as an *adverb* were also related to the *Yaḥad*; thus, in the *War Rule*, 4Q502*Ritual of Marriage*, *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifices*, 4Q*Instruction* and 4Q525*Beatitudes* as well as in the *Community Rule*, the *Hodayot*, 4Q171pPs^a, 4Q174*Florilegium* and 4Q177*Catena A*, but not in CD!⁷

³ Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Sektarian ית"ר—A Biblical Noun," *VT* 3 (1953): 133–40.

⁴ Bruno W. W. Dombrowski, "'Yaḥad' in 1QS and 'to koinon': an Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis," *HTR* 59 (1966): 293–307.

⁵ Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.77–92; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Collins "The *Yaḥad* and 'the Qumran Community,'" Regev, "The '*Yaḥad*' and the 'Damascus Covenant': Structure, Organization and Relationship," *RevQ* 21.2 (2004): 233–62; idem, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 163–96.

⁶ Martin G. Abegg, James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2.307–9. Cf. Jacob Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 45–49 (Hebrew).

⁷ Eyal Regev, "Chercher les femmes: Were the *yaḥad* Celibates?" *DSD* 15.2 (2008): 278–79, at 253–84.

The exact location of the Yaḥad within the history of the movement documented in the scrolls is hard to detect. Many have concluded that it was preceded by the *Damascus Covenant* group. However, according to my own analysis of several organizational and theological characteristics,⁸ the Yaḥad had emerged first. It probably emerged as a direct continuation of the teachings of the Teacher of Righteousness (1Q14pMic frags. 8–10, cols. 6–9; CD 20:32).

2. THE YAḤAD AS A SECT: SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

There is a consensus among scholars that the Yaḥad, the group represented in the *Community Rule*, was a sect. However, scholars have rarely applied the sociological study of sectarianism to Qumran.⁹ The clearest and most appropriate definition of a sect is: a religious group in a *state of tension* with the surrounding environment. This tension stems from the group's rejection of the social order at large and its subsequent development as a separate sub-culture. There are three markers of sub-cultural tension: antagonism, separation, and difference.¹⁰ Wilson included more detailed and specific sectarian characteristics, such as conditional membership based on personal merit, exclusiveness, a self-conception of an elite group, claims of having a monopoly over the complete religious truth, a demand for personal perfection, etc.¹¹ The features of the Yaḥad in the *Community Rule* fully correspond with both definitions.¹²

Wilson also defined several different types of sects, or “responses to the world,” that is, methods of coping with the belief that the world is corrupt and evil, and the ways of attaining salvation provided by

⁸ Regev, “The ‘Yaḥad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant,’” 256–62; idem, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 85–86, 187–93; idem, “Between Two Sects: Differentiating the Yaḥad and the Damascus Covenant,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill 2010), 431–49.

⁹ Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup. 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

¹⁰ Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 46–60, at 23.

¹¹ Bryan R. Wilson, “An Analysis of Sect Development,” *American Sociological Review* 24 (1959): 3–15; idem, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 91–93.

¹² Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 34–42.

the group.¹³ The introversionist response sees the world as irredeemably evil and requires individuals to renounce it by withdrawing into a distinct community. This community is preoccupied with its own holiness and methods for maintaining its isolation from the broader community. The revolutionist response, according to Wilson, argues that only the destruction of the present social order through a supernatural or divine action will save men. The Yaḥad should be characterized as an introversionist sect with revolutionist tendencies.¹⁴ I shall return to these two features below.

3. COMPARATIVE SECTARIANISM

Identifying the Yaḥad as a sect that aims to isolate itself from the world and awaits the coming messianic age does not account for its special and specific characteristics. Current social-scientific models are general and illuminate only some of the many special features of the Yaḥad. In order to better understand what kind of sect the Yaḥad was, it is interesting to compare it to other sects of the same type, namely introversionist sects, some of them are also partly revolutionist. In order to gain a better perspective about the phenomenon of sectarianism, one has to focus on early modern and modern sects, rather than on ancient ones (about which we have far less information). These latter sects tell us about features common to introversionist sects as well as about the different religious and social variations among them. In drawing such comparisons between different groups of the same sociological category which exist in different periods in different parts of the world, it is necessary to make sense of the similarities between them, and even more so, their differences.¹⁵

In what follows I will summarize the result of a systematic comparison of the Yaḥad to the early Anabaptists, Mennonites, Hutter-

¹³ Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (London: Heinemann, 1973).

¹⁴ Introversionist: 1QS 8:13–14; 1QH^a 14[Sukenik6]:24–28; Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 45–47. Revolutionist: 1QS 4:17–19; 9:23; Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 58–72.

¹⁵ E.g., Fitz John Porter Poole “Metaphors and Maps: Towards Comparison in the Anthropology of Religion,” *JAAR* 54: (1986): 411–57.

ites, Amish, Puritans, Quakers and the Shakers.¹⁶ These are the most well-documented sects, and all have similar introversionist (enhancing social separation) also common to the Qumran sects. The purpose of these comparisons is to present a social description of the Yaḥad, paying attention to evidence from the scrolls that is sometimes neglected or is taken for granted due to the lack of an adequate social perspective.

3.1. *Introversionism: Social Boundaries*

As already stated above, the Yaḥad was an introversionist sect. This means that its *raison d'être* was to segregate itself from the rest of the world, which it regarded as wicked. Such a sect sets strict boundaries between its members and the outside society. The laws of the *Community Rule* limit most contacts with outsiders and prohibit relationships with ex-members (1QS 5:10–20). These social boundaries (assuming that they were in practice and were not merely declarative) are stricter than those of any other sect I have studied thus far.

The ultimate social boundary among sects is geographical isolation. This was practiced by the Hutterite and Shaker communities, and some of the Old Order Mennonites, as well as by the Mormons in their initial phase in the 1830s.¹⁷ Other introversionist sects, such as the Quakers and the Amish, settled among the local population and carried out other, more sophisticated ways of separation from the non-sectarian culture.¹⁸

In Qumran scholarship there is a common assumption that the Yaḥad settled in Khirbet Qumran in order to maintain spatial isolation.¹⁹ Putting aside the archaeological debate about the identity of the Khirbet Qumran inhabitants, the evidence of the *Community Rule*

¹⁶ For a sketch of their history as well as religious and social characteristics, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 50–57.

¹⁷ John A. Hostetler, *Hutterite Society* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974); Stephen J. Stein, *The Shaker Experience in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 41–49; Calvin W. Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites. Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969). See also Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 41–56 (although the later Mormons were not an introversionist sect).

¹⁸ John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1968); William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1923).

¹⁹ James H. Charlesworth, "The Origins and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases Among the Qumran Essenes," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 213–33; Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

is not conclusive regarding the spatial location of the Yaḥad.²⁰ The famous passage in the *Community Rule* “they are to be segregated from within the dwelling of the Men of Injustice to walk to the desert in order to open there His path, as it is written ‘In the desert, prepare the name of the Lord, straighten in the steppe a roadway for our God’”²¹ (1QS 8:13–14, following Isa 40:3) may have used the desert as a metaphor for spiritual isolation.²² It is fairly reasonable that the Yaḥad was a self-sufficient commune which met its own economic needs, quite like the Hutterite and Shaker colonies. This seems to correspond with the strict moral and ritual boundaries between members and outsiders (1QS 6:13–17). Theoretically, however, the Yaḥad could have been a commune within a populated environment. Commercial contacts were practiced as long as members paid outsiders for goods (1QS 5:16–17). Closer proximity to the outside world would account for stressing the restrictions on relationships with outsiders²³ and social discipline within the sect, tendencies which are manifested in the penal code of the *Community Rule* (1QS 6:24–7:25, 8:16–9:2).

3.2. *Revolutionism: Messianic Expectations*

The Yaḥad was a millenarian sect (or revolutionist, to use Wilson’s typology). Members believed that the “day of visitation” was very close (1QS 4:17–19) and prepared for the coming of the Messiahs of Israel and Aaron (1QS 9:11; 1QSa 2:11–22). Eschatological tension is stressed in many of the Yaḥad’s documents and certainly motivated members to maintain their separatist and highly disciplined way of life. Although many of the Christian sects are millenarian, messianic

²⁰ I have already discussed the identity and character of the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran based on socio-anthropological examination of the findings, concluding that they were sectarians, possibly a branch of the Yaḥad. See Eyal Regev, “The Archaeology of Sectarianism: Ritual, Resistance and Hierarchy in Kh. Qumran,” *RevQ* 24/94 (2009): 175–213; idem, “Access Analysis of Kh. Qumran: Reading Spatial Organization and Social Boundaries,” *BASOR* 355 (2009): 85–99.

²¹ Citations from 1QS are from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*.

²² See George J. Brooke, “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. George J. Brooke with Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117–32; Devorah Dimant, “Not Exile in the Desert but Exile in Spirit: The Peshet of Isa. 40:3 in the Rule of the Community,” *Megillot* 2 (2004): 21–38 (Hebrew).

²³ See Hempel, “The Community and Its Rivals According to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4,” *RevQ* 21: (2003) 47–81.

expectations are not an integral part of the sectarian phenomenon. The Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, and Quakers have forsaken millennial expectations over the years but continued their self-exclusion from society. One introversionist sect for which millennial beliefs were extremely significant is the Shakers, as attested to in their self-designation, “the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing.” The Shakers believed that the End is close and expected it to happen in 1792. They also maintained that the advent had already commenced in the appearance of their leader Ann Lee, the Second Christ.²⁴ Nonetheless, I believe that messianic expectations were not the cause for the Yaḥad’s separation from the world but were a consequence of their belief that Jewish society is irremediable and salvation is possible only through heavenly intervention.²⁵

It is surprising that the delay of the *eschaton* did not result in disappointment or disbelief. A passage in *Pesher Habakkuk* deals with the delay in the fulfillment of eschatological expectations: “the final age will be extended, even longer than all that the prophets said, because the mysteries of God are wonderful. . . . The man of truth, the observers of the law, whose arms will not weaken in the service of truth when the final age seems to them to be delayed (or: is extended beyond them), because all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established for them in the mysteries of his prudence.”²⁶

Indeed, there are many examples of sects and cults that have survived and flourished despite the failure of millennial prophecies: the Jehovah’s Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists, for example.²⁷ Socio-anthropological studies have shown that group cohesion can overcome such disappointments and continue developing further hopes for the future.²⁸

²⁴ Henri Desroche, *The American Shakers. From Neo-Christianity to Presocialism*, trans. by John K. Savacool (University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst, 1971), 72–84.

²⁵ Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 68–72.

²⁶ 1QpHab 7:7–14. Cf. Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 178–80.

²⁷ Gary Schwartz, *Sect Ideologies and Social Status* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1970), 90–91; Bryan R. Wilson, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and New Religious Movements in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 229–30.

²⁸ Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

3.3. *The Paradox of the Quest for Atonement*

The Yaḥad considered themselves a remnant elite, a chosen people. They called themselves “a holy house” and regarded themselves as “chosen by the will of God” (1QS 8:5–6). They believed that God elected and redeemed them from the human afflictions by His grace.²⁹ However, the Yaḥad’s *Community Rule*, the *Hodayot* and subsequent documents include many collective and individual confessions of sins.³⁰ For example, in a passage from the Yaḥad’s prayer, the member recites “I belong to evil humankind, to the assembly of unfaithful flesh; my failings, my iniquities, my sins [...] with the depravities of my heart, belong to the assembly of worms and those who walk in darkness” (1QS 11:9–10).

It seems that the Yaḥad’s main aim was to atone for the members’ sins: “to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the eternal covenant. *They should make atonement* for all who freely volunteer for the holiness of Aaron and for the house of truth in Israel” (1QS 5:5–6). The term “to atone for the land” is mentioned twice in the *Community Rule* (1QS 8:6, 10). Atonement can not be attained by one who declines to enter the covenant, and is cursed (1QS 3:4). The quest for atonement is mentioned numerous times in the *Hodayot*: “And all the sons of your truth you bring to forgiveness of your presence, you pu[ri]fy them from their offences by the greatness of your goodness, and by the abundance of your com[pas]sion to make them stand in your presence, for ever and ever.”³¹ One of the major and unique means of atonement was moral behavior. In 1QS 9:3–5 “the perfection of the way” (תמיים דרך) enacted by the Yaḥad serves as an offering which pleases God (נדבת מנחת רצון), hence justice and righteous behavior (combined with prayer) are substitutes for the corrupt sacrifices in the Temple and atone for sin and treachery.³²

²⁹ 1QH^a 5:22–23 [13:16–17]; 1QH^a 9[1]: 31:33; Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 219–31.

³⁰ 1QS 1:24–26; 1QH^a 4[17]:18–20; 9[1]:21–23; 12[4]:34–35 see also the designation שבי פשע “those who repent from sin (or: convert from iniquity),” in 1QS 10:20; 1QH^a 10[2]:9; 6[14]:24. Cf. Isa 59:20.

³¹ 1QH^a 15[7]:29–31; see also 1QH^a 4[17]:14–19; 14[6]:5–6.

³² See also 1QS 8:2–10; Eyal Reggev, “Abominated Temple and A Holy Community: The Formation of the Concepts of Purity and Impurity in Qumran,” *DSD* 10.2 (2003): 243–78, at 268–70; idem, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 122–23.

At first glance, the scrolls present a contradiction between self-righteousness and self-blame. What is interesting, however, is that feelings of self-guilt are also attested to in the writings of other introversionist sects. The same dual pattern of belief is found among the Puritans and Shakers. Since such self-guilt does not seem to stem from the Protestant heritage of these sects, I believe it to be a sectarian characteristic.

Indeed, the point of departure of many sects is the belief that not only the world in general, but the individual member himself is sinful, and must attempt to atone for his or her sins. This is explicit in the writings of the leaders of at least three introversionist sects: John Winthrop, the Puritan leader, George Fox, the Quakers' founder, and Ann Lee, the Shakers' leader. John Winthrop is cited as admitting, "What am I but dust! A worme, a rebel, and thine enemy."³³ The young George Fox resisted grave temptations to commit sins: "I was afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions... I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrow, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted."³⁴ Ann Lee is described in Shaker sources as a pathologic repentant: "In watchings, fastings, tears and incessant cries to God, she labored day and night, for deliverance from the very nature of sin" (Shakers 1888, 4). She taught that confession is "the first act of a repentant soul, and as being absolutely essential to the reception of the power to forsake sin."³⁵

³³ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 36, citing *Winthrop Papers*, I, 204. Puritan meditation in 17th century New England included meditation on one's sinfulness and confessions in order to attain atonement. See Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 26–32, 150, 165–66.

³⁴ George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox* (ed. John L. Nickalls; rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Religious Society of Friends, 1997 [1694]), 12; cf. *ibid.*, 2, 9, 19. For the Quakers' sensitivity to sin, see Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 63–65, 120–21, 206, 466; William Penn, *No Cross, No Crown* (York: William Sessions Book Trust, 1999 [1669]), 5, 33.

³⁵ Frederick William Evans, *Ann Lee (the Founder of the Shakers): a Biography with Memoirs of William Lee, James Whittaker, J. Hocknall, J. Meacham, and Lucy Wright; also a Compendium of the Origin, History, Principles, Rules, and Regulations, and Government and Doctrines of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing* (London: J. Burns, 1858), 116. Cf. Thomas Brown, *An Account of the People Called Shakers: Their Faith, Doctrines, and Practice, Exemplified in the Life, Conversations, and Experience of the Author during the Time He Belonged to the Society: to which is Affixed a History of their Rise and Progress to the Present Day* (Troy: Parker and Bliss, 1812; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1977), 16).

I suggest that this kind of dual pattern is typical of introversionist sects in their initial phase (and perhaps too in other types of sects which I have not yet studied), and that it is shared by many of their members. There is a certain correspondence between self-guilt and the need to attain atonement, on the one hand, and the conviction that the ultimate and only possible way of atonement lies within the sect, on the other hand. This is, in my view, the key to understanding the Yaḥad's belief system, and possibly other similar sects as well.

3.4. Revelations

Revelation as a religious phenomenon is the essence of Jewish-Christian religious tradition. Revelation, however, is missing in the belief system of many sects, such as the Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish and Puritans and is not an integral part of the phenomenon of sectarianism. What distinguishes the Yaḥad's concept of revelation is that revelations were institutionalized as an integral part of the social system (1QS 5:8–10). Revelations were acknowledged as possible at any given moment “revealed from time to time” (בעת עת נגלה) (1QS 8:14–18; 9:13–14). They may have been regarded as accessible by any member. Revelations (רזי פלא) are frequently mentioned in the *Hodayot*, relating to the secrets of creation, the secrets of evil in the world and perhaps also revelations pertaining to attaining atonement.³⁶

One may imagine the Yaḥad as a human satellite of God where divine communication may be received at any time. This is not similar to early Christianity, where what is revealed is a vision of Jesus (Luke 24:36–50; 1 Cor 15:1–8; Gal 1:12). In the case of the Yaḥad, revelations seemed not only to reaffirm the sect's belief-system, but also augment it with further messages concerning God's future plans or the interpretation of Scripture. Unlike the authors of *Enoch*, *Jubilees* and other pseudepigraphical texts, the Yaḥad members were bold enough to claim personal revelations and not use the disguise of a mythical figure in order to legitimize their religious creativity.

Belief in present and continuous revelations is quite rare. In the *Damascus Document* (CD 3:12–14; 15:13–15; cf. 5:1–5), revelations were probably a heritage of the past and were not available to current members, not even to the overseers. Many religious groups seem to

³⁶ 1QH^a 9[1]:21; 5:7–10 [13:1–3]; 19[11]:4, 28; 20[12]:11–13, 20–22; 21:1–9 + 23:10–15 [=18:10–27]. See also 1QS 11:3–5.

follow this latent concept of revelation, which builds on the golden age of the past, when contact with the divine was more direct. The Seventh Day Adventists regard Mrs. Ellen G. White as one who “God spoke through her,” and do not believe that any other individual today has the powers attributed to Mrs. White.³⁷ The Mormon beliefs were also founded upon the revelation and prophecy of Joseph Smith (in translating the Book of Mormon) who tried to limit the right to experience revelations solely to himself.³⁸

Present and continuous revelations are attested among the Quakers and Shakers for only rather limited periods of ecstatic bursts. The first Quakers trembled with the awareness of God’s nearness to them, and were thus called “Quakers.”³⁹ In their ecstatic outbursts, they were “moved of the Lord” or were “in the power” (but at the same time, were “at the body”) quite often.⁴⁰ Although the earliest Shaker leaders (including Ann Lee) had revelations,⁴¹ ordinary members experienced revelations only for a limited period, during the temporary spiritual revival of 1837.⁴²

However, in Pentecostalism, all members can and should aspire to attain inner spiritual illumination. The Holy Spirit is received through intense prayer and introspection, since God chooses a person as a human vehicle through which His messages are transmitted to mankind and the future is revealed.⁴³ The Yaḥad’s persistent belief in continuous revelations is therefore exceptional and noteworthy. The belief that any member could experience a divine revelation at any time in order to accept valuable information concerning God’s wonders and His demands from mankind probably greatly affected the religious tension and the social dynamics, which we shall soon see.

³⁷ Schwartz, *Sect Ideologies*, 92–93.

³⁸ O’Dea, *The Mormons*, 156–60.

³⁹ Rufus M. Jones, *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers* (Philadelphia: Religious Society of Friends, 1965), 42.

⁴⁰ Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1992), 152–153, 170.

⁴¹ Evans, *Ann Lee*, 21–23, 138; Clarke Garrett, *Origins of the Shakers. From the Old World to the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 152–53, 158, 183.

⁴² Stein, *Shaker Experience in America*, 165–200.

⁴³ Schwartz, *Sect Ideologies*, 147, 155–56.

3.5. *Spiritualism and Mysticism: Transforming and Transcending Humans*

Members of sects always think they are better than outsiders. The Yahad regarded themselves as the holiest people on earth. They called themselves “a holy house.”⁴⁴ They believed in the continuous experience of the holy spirit,⁴⁵ that is, in spiritual proximity to God. They also expressed their belief in communion with God’s angels.⁴⁶ Again, such strong claims of a close relationship with the divine are not shared by most of the introversionist or any other type of sects. In this case the comparison to early modern Christian sects may be misleading since immersion in the holy spirit is the heritage of early Christianity. Nonetheless, it is interesting to see that while the Mennonites, Hutterites, Amish, and Puritans did not claim such religious achievements, the Shakers did claim immersion in the holy spirit and communion with angels.

The Shakers regarded themselves as a movement of spiritual awakening.⁴⁷ They linked their direct experience and self-sanctification of the spirit to atonement.⁴⁸ The actual experience of the holy spirit as found in the *Hodayot* can also be found in the writings of the Shaker leader James Whittaker.⁴⁹ The Shakers also compared themselves to angels,⁵⁰ but only Ann Lee and the Elders actually are portrayed (in a Shaker hymn) as acting like angels.⁵¹

⁴⁴ 1QS 8:5–6; For “a congregation of holiness,” who “establishes the spirit of holiness in eternal truth,” see 1QS 5:20; 9:3–4; 1QH^a 25(top):3. For the self-designation “a holy council,” see 1QS 2:25; 8:21. Cf. 1QS 8:20.

⁴⁵ 1QS 3:6–12; 1QH^a 15[7]:7; 17[9]:32; 19[11]:11–14. Cf. 1QS 4:20–22. The holy spirit is connected to revelations in 1QH^a 20[12]:11–13.

⁴⁶ Heinz Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 66–73; James H. Charlesworth, “The Portrayal of the Righteous as an Angel,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–51; Devorah Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Adele Berlin; Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 93–103; Björn Frennesson, “*In a Common Rejoicing*”: *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1999).

⁴⁷ Evans, *Ann Lee*, 17–20, 82.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁴⁹ Brown, *An Account of the People Called Shakers*, 40–41.

⁵⁰ Desroche, *American Shakers*, 147.

⁵¹ Brown, *An Account of the People Called Shakers*, 365.

It is quite possible that certain mystical documents represent even bolder attempts to get closer to the divine. In 4Q286–290 *Berakhot*, the holiness of the community's worship was attained and confirmed through inspiration from the heavenly realms to the earthly realms. One passage, for example describes the heavenly abode, God's throne, divine attributes and the mysteries of God's knowledge.⁵²

In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the word Yaḥad is attested at least seven times, although as an adverb and not as a noun,⁵³ and this may imply that the Songs originated within the Yaḥad. In any case, the Songs portray angelic prayer and worship of God in heaven and the heavenly Temple in a manner quite similar to the later Hekhalot literature.⁵⁴ However, members of the Yaḥad might not have been satisfied by merely reciting or reflecting on the angelic liturgy. Fletcher Louis has recently suggested that the authors identified themselves with the angels and that the songs represent a collective ascent to heaven.⁵⁵

This daring interpretation may be supported by two other documents which may indicate the Yaḥad's pretension to serve as God's heavenly angels. In 4Q511 *Song of the Sage*^b the "holy ones" serve as priests in a kind of virtual Temple: "Among the holy ones God makes (some) hol[y] for himself like an everlasting sanctuary, and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they shall be priests, his just people, his army and servants, the angels of His glory. They shall praise him with fantastic marvels."⁵⁶ In the famous *Self-Glorification Hymn*^b the speaker regards himself as exalted as God's angel, "counted among gods" lying in glory of the holy dwellings, claiming "who is like me

⁵² 4Q286 1 ii; Bilhah Nitzan, "The Idea of Holiness in Qumran Poetry and Liturgy," in *Sapiential and Poetical Texts from Qumran* (ed. Daniel Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 127–45, 137–41. Note that 4Q286 7 ii 1 refers to "the council of the Yaḥad."

⁵³ Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, 1:309.

⁵⁴ Carol A. Newsom, "He Has Established for Himself Priests: Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 101–20; Philip S. Alexander, *Mystical Texts* (LSTS 61; London: T&T Clark, 2006).

⁵⁵ Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 255–79, 359–61.

⁵⁶ 4Q511 *Song of the Sage*^b frag. 35 2–5; Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 162–65. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 162–66, identifies the humans with the angels. See also See1QH^a 19[11]:11–14. Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 163.

among the gods,” (*mi kamoni ba‘elim*).⁵⁷ In another version of the hymn he boasts “for I sit in[...hea]ven...I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation;...my [por]tion lies in the Glory of...the holy [dwell]ing. [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? And who is comparable to me in glory?”⁵⁸

Several scholars have maintained that this hymn contains an (eschatological?) exaltation of the high priest, inspired by the Teacher of Righteousness.⁵⁹ Others have suggested that the hymn represents the feelings of all the members of the community.⁶⁰

In any event, there is sufficient evidence that some members either experienced a mystical transformation into angels or perhaps only imagined such an ascent to heaven due to their immense mystical aspirations. I suggest relating the evidence to the Yaḥad, not only due to the relationship between these hymns and the *Hodayot*,⁶¹ but especially because the mystic aspirations may correspond with the Yaḥad’s revelations as well as its unique social structure. Members of the Yaḥad viewed themselves as being the closest humans to heaven, experiencing an extremely intense spiritual and mystical tension. Assuming that this tendency was collective and was not restricted to chosen individuals, this phenomenon is without parallel among the sects which share so many other common characteristics with the Yaḥad.

3.6. Structure and Organization: Rules of Social Interaction

The social structure of the Yaḥad was complex. On the one hand, it was a democratic group. The most important social institution of the sect was **הַרְבֵּי־מוֹשָׁב**, the assembly of the *rabbim* (“the many”), where all kinds of decisions were made after each member had an opportunity to speak (1QS 6:8–13). Time and time again the *Community Rule* ascribes

⁵⁷ 4Q471^b Self-Glorification Hymn^a 1 a–d; Esther G. Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 428–32.

⁵⁸ 4Q491^c Self-Glorification Hymn^b frag. 1, lines 6–13. Reconstruction and translation follow Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 200.

⁵⁹ John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 146–64.

⁶⁰ Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 204–216; Michael O. Wise, “מי כמוני באלים: A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 and 1QH^a 25:35–26:10,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 173–219, at 218–19.

⁶¹ Compare the relationship between these hymns and the *Hodayot* from Cave 4 in 4QH^a 427 7 i–ii; See the reconstruction of Schuller in DJD XXIX, 96–100; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 200–204.

authority to *all* the members of the Yaḥad.⁶² The Yaḥad lacked actual leaders. The overseer and the *paqid* were merely official delegates on behalf of the assembly without superior authority (1QS 6:11–12, 14–15, 19–20). In this respect, the Yaḥad was very different from the Damascus Covenanters and Josephus' Essenes who were governed by an overseer and a priest whom members had to obey.⁶³

On the other hand, there were several types of hierarchy within the Yaḥad. Priests, especially the Sons of Zadok, had greater authority (1QS 6:8–9; 7:2; 9:7). Elders sat before lay members in the assembly (1QS 6:8). There was also a unique sort of hierarchy which I have called “spiritual hierarchy.” New converts were examined by the priests and the lay members, and subsequently recorded in the Rule in a certain order “according to his spirit, insight and works in the Torah” (1QS 6:18–22). The same type of religious or spiritual hierarchy applied to all members and determined the order of speech in the communal assembly (1QS 6:8–10). Moreover, members of lower ranks were required to obey higher-ranking members, for example, during communal work. Members were re-evaluated on an annual basis, and their rank was amended according to their “perfection of ways” (1QS 5:23–24).

My comparative research shows that some sects are democratic, since members choose officials to execute communal decisions and authority; thus, the Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish. Other sects, like the Shakers and the Jehovah's Witnesses, are led by the ministry and leaders appointed by the general leadership of the sect.⁶⁴

Therefore, the Yaḥad's unique combination of egalitarianism or democracy and hierarchy attest to a very complex social structure. Authority took several different forms, in a delicate balance between communal decision-making and individual distinction. This is without parallel in the other early modern sects I have studied (although it may bear a certain resemblance to Josephus' description of the Essenes in *BJ* 2.146 where Josephus states that the Essenes obey both their elders and the majority). This social structure, I suggest, attests to great social and religious tension. Every member counts, but each aspires to advance in the spiritual hierarchy, showing his accomplishments in

⁶² 1QS 1:1, 16; 5:1, 2–3, 6, 8, 9; 6:13–14; 8:16–17; 9:5–6, 19–20.

⁶³ For CD, see Regev, “The Yaḥad and the Damascus Covenant”; idem, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 163–96. For the Essene overseers and leaders, see Josephus, *BJ* 2.123, 129, 134, 146; Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 249–50.

⁶⁴ Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 285–89; Beckford, *Trumpet of Prophecy*, 71–82.

discipline, wisdom, and perhaps also secret knowledge of the divine. This unique competitive character of the Yaḥad corresponds to their aspirations to experience heavenly revelations “from time to time” and their mystical presumptions, portraying themselves as angels.

The communal organization of the Yaḥad as a single community remains a puzzle. I think that it was composed of smaller units of ten or fifteen members (1QS 6:1–5; 8:1–4) that comprised the assembly of the *rabbim*, at least in a certain phase of its history.⁶⁵ In the *Community Rule*, the Yaḥad is introduced as one single community. Scholars have usually assumed that this was one single congregation located at Khirbet Qumran. I believe that the Yaḥad was a much more complex organization.

My comparative study has shown that sects, especially successful ones, are not composed of one single congregation. Sects are social networks where multiple communities operate simultaneously. There are two general types of sectarian organizations.⁶⁶ In the first, the relationship between the different communities is weak (and at times is completely lacking). The communities of the Hutterites, the Old Order Mennonites and the Old Order Amish congregations are entirely independent and autonomous. Their general institutions or conferences developed only recently and usually lack coercive authority.

The second type of sectarian organization is a complex hierarchal network, in which there is a leading community. Such is the case of the camps of the *Damascus Document* which are headed by “the overseer of all camps.”⁶⁷ The Shaker colony in Mount Lebanon governed all others, and at times there were also secondary leading colonies such as the one in Union Village. Hierarchal structure is also characteristic of the Quakers, who practice Weekly Meetings, Monthly Meetings, and Annual Meetings which actually represent a hierarchal network of community leadership committed to a general decision-making mechanism.

Turning back to the Yaḥad, I think that it is unlikely that the Yaḥad was comprised of merely one single congregation. The comparative evidence suggests that there were several Yaḥad congregations, that is, multiple independent assemblies, probably lacking a general corporate

⁶⁵ Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 181–84; idem, “Between Two Sects.”

⁶⁶ Regev *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 291–96.

⁶⁷ CD 14:8–12; Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 166–69.

leading body. Recently, Allison Schofield suggested that the existence of several Yaḥad communities may explain the variations in the different versions of the *Community Rule* which were studied by Metso.⁶⁸ In a similar vein, Hempel distinguished between two organizational-literary types in the different versions of the *Community Rule*, the *rabbim*, and the Yaḥad's "council" (עצת היחד), suggesting that these two independent traditions (related to separate congregations) merged in certain passages of 1QS.⁶⁹ Schofield's thesis seems attractive, and Hempel's suggestion seems possible.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The comparisons of the Yaḥad with other sects, mostly similar introversionist sects, although remote in time and place shed new light on many characteristics of the sect that has received so much scholarly attention. The Yaḥad might not have been a large sect (although the number of documents that it produced surely indicates it was successful) but it was *sui generis* in sociological and anthropological terms. It maintained extremely strong social boundaries, high millennial tension, and extraordinary mystical aspirations. A complex and rather flexible social structure and a meticulous penal code reinforced this religious tension in a combination of discipline and religious creativity and imagination. Different aspects of sectarianism were present in the Yaḥad in quite a rare combination.

If one wishes to equate the sectarian experience of the Yaḥad's members with a modern sect, turn to the Shakers who share many characteristics with the Yaḥad, although the Shakers were celibate (unlike the celibate Essenes, the Shakers consisted of men and women who lived separately) and I believe the Yaḥad included women and

⁶⁸ Alison Schofield, "Rereading 1QS: New Paradigms of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 *Serekh* Copies," *DSD* 15.1 (2008): 96–120; idem, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Cf. Metso, *Textual Development*.

⁶⁹ Charlotte Hempel, "The Literary Development of the S Tradition: A New Paradigm," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 389–401; idem, "Emerging Communal Life and Ideology in the S Tradition," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Fifth IOQS Meeting in Groningen Conference* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 43–61. See also Hempel's article in this volume, "1QS 6:2c–4a—Satellites or Precursors of the Yaḥad?", 31–40.

families.⁷⁰ I suggest that the atmosphere in the Yaḥad was of an isolated island of holiness and discipline, characterized by a closeness to God and morality, and a hope that soon all Israel would be one big happy Yaḥad. However, during this period of waiting and spiritual labor, the Yaḥad members abhorred everyone else. In a sense, the Yaḥad made their own ideal come true in a small-scale society. Their social and religious achievements, as documented in the scrolls, are an important chapter in the history and sociology of sectarianism.

⁷⁰ Regev, "Chercher les femmes: Were the *yaḥad* Celibates?" See Maxine L. Grossman, "Rethinking Gender in the *Community Rule*: An Experiment in Sociology," in this volume, 497–512.

THE PRE-HISTORY OF THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY
WITH A REASSESSMENT OF CD 1:5-11

JAMES C. VANDERKAM

The issue on which I will focus is the early or pre-history of the people associated with the scrolls. The thesis I will defend is that we know very little about their pre-history though we seem to be making some progress as we debate the proper interpretation of the sparse evidence regarding their origins.

There are texts that point to a larger group and some that point to a smaller group or groups. The best known work pointing to what appears to be a wider, more inclusive group is the *Damascus Document* which speaks of camps and provides for family life in its laws and stipulations. There is much in common between the *Damascus Document* (D) and Qumran codes such as the *Serekh* (S), though S seems to legislate for a different kind of community, one in which a more separated and non-familial life was apparently practiced. It makes sense to say that the D community was one with which the S community felt a kinship; some even think the early members of the S community had been a part of the D community but broke from it (see below). At any rate, copies of both works are found together in the Qumran caves.

When we ask about the time when the D community came into existence as an organized entity and the relation of the S community(ies) to it, we naturally turn (we have little choice) to the account left to us in CD 1.

1. CD 1 AND THE GRONINGEN HYPOTHESIS

Here D contains words about group origins, and it relates these origins to the Teacher of Righteousness. There have been attempts to determine whether he was a named individual known to us from another source, but we lack the information to identify him more closely. In the context in D, the Teacher is a contemporary of the Scoffer. We can learn from the text some of the characteristics attributed to each

of these figures, as seen from the perspective of the writer. A common view has been that the Scoffer/Liar is the leader/founder of the group we know as the Pharisees.¹

D in general, including CD 1, has played an important part in the Groningen Hypothesis that has received much attention in recent years. Florentino García Martínez summarizes the hypothesis as containing these elements:²

1. making a clear distinction between the origins of the Essene movement and those of the Qumran group;
2. placing the origins of the Essene movement in Palestine and specifically in the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition before the Antiochene crisis (end of third/ beginning of second century);
3. seeking the origins of the Qumran group in a split which occurred within the Essene movement in consequence of which the group loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness was finally to establish itself at Qumran;³
4. considering the designation Wicked Priest a generic one referring to five Hasmonean high priests and Alcimus in chronological order (from Judas to Alexander Jannaeus, the sixth and last of them);
5. highlighting the importance of the Qumran group's formative period before its retreat to the desert and making clear the ideological development, the halakhic elements, and the political conflicts that happened during this formative period and culminated in the break which led to the community's establishing itself at Qumran. The disputes centered on calendar and biblical prescriptions regard-

¹ It is likely that Liar and Scoffer are two names for the same detested individual. For one presentation of the evidence, see James C. VanderKam, "Those Who Look for Smooth Things, Pharisees, and Oral Law," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 465–77.

² Florentino García Martínez and Adam S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 56 (1990): 503–41, especially 536–41. For an earlier statement, see García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis," *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988): 113–36. There is also a summary in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera; Leiden: Brill, 1995), especially 86–96. See García Martínez's essay "Groningen Revisited" in this volume, 17–29.

³ For the idea that 4QMMT describes the split from other Essenes, see García Martínez and Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 92–93.

ing temple, cult, and purity. The Teacher of Righteousness's claims or those asserted for him made it impossible for others to remain with him and his followers. The Liar (an Essene leader) frustrated the Teacher's attempt to impose his views on all Essenes; the result was a split between followers of the Teacher and the rest of the Essene movement. The break with other Essenes became complete in John Hyrcanus's reign when Qumran was settled; John was the one who persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran.

I think that the first element in the Groningen Hypothesis—distinguishing between the origins of the Essene movement and those of the Qumran group—is on target. I see no compelling evidence for the third (Qumran origins are to be found in a split in the Essene movement). I strongly doubt the fourth (multiple Wicked Priests),⁴ and would formulate the fifth (the formative period and the claims about the Teacher) quite differently. Most of what follows has to do with the inter-related elements one, three, and five.

2. CD 1

A text that has figured significantly in attempts to reconstruct the history of the larger group of which the Qumranites were a part and perhaps of the Qumran community has been what we have traditionally regarded as the first column of the *Damascus Document*. Before examining a section of it in detail, we should recall the words of Louis Ginzberg:

The readers to whom the document addressed itself were exclusively initiates of the sect, who were no less conversant with the details of its own history than with the content of the Bible. It was therefore quite sufficient for this didactic purpose to make no more than vague allusions and veiled references when referring to incidents from the past. This esoteric mode of communication leaves us with almost insurmountable difficulties when we attempt to reconstruct the history of the origin of the sect from the elusive statement of the text. The very nature of the text has,

⁴ See Adam S. van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary," *JJS* 33 (1982): 349–59. For a critique of this implausible reading of the text, see Timothy H. Lim, "The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis," *JBL* 112 (1993): 415–25.

therefore, evoked numerous and mostly phantastic theories among the scholars who have dealt with the subject.⁵

2.1. *The Text*

The pericope in CD 1:5–11 on which I will focus and whose wording has been confirmed wherever possible by fragments of 4Q266, 268 (there are almost no variants other than ones of spelling)⁶ is unusual in that it breaks the familiar silence of the scrolls regarding founding events and surrounds them with chronological notices. There the writer calls on his audience to hear the dispute God has with all flesh and recites for them a summary of Israel's religious history. He mentions the unfaithfulness which led the deity to hide his face from Israel and his sanctuary and to deliver them to the sword. Following these actions, God remembered the covenant of the first ones and left a remnant, thus averting complete destruction of the people. The key text for our purposes, a very familiar one, follows:

And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit His land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way. And God observed their deeds, that they sought Him with a whole heart, and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. (CD 1:5–11 [Vermes]; a gap follows)⁷

All recognize that the number 390 recalls Ezek 4:5, 9, but acknowledging the scriptural source is only a small first step. Does it help in

⁵ Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moresheet Series 1; New York: Ktav, 1976), 257. But see also Albert I. Baumgarten, "Perception of the Past in the Damascus Document," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–5, especially 12–13. He acknowledges the sort of point made by Ginzberg but adds reasons for thinking there is a kind of historical interest on the part of the author who thought "he had cracked the code of history" (13).

⁶ 4Q266 2 i 10–15 and 4Q268 1, 9–17 preserve words and letters paralleling CD 1:5–11. 4Q266 2 i 13 lacks the word אֲנָשִׁים of CD 1:9 where it is marked for deletion, and בְּדֶרֶךְ לְבוֹ of CD 1:11 is written supralinearly in 4Q266 2 i 15. The number 390 is preserved in full in 4Q268 1, 13 For the Cave 4 texts, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

⁷ Translations of Qumran texts are from Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997).

providing us with a modestly secure peg in our attempt to locate the events that proved so significant for the writers and copyists of the scrolls?

2.2. *Interpretations*

There are, as it turns out, some difficult interpretive questions regarding the passage in the *Damascus Document* and the one from Ezekiel that is likely to have influenced it. We should look first at Ezekiel, noting, of course, what modern commentators have said about it, but especially what ancient ones saw there. We may then be in a more advantageous position to turn to CD 1:5–11.

2.2.1. *Ezekiel 4*

This section in Ezekiel is part of the instructions that the Lord, appearing in his glory as he had in chapter 1, gives to the prophet regarding some unusual and symbolic actions he was to perform (3:22–4:17, with the larger unit being 3:22–5:17). He was to be tied up in his house and unable to speak unless addressed by the Lord; also, he was to take a brick and inscribe on it a picture of a city that he was to surround with the equipment of ancient sieges.

Then lie on your left side, and place the punishment of the house of Israel upon it; you shall bear their punishment for the number of the days that you lie there. For I assign to you a number of days, three hundred ninety days, equal to the number of the years of their punishment; and so you shall bear the punishment of the house of Israel. When you have completed these, you shall lie down a second time, but on your right side, and bear the punishment of the house of Judah; forty days I assign you, one day for each year (4:4–6)⁸

In vv. 9–12 he receives orders about the food he will eat for the three hundred ninety days.

Modern interpreters⁹ find a complicated, layered text here. One clue to which appeal is often made is that elsewhere in Ezekiel “house of

⁸ Scriptural citations are from the NRSV.

⁹ I have consulted Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 121–26; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1–24* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 163–68; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* (IBC; Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1990), 34–37; and Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel Chapters 1–24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 174–81.

Israel” is synonymous with “Judah” and is not used to designate the former northern kingdom; in the present passage it appears to mean northern Israel, and the house of Judah is differentiated from it in v. 6 (note that the house of Judah and the number 40 do not appear in v. 9). The conclusion at times drawn is that 4:6 comes from a later hand: the person who added the reference to the 40 years introduced the “house of Judah” to force a reinterpretation of “house of Israel” in v. 4 and to indicate that Judah’s exile would be of shorter duration than that of Israel.¹⁰ However reasonable such conclusions may be, it is unlikely they were a concern for the author of the *Damascus Document*.

The salient question for our purposes has to do with the meaning of the numbers 390 and 40 in Ezek 4:4–6, 9. The first one—390—has inspired suggestions of varied kinds. The message depends in part on the meaning attached to the word נִיץ that figures frequently in these verses. The NRSV renders with *punishment* in every instance, as does the NJPS version. That is, of course, a valid suggestion, but a more likely sense for the word here is *iniquity*. The number 390, according to the commentators I have read, refers to the past in Ezekiel 4, that is, it defines the time during which Israel had committed iniquities. That seems likely, but one wonders why this particular number was chosen rather than, say, 490, or some other total endowed with a worthy symbolic pedigree. No one knows for sure, but it has been suggested that the period of the first temple is meant, or some such stretch of time.¹¹ Perhaps it is not to be regarded as chronologically precise in the sense that it would correspond with modern calculations of the chronology of the monarchic period.

One complication is that the LXX reads differently:

And you shall lie on your left side, and you shall place the injustices of the house of Israel upon it, in number, one hundred fifty days, during which you lie upon it, and you shall receive their injustices. And I have given to you their two injustices for a number of days, one hundred ninety days. And you shall take the injustices of the house of Israel, and you shall complete these things, and you shall lie on your right side and

¹⁰ See, for example, Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 167–68.

¹¹ Using the regnal numbers in the MT, the years of the southern kingdom (Judah) from the beginning of Rehoboam’s reign to the end of Zedekiah’s rule total 394.5 (the LXX has 400). If in an earlier form of Ezekiel 4 “house of Israel” did mean Judah, this could explain the number 390 which would be quite accurate. But in the present text it is attached to the house of Israel, not the house of Judah.

take the injustices of the house of Ioudas for forty days. A day for a year I have assigned you.” (190 is repeated in v. 9)¹²

The Hebrew version reflected in this ancient translation read 150 days in v. 4, and, with the 40 in v. 6, reached a sum of 190 rather than 390.

In both textual traditions, the 40 years are clearly attached to Judah. Most commentators agree that it, unlike the number 390, points to the future—to the time of exile. If so, the prophecy could hardly have been uttered after ca. 547/46 by which time the fortieth year since the destruction had arrived. If one adds 390 and 40, the total is 430, the length of time the Israelites were in Egypt according to one of the pentateuchal chronologies (see Exod 12:40–41). Perhaps the thought in Ezekiel is that, once these periods had reached their culmination, there would be a new exodus.

Targum Jonathan supplies some interesting notes regarding how to read Ezek 4:4–6, including the idea that the passage embodies the principle of two for one (presumably an interpretation of שני in v. 5).

Then lie upon your left side, and place upon it the sins of the House of Israel; according to the number of days that you lie upon it, you shall bear their guilt. I have imposed upon you two for one for their sins; according to the number of days, three hundred and ninety days you shall bear the sins of the House of Israel. And when you have completed these, you shall lie down a second time, on your right side, and you shall bear the sins of the House of Judah for forty days; one day for every year, one day for every year have I imposed them upon you.¹³

It may be that Isa 40:2 lies behind the unusual reference to “two for one”: “Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her that she has served her term, that her penalty is paid, that she has received from the Lord’s hand double for all her sins.” If the targum entails that the two-for-one principle applies to the 40 days as well, it would mean that a 20-year period led to the 40 days during which Ezekiel was to bear Judah’s guilt.

¹² The translation is that of J. Noel Hubler in Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹³ The translation is that of Samson H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel: Translated with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (ArBib 13; Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1987).

It is regularly noted in the commentaries and other studies that Num 14:33–34, part of the account of the spies, closely parallels the association of days and years in Ezekiel 4–40 in both cases—and also relates them to bearing iniquity: “And your children shall be shepherds in the wilderness for forty years, and shall suffer for your faithlessness, until the last of your dead bodies lies in the wilderness. According to the number of days in which you spied out the land, forty days, for every day a year, you shall bear your iniquity, forty years, and you shall know my displeasure.” Only after that time would the next generation enter the land (see v. 30). Actually, the equivalence works in a reverse direction here: days become years, rather than years becoming days as in Ezekiel.

Seder Olam, in dealing with numbers in Ezekiel, has this to say:

After seven days it was said to him (Ezek 4:4–5): “Lie on your left hand side and put the sin of the house of Israel onto it... And I shall give onto you the years of their sins by the number of days, 390 days...”; that proves that Israel were enraging the Holy One, Praised be He, 390 years from the time they entered the land until they left it. (Ezek 4:6): “When you will have finished these, lie a second time on your right hand side and carry the sin of the house of Judah for 40 days...”; this teaches that for forty years the house of Judah were enraging the Holy One, Praised be He, from the time the Ten Tribes were exiled to the destruction of Jerusalem, 430 years in all.¹⁴

Here both numbers are associated with the past. Guggenheimer says the 40 years “after the fall of Samaria is composed of the 22 years of Manasseh’s sin, 2 years of Amon, 11 years of Jehoiakim; the remaining 5 years must be of Zedekiah and date from the time that he broke his oath of loyalty to Nebuchadnezzar. Hence, it follows that Zedekiah must have rebelled in his sixth year. This is the basis of the remaining chronology in this chapter.”¹⁵

¹⁴ The translation is from Heinrich W. Guggenheimer, *Seder Olam: The Rabbinic View of Biblical Chronology* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1998), 223–24.

¹⁵ Guggenheimer, *Seder Olam*, 224. See also Chaim Joseph Milikowsky, “*Seder Olam: A Rabbinic Chronography*” (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, CT, 1981).

2.2.2. CD 1:5–11¹⁶

The number 390 was probably taken from Ezek 4:5, 9 by the writer of the *Damascus Document*. He does not make his borrowing explicit with a citation formula, but it is the only time the number is used in biblical chronology. In whatever way one sorts out the meaning of Ezek 4:5, 9, the writer of the *Damascus Document* reads the passage in his own way, presumably not constrained by the exegetical techniques in vogue today. He takes the 390 years as a reference to a time span—not preceding the days of Nebuchadnezzar, but beginning from the time God delivered Jerusalem and the temple into his hand. That seems the most likely way in which to read לְתִיתוֹ in context.¹⁷ The writer does not connect the 390 years with the northern kingdom but applies it to all Israel (as modern commentators understand the original text of Ezekiel 4 to have done). The stretch of time forward from the delivery into Nebuchadnezzar's hand ends with God's visiting (in a positive sense it seems from the context)¹⁸ his people and causing a root of planting to sprout. The 390 years (not days) specify what is meant by the period of wrath, the time when God was punishing the remnant—those of his people who survived the destruction and their descendants. The 20 years between the sprouting of the root of planting and God's raising the Teacher are not explained from Ezekiel 4 where the number does not occur; conversely, CD 1 does not explicitly use the 40 years mentioned in Ezek 4:6.

¹⁶ Jonathan G. Campbell has supplied a full survey of the scriptural passages reflected in the section; see Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 51–67.

¹⁷ See the examples gathered by Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 119 n. 33. Isaac Rabinowitz (“A Reconsideration of ‘Damascus’ and ‘390 Years’ in the ‘Damascus’ [‘Zadokite’] Fragments,” *JBL* 73 [1954]: 11–35, esp. 14 n. 8) argued that it could not mean “after his giving” and maintained the period ended with God's handing over the people to Nebuchadnezzar. Ephraim J. Wiesenberg (“Chronological Data in the Zadokite Fragments,” *VT* 5 [1955]: 284–308, esp. 285–92) also held that the expression meant “when...,” although he interpreted it differently than Rabinowitz did and also indicated there were some cases in which the preposition *lamed* could mean “after.”

¹⁸ It is difficult to accept the suggestion that פְּקֻדָּה has a negative sense here, however it is used elsewhere. Philip Davies (*The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”* [JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT, 1983], 65) thinks the negative meaning is preferred, but what is the punishment in the sequel? It seems as if God, after a lengthy period of wrath, is blessing the remnant of his people with the root plant rather than punishing them.

There have been various suggestions about the numbers 390 and 20 in CD 1. Schechter, who noted that the number 390 derived from Ezek 4:5, 9, thought one should emend to 490, the number found in Dan 9:2, 24.¹⁹ No one, I believe, has adopted his emendation, but his general approach has been influential—associating the number 390 with other chronologies for the time from the destruction to the author’s present. There are the familiar ones in Dan 9:24–27, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, and the *Animal Apocalypse*; they have now been joined by texts such as 4Q390. 4Q390 1, 7b–10 very closely parallels the wording of CD 1:5–11, though the number of years mentioned in the context is seven jubilees or 343 years.²⁰

Ginzberg took a different stance. He thought the numbers in CD 1 had nothing to do with the history of the unknown sect he found depicted in the text. Rather, the admonition presents “a summary survey of the history of Israel and Judah up to the restoration of the Torah in the days of Josiah.”²¹ The number 390 indicates “more specifically the lapse of time between the destruction of Samaria and of Jerusalem.”²² He also accounted for the twenty years of uncertainty by claiming they stood for the twenty kings who ruled from Saul to Josiah or the twenty from Jeroboam I to Hoshea (he compared *As. Mos. 2:5* for an example of connecting kings with the number 20). The Teacher, who arose in Josiah’s time, was the high priest of his day. Ginzberg thought a scholiast had interpolated the phrase “after He had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon” to give the impression the text dealt with sectarian history. In effect, he thereby admitted that the text as it now stands did make the time period apply to the group, not to Israel’s past, but he dismissed it as an addition (he

¹⁹ Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. 1: *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Prolegomenon by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S. J.; New York: Ktav, 1970 [original 1910]), XXXI (63).

²⁰ Devorah Dimant, *Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 238–44; Abegg, “Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 120. See also Dimant, “The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9, 24–27) in the Light of New Qumranic Texts,” in *The Book of Daniel, in the Light of New Findings* (ed. Adam S. van der Woude; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 57–76.

²¹ Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 258; cf. also 209–11, 260. For similar views, see Rabinowitz, “A Reconsideration,” 14 n. 8, 33–34; Wiesenberg, “Chronological Data,” 297–99 (who do not agree among themselves).

²² Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 259; oddly, the LXX reading of Ezek 4:5, 9 would fit the period more accurately, though Ginzberg rejected it.

thought that the form שנים, for him impossible in the context, was a clue pointing to an addition here).²³

Ginzberg's suspicions about the Nebuchadnezzar phrase have been echoed by some contemporary scholars who have the advantage of being able to use the copies of D found in the Qumran caves. None of the copies justifies excising the phrase, but the firm attestation it enjoys has not hindered experts from dismissing it, though their grounds are different than Ginzberg's. Several have maintained that the admonition is written in poetry and that the Nebuchadnezzar phrase (with the 390 years) and also the one involving 20 years are extra-metrical.²⁴ The original text would then have read only that in a period of wrath God visited them and caused a root to grow from Israel.²⁵ They realized they were guilty and groped for the way like blind people until God took note and raised up a Teacher of Righteousness for them. Such exercises, besides having little effect on the meaning of the passage, are dubious because they rest upon an understanding of what appropriate metrical qualities were in a text of this sort. There are balanced phrases and clauses in this part of the Admonition, but there seems to have been a great deal of poetic freedom as texts such as the *Hodayot* show.²⁶

²³ Ibid., 258–60.

²⁴ See Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 151–66 (his translation, is on pp. 151–52); Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 61–64; Mark Boyce, "The Poetry of the Damascus Document," *RevQ* 56 (1990): 615–28 (see p. 616 for his methods for assessing the poetry, all of which he recognizes as having problems). For an argument against removing וּמִמֶּנִּי in 1:3 on metrical grounds, see Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document*, 60–61. Rabinowitz ("A Reconsideration," 13–14) dismissed the Babylon passage as a gloss but not because it is extra-metrical.

²⁵ See, for example, Boyce, "The Poetry," 619.

²⁶ Michael A. Knibb (*The Qumran Community* [Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 20) wrote about this position: "This view may be right, but if so, the inserted words must be regarded as an early reworking of the passage which was intended to provide a fuller picture of the origins of the community. The theological pattern would remain the same without the words in question because the exilic context is already given in lines 3-4a; the only difference would be that there would be no indication at all of the date of origins of the Essene movement." Regarding meter in the *Hodayot*, note the comment of Svend Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 14: he notes there are parallel parts but that there are sometimes two, at other times three of them. "Now, while this can be observed more or less clearly, it is far more difficult to decide the length of the individual parts; if one takes the parallelism exclusively to be the basis of comparison, one finds a great many parts which are very short, not infrequently only two words,

Another proposal has been to regard parts of the passage as evidence of a Qumran redaction of D. Philip Davies maintains that the most important Qumran revision has taken place precisely in CD 1:1–2:1. “Here an original *Heilsgeschichte* contained in a *rib*-discourse has been distorted by means of chronological and other insertions. The birth of the saved community is now placed not in the Exile, but 390 years after, it is not the original remnant which is saved, but a ‘root for planting’; and the creation of this saved community is attributed to a figure called the ‘Teacher of Righteousness.’ The wickedness of pre-exilic Israel which brought about the divine punishment, desolation of the land, now becomes a more recent phenomenon, and is seen as a wickedness prevalent in the time of the Teacher, and instigated by an individual called the ‘Man of Scoffing’...”²⁷ In the absence of any hard evidence for his reconstruction, there seems to be no reason for accepting it. In particular, it is difficult to see how the statement “[t]he birth of the saved community is now placed not in the Exile, but 390 years after” is justified from the text.

The pre-Qumran studies advanced views that continue to find support, though the discoveries have introduced new factors along with some controls. H. H. Rowley gave early expression to an appealing and oft-repeated thesis: the number 390 should not be understood as a precise chronological statement. “If, then, he [the author of CD 1] was schematically reinterpreting a figure which he had found in the book of Ezekiel, we ought not to rely on this for accurate chronology, and though I think it was in this case a close approximation to fact, we should rely on other considerations and not on this to establish it.”²⁸ Rowley, who thought the Wicked Priest was Menelaus, the Teacher of Righteousness Onias III, and the Scoffer Antiochus IV,²⁹ believed the number 20 should be assessed differently: it does not arise from another text and is not schematically reinterpreted; it was closer to the author’s time and may be factual.³⁰

and others which are disproportionately long.” A few lines later he adds: “...it seems to me extremely doubtful whether it is possible to execute a uniform metrical system for these poems;...”

²⁷ Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 199.

²⁸ H. H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: MacMillan, 1955 [first published 1952]), 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 67–70.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

A number of writers have defended a larger chronological reconstruction involving the figures 390 and 20 and more, and their views have been echoed by later experts.³¹ If one adds 390 and 20, the sum is 410. CD 20:15 speaks of approximately 40 years after the Teacher's death as a time for eliminating certain opponents; if one then adds these 40 to the previous total, we reach 450. Now if we assume the Teacher's career lasted a good, Mosaic 40 years, we arrive at 490, just as Schechter had proposed although in a different way.

G. Jeremias objected to this reconstruction. He noted that the numeral 40 of CD 20:15 derives from Deut 2:14 (38 is the number there but it is to be added to the two years of the wilderness wandering to that point); apparently he meant that it would therefore have the same status as 390, another number taken from a scriptural passage, and, more importantly, that the figure of 40 years for the Teacher's career is invented.³² On a positive note, Jeremias cited some sources already adduced by Schechter. Besides *Seder Olam* and *Seder Olam Rabbah*, he quoted *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* 8 which explains Ezekiel's numbers in this way: the combined $390 + 20 = 410$ gives the number of years God resided in the first temple. In all but 20 of them the kings of Israel and Judah were idolatrous.³³ Jeremias thought the 20 years pointed to the time of Josiah's reform (which in Chronicles begins in his twelfth year; he ruled 31 years). This measure-for-measure approach holds that Israel sinned for 390 years and therefore was punished 390 years. If Israel served God 20 years, she was blessed 20 years:

Es ist doch recht wahrscheinlich, dass diese Tradition hinter unserer Schrift steht. Wenn das richtig ist, dann ergibt sich, a) dass die Gemeinde der Meinung war, dass mit ihrer Existenz Gott manifestiert, dass die Zeit der Strafe vorbei ist. Gottes Zuwendung zu seinem Volk wird sichtbar in der Entstehung der Gemeinde; ferner b) erweist es sich, dass die 20 Jahre mit dem 390 Jahren zusammen eine Einheit bilden. Sie entsprechen die Treuezeit im ersten Tempel. Erst nach diesen 20 Jahren beginnt etwas neues mit dem Auftreten des Lehrers.³⁴

³¹ For references to the first commentators on the scrolls who adopted this chronology, see Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 157–58.

³² *Ibid.*, 158.

³³ The passage reads: "410 years God abode in the First Temple; for all but 20 years, the kings of Israel and the kings of Judah worshiped idols" (Ginzberg's translation, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 259 n. 5).

³⁴ Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, 159. Wiesenberg ("Chronological Data," 297) refers to *t. Zeb.* 13.6 (and parallels) which says the first temple stood for 410 years, although the regnal years from Solomon's fourth (when he began building the temple)

He further asserted that the time of wrath, the handing over to the sword, now finished, was the period of persecutions ordered by Antiochus IV (with references to 1–2 Maccabees). The 20 years belong to the 390, and may constitute a historical reminiscence. He observes that the text speaks of a root of planting after 390 years; only 20 years later does the plant itself—the community—grow with the appearance of the Teacher. Here for Jeremias the Hasidim mentioned in 1 Maccabees came into play. The Hasidim were the root out of which the Essene community (the plant) arose. As a result, he maintained, the text supports the dating of the Teacher to ± 150 B.C.E.³⁵

There have been several suggestions put forth regarding the 20 years;³⁶ they include: it is a chronologically accurate number (but when those years fell is debatable); it refers to a half generation, and others. One could say it is related to the 40 years in Ezek 4:6 but that seems difficult. Perhaps it is not entirely out of line to suggest it is the equivalent for the community of the 20 years a male must reach to join the holy congregation (see 1QS_a 1:8–11). What happens during those 20 years (“like blind men groping for the way”) is scripturally motivated, as many have observed. The confession by people whose iniquities have caused God to hide his face in Isaiah 59 (see v. 2) is especially similar (“We grope like the blind along a wall,/ groping like those who have no eyes;/ we stumble at noon as in the twilight,/ among the vigorous as though we were dead” [cf. Deut 28:29]). It is interesting, in view of the reference to the Teacher of Righteousness who comes at the end of the 20-year period,³⁷ that the preceding verse (Isa 59:9) includes the people’s lament that “justice is far from us,/ and righteousness does not reach us.”

We should also mention what may be the usual approach these days to the numbers 390 and 20: though they are not to be taken literally, they do bring the origin of the group to ca. 196 and the rise of the

to Zedekiah’s eleventh year total 430. A 20-year gap remains. See also *b. Yoma* 9a (first sanctuary stood 410 years with 18 high priests, the second 420 with more than 300 high priests); *y. Meg.* 72d.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 159–61.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, 156–62 for a survey of some of these proposals.

³⁷ Ben Zion Wacholder (*The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* [HUCM 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983], 105–10), basing himself on parallels in 2:2–13, 2:14–4:12, claims the Teacher arose before the 20 years, but it is difficult to see how this could be the meaning of the sequence in col. 1.

Teacher to ca. 176, not far from what may be historically accurate (with our understanding of exilic and post-exilic chronology assumed).³⁸

Summarizing the analysis of elements in CD 1:5–11, we may make these observations. First, it is difficult to deny that redaction has occurred in the *Damascus Document*, as the medieval copies show and a comparison of those copies with the Qumran manuscripts of D indicates. But that the numbers 390 and 20 along with the reference to the Teacher of Righteousness in CD 1:5–11 are additions to an earlier form of the text has no manuscript support and no compelling arguments behind it. Second, the 390 years in CD 1:5–6 refer to the period when God was judging the remnant of his people, the age of wrath after he had given them to Nebuchadnezzar. The number is scripturally motivated and, as in Ezek 4:5, 9, it covers a long time though not necessarily 390 years. At least it was a longer time than the following period of 20 years. Third, the 20-year period in which the people symbolized by the root plant were unsuccessfully looking for the way, though the image of blind fumbling is also scripturally influenced, does not appear to arise from a scriptural source, unless it represents some no longer understood interpretation of the 40 years in Ezek 4:6. That, however, seems unlikely, since the period in Ezekiel is one of punishment, while it follows the end of the era of wrath in CD 1. It may be an accurate chronological statement or it may have some other value.

An important result of this study is that, in the only form of the text we have, the *Damascus Document* locates the community in the long history of the covenant people and traces the decisive moment in its formation to the Teacher of Righteousness. The D community is the community given definite direction by the Teacher. That Teacher (and there is no reason to think there was a series of them) was also admired by the Qumran community or communities, as we know from the pesharim. We have documentary evidence he was the leader of the D community. Was he also the founding leader of the community that used the site of Qumran?

³⁸ Antti Laato, "The Chronology of the Damascus Document of Qumran," *RevQ* 60 (1992): 605–607. He thinks its chronology closely resembles the one in Demetrius the Chronographer. Wacholder (*The Dawn of Qumran*, 176–81) finds the chronology to be accurate and thinks the Teacher came on the scene ca. 196 B.C.E.

3. THE SCHISM CLAIMED BY THE GRONINGEN HYPOTHESIS

The Groningen Hypothesis holds that a split in the Essene movement (the D community) revolving around the claims made by and for the Teacher took place, with the group that remained loyal to the Teacher then making their way to a separate existence at Qumran. Is this a likely explanation of the evidence?

Along with a number of others, I do not think there is a sufficient indication in any text that such a split occurred. The Teacher was involved in at least one dispute; several texts indicate that this was the case. The particular issue is whether that dispute was with someone within his own group (the D community) or someone outside that group. The Groningen Hypothesis, as we have seen, argues it was the former—someone within his own group.

To establish this proposition, García Martínez refers to passages in the *Damascus Document* (1:14–2.1; 20:15) and *Pesher Habakkuk* (2:1–3; 5:9–12). 1QpHab 2:1–3 explains Hab 1:5 which in the Pesher version read בַּגְדִים and not בַּגִּים as in MT: “[Interpreted this concerns] those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they [did] not [listen to the word received by] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New [Covenant]....” Nothing follows from these lines regarding whether the Teacher and Liar were part of the same community, only that the Liar and his crowd were the traitors of the scriptural lemma. The commentator simply says a leader and his followers, whoever they were, opposed the Teacher’s words, obviously believing he had not received them from God.

The passage in col. 5 of *Pesher Habakkuk* seems especially important to García Martínez. 1QpHab 5:9–12 (regarding Hab 1:13b which mentions traitors who are silent when the wicked swallows someone more righteous) reads: “Interpreted, this concerns the House of Absalom and the members of its council who were silent at the time of the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of their whole [congregation].” García Martínez has highlighted the plural suffix on the noun עֲצָתָם or עֲדָתָם in 5:12.³⁹ “And the suffix refers to the nearest

³⁹ Maurya P. Horgan (*Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* [CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: CBA of America, 1979], 34) correctly indicates that עֲצָתָם is the

antecedents, the Teacher of Righteousness and the Man of Lies. They were thus both members of an entity (the ‘House of Absalom’ in the terminology of the pesher) in which the dispute took place.”⁴⁰ That both men belonged to the House of Absalom is an unlikely inference to draw from the passage. As for the plural suffix, it seems that it refers to the members of the council of the House of Absalom around whose misdeeds the statement revolves. At any rate, the suffix is a weak peg on which to hang an important element in a hypothesis.⁴¹

The passages from the *Damascus Document* are CD 1:14–2:1 and CD 20:15.

CD 1:14–2:1:

...when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the water of lies. He caused them to wander in a pathless wilderness, laying low the everlasting heights, abolishing the ways of righteousness and removing the boundary with which the forefathers had marked out their inheritance, that he might call down on them the curses of His Covenant and deliver them up to the avenging sword of the Covenant.....And the anger of God was kindled against their congregation so that He ravaged all their multitude; and their deeds were defilement before Him.

Here the congregation associated with the Scoffer receives God’s wrath. It could refer to Israel; nothing suggests it is a community in which he and the Teacher were members.

CD 20:15: “From the day of the ingathering of the Teacher of the Community until the end of all the men of war who deserted to the Liar there shall pass about forty years.”

Mark Elliott has made a good case that the military language of the passage fits poorly with the Groningen Hypothesis which would have to posit that the men of war were other Essenes who chose not to follow the Teacher—a point acknowledged by García Martínez.⁴²

preferred reading in 5:12. Vermes’s brackets indicate the uncertainty of the reading but עֲדָתָם is less likely. García Martínez read the former in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, the latter in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.

⁴⁰ García Martínez, “Response: The Groningen Hypothesis Revisited,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 313.

⁴¹ The flaw in the argument about the referents of the suffix was pointed out by Mark A. Elliott, “Sealing Some Cracks in the Groningen Foundation,” *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 263–72 (especially 263–68).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 264–68. García Martínez acknowledged the point (“Response,” 313).

These passages indicate that a community was associated with this Liar or Scoffer, but none of them offers evidence that he and the Teacher were once part of the same community that was not coterminous with Israel. The thesis regarding a split in the Essene order involving the Teacher's claims consequently is not sustained by the evidence.

The part of the Admonition found in CD 1 presents the inception of its community followed by the appearance of the Teacher. In other words, the Teacher became the leader of the D community. As one learns later in the text, one is to listen to his voice and follow his instructions. I doubt we learn much chronologically about these events from col. 1, but we do learn that the Teacher is the guide for the kind of community described in D. That leaves open what his relationship to the community using the Qumran site might have been. If Jonathan was the Wicked Priest and if Magness's dating of the first sectarian occupation of Qumran is correct, then it is unlikely the Teacher was still alive when a group of his followers went to Qumran.⁴³ He was clearly admired there, even if he was by that time a figure of the past. It seems to me unlikely that there was a split from the D community around the claims regarding the Teacher or the Teacher's claims for himself. It is a better reading of the evidence to say that the D community and the group or groups around Qumran were parts of the same movement and that they may well have been on friendly terms. Qumran was a subset of the community described in D, one that became associated with the site of Qumran for reasons that did not include a break with the D community.⁴⁴ We know that the Teacher was decisive for the D community, but we do not know whether he was ever a part of the one at Qumran.

⁴³ See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

⁴⁴ See John J. Collins, "Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Essenes," in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 347–48.

2. THE QUMRAN LIBRARY: ORIGINS, USE, AND NATURE

2a. SCRIPTURAL TEXTS

THE ELOHISTIC PSALTER AND THE WRITING OF DIVINE NAMES AT QUMRAN

JONATHAN BEN-DOV

1. INTRODUCTION

The biography of God in the Hebrew Bible unfolds as a story of gradual distancing. The same God that in the book of Genesis descended to the garden and exclaimed “Where art Thou,” is significantly veiled in the latter books of Bible. According to the historical consciousness of biblical authors, while the Patriarchs conversed with God face to face, Moses was the last person who reached this level of communication (Num 7:89, 12:8, Deut 34:10). The divergent names and epithets for the Divine employed in various books of the Bible also attest to different levels of intimacy between God and his discussants. According to some authors, it was to Moses that God first revealed himself by his private name YHWH (Exod 3:13–15, 6:2–3).¹ This name is used throughout most of the Hebrew bible, as for example in the prayer of the sailors in Jonah 1:14. It is sometimes accompanied by epithets, as in the prayer of Hannah: “YHWH Saba’ot, if You will look upon the suffering of Your maidservant” (1 Sam 1:11).² However, already in biblical times a tendency emerged—most notably in late biblical books—to avoid the Tetragram and replace it with epithets: אֱלֹהִים, אֵל, אֲדֹנָי etc.

¹ Other Pentateuchal authors acknowledged the use of the name YHWH already in Patriarchal times, e.g., Gen 28:13.

² In the Septuagint for 1 Sam 1:11, God is presented with the curious title Ἀδωναι κύριε ἐλωαι σαβαωθ. The longer title employed in LXX calls for explanation, as does the fact that the translator chose to transliterate the name rather than render it into standard Greek titles as is common in LXX; cp. Zipora Talshir, “The Representation of the Divine Epithet SABAOth in the Septuagint and the Accepted Division of the Books of Kingdoms,” *JQR* 78 (1987): 57–75. In the new French edition of the Septuagint, Michel Lestienne suggested that a grandiose title for God is employed here to mark a festive beginning for the first prayer in the book of Reigns: Bernard Grillet and Michel Lestienne, *Premier livre des Règnes* (La Bible d’Alexandrie IX,1; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 131. It should be noted that other divine names in Samuel are represented in a longer form in LXX than in MT: 1 Sam 1:3, 20, 17:45.

Such epithets serve to relieve the intensive relationship between Man and his God. This tendency may have been motivated by an exegetical extrapolation of the third commandment: **לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת שֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׁוּא**, “You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the Lord your God” (Exod 20:7, NRSV), or of the statute in Lev 24:16 “If he also pronounces the name Lord, he shall be put to death”.³ The process of distancing oneself from the Godhead intensified in the post-biblical period, with the coining in rabbinic literature of such Divine epithets as **הַמְקוֹם** (the Place), **הַשְּׂכִינָה** (the Presence), **הַקְדוּשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא** (the Holy, Blessed be He), or of surnames used in apocalyptic literature like **מְרָא עֲלְמָא** (Master of the world).

Distancing oneself from God was grounded in the awe experienced when facing the Divine. While God is surely the source of salvation, at the same time He is a terrifying figure who brings calamity upon the bystanders. This tension was skillfully depicted by Rudolph Otto, in his seminal book about the numinous personality of God.⁴ Its ramifications in Jewish practice were first explored by Abraham Geiger, a religious reform leader and a scholar of Judaism, in 1857.⁵ Geiger, who studied what he termed “the early Halakhah,” claimed that the Sadducees avoided the employment of the Tetragram while the Pharisees did not consider it a problem.⁶ This opinion found support in Saul Liebermann’s famous study on echoes of Second Temple sectarian

³ The prohibition in Lev 24:16 was understood already in an early period as relating to the very mentioning of the Tetragram, not only to its being invoked in a curse: thus already in the Septuagint and Philo (*Moses* 2.206). See Martin Rösel, *Adonaj-warum Gott “Herr” genannt wird* (FAT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 4. Simeon Chavel claimed recently that this type of exegesis for Lev 24:16 is in fact not remote from the original meaning of the verse, if one interprets vv. 15 and 16 separately rather than as a unified statement. See Simeon Chavel “Law and Narrative in Four Oracular Novellae in the Pentateuch: Lev 24:10–23; Num 9:1–14; 15:32–36; 27:1–11” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), 43–56.

⁴ Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational* (trans. John W. Harvey; London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

⁵ Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judentums* (Breslau: Heinauer, 1857), 259–99. The book was published in Hebrew in 1949. Changes in the names of God attracted enormous attention in early stages of biblical criticism. Most early studies were summarized by Friedrich Baumgärtel, *Elohim ausserhalb des Pentateuch. Grundlegung zu einer Untersuchung über die Gottesnamen im Pentateuch* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914).

⁶ The restrictions on the use of the Tetragram preserved in rabbinic literature, says Geiger, belong to a later period, after 70 C.E., when the sectarian polemic has calmed down (Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, 265–66).

practices in rabbinic literature.⁷ Liebermann suggested that the Rabbis responded in a variety of ways to the stringent halakhic rulings of the sectaries, the distancing of the Tetragram being a central example.

In the present paper we shall explore the above mentioned “Sadducean” rulings and shall suggest some early hints for similar ideology and practice.

One should distinguish the use of Elohim as a Divine name in the early sources of the Pentateuch from its use in late- and post-biblical literature. While Elohim in the Pentateuch is used in primary compositions, i.e., in texts whose authors had some theological preference for using the name Elohim, the examples discussed in the present article are taken mostly from “secondary” literature, i.e., literature which copies earlier compositions while replacing YHWH by Elohim. This is the situation, for example, in the book of Chronicles, in the Elohistc Psalter (= EP), and in a group of scrolls—primarily non-sectarian—from Qumran. We therefore distinguish the employment of Elohim in authorship from its use in redaction.⁸

Each of the two phenomena discussed here—the composition of the Psalter and scribal practice in the Dead Sea Scrolls—was intensively studied in recent years, with considerable advance achieved.⁹ The suggestion to tie the two phenomena together is by no means trivial. While the former phenomenon is rather early, finding its expression in

⁷ Saul Liebermann, “Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources,” *Texts and Studies* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 190–99.

⁸ The act of “redaction” is sometimes conceived as the work of “scribes,” while “authorship” is considered to be the work of “authors.” The distinction, however, is not entirely clear, since one could often find a later “scribe” performing the tasks that are usually associated with an early “author.” On the various activities of scribes see recently Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 109–41.

⁹ For the Elohistc Psalter see Christoph Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion des Psalters. Studien zu Entstehung und Theologie der Sammlung Psalm 2–89** (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1999), 21–38; Laura Joffe, “The Elohistc Psalter: What, How and Why?” *SJOT* 15 (2001): 142–69; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, “The So-Called Elohistc Psalter: A New Solution for an Old Problem,” in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* (ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 35–51; idem, *Psalms 2. A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2005), 4–5. For the writing of Divine names at Qumran see the comprehensive discussion by Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 218–21, 238–46.

all known textual witnesses of the Psalter, the latter is represented only in a limited group of scrolls, most of them dated to the first century B.C.E. However, there are grounds to interconnect the two phenomena when they are properly clarified.

It is suggested here that the practices for avoiding the Tetragram began not only in the Hasmonean era, as is commonly thought, but in a significantly earlier time during the Persian period. We shall also propose a glimpse into the ideology underlying the above mentioned practices.

2. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Most Hebrew witnesses of the biblical text do not attest to any problem with the writing of the Tetragram.¹⁰ Indeed, the Tetragram is the standard appellation for God throughout most of the Bible. Some passages and books of the Hebrew Bible do show some variety in the naming of God. This is seen mainly in “secondary” writings like the

¹⁰ The situation is different in Greek versions of the Bible, where a variety of substitutions for the Tetragram was employed already in the earliest manuscripts. See discussion and images in Robert Kraft’s website: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/jewishpap.html#tetragram>, or in the online article by De Troyer, “The Names of God, Their Pronunciation and Their Translation: A Digital Tour of Some of the Main Witnesses,” *Lectio Difficilior. Internet Journal* 2 (2005). As the practices in the Old Greek translation are difficult to detect, a great amount of scholarly effort was put into this yet unsettled question. Albert Pietersma and Martin Rösel claimed that early translators already made use of the title *kyrios*: Albert Pietersma “Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original LXX,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox; Mississauga, Ontario: Benben Publications, 1984), 85–101; Martin Rösel, “The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch,” *JSOT* 31 (2007): 411–28. Emanuel Tov, in contrast, claimed that the early translators employed various transliterations of the Tetragram, in paleo-Hebrew or square Hebrew letters, in the Greek letters ΙΑΩ, or in some other derivatives of these transcriptions: Emanuel Tov, “Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture,” in *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert et al.; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2001), 125–48. De Troyer, “The Names of God” (p. 5), suggests rather tersely that the word *theos* was a widespread designation for YHWH in early manuscripts of the Septuagint. This intriguing suggestion must be scrutinized, and if found to be viable it would support the argument of the present paper.

passages in Chronicles which depend on a parallel in Samuel-Kings, or in editorial notes within the prophetic literature. It is also discerned to some extent in the *Sondergut* of Chronicles.¹¹ We shall see, however, that the treatment of the Tetragram in these cases is not as radical as in the Elohist Psalter.

The treatment of the Tetragram in the Bible text can be divided between a minimizing tendency and an expansive one. While the former tendency chose to avoid the name YHWH by replacing it with epithets or rather excising it completely, followers of the latter tendency chose to augment the Divine name, yielding compound appellations such as יהוה אלהים צבאות (e.g., in Ps 80:5). Although the two tendencies acted independently, in some cases a scroll that was copied by a scribe of the first group ended up in the hands of a different scribe who followed different habits. In such a case some perplexing results were created.

The book of Chronicles attests to a certain preference for avoiding the Tetragram. In a single example from Chr the tendency is patently clear: ויעשו יושבי ירושלים כברית אלהים אלהי אבותיהם (2Chr 34:32). The strange construct אלהים אלהי אבותיהם is highly reminiscent of similarly awkward constructs in the Elohist Psalter. e.g. Ps 50:7, to be discussed below.¹² Furthermore, in many cases Chr employs the name אלהים as opposed to the Tetragram used in the parallel place in Samuel-Kings.¹³ This tendency is made clear by the following examples. However, it will be shown below that the motivation for the change is not the same in all of the cases:

¹¹ The present article will not discuss the Divine name in wisdom literature. In the book of Qohelet, Elohim is the standard name, while in Proverbs—even in its latest parts—the name YHWH is rather frequent. In the book of Job YHWH is extremely rare, since the author wishes to depict Job and his friends as non-Jewish sages of great antiquity, who invoke such titles as אלוה, אל, or שדי.

¹² See Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), 36 n.86.

¹³ Baumgärtel, *Elohim ausserhalb des Pentateuch*, 70, counted 32 such examples.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|---|
| 1) 1 Kgs 7:40 MT | בית יהוה | 2 Chr 4:11 MT | בית האלוהים (= LXX) |
| 2) 2 Sam 24:10 MT | ויאמר דוד אל-יהוה | 1 Chr 21:8 MT | ויאמר דויד אל-האלהים (= LXX) |
| 3) 2 Sam 23:17 MT | חלילה לי יהוה | 1 Chr 11:19 MT | חלילה לי מאלהי (LXX אלהי) |
| 4) 2 Sam 7:27 MT | | | כי אתה יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל גלית את און עבדך |
| 1 Chr 17:25 MT | | | כי אתה אלהי גלית את און עבדך |
| LXX | | | כי אתה יהוה גלית את און עבדך |
| 5) 1 Kgs 12:15 MT | | | היתה סבה מעם יהוה למען הקים את דברו |
| 2 Chr 10:15 MT | | | (= LXX) היתה נסבה מעם האלהים למען הקים יהוה את דברו |

The examples do not attest to a consistent habit of avoiding the name YHWH on theological grounds. The Tetragram is used in Chronicles over four hundred times, and is thus clearly the standard Divine name in the book. Even the cases where Elohim was preferred can often be explained as the product of literary constraints or stylistic preferences, rather than as a theological correction. Thus in example 1 above, the phrase **בית (ה)אלהים** is a fixed phrase which appears thirty times in Chronicles (plus one more occurrence of the conflated form **בית יהוה האלהים**, 1 Chr 22:1) and therefore does not prove that **אלהים** was a preferred title for God.¹⁴ Baumgärtel pointed out, for example, the sequence of 2 Chr 5:2–14, in which God is mentioned eight times, all as YHWH, with only one exception in the fixed phrase **בית אלהים** (v. 14).

Example 4 is equally interesting. While **אלהים** does appear four times in 1 Chr 17 as a Divine name (vv. 2, 3, 17, 25), the name YHWH is freely invoked in the rest of the chapter (vv. 4, 7, 10, 16, 17b, 19 et al.). Similarly in example 5, while **אלהים** replaces the Tetragram at the beginning of the verse, that very name appears in the last part of the verse, where it was purposefully put by the Chronicler, as this name does not appear in the parallel place in Samuel-Kings. In sum, Chronicles does not constitute a good example for a theologically motivated tendency to avoid the name YHWH, but is rather the product of

¹⁴ In 12 cases the phrase **בית יהוה** from Samuel-Kings was replaced with **בית אלהים** in Chronicles (2 Chr 4:11,19; 5:1b,14; 7:5; 15:18; 22:12; 23:3,9; 25:24; 33:7; 34:9. See Baumgärtel, *Elohim ausserhalb des Pentateuch*, 70). In these cases the use of Elohim is appellative rather than a private name.

various stylistic preferences of the author.¹⁵ These preferences were meticulously described by Baumgärtel.¹⁶

A better example may be sought in textual witnesses for the book of Samuel. Donald Parry compared the use of the Divine name in MT, LXX and 4QSam^a, and concluded (albeit with some reservations) that MT Samuel is inclined to substitute אֱלֹהִים for YHWH.¹⁷ This tendency fits the general character of MT Samuel, which is replete with theological corrections.¹⁸

Hand in hand with the minimizing tendency described here, The Hebrew Bible also attests to a diametrically opposed expansive tendency. Thus, there is an unmistakable tendency in prophetic writings like the book of Amos to expand the Divine name, especially in connection with the epithet Sabaoth.¹⁹ This phenomenon is discerned mainly in such formulaic cases as the messenger formulas

¹⁵ Japhet has claimed that in certain cases the choice of Elohim instead of YHWH appears only in the MT of Chronicles, while LXX reads *kyrios*, reflecting the name YHWH, as in Samuel-Kings (Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 37, n. 87). She therefore suggested: "...that the transition in Chronicles from 'YHWH' to 'Elohim' was, first and foremost, the result of the process of manuscript transmission and not the work of the actual author of the book. The translators of the Septuagint used a Hebrew text in which 'Elohim' appeared less frequently than in the Masoretic Text, and it seems likely that the change-over to 'Elohim' in the manuscripts of Samuel-Kings and of Chronicles occurred over an extended period of time." This far-reaching suggestion should be limited, however, since in some of Japhet's examples the Septuagint in Rahlfs edition in fact reads *theos*, not *kyrios*, and is thus identical to MT (cf. e.g. 1 Chr 16:1, 17:2). Japhet's hypothesis works well in 1 Chr 17:25 (example 4 above), where MT reads אֱלֹהֵי as against LXX—*kyrios*. However, in this specific case it is difficult to side with LXX, since the original verse in 2 Sam 7:27 employs a longer title: יהוה צבאות אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (MT=LXX), thus LXX in Chronicles does not reflect the same reading as the purported *Vorlage*. We may thus conclude that in all likelihood the (admittedly selective) change from YHWH to Elohim in the book of Chronicles was not the work of late copyists but rather of the author of Chronicles.

¹⁶ Baumgärtel, *Elohim ausserhalb des Pentateuch*, 70–74.

¹⁷ Donald W. Parry, "4QSam^a and the Tetragrammaton," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 106–25. Parry (p. 122) states that his conclusion is not definite, because of the meager number of Divine names preserved in the scroll 4QSam^a.

¹⁸ See e.g. Emanuel Tov, "The Coincidental Textual Nature of the Collections of Ancient Scriptures," in *Congress Volume, Ljubljana 2007* (VTSup 133; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 153–69.

¹⁹ Aviya Ha-Cohen, "The Epithet צבאות in Relation to the Editing of the Book of Prophets," *Shnaton* 11 (1997): 83–102 (Hebrew). Ha-Cohen makes much use of the data collected by Max Löhr, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos* (BZAW 4; Giessen: Ricker, 1901), 38–67.

יהוה or כה אמר יהוה, נאם יהוה, and in the hymnic formula יהוה שמו.²⁰ A good example comes from the doxologies of Amos:²¹

5:8 MT יהוה שמו (= 9:6)

4:13 MT יהוה אלהי צבאות שמו

In the Septuagint of Amos all of the doxologies are concluded with the expanded formula יהוה אלהי צבאות שמו. A similar phenomenon appears in the messenger formula, this time in MT:

6:14 MT כי הגני מקים עליכם בית ישראל נאם יהוה אלהי הצבאות

LXX messenger formula missing

3:13 MT שמעו והעידו בבית יעקב נאם אדני יהוה אלהי הצבאות

While in Amos the minimizing tendency is not attested, there are passages in the Bible where the two tendencies are mixed together. Both tendencies were active in secondary stages of the text's transmission rather than in the earlier stages of its composition. This is true particularly in Chronicles, Samuel, and Amos because the variant divine appellations are extant only in part of the versions, while at least one of the ancient versions or parallel chapters still preserves the uninterrupted old reading.

3. THE ELOHISTIC PSALTER

The Elohistic Psalter is significantly different from the examples adduced above. Here, although the original authors preferred the standard title YHWH, exuberant variety in naming the Divine is represented in all of the textual witnesses. To be clear, no witness remained for the original Yahwistic text of these psalms. Furthermore,

²⁰ See Friedrich Baumgärtel, "Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel," in *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Festschrift Wilhelm Rudolph* (ed. Arnulf Kuschke; Tübingen: Mohr, 1961), 1–29. On pp. 14–15, Baumgärtel claimed that the compound names found within prophetic formulae cannot be seen as secondary expansions but must rather be the work of the preliminary author. According to him, there would be no way to explain why a secondary corrector would have chosen to correct only the formulae and ignore the Divine names within the body of the prophecy. I do not find this argument compelling, however. It is precisely the mechanistic reduplication of formulaic language—pointed out so well by Baumgärtel—that could yield an abundance of compound names in the formulae while leaving the words of the prophet intact.

²¹ For the doxologies see Ha-Cohen, "The Epithet צבאות," 89–91. For the messenger formula see *ibid.*, 88.

Psalm 108—belonging to Book 5 of the Psalter—is in fact constructed of two short Elohist psalms (57:8+12, 60:7–14), preserving both of them in their Elohist form!²² The Elohist switch must therefore have taken place at a very early stage. We are thus permitted to date the earliest attestation for this tendency already when the stretch of Psalms 42–89 was designed. Psalm 108 teaches us yet one more interesting fact: the writers of Book 5, not Elohist themselves, remained insensitive to the identity of the Divine name used in their psalms. When writing Psalm 108 the author either did not notice or did not see fit to change the awkward naming of God employed in it.

It is difficult to fix a date for the crystallization of the books of the Psalter. The Elohist Psalter covers Books 2–3. In matters of style and content it displays no particular signs for lateness. On the other hand, Books 4–5 (Psalms 90–150) significantly differ from Books 1–3, in terms of language,²³ of the relative paucity of psalms titles, and of the literary identity of individual Psalms.²⁴ Thus, Book 5 contains mainly hymns of various sorts with only few examples for other types of Psalms. It is therefore accepted that Books 4–5 crystallized later than the rest of the Psalter. Hossfeld and Zenger suggested that EP was designed in the fifth century B.C.E., and that Books 4–5 were gradually worked during the centuries thereafter.²⁵ The question now arises: what caused such an early author to create the EP, which is glaringly different from other literary products of that time? The EP shows that various practices for

²² For Psalm 108 see Christoph Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion des Psalters*, 23 and 66f; Alexander Rofé, *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2006), 310 (Hebrew). Rofé calls attention to the study of this Elohist psalm by William Robertson-Smith already in 1882. Rösel (*ibid.*, 23 n. 32) shows how Psalm 108 accounts for six out of the seven occurrences of Elohim as a private name in books 4–5 of the Psalter (one other occurrence turns up in Ps 144:9). This fact buttresses the claim that Ps 108 is based on a quotation of older material, since there would be no other reason for the author to adopt such an extraordinarily Elohist diction.

²³ Avi Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1972, in Hebrew) counts eight psalms that he considers late to a great degree of assurance, all of them from books 4–5 of the Psalter. Hurvitz made a list of isolated late features in other Psalms, with a great majority of the items in this list too originating in Books 4–5 (only very few examples from Book 3, see Hurvitz, *The Transition Period*, 175).

²⁴ See a short summary and discussion in Susan E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 238–45.

²⁵ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms II*, 4. The Sanders school in the study of the Psalms dates Books 4–5 to an even later period, as late as the first century CE(!); see Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 135–43.

avoiding the Tetragram began already in the Persian period, rather than in the second—third centuries B.C.E., as is commonly thought. We thus face a double task. The EP should first be analyzed in order to single out the exact mechanisms employed to avoid the Tetragram; in addition, since the Hebrew Bible does not supply any good parallel for such a practice, the closest available parallel must be sought.

The EP will be discussed here according to some recent insights.²⁶ In an important contribution Laura Joffe has shown that EP features not only the substitution of Elohim for YHWH but also several other phenomena, such as: the high number of psalms with refrains, the significant variety of Divine appellations other than Elohim, and the absence of alphabetic psalms. When all of these phenomena are taken into consideration we may claim with Joffe that EP does not end in Psalm 83, as is commonly thought, but rather continues until psalm 89, and thus covers the whole of Books 2–3.²⁷ We shall now study the Divine names in EP.

Table 1: Number of occurrences of YHWH and Elohim²⁸

Book	1 (1–41)	2 (42–72)	3 (73–83; 84–89)	4 (90–106)	5 (107–150)	Total
YHWH	278	32	13; 31	105	236	695
Elohim	49	198	47; 16	24	31	365

It is seen here that although the EP prefers Elohim to YHWH, the latter is not entirely absent. On the other hand, the name Elohim is invoked quite a few times also outside the EP. However, if the cases where Elohim is used as an appellative are deducted from the table, leaving only places where Elohim is used as a private name, the distinction is more clearly discerned.

²⁶ Mainly the studies by Christoph Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion*, and Joffe, “The Elohistic Psalter: What, How and Why?”

²⁷ Some scholars considered the EP to last until Psalm 85 or 86 (e.g. BDB, p. 44, and see also Tov, “The Coincidental Textual Nature of the Collections of Ancient Scriptures.”) Psalm 84 constitutes a problem for this argument, as it displays an exceptionally large number of occurrences of YHWH and other Divine titles. This psalm certainly deserves a separate explanation, yet it does not undermine the validity of Joffe’s argument.

²⁸ Tables 1 and 2 follow Christoph Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion*, 22–23. The data culled from the “tail” of EP (Pss 84–89) is counted in the same column with the data for Pss 73–83 but separated by a semicolon.

Table 2: Elohim in the Psalter as a private name

Book	1 (1-41)	2 (42-72)	3 (73-83; 84-89)	4 (90-106)	5 (107-150)	Total
YHWH	278	32	13; 31	105	236	695
Elohim	5	153	36; 5	0	7	206

Elohim as a private name is evidently very rare outside the EP. The few occurrences that do occur in other parts of the Psalter may be explained as either dependant on the EP or on other local grounds.²⁹

Elohim appears in the EP in highly unusual constructs, such as Ps 50:7 אלהים אלהיך אנכי, as opposed to the famous beginning of the Decalogue אנוכי יהוה אלהיך.³⁰

The beginning of the Decalogue is thus oddly reported with Elohim instead of YHWH. This construct is so odd, that the author of another Elohistic psalm could not bring himself to use it, retaining the original locution אנוכי יהוה אלהיך (Ps 81:11). Further examples are Ps 68:2 יקום אלהים יפוצו אויביו (cp. The song of the ark in Num 10:35 ויפצו איביך (קומה יהוה ויפצו איביך), or the awkward phrase אלהים אלהי in Ps 43:4. Both ancient proclamations employed here—the Decalogue and the Song of the Ark—are so fundamentally identified with the personality of YHWH, the God of Israel, that it is inconceivable for an Israelite author to attempt to write a new, “Elohistic” version of them. In other places in the EP the switch from YHWH to Elohim disturbs the original message. Thus for example in Psalm 82, whose aim was to depict the rise of YHWH into kingship after the other gods had failed in fulfilling their task. The first line of the Psalm אלוהים ניצב בעדת אל “Elohim stands in the assembly of El, amongst the gods (Elohim) he will commit judgment,” must have had YHWH, not Elohim, as the subject and the very first word of the Psalm.

²⁹ See Christoph Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion des Psalters*, 23–24.

³⁰ While the transformation of the Divine name is a product of Elohistic ideology, the different word-order is due to “Seidel’s Law,” namely: an inner-biblical quotation will change the word order of the source material. See Moshe Seidel, “Parallels Between the Book of Isaiah and the Book of Psalms,” *Sinai* 38 (1955–1956): 159 (Hebrew); idem, *Biblical Studies (Higrê Miqra)*, (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1978); Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 219 n. 11.

Some scholars have tried to claim that Elohim was deliberately used in the examples above, reflecting a northern Israelite tendency with a preference for Elohim.³¹ According to this view, the EP originated from the literary and theological preferences of authors, not copyists. Thus Hossfeld and Zenger: “The frequent use of the generic term Elohim along with the less frequent, but purposefully-used name for God, YHWH, is not indicative of a secondary redaction, but an expression of theological thinking that typically reveals itself only as a theological tendency in these texts” (italics mine, J. B.)³²

These claims, however, cannot be sustained. That the name YHWH—albeit in contracted form—was known and used in the Northern Kingdom already in the mid-eighth century is demonstrated by the Yahwistic names in the Samaria ostraca. This was the case not only in administrative texts, but also in literature: the first commandment of the Decalogue was quoted twice by the northern prophet Hosea (12:10, 13:4) without replacing YHWH as the subject. We must therefore conclude that an original YHWH was secondarily replaced with Elohim in the EP.

If Elohim was systematically introduced into the EP, how then can we account for the 45 mentions of YHWH which “remained” within the EP? Notice also that the psalms 84–89, which we consider to be part of the EP, mention YHWH 31 times! This fact may constitute a serious obstacle for viewing the EP as the product of a secondary correction. Seeking to solve the problem, one might claim that the Elohist correctors were not entirely consistent in their task, taking into account that full consistency is hardly found in the ancient world. The lack of consistency, however, is not the only possible answer, since other, stylistic grounds, may also be raised for the appearance of YHWH in EP. Thus for example, the scribe who substituted Elohim for YHWH, when faced with a parallelism in which both parts of the

³¹ Hossfeld-Zenger, *Psalms II*, 51: “The northern kingdom traditions, known in the exegesis of the Psalms in the Elohist Psalter especially...”. The northern characterization of the Elohist Psalms is based on studies such as Michael D. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah* (JSOTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982); idem, *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch* (JSOTSup 233; Sheffield Academic Press 1996). On pp. 44–45 of the latter book, Goulder claimed that the quote אלהים אלהיך אנכי from Ps 50:7, together with other traits of Psalm 50, reflects “the liturgy as spoken to those who stand upon Mount Gerizim.” This claim, together with Goulder’s attempt to trace northern origins for all the Asaph psalms, does not stand up to scrutiny, since the Asaph psalms clearly contain some unmistakably Judahite elements.

³² Hossfeld-Zenger, *Psalms II*, 50.

line mentioned the name of God, created at least eight cases of the rare word-pair יהוה-אלהים, with Elohim as an A-word.³³ This kind of parallel presentation of the Divine name appears almost exclusively within the limits of the EP. We should therefore conclude that the person who transformed the Divine names retained a subtle stylistic sensitivity when replacing the names in a parallelistic line.

The EP shows several cases where the name YHWH is preserved in a chain of Divine titles, such as יהוה אלהים צבאות or יהוה אדני. Thus the EP attests not only to the minimizing tendency, but also to the expansive tendency encountered above. The two tendencies in fact go hand in hand: while some of the mentions of YHWH are replaced with Elohim, others are augmented with various epithets. Alternatively, one may assume that the expansive tendency was active in these cases *after* the first corrector had already acted on the text. Thus we could account for verses like Ps 50:1 יהוה אלהים יי, ³⁴ האל יהוה 85:9, 59:6 יהוה אלהים צבאות אלהי ישראל, or the noticeable parallelism in 69:7:...אלהי ישראל.../אדני יהוה צבאות. Other occurrences of the expansive tendency are the doublets יהוה אדני (71:16, 73:28), and יהוה אלהים (72:18).

The expansive tendency may sometimes produce elegant literary products, such as the gradual augmentation of divine epithets in the refrain of Psalm 80:³⁵

80:4	והאר פניך ונושעה	השיבנו	אלהים
80:8	והאר פניך ונושעה	השיבנו	אלהים צבאות
80:20	והאר פניך ונושעה	השיבנו	יהוה אלהים צבאות

³³ The cases are: Ps 47:6, 55:17, 56:11, 58:7, 68:17,27, 70:2, 73:28. In several other places this word-pair is for some reason obfuscated: Ps 68:18, 69:31–32, 70:6. For a discussion of this unique word-pair see Joffe, “The Elohist Psalter: What, How and Why?” 151–57.

³⁴ For this phrase cp. Josh 22:22 and Hossfeld-Zenger, *Psalms II*, 45.

³⁵ For refrains in the EP see Joffe, “The Elohist Psalter: What, How and Why?” 153–55. Aiming to reconstruct the original wording of the phrase אלהים השיבנו before the various redactions took place, one may observe the same phrase with the Tetragram instead of Elohim in Lam 5:21. This phrase was corrected to the form אלהים השיבנו by an Elohist scribe, and later expanded again in vv. 8 and 20. The correctors were not lacking literary sensitivity, since the augmented form of the Divine name in the three occurrences of the refrain creates an impressive literary escalation.

The refrain in Ps 46, יהוה צבאות עמנו, may also be compared with an earlier prophetic saying in Amos 5:14: יהוה אלהי צבאות אתכם כאשר אמרתם. In this case the original version was preserved in the psalm, while Amos 5:14 reflects a later expansion, as is common in this prophetic book (see above).

As demonstrated above with regard to the doxologies of Amos, festive occasions such as a refrain or a well-known popular slogan are due to attract corrections and especially augmentations of the Divine name.

The expansive tendency yielded an unprecedented bounty of divine names and titles within the limits of the EP. Joffe demonstrated this phenomenon in the following table:

Table 3: Divine titles in EP³⁶

Total	90–150	84–89	42–83	1–41	
54	9	9	23	13	אדני
16	0	5	10	1	צבאות
38	11	2	19	6	אל
21	5	2	10	4	עליון
9	1	1	6	1	אלהי יעקב
6	0	2	4	0	יהוה אלהים

It is striking to see that the EP (broadly defined as Pss 42–89) contains fifteen out of the sixteen occurrences of **צבאות** in the entire book of Psalms!³⁷ This fact is highly meaningful for understanding the behavior of the epithet **צבאות**, since it raises the suspicion whether the presence of this epithet in Psalms is the work of correctors and redactors rather than of authors. In addition, EP furnishes 60% of the occurrences of **אל** in the Psalter (most other occurrences are in Book 5). With regard to the compound titles, the title **אלהים צבאות** appears in the Hebrew Bible six times, all of them within the EP.³⁸ Furthermore, EP contains the only six occurrences of **יהוה אלהים** in the psalms.³⁹ In contrast, the widely common title **אדני יהוה** (×293 in the Hebrew Bible, ×277 in the latter prophets) appears only thrice in the EP (69:7, 71:5, 16) and never in the Psalter outside EP.⁴⁰ The inverted form of this title **יהוה אדני** appears once in EP (68:21) and four more times

³⁶ Based on Joffe, “The Elohistic Psalter: What, How and Why?” 150.

³⁷ The only occurrence of **צבאות** outside EP is in Ps 24:10. Note, however, that the parallel verse in the same Psalm 24:8 employs the Tetragram without the supplementary epithet.

³⁸ This compound name appears twice in 80:8, 15 and four more times within the construct **יהוה אלהים צבאות** (Ps 59:6, 80:5, 20, 84:6).

³⁹ This combination appears 33 times in the Hebrew Bible disregarding the form **יהוה אלהים צבאות**; among these, ×20 appear in Gen 2–3 and ×7 in Chronicles.

⁴⁰ In all three occurrences of this title in EP, various considerations may point to secondary intervention in the text.

in the entire Hebrew Bible. In sum, the EP displays a clear tendency for using compound titles, and displays some unusual forms of these titles, which are infrequent in other parts of the Psalter and of the Bible in general.

We may thus reaffirm the conviction raised above, namely that the EP incorporates two opposite tendencies. A scribe with unusual theological concerns copied a scroll containing books 2–3 while substituting אלהים for YHWH. That scribe was not entirely consistent, leaving mentions of the Tetragram especially in refrains, parallelism, hymnic exclamations etc. In the very same scroll one can also find the opposite tendency of augmenting the divine titles. The rabbis say: “Once the (evil) angel is given permission to impair, he does not distinguish between (damaging) a sage and a villain” (*Mek. Pis.* 11); we may suggest in analogy that, since the scroll had already come to include numerous corrections of the Divine name, subsequent scribes found it appropriate to continue the same process by incorporating further changes into that scroll.⁴¹

The recognition that EP does not end in Ps 83, as commonly thought, but rather covers the entire two books 2–3 (Pss 42–89) facilitates our understanding how the EP was incorporated into the Psalter.⁴² The EP had been created on one specific scroll, which for some reason reached the hands of whoever collected the Psalter, or at least an early version

⁴¹ A similar phenomenon may be seen elsewhere, although on a smaller scale. Thus in the parallel chapters 2 Sam 7 and 1 Chr 17 one encounters extraordinary scribal activity with regard to the divine names, especially towards the end of the chapter (2 Sam 7:18–29 = 1 Chr 17: 16–27).

⁴² The place of EP within Books 2–3 of the Psalter is also important for reconstructing the history of the formation of the Psalter. We can only cover this aspect here in passing. The Asaph and Korah collections are presently split in both ends of Books 2–3, as follows:

Book 2 Korah 42–49
Asaph 50
(David 51–72)
Book 3 Asaph 73–83
Korah 84–88 (excluding 86)

The old contention that the EP contained only Pss 42–83 necessitated the assumption that an old scroll contained Pss 42–83 only, while the second collection of Korah psalms in Pss 84–88 was added only secondarily. Scholars like Hossfeld and Zenger were thus forced to find some differences between Pss 84–88 and the first Korah collection in Pss 42–49 (Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms II*, 5; Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, 239). This kind of assumption, however, is no longer required when the coherency of the collection 42–89 is accepted, Hence the old scroll must have encompassed the entire scope of Books 2–3.

of it. In the view of Emanuel Tov, the act of this collector was most probably coincidental—he simply took whatever scrolls he could reach in a given setting at a specific library.⁴³ This is the reason why Elohistic scribal practices are not encountered elsewhere, either in the book of Psalms or in the entire Hebrew Bible, and why the variations in the Divine name are typical of the EP in all of the ancient Hebrew texts and versions.⁴⁴ This proposed *Urrolle* of the EP must be exceptionally ancient, since, as seen above, it was quoted in Elohistic form already before the formation of Psalm 108. Furthermore, this ancient scroll contained all the Asaph and Korah psalms known to us. In fact, the psalms of these two Levitical families are only known to us in their secondary, Elohistic transmission. Why is it that no other part of the Psalter has preserved other Asaph or Korah psalms? It must be concluded that the Psalms of Asaph and Korah, together with the Davidic collection Pss 51–72 conjoined to them, passed through the hands of a single tradent, and it is under the hands of that tradent that the correction procedure took place. It might be necessary here to somewhat modify the view of Emanuel Tov about the way scrolls were selected to be parts of authoritative collections. Although coincidentalness is quite often the case, this specific scroll (or its immediate predecessor) was selected as part of the authoritative Psalter because it was the *only* witness to a group of very important and popular psalms.

In order to trace the motivation of that peculiar scribe who “Elo-hized” the collection of psalms by Asaph, Korah and David, it might be helpful to locate a similar example for a text in which the divine titles were systematically changed.

⁴³ Tov, “The Coincidental Textual Nature of the Collections of Ancient Scriptures.” Other examples adduced by Tov for such a coincidental choice in MT are: the book of Samuel—whose Masoretic edition relies on a faulty copy—and on a smaller scale chapters 27–29 in the book of Jeremiah MT.

⁴⁴ The Elohistic identity of EP is kept intact not only in the MT and G, but also in the so-called Qumran Psalter. Thus, of the sixty-odd pages of variants collated by Peter Flint from the Qumran Psalms scrolls, very few items pertain to variations in the Divine name; see Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 52–116. The main witness for the psalms, 11QPs^a, does not preserve any psalms before Ps 93 and is thus irrelevant as a witness for the EP. However, a copy of the same compilation of psalms appears in the smaller scroll 11QPs^b. This scroll does preserve small parts of text from Psalms 77–78, but unfortunately, no Divine names remained. For the scroll 11QPs^b see Peter W. Flint, “Five Surprises in the Qumran Psalms Scrolls,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (JSJSup 122; ed. Anthony Hilhorst et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 183–95.

4. THE WRITING OF THE DIVINE NAME AT QUMRAN

Members of the *yahad* practiced special stringency with regard to the pronunciation of the Divine name. The penal code in *Serekh haYahad* (1QS 6:27) warns against “whoever speaks aloud the venerable Name,” וַאֲשֶׁר יִזְכִּיר דְּבַר בְּשֵׁם הַנִּכְבָּד. In CD col. XV one reads a statute against committing a vow under the holy name: “[A man must not] swear either by *’aleph* and *lamed* (= Elohim), or by *’aleph* and *dalet* (= Adonai), וְגַם בְּאֵלֶיךָ וְגַם בְּאֵלֶיךָ וְדַלֶּת].”⁴⁵ No restriction on writing the name is attested, but such a restriction is a natural product of the strict prohibition on pronunciation.

The discussion below is based on the distinction between biblical and non-biblical scrolls in the Qumran corpus, despite the fact that some scrolls of the “rewritten Bible” genre obfuscate the dividing line between the groups.⁴⁶ We shall also distinguish the group of scrolls written with “Qumranic” scribal practices, as defined by Emanuel Tov.⁴⁷ This group contains both biblical and non-biblical scrolls.

The corpus of the scrolls attests to a significant variety in writing Divine names, mostly the Tetragram but also El, Elohim, and even Seba’ot. The pertinent scribal practices were collected in the comprehensive monograph by Tov.⁴⁸ They include mainly the substitution of

⁴⁵ For a discussion of these laws see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 133–41.

⁴⁶ This is hardly the place for a full discussion of the “Rewritten Pentateuch” scrolls; see recently Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28. The practices for writing the Divine name studied in the present article may shed light on the perplexed question of the identity of the “rewritten Pentateuch” scrolls—biblical or non-biblical? In the RP scrolls—4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366, 4Q367, as well as in 4Q368 Apocryphal Pentateuch A—the Tetragram is written in standard square Hebrew letters, as is usually the case in the *biblical* scrolls. The only possible exception is 2QExod^b (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 243), but the scroll is too fragmentary to discern its literary identity. The evidence thus suggests that RP scrolls behave like biblical scrolls with regard to the writing of the Tetragram. The case is not clear, however, since the distribution of writing the Tetragram in square as opposed to Paleo-Hebrew letters does not present 100% correlation with the distribution of biblical and non-biblical scrolls (see further below).

⁴⁷ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 261–73, 277–88; idem, “The Qumran Scribal Practice: The Evidence from Orthography and Morphology,” in *Verbum et Calamus. Semitic and Related Studies in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Tapani Harviainen* (ed. Hannu Juusola et al.; Studia Orientalia 99; Helsinki: Suomen Itämainen Seura, 2004), 353–68.

⁴⁸ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 218–21, 238–46, with earlier bibliography cited there.

the Divine name with four dots (*tetrapuncta*) or with letters of the paleo-Hebrew alphabet. In some cases the holiness of the Divine name was expressed by leaving a mark for the reader or the scribe in the form of a colon followed by an empty space, e.g. in 4Q364 Reworked Pentateuch.⁴⁹ This mark served to alert a second scribe, who would fill in the Tetragram in the spaces left empty. Similarly, the first scribe of 11QPs^a left an empty space wherever the name YHWH was required, with this space subsequently filled with the Tetragram in paleo-Hebrew letters, either by a second scribe or by the first one, after he had performed the required purification.⁵⁰

Despite the presence of practices for avoiding the Tetragram in the Qumran corpus, the Tetragram appears in most of the scrolls in standard Hebrew letters, without further ado. This is the case in *all* of the scrolls—biblical or non-biblical—that do *not* employ the Qumranic scribal practice. Even in the group of scrolls that do employ the Qumranic practice, most of the biblical scrolls present the Tetragram in square letters without any change.⁵¹ The following table presents the data in a suggestive manner:

Table 4: Writing the Tetragrammaton in Various Qumran Scrolls

	Biblical scrolls	Non-biblical scrolls
Scrolls written in the non-Qumranic Practice	YHWH	YHWH
Scrolls written in the Qumranic Practice	(mostly) YHWH	Various substitutes

⁴⁹ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 220.

⁵⁰ See Albert M. Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll,” *Textus* 18 (1995), 87–99. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 240–41, notes a similar practice in additional scrolls: 1QpHab (where the Tetragram was added subsequently) and possibly also 4QpIs^c. This practice continued in manuscripts of the Greek Bible, both early and late (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 221). It is still reported to have existed in some stringent Jewish medieval circles: *Sepher Ha-Eshkol* (ed. Albeck, repr. Jerusalem: Wagshal, 1984, p. 162; cp. Liebermann, “Light on the Cave Scrolls,” 198).

⁵¹ According to Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 242–44, thirty-six of the scrolls written in the “Qumranic” practice present the Tetragram without any transformation! The “Qumranic” scrolls that do transform the Tetragram into paleo-Hebrew letters are mainly non-biblical scrolls, with only seven biblical “Qumranic” scrolls substituting the Tetragram with Paleo-Hebrew characters (Tov, *ibid*). The most radical biblical scroll in this respect is 4QIs^c, in which not only the Tetragram but also other names such as אֵל and even צבאות were copied in paleo-Hebrew script.

The avoidance of writing the Divine name is therefore the trait of a fairly limited group of scrolls: non-biblical scrolls written in the “Qumranic” practice (the bottom right corner of the table). For example, in the de luxe “Qumranic” scroll 1QIsa^a, despite its radically free character, the Tetragram was consistently copied in square script, with no signs for avoidance. A second scribe working on 1QIsa^a, however, who inserted marginal corrections to the work of the former, tends to mark the Tetragram with four dots. This latter scribe was a central scribal figure in the *yahad*, since it is the same scribe who copied also 4QSam^c, 1QS and 4QTestimonia.⁵² The fact remains that the first scribe of 1QIsa^a felt no need to alter the form of the Tetragram.

Since our concern here is to find the closest possible parallel to the Elohist Psalter, we shall deal here mainly with places where the Tetragram was substituted or augmented. This kind of practice is rather infrequent in the biblical scrolls from Qumran. A good indication comes from the useful list prepared by Peter Flint of all the variants collated from the Qumran Psalms scrolls; in this list, the number of variants pertaining to the Tetragram is meager.⁵³ We may therefore claim that the authority of the Holy Writ shielded the scrolls in which it was copied, and prevented the scribes from altering the name YHWH preserved in them, as much as the scribes were eager to prevent the sacrilege of that name. Alternatively, it may be suggested that the scribe who copied a biblical scroll paid extra attention to his work owing to the holiness of the material at hand, and thus the normal copying of the Tetragram was not prohibited for that scribe.

Some scrolls, like 1QIsa^a, preserve double Divine names such as יהוה אֱלֹהִים, אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה etc. Variant forms appear both in the first and second hands of the scrolls:⁵⁴

⁵² Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 219.

⁵³ Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 52–116.

⁵⁴ For the changes of YHWH and Elohim in 1QIsa^a see Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 22–23, nn. 34–35. Japhet treats the frequent changes and the deletions which accompany them as “indicating the scribes’ doubts as to the correctness of the text.” It should be noted here that these changes tend to occur in bulks, places in which the corrector chose for some reason to be especially active, as in column 3 of 1QIsa^a, which contains more or less chapter 3 of Isaiah.

- 1) Isa 3:15 MT נאם אדני יהוה צבאות
LXX <
1QIsa^a נואם אדוני יהוה צבאות
- 2) Isa 3:17 MT ושפח אדני קדקד בנות ציון / ויהוה פתהן יערה
LXX *kyrios* *theos*
1QIsa^a ושפח אדוני {יהוה} קדקד בנות ציון/ואדוני פתהן יערה⁵⁵
- 3) Isa 3:18 MT ביום ההוא יסיר אדני
LXX *kyrios*
1QIsa^a ביום ההוא יסיר יהוה {אדוני}⁵⁶
- 4) Isa 28:16 MT לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה
LXX *kyrios*
1QIsa^a לכן כה אמר יהוה {אדוני}⁵⁷

Such practices appear not only in 1QIsa^a—whose textual affiliation is somewhat problematic—but also in the clearly proto-masoretic 1QIsa^b.⁵⁸

- 5) Isa 61:1 MT רוח אדני יהוה עלי
LXX, 1QIsa^a רוח יהוה עלי
1QIsa^b רוח יהוה אלהים עלי
- 6) Isa 49:7 MT, LXX כה אמר יהוה
1QIsa^a כוה אמר אדוני יהוה
1QIsa^b כה אמר אדני יהוה

The finds from the 1QIsaiah scrolls are relevant for the understanding of the compound name אדני יהוה, common in prophetic books, especially Ezekiel. It was suggested that scribes presented the title אדני as a sign before each occurrence of the Tetragram, to prevent the reader from a profane use of the holy name.⁵⁹ These glosses often found their way into the text in subsequent editions of the prophetic book.⁶⁰ The Isaiah scrolls from Qumran seem to support this hypothesis.

⁵⁵ The name אדוני is underlined with deletion dots, with YHWH written above it in the interlinear space.

⁵⁶ YHWH underlined with deletion dots; אדוני added interlineally.

⁵⁷ The name אדוני added interlineally above the not-deleted YHWH.

⁵⁸ For the Proto-masoretic character of this scroll see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 190. The examples from 1QIsa^b are taken from Peter W. Flint, “Non-Masoretic Variant Readings in the Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll from Cave One (1QIsa^b),” in the present volume.

⁵⁹ See in short Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 217, with earlier bibliography cited there.

⁶⁰ Greenberg claimed, in contrast, that the compound name אדני יהוה in Ezekiel is not a scribal product but rather part of the original prophetic word. See Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 64–65. Indeed, as suggested by Baumgärtel, (“Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel,”

The substitution of various titles for YHWH is primarily attested in the non-biblical scrolls which adhere to the “Qumranic” scribal practice.⁶¹ Some scribes chose to avoid the divine name altogether, manipulating the syntax or using pronouns to substitute the name. Such a practice was not possible when an actual scriptural verse was quoted. In that case the Tetragram was sometimes simply skipped, as in 1QM 10:4 quoting Deut 20:4:

ואל תחפ[זו וא]ל תערצו מפניהם כיא אלוהיכם הולך עמכם להלחם לכם
 עם אויביכם
 MT כי יהוה אלהיכם

Another famous example is the Qumranic paraphrase on the Priestly blessing of Num 6:24–26 in 1QS 2:2–4, where the Tetragram is repeatedly skipped:

יברכה בכול טוב וישמורכה מכול רע ויאר לבכה בשכל חיים ויחונכה
 בדעת עולמים וישא פני חסדיו לכה לשלום עולמים⁶²

Even more frequently, the title אל was used in *yahad* literature to replace YHWH in both independent writing and quotations of scripture. Thus for example the prayer formula אל ישראל ברוך אתה אל in 4Q503 Daily Prayers,⁶³ as well as in other numerous examples in S, CD and other

27) one should possibly evaluate the frequent mentions of this compound name in Ezekiel differently than its sporadic occurrences in other biblical books. Even if the former could be a product of the first author, the latter must have resulted from corrections and expansions.

⁶¹ Donald Parry studied this phenomenon in the legal sectarian texts 1QS, CD and MMT. See Donald W. Parry, “Notes on Divine Name Avoidance in Scriptural Units of the Legal Texts of Qumran,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. Moshe J. Bernstein et al.; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 437–49. He noted nine different methods for avoiding the Tetragram in these texts, which will not be listed here. Kister suggested that the avoidance of using the Tetragram in MMT is due to the fact that MMT was an epistle, and brought evidence for the prohibition on using the Tetragram in epistolary rabbinic lore: Menahem Kister, “Studies in 4QMiqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 324 (Hebrew). The avoidance of the Tetragram, however, is not a unique feature of letters, since it exists also in legal compositions, in fact in any kind of non-biblical text.

⁶² Numerous other examples may be found in Parry, “Notes on Divine Name Avoidance,” 439–43. One should note here the words of the Tosefta (*t. Sof.* 13:8), which implies that the abstinence from the Tetragram in blessings existed already in pre-Hasmonean times: “[since the death of] Simon the Just his brothers abstained from greeting (each other) with the Name (= the Tetragram).” See Saul Liebermann, *Tosefta Kifshutah*, 8.746; Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 218.

⁶³ Liebermann (“Light from the Scrolls,” 190) points out the statement in *t. Ber.* 7:6 “Whoever begins (a liturgical formula) . . . with אל or ends (that blessing) with אל, it is a

such literature; and in the quotation of Ps 7:9 in 11Q13 Melchizedek 2:11 as אל ידין עמים. The use of Elohim to replace YHWH, although not a common practice in the scrolls, does appear in some interesting examples:⁶⁴

- 1) The *nun*-line of Psalm 145, absent from MT but extant in LXX and 11QPs^a:
 LXX נאמן יהוה בדבריו וחסיד בכל מעשיו
 11QPs^a נאמן אלוהים בדבריו וחסיד בכול מעשיו⁶⁵
- 2) Isa 42:5 MT כה אמר האל יהוה
 1QIsa^a כוה אמר האל האלוהים⁶⁶
- 3) Gen 6:3 MT ויאמר יהוה לא ידון רוחי באדם לעולם
 4Q252 1:1-2 ואלוהים אמר לא ידור רוחי באדם לעולם

Even when the Tetragram was not substituted, the special scribal habits used at Qumran engendered some mistakes, such as twice in 11QPs^{a67}

Ps 138:1 MT	נגד אלהים אזמך	אודך בכל לבי
11QPs ^a	נגד יהוה אלהים אזמך	
Ps 145:1 MT	ארוממך אלהי המלך	
11QPs ^a	ארוממך יהוה אלהי המלך	

heterodox practice (דרך אחרת).” It should be noted that the *Hodayot* scroll uses ידוני, not El as in the liturgical scroll 4Q503.

⁶⁴ The use of Elohim to replace the Tetragram is especially remarkable in 1Q22 Apocryphon Moses^a, as in the following phrases based on quotations from Deuteronomy:

[הסכת י]שראל ושמע [היו] ה הזה [תהיה לע]ם לאלוהי [אלוהי] 2:1-1:12
 [והיום] הזה [אלו]הי אלוהינו הוציא את הדב[ר]ים [הא]לה מפיה[ו] 6 :2

Milik further reconstructed the phrase אלוהי אלוהיכם in 3:6-7. The latest edition of this text is also the *editio princeps*. See Józef T. Milik, “22. Dire de Moïse,” in *Qumran Cave I* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 91-97. A small 4Q copy of the same composition was recently discovered, but the fragment does not include any Divine name. See Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “A Cave 4 Fragment of *Divrei Mosheh* (4QDM) and the Text of 1Q22 1:7-10 and *Jubilees* 1:9, 14,” *DSD* 12 (2005): 303-12. The general state of preservation of 1Q22, however, puts Milik’s extensive reconstructions in doubt until the scroll is studied anew.

⁶⁵ 11QPs^a 17:2-3. The wording with the Tetragram (= LXX) was preserved in a Jewish liturgical paraphrase within the blessings of the Haftarah. See Yehoshua Amir, “Excursus on a Lost Verse,” *Beit Miqra* 38 (1993): 80-82 (Hebrew).

⁶⁶ The letter *he* before אלוהים was abraded off the skin.

⁶⁷ In another case in the same scroll, the space meant to be filled with the Tetragram was left empty: Ps 121:5 (11QPs^a 3:4): צלכה על יד ימינכה יהוה שומרכה. The space after the word שומרכה is a little longer than the usual space between words, but is not sufficient for the name YHWH in paleo-Hebrew letters.

Wolters has demonstrated how in the latter two cases the Tetragram was mistakenly inserted by the second hand, after the initial scribe had left a longer-than-usual space at that spot for some unknown reason. The unintentional space was interpreted as a marker for inserting the Tetragram. This curious happenstance may illustrate the contention suggested above: “Once the (evil) angel is given permission to impair, he does not distinguish between (damaging) a sage and a villain” (*Mek. Pis.* 11). The introduction of an overly subtle mechanism for the copying and manipulating of the Tetragram would cost the scribe in the price of some dubious divine names and titles scattered in his text.

The discussion above raises two points in the Qumran scribal practice of writing the Divine name which resemble the practices in the EP:

1. The avoidance of the name YHWH and its substitution with אֱל or אֱלֹהִים. This practice is attested in the non-biblical scrolls from the “Qumranic” group.
2. The augmentation of the Divine name, either as an accidental doublet or as a deliberate correction. This practice was detected above in the Isaiah scrolls from Cave 1, as well as in two examples in 11QPs^a. It may have been present in other biblical scrolls too, but the find of scrolls of the latter prophets outside Cave 1 is too meager to yield significant results in this respect.

5. SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

The Elohistic Psalter is an unprecedented and unparalleled phenomenon in the history of the biblical text. The psalms included in EP, including all of the Asaph and Korah psalms known to us, do not appear anywhere outside the EP, nor do they exist in a non-Elohistic version in any textual witness. Even the earliest quotation of an Elohistic psalm known to us is itself Elohistic. It is thus clear that the Elohizing of these psalms took place in a very early period. Biblical scholarship is unable to point a similar phenomenon on such a wide scale, which would shed light on the creation of the Elohistic scroll. The closest phenomenon that could be traced is the practice in some scrolls from Qumran—admittedly in a not-too-large part of the latter corpus.

The severe restrictions on writing the Tetragram are common to EP and the sectarian writing at Qumran. Of the two concrete similarities highlighted at the end of the previous section, the practices of EP resemble on the one hand a group of non-biblical “Qumranic” texts, while on the other hand they resemble a group of not-necessarily Qumranic biblical scrolls. The primary conclusion is thus that members of the *yahad* did not feel the need to avoid the Tetragram when writing biblical scrolls, but only when writing non-biblical scrolls. This stands in contrast to the enigmatic Elohist scribe, who applied his restrictive ideology on an authoritative and important scroll, one which contained Davidic, Asaphite, and Korahite psalms. One may deduce, therefore, that the *yahad* members exercised a more developed canonical awareness than was prevalent several centuries earlier, at the time of the crystallization of the EP. Since the biblical scrolls were considered holier, the scribes were granted limited freedom to change the *nomina sacra* contained in them. Alternatively, the copyists of biblical scrolls were so prudent in their work that no need was felt to force upon them to replace the Tetragram with all sorts of diminutive titles and epithets. Either way, the *yahad* scrolls attest to a clear canonical awareness in this respect.

What was the ideology underlying the Elohist scribal tendency? Abraham Geiger, who studied this topic over 150 years ago, claimed that the “Early halakhah,” which he considered to be Zadokite, was promoting stringent practices of avoiding the Divine name.⁶⁸ Yet Geiger did not explain why this halakhic realm was considered worthy of special stringency. Today we stand in a better position to evaluate the underlying ideology, since in the recent twenty years scholars have suggested quite a few explanations for the ideology underlying the priestly halakhah.⁶⁹ Eyal Regev recently sought to explain various

⁶⁸ Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, 169–72.

⁶⁹ See mainly: Daniel R. Schwartz, “Law and Truth: On Qumran-Sadducean and Rabbinic Views of Law,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 229–40; Shlomo Naeh, “Did the Tannaim Interpret the Script of the Torah Differently from the Authorized Reading?” *Tarbiz* 61 (1992): 401–48 (Hebrew); Eyal Regev, “Reconstructing Rabbinic and Qumranic Worldviews: Dynamic Holiness vs. Static Holiness,” in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center* (ed. Steven D. Fraade et al.; STDJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 87–112; Cana Werman, “The Price of Mediation: The Role of Priests in Priestly Halakhah,” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007). *Festschrift Devorah Dimant*, 85–108 (Hebrew).

manifestations of priestly halakhah on the basis of a priestly notion of the special vulnerability of the Holy:

The Qumranic strictness in avoiding or eliminating pollution and desecration arises from a perception that holiness is dynamic..., that is, holiness is sensitive to desecration, vulnerable, and in some manner changeable. The Pharisees, and later the rabbis...were less worried by the danger of defilement and desecration, and did not require such extensive efforts to protect the holy...holiness is not sensitive to human activity and thus "desecration" does not really change it.⁷⁰

The same approach may be expanded to account for the avoidance of the Tetragram. The Divine name, after all, is an essential manifestation of the Divine, which must be protected from the evil forces of impurity just like any other Divine manifestation in the earthly realm.⁷¹ The protection requires both a prohibition against improper pronunciation of the Name and a need to replace it with various substitutes when committed to writing.

The very same notion of protecting the Divine name dominates in EP, despite the fact that this document preceded the Second Temple Sadducean practice by several centuries. Since a great part of EP constitutes what may be called Levitical literature—the psalms of Asaph and Korah—we may be justified to see in it a forerunner of the priestly tendency of the latter Second Temple period. Mark Smith suggested some time ago that the editing of the Psalter took the form of a "Levitical Compilation."⁷² His hypothesis, which won little attention

⁷⁰ Regev, "Reconstructing Rabbinic and Qumranic Worldviews," 112.

⁷¹ It is commonly thought that the rabbinic epithet "The Holy, Blessed Be He," **הוא הקדוש ברוך הוא**, was originally **הוא הקדוש ברוך הוא** "The Holiness, Blessed Be He." The small but significant change occurred while the epithet was transmitted by the acronym **הקב"ה** (see Ephraim E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs*, trans. Israel Abrahams [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975], 1.77). According to the proposed original reading, God is not just holy, but he is the essence of Holiness; it is thus essential for human beings to protect this holiness from being profaned. Note however that Urbach opposed this view, maintaining the traditional epithet **הוא הקדוש ברוך הוא**. I suggest, *pace* Urbach, that originally God was designated **הקדוש**, with the short utterance "Blessed Be He" meant to defend the name from being profaned when used in the mouth of laymen. Thus we read how the audience in the Jerusalem temple uttered a similar doxology after the Divine name was pronounced by the high priest (*m. Yoma* 3:9, 4:2, 6:2). Equally so, in current synagogue practice, the utterance **ברוך הוא וברוך שמו** is recited every time God is invoked by name.

⁷² Mark S. Smith, "The Levitical Compilation of the Psalter," *ZAW* 103 (1991): 258–63; idem, "The Theology of the Redaction of the Psalter: Some Observations," *ZAW* 104 (1992): 408–12. Cp. the recent discussion by Mark A. Christian, "Revisiting Levitical Authorship: What Would Moses Think?" *ZABR* 13 (2007): 194–236.

in research since then, may find some support from the finds of the present study.

A priestly ideal of protecting the Name found a limited expression during the Persian period in the redaction of EP.⁷³ This ideology was continued—or possibly revived—in the late Hellenistic period by the *yahad* scribes. The scribes who practiced strict protection of the Tetragram—both the tradent of EP and the *yahad* scribes—were exceptional in their times, since, as we saw, only a small minority of the Qumran scrolls took the pains to avoid the Tetragram.

The distancing from the Tetragram was therefore initiated long before the Hellenistic period. Above we sought to shed light on a possible ideological background for this tendency along the generations of its practice. Yet, although such a tendency existed for at least several centuries, it would be hard to talk of concrete sectarian practice in this respect before the time of the more substantial evidence from Qumran.

⁷³ Admittedly, the priestly literature—in the Pentateuch or in priestly redaction layers elsewhere—does not explicitly promote an ideology of protecting the Divine name. A possible trace for this ideology may be seen in the limitations on invoking the Name of God in Lev 24:15–16. These verses were seen already in a very early period as prohibiting not only the cursing of God but also simply invoking his name; see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27* (AB vol. 3B; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2114–2119; and cp. Chavel, “Law and Narrative in Four Oracular Novellae in the Pentateuch,” 43–56.

NON-MASORETIC VARIANT READINGS IN THE
HEBREW UNIVERSITY ISAIAH SCROLL (1QIsa^b)
AND THE TEXT TO BE TRANSLATED

PETER W. FLINT

This paper begins with a brief description of 1QIsa^b, which is forthcoming in DJD XXXII,¹ including the new definitive listing of contents by column. I then survey the many instances where 1QIsa^b disagrees with the Masoretic Text, providing several examples in detail. The final section briefly considers how close this manuscript is to the consonantal text of the medieval MT,² and whether some of its non-Masoretic readings may be viewed as textually superior or significant as the text to be translated.

1. THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY ISAIAH SCROLL (1QIsa^b)

1QIsa^b—also known as the Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll—is one of the first seven Qumran scrolls discovered in 1947 (or late 1946).³ It is inscribed in a late Hasmonean or early Herodian hand, and is dated to 50-25 B.C.E.

Different parts of this manuscript were published in three preliminary editions, most notably by E. L. Sukenik in 1954 (Hebrew) and 1955 (English).⁴ In the same year that Sukenik's English edition appeared, D. Barthélemy published seven more fragments in the first

¹ Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, with a Contribution by Martin G. Abegg, Jr., *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls* (DJD XXXII; 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon, 2010).

² For a fuller treatment of this aspect, with a complete listing of variants and discussion of different examples, see Peter W. Flint, "Variant Readings and Textual Affiliation in the Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll from Cave One (1QIsa^b)," in *Proceedings of the VI Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Ljubljana, 16–18 July 2007* (ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar et al.; STDJ series; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

³ On the precise date, see James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: Harper, 2002) 3–4.

⁴ Eliezer L. Sukenik, *Otzar ha-Megiloth ha-genuzoth* (Jerusalem: Bialik Foundation and the Hebrew University, 1954); and *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (ed. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1955).

volume of the new series “Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.”⁵ Six of these contain text ranging from Isa 7:20 to Isa 25:8, but the seventh was only identified as belonging to the scroll, with its precise contents uncertain.

For twenty-seven years, little progress was made on the study and structure of 1QIsa^b, until Eva Jain’s landmark article of 2002.⁶ As her title indicates, the German scholar presented a material reconstruction of the entire scroll, using the method developed by the late Hartmut Stegemann, and showing that—when fully extant—1QIsa^b contained twenty-eight columns of text. Jain also provided an annotated transcription and photographs of nine small fragments that she had identified, with text ranging from Isa 8:8? to 66:8. Twelve more pieces, containing text ranging from Isa 22:9 to 66:23,⁷ were published in 2009,⁸ and are designated “DFU” (for Dykstra-Flint-Ulrich) in DJD XXXII.

Using Jain’s reconstruction, all the surviving contents of the scroll will be published in the new DJD critical edition,⁹ with twenty-six of the twenty-eight columns represented by at least some text.

2. THE CONTENTS OF 1QIsa^b

<i>Column</i>	<i>(Fragment Source)</i> ¹⁰	<i>Contents</i>
Col. I	-----	[not extant]
Col. II	-----	[not extant]
Col. III	Barth. frg. 1	Isa 7:20–8:1
Col. IV	Jain frg. 29	Isa 8:8 or 8:10
Col. V frg. a	Suk. frg. 1 i	Isa 10:16–19
Col. V frg. b	Barth. frg. 2	Isa 12:3–13:8
Col. VI a–b	Suk. frgs. 1 ii, 2 i	Isa 13:16–19

⁵ Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) 66–68 + pl. xii.

⁶ Eva Jain, “Die materielle Rekonstruktion von 1QJes^b (1Q8) und einer bisher nicht edierte fragmente dieser Handschrift,” *RevQ* 20/79 (2002): 389–409.

⁷ One appeared previously as the unidentified frg. 7 in DJD I.

⁸ Peter W. Flint and Nathaniel N. Dykstra. “Newly-Identified Fragments of 1QIsa^b,” *JJS* 60/1 (2009): 80–89, with Plate.

⁹ DJD XXXII, Part 1:111–51 and Part 2:195–253.

¹⁰ *Abbreviations*: Barth. = DJD I; DFU = DJD XXXII; Jain = “Die materielle Rekonstruktion von 1QJes^b”; Suk. = *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*.

<i>Column</i>	<i>(Fragment Source)¹⁰</i>	<i>Contents</i>
Col. VI c-d	Barth. frg. 3	Isa 15:2-16:3
Col. VII a-b	Suk. frgs. 2 ii, 3 i	Isa 16:5-12
Col. VII c	Barth. frg. 4	Isa 19:7-17
Col. VIII a-b	Suk. frgs. 3 ii, 4	Isa 19:20-20:1
Col. VIII c-e	DFU frg. 1 + Barth. frg. 5	Isa 22:9-20
Col. IX a	Suk. frg. 5	Isa 22:23-23:5
Col. IX b	Barth. frg. 6	Isa 24:18-25:8
Col. X	Suk. frg. 6 i	Isa 26:1-5
Col. XI a-c	Suk. frg. 6 ii	Isa 28:15-21
Col. XI d-e	Suk. frg. 7	Isa 29:1-8
Col. XII a-b	Suk. frg. 8	Isa 30:10-15
Col. XII c-d	Suk. frg. 9	Isa 30:21-26
Col. XIII	Jain frg. 22	Isa 32:17-20
Col. XIV	Suk. frg. 10	Isa 35:4-7
Col. XV	DFU frgs. 2-4 + Suk. frg. 11	Isa 37:8-13
Col. XVI	Suk. col. I	Isa 38:12-40:4
Col. XVII	Suk. col. II + DFU frg. 5 + Jain frg. 24 + DFU 6	Isa 41:3-25
Col. XVIII	Suk. col. III	Isa 43:1-14, 20-27
Col. XIX	Suk. col. IV + Jain frg. 25	Isa 44:21-45:13
Col. XX	Suk. col. V + DFU frg. 7	Isa 46:3-47:14
Col. XXI	Suk. col. VI	Isa 48:17-49:15
Col. XXII	Suk. col. VII + DFU frg. 8	Isa 50:7-51:11
Col. XXIII	Suk. col. VIII + Jain frg. 26 + DFU frg. 9	Isa 52:7-54:6
Col. XXIV	Suk. col. IX	Isa 55:2-57:4
Col. XXV	Suk. col. X + Jain frg. 27	Isa 57:17-59:8
Col. XXVI	Suk. col. XI	Isa 59:20-61:2
Col. XXVII	Suk. col. XII + DFU frg. 10	Isa 62:2-64:8, 10-11?
Col. XXVIII	Suk. col. XIII, Jain frg. 28 + DFU frgs. 11-12	Isa 65:17-66:24

3. VARIANT READINGS, TEXTUAL AFFILIATION, AND PREFERRED READINGS

For the edition of 1QIsa^b in DJD XXXII, a variant reading is determined:

- Always where 1QIsa^b differs from another Qumran Scroll (such as 1QIsa^a)
- Always where 1QIsa^b differs from M

- Always where 1QIsa^b differs from other Hebrew witnesses (i.e., M^q, M^{mss}, M^{edd}, or the Cairo Genizah)
- Sometimes where 1QIsa^b differs from G (selected cases)

The grand total of variant readings is 622; since some of these consist of several words, a slightly higher figure is possible when individual words are counted. 183 variants differ from the Masoretic text (mostly M^L, occasionally M^q, M^{mss}, M^{edd}, or the Cairo Genizah), which raises the question of whether 1QIsa^b is a prime exemplar of the Proto-Masoretic Text (that is, the ancestor of the Masoretic Text) and, if so, just how close it is to the consonantal text of the medieval MT.

The remainder of this paper will focus on the non-Masoretic variants in 1QIsa^b (sections 4 to 6), and conclude by determining how close 1QIsa^b is to the consonantal Masoretic Text, and whether some variants in this scroll may be considered preferred readings (section 7).

4. MINOR VARIANT READINGS IN 1QIsa^b

Many variant readings are mostly of slight consequence and involve little change of meaning, including: the presence vs. lack of the copulative or the definite article; frequent words such as כִּי or כִּה; routine paleographic confusion of letters such as כ/ב, ר/ד, י/ו; phonological confusion of א/ע, ח/ע, ה/ח; duplication of consonants; differences in preposition (notably על/אל); minor differences in verbal form; or differences in vocalization. These number 115 in all, bearing in mind that a few may qualify as substantial, in which case they would belong in the category of Variant Readings involving Clear Changes in Meaning (section 6 below). The following examples are given:

Minor Variant Readings in 1QIsa^b

<i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Col.+line</i>	<i>Variant Reading</i>
22:17	VIIIc-e 5	יעוֹטֵךְ [וְיִעֲטֶךָ] 1QIsa ^b 4QIsa ^a (contra יעוֹטֵךְ Bur ¹); 1QIsa ^a (contra יעוֹטֵךְ M)
23:2	IXa 2	מִלֹּאֲךָ 1QIsa ^b מִלֹּאֲכֶיךָ 1QIsa ^a ; מִלֹּאֲךָ 4QIsa ^a ; מִלֹּאֲךָ MTSV; > G
24:19	Ixb-f 2	אֶרֶץ אֲרָץ 1QIsa ^b אֶרֶץ 1QIsa ^a M
38:14	XVI 2	כִּסּוּס 1QIsa ^b M ^{mss} כִּסּוּס 1QIsa ^a M ^L (cf. M ^q Jer 8:7)
38:21	XVI 9	עַל 1QIsa ^b אֵל 1QIsa ^a 3mM
41:8	XVII 5	וְעַתָּה 1QIsa ^b וְאַתָּה 1QIsa ^a MG

<i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Col.+line</i>	<i>Variant Reading</i>
43:7	XVIII 8	די ולכב(ו) 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a M ^L] ' M ^{ms} SV Syh
43:12	XVIII 13	השמעתי 1QIsa ^b G] 'וה' 1QIsa ^a M
46:6	XX 4	ויסגדו 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a (ויסגודו)G(vid)] M ^L
52:14	XXIII 8	ותרו 1QIsa ^b] 1QIsa ^a M(ותא') M ^L
53:7	XXIII 17	לטבח 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a] לטבח M ^L
55:10	XXIV 10	לאכל 1QIsa ^b] לאכול 1QIsa ^a ; לאכל M ^L ; εις βρωσιν (= לאכל) G
58:5	XXV 12	קש 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a] 'ו MG
58:5	XXV 12	יום זום 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a] זום ויום M; ηηστειαν G
60:5	XXVI 8	אליד 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a] מ עליד M
60:18	XXVI 27	בגבולך 1QIsa ^b] בגבולך 1QIsa ^a MG (orth or var?)
63:5	XXVII 14	ואשתוממה 1QIsa ^b] ואשתומם 1QIsa ^a M
63:6	XXVII 15	ואבוסה 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a] ואבוס M
63:6	XXVII 15	ואורידי 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a (ואורידיה) M
66:15	XXVIII 25	כאש 1QIsa ^b 1QIsa ^a M ^L] באש M ^{ms} G

5. OMISSION OF TEXT IN 1QIsa^b

Two major variants—at 38:12–13 and 60:19–20—involve the omission of text by parablepsis on the part of the scribe of 1QIsa^b (or his *Vorlage*), and thus offer no real textual differences with respect to the text of Isaiah. In the example below, the longer text is attested in 1QIsa^a MG.

Isa 38:13 (col. XVI 2)

דוֹרְיָי נִסְעָה וְנִגְלָהּ [] מְנִי כֹאֵהֶל רְעִי] קִפְדָּתִי כֹאֲרֵג חִי מִדְּלָה 1QIsa ^b	
יִבְצַעֲנִי מִיּוֹם עַד [לִילָה תְּשַׁלִּימֵנִי	
דֹּרֵי נִסְעָה וְנִגְלָהּ מְנִי כֹאֵהֶל רְעִי קִפְדָּתִי כֹאֲרֵג חִי מִדְּלָה יִבְצַעֲנִי MT	
מִיּוֹם עַד לִילָה תְּשַׁלִּימֵנִי	1QIsa ^b
שְׁוִיתִי עַד־בְּקֶר כְּאֲרִי בֵּן יִשְׁבֵּר כְּל־עֲצָמוֹתַי מִיּוֹם עַד לִילָה תְּשַׁלִּימֵנִי MT	
כִּסּוֹס עֲגוּר כֵּן] אֲצַפְצֵף אֶהְגֶּה כִּיּוֹנָה... 1QIsa ^b	
כִּסּוֹס עֲגוּר בֵּן אֲצַפְצֵף אֶהְגֶּה כִּיּוֹנָה... MT	

Variant

38:13 (2) > v 13 1QIsa^b (מִיּוֹם עַד לִילָה תְּשַׁלִּימֵנִי) 1QIsa^aM G

Comment:

The shorter reading in 1QIsa^b admittedly makes sense, and so the possibility of the long addition being made to the text inherited by 1QIsa^aMG cannot be ruled out completely. However, the double occurrence of

“from day to night you bring me to an end” makes this an excellent candidate for parablepsis. *Assessment of this reading: not plausible, M^l preferable.*

6. VARIANT READINGS INVOLVING CLEAR CHANGES IN MEANING¹¹

When the minor variants and two long omissions are excluded, some 66 substantial variants between 1QIsa^b and the medieval Hebrew witnesses remain. These are grouped into nine categories, with at least one example of each discussed below.¹²

6.1. Addition or Loss of Words

This is the largest grouping, featuring fourteen readings in 1QIsa^b that differ from M or M^{ms}: Isa 49:3; 52:11; 53:4, 11; 55:5a; 56:8; 59:2; 60:7; 60:14; 60:21; 62:6; 62:7; 62:8; and 66:19. Three examples are discussed:

Isa 52:11 (col. XXIII, lines 4–5)

הברו	אל תגעו	[מ]אֵל מִשָּׁם טָמֵא	[סורו צאו]	סוֹרוֹן סוֹרוֹן	1QIsa ^b
				נְשֵׂאֵי כְּלֵי יְהוָה	
הִבְרוּ	צֵאוּ מִתּוֹכָהּ	עֲלֵי־תִגְעוּ	מִשָּׁם טָמֵא	סוֹרוֹן סוֹרוֹן צֵאוּ	MT
				נְשֵׂאֵי כְּלֵי יְהוָה	

52:11 (5) [1QIsa^b תגעו] + 1QIsa^aMG צאו מתוכה

Comment:

The shorter text is unique to 1QIsa^b, against other ancient witnesses, but makes good sense without the addition of “go out from her midst.” According to the *BHS* edition of M^l, v. 11b α in 1QIsa^b would be too short; this stichometric demarcation, however, is the product of modern editors, and was not present in the Leningrad Codex itself. English translations render the *textus receptus* as found in M. *Assessment: plausible, but M^l preferable.*

¹¹ I am grateful to my colleague Eugene Ulrich for his valuable insights on organizing the major variant readings into identifiable groups.

¹² There are actually 68 variants, with two counted twice: at Isa 57:20 (4. Minor Variant Readings [not included in partial list above] and 6.8. Transpositions); and Isa 60:21 (4. Minor Variant Readings [not included in partial list above] and 6.3. Differences in Pronoun).

Isa 53:11 (col. XXIII, lines 22–23)

1QIsa^b מעמל נפשו יראה אור
 לרבים ועונתם הוא יסבול
 יש[נ]בע בדעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדי
 MT מעמל נפשו יראה
 לרבים ועונתם הוא יסבול
 ישבע בדעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדי

53:11 (22) 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^a 4QIsa^d ([אור] G) > M (ראה = err for יראה // ישבע?)

Comment:

The reading “he will see light” is found in all three scrolls containing this verse, as well as the Septuagint. It has been proposed that the form in M, יראה “he will see,” was erroneously written for ירוה “he will be satiated,” which is parallel to ישבע “he will be satisfied” that follows. Among English translations, M is translated by the KJV, NKJV, RSV, NASB, ESV, AMP, CJB, GWORD, HCSB, NASB, NET, NLT-SE and JPS, while 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^a 4QIsa^d G are adopted by the NRSV, NAB, NJB, REB, NIV, and TNIV. *Assessment: preferable over M^L.*

Isa 60:21 (col. XXVI lines 30–31)

1QIsa^b ועמד כלם צדיקים לעולם יירשו ארץ
 להתפאר
 מטעיו מעשה ידיו
 MT ועמד כלם צדיקים לעולם יירשו ארץ נצר
 להתפאר
 מטעו מעשה ידי

Variant

60:21 (30) 1QIsa^b M^{ms}] + נצר 1QIsa^a 4QIsa^m (נצר) M^L (= נצר); +
 φυλλάσσω (= נצר) G

Comment:

The ancient witnesses suggest a troubled text at this point. The shorter reading in 1QIsa^b is supported by one Masoretic manuscript. The additional word in M^L (“the shoot of”) has substantial support: two Qumran scrolls and the consonantal text behind G. The *textus receptus* has been followed by English translations. *Assessment: plausible with M^{ms}, but M^L preferable.*

6.2. Singular versus Plural

There are nine entries under this category: Isa 26:2; 43:9; 53:8a; 54:3; 57:20; 58:3, 11; 59:21; and 60:5. For example:

Isa 58:3a (col. XXV, lines 8–9)

1QIsa^b למה צמנו ולא ראיתה ענינו נפשתינו לא תדע
 למה צמנו ולא ראית ענינו נפשנו ולא תדע
 MT

58:3 (9) 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^a (נפשותינו) G] נפשנו M

Comment:

The reading in 1QIsa^b (“[why have we humbled] ourselves”?) has very strong support from other witnesses, and implies that each person in the group took part in this act. The form in M (sing. noun + suffix, “ourself”) denotes a change in meaning, with the activity done by the group as a collective whole. *Assessment: preferable over M^l.*

6.3. *Differences in Pronoun*

Differences in pronoun are quite numerous, with eight instances at Isa 13:19; 43:6, 10; 46:11; 53:12 (2x); 58:5; and 60:21. For example:

Isa 53:12c (col. XIII, line 25)

1QIsa^b והוא חטא י רבים נשא ולפשעיהם יפגיע
 MT והוא חטא רבים נשא ולפשעים יפגיע

53:12 (25) 1QIsa^b ולפשעיהם 1QIsa^a(-יהמה) 4QIsa^d(ם) G] מ-עיים σ

Comment:

For this reading (“and [he made intercession] for their transgressions”), 1QIsa^b has overwhelming support from two more scrolls as well as G, and 12cβ complements “and he bore the sins [sin M] of many” in 12cα. The reading in M (“the transgressors”) is awkward, and has only the support of Symmachus, but is adopted by most English translations (including the ESV, JPS, NASB, NIV, RSV, and NRSV). *Assessment: preferable over M^l.*

6.4. *Differences in Meaning*

In seven cases, the reading in 1QIsa^b differs from that in M or M^{mss}: Isa 44:25; 48:17, 51:4 (2x), 58:14; 59:4; and 60:5. For example:

Isa 58:14 (col. XXV, lines 24–26)

1QIsa^b אז תתענג [על] יהוה והרכיבך ...
 MT אז תתענג על יהוה והרכבתיך ...

58:14 (25) 1QIsa^b והרכיבך 1QIsa^a(-כה) 4QIsa^a(ו) T(וישרינד) S V
 G(καὶ ἀναβύβασει σε); cf T] M והרכבתיך θ' S V

Comment:

Strong support from the other Qumran sources and the Septuagint, as well as the Targum, make the lemma in 1QIsa^b (“and he will make you ride”) the preferable reading over that in M θ' S V (“and I will make you ride”). Compare, however, later in the line the 1st person verbal form

והאכלתיך (“and I will feed you”) in 1QIsa^b 4QIsa^a (והאכלתיך) M V, as opposed to והאכילכה (“and he will feed you”) in 1QIsa^aG(ψωμειῆσε)TS. *Assessment: preferable over M^L.*

6.5. Variant Readings Involving the Divine Name

Different names for God are used six times, at 22:15; 38:14; 38:19a; 49:7; 57:21; and 61:1. Two of these are discussed:

Isa 49:7 (col. XXI, lines 17–19)

כה אמר אדני יהוה גואל ישראל קדושו לבזה נפש למתעב גוי	1QIsa ^b
...[לעבד]	
גואל ישראל קדושו לבזה נפש למתעב גוי	MT
... לעבד	

49:7 (17) אדני 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^a (אדוני)] > MG

Comment:

The support of 1QIsa^a makes the reading in 1QIsa^b (“my Lord, the LORD”) a fair contender for the preferred reading. This is not certain, however, in view of the support of G for the shorter reading in M (“the LORD”), which has been adopted by most English translations, including the KJV, RSV, NRSV, ESV, NASB, NIV, and JPS. *Assessment: plausible, but not preferable over M^L.*

Isa 61:1 (col. XXVI, line 33)

רוח יהוה אלהים עלי יען משח יהוה אתי לבשר ענוים	1QIsa ^b
שלחני לחפש לנשברי לב לקרא	
רוח אדני יהוה עלי יען משח יהוה אתי לבשר ענוים	MT
שלחני לחפש לנשברי לב לקרא	

61:1 (33) אדני יהוה 1QIsa^b] יהוה 1QIsa^aG(vid)V(vid); אדני יהוה 4QIsa^m(אדני יהוה) MG^{Qmg}

Comment:

The witnesses show that this reading was not settled in the manuscript traditions, and how the divine name could be found in differing forms. In this case, “the LORD God” is unique to 1QIsa^b, while “the Lord GOD” in M has stronger manuscript support, and is reflected most English translations, including the KJV, RSV, NRSV, ESV, NASB, NIV, and JPS. It should also be noted that the shorter form in 1QIsa^a G V (“the LORD”) appears in Jesus’ quotation of this passage in Luke 4:18: *πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμὲ* (“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me”). *Assessment: plausible, but not preferable over M^L.*

6.6. *Substitution of Parallel Terms*

The reading in 1QIsa^b differs from that in M or M^{mss} six times: Isa 49:6; 52:9; 58:10; 60:4; 62:8; and 63:5. Two examples are discussed:

Isa 52:9 (col. XXIII, lines 2–3)
 פָּצְחוּ רִנְנֵנוּ יַחְדָּיו חֲרָבוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם כִּי נַחֵם יְהוָה [עָמוּ גְאֹל יְרוּשָׁלַם 1QIsa^b
 פָּצְחוּ רִנְנֵנוּ יַחְדָּיו חֲרָבוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם בִּי־נַחֵם יְהוָה עָמוּ גְאֹל יְרוּשָׁלַם MT
 52:9 (3) יְרוּשָׁלַם 2° 1QIsa^b M^lG] pr 1QIsa^a(ים-); יִשְׂרָאֵל M^{mss}

Comment:

Here the reading in 1QIsa^b (“Jerusalem”) has the strong support of three main witnesses (and also 1QIsa^a, but with the object-marker). The form in M^{mss} (“Israel”) could be considered the *lectio difficilior*, but lacks early manuscript support. *Assessment: preferable with M^l over M^{mss}.*

Isa 60:4 (col. XXVI, lines 6–7)
 שְׂאֵי סָבִיב עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵי כֹלֵם נִקְבְּצוּ בְּאוֹ לֶךְ בְּנִיךָ] מִרְחֹק יָבֹאוּ 1QIsa^b
 וּבְנִתִּיד עַל צַד תִּנְשִׂינָה
 שְׂאֵי־סָבִיב עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵי כֹלֵם נִקְבְּצוּ בְּאוֹ־לֶךְ בְּנִיךָ מִרְחֹק יָבֹאוּ MT
 וּבְנִתִּיד עַל־צַד תִּנְשִׂינָה
 60:4 (7) תִּנְשִׂינָה 1QIsa^b G(ἀρθησονται)] 1QIsa^aM

Comment:

This form in 1QIsa^b (“shall be taken up [or, carried]”) is supported by G. The more unusual reading in M (“shall be carried on the hip”) is attested by 1QIsa^a, and as the *lectio difficilior* may be the preferred reading. *Assessment: plausible, but not preferable over M^l.*

6.7. *Differences in Preposition*

There are six differences in preposition when 1QIsa^b is compared with M or M^{mss}: Isa 55:5b; 58:4; 59:2; 62:10; 65:20; and 66:4. For example:

Isa 55:5b (col. XXIV, line 4)
 [לְמַעַן יְהִי־וְהָאֵלֵהֶיךָ וְקָדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־פֶאֶרְךָ 1QIsa^b
 [לְמַעַן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְלִקְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי פֶאֶרְךָ MT
 55:5 (4) וְלִקְדוֹשׁ 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^a] וְלִקְדוֹשׁ 1QIsa^a corr^{1m} M(“ולק”)

Comment:

The reading in 1QIsa^b and 1QIsa^a (“and the Holy One”) and the pair of words before it (“the Lord your God”) are governed by לְמַעַן, in both cases without any preposition. The addition of the preposition in M and as a correction in 1QIsa^a may reflect later scribal activity designed to

preserve the force of the somewhat distant למען. *Assessment: perhaps preferable over M^L (possibly the original reading).*

6.8. Transpositions

Five transpositions can be identified in 1QIsa^b in comparison with M or M^{mss}, at: Isa 38:19a; 52:13; 55:8; 57:20; and 62:8. One example is discussed:

Isa 52:13 (col. XXIII, lines 6–7)

הנה ישכיל עבדי ירום וגבה ונשא מאד 1QIsa^b
הנה ישכיל עבדי ירום ונשא וגבה מאד MT

52:13 (7) נשא וגבה/ונשא 1QIsa^b] tr 1QIsa^a M; καὶ δοξασθήσεται G

Comment:

In this example, the unique sequence in 1QIsa^b (“and he shall be lifted up / and he shall be exalted”) contrasts with that in M, which is supported by 1QIsa^a. No help is given by G, which translates both terms with a single verb (“and he shall be glorified”). *Assessment: plausible, but not preferable over M^L.*

6.9. Masculine versus Feminine

Differences in masculine and feminine occur five times, at Isa 26:1; 29:3; 47:11; 53:3; and 66:17. For example:

Isa 66:17a (col. XXVIII, lines 26–27)

המת[קדשים והמ]טהרים אל הגנ[ות אחר את]ת בתוך 1QIsa^b
המתקדשים והמטהרים אל הגנות אחר אחד בתוך MT

66:17 (27) ת[ח]ת אחר 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^aM^{q, mss}] אחד M^L; > G

Comment:

The reading in 1QIsa^b (“after the one [fem.]”) is obscure in this context, but well-attested. The masculine in M^L is perhaps product of later editing to supply a form that most readers would expect. *Assessment: perhaps preferable over M^L.*

7. CONCLUSIONS

Of the 622 variant readings found in 1QIsa^b, this paper has focused on the 183 variants against the Masoretic text (mostly M^L, occasionally M^q, M^{mss}, M^{edd}, or the Cairo Genizah), with a view to determining: just how

close it is to the consonantal text of the medieval MT; and whether some variants in this scroll may be considered preferred readings.

The first group of 115 minor variant readings was identified, with several examples. These are of mostly of slight consequence and involve little change of meaning. The second group contains two major variants—at 38:12–13 and 60:19–20—which were found to present no real textual difference, since they involve the omission of text by parablepsis on the part of the scribe of 1QIsa^b (or his *Vorlage*). The third group is the most significant one, since it presents at least¹³ 66 substantial variants involving clear changes in meaning between 1QIsa^b and the medieval Hebrew witnesses. These were organized into nine categories, with detailed discussion of at least one example of each.¹⁴

1QIsa^b is commonly viewed as an exemplar of the Proto-Masoretic Text, and has been described as enjoying an “exclusive closeness... to the medieval texts [that] is remarkable.”¹⁵ However, the complete data now indicate that, while generally true, this affinity is not so intimately close. The 66 substantial variants, as well as some of the minor ones, indicate not a little differentiation between this manuscript and the Masoretic tradition. Of the fourteen examples from 1QIsa^b that were discussed in detail, four readings are unique against all other witnesses (the case of parablepsis at Isa 38:13; 52:11; 52:13; and 61:1). While this sample is admittedly small, it perhaps points to more pristine text — or at least a degree of independence — in this scroll. The assessment of its first editor, E. L. Sukenik, is duly noted: that 1QIsa^b is “quite close to the Masoretic Text of the Book of Isaiah in both its readings and in its spellings,” with “relatively few... textual variants.”¹⁶ The complete evidence now suggests that the emphasis in this statement be more on “quite close,” and less on “relatively few.”

¹³ It was mentioned earlier that a few of the Minor Variant Readings may qualify as substantial, in which case they would belong in the category of Variant Readings involving Clear Changes in Meaning, thus raising its total.

¹⁴ If two variants (at Isa 57:20 and 60:21) are counted twice the total is 68. See note 12 above.

¹⁵ See, for example, Emanuel Tov, “The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts,” in *The Bible as Book. The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries. Proceedings of the Conference Held at Hampton Court, Herefordshire, 18–21 June 2000* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library, 2002), 139–66, esp. 154.

¹⁶ Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, 30–31.

To what extent may the non-Masoretic readings in 1QIsa^b be viewed as textually superior or significant? Of the fourteen examples that were treated, six are preferable readings (Isa 53:11; 58:3a, 12, 14) or perhaps preferable readings (55:5; 66:17a) over M^L. One more is plausible with M^{ms}, but not preferable over M^L (60:21); and four are plausible, but M^L remains preferable (49:7; 52:13; 61:1; 60:4). For the remaining three readings, one is preferable with M^L over M^{ms} (52:9); another is plausible, but M^L is preferable (52:11); and one (the case of parablepsis) is not plausible, with M^L remaining preferable (38:13).

Since Bible translators tend to be conservative, with a general predilection for the Masoretic Text, it is not surprising that few of the non-Masoretic readings found in the Isaiah Scrolls have been adopted in English translations. It should also be pointed out that several translators or translation teams perhaps lack the scholarly discipline, or at least the access, to make themselves aware of the range of textual options in the Isaiah Scrolls from the Judean Desert, most notably Cave 1.

Even so, among the limited number of examples (fourteen) that have been discussed in detail, for Isa 53:11 the additional word “light” in 1QIsa^b 1QIsa^a 4QIsa^dG has been adopted by the NRSV, NAB, NJB, REB, NIV, and TNIV.

With the publication of DJD XXXII in 2010, and as the full significance of 1QIsa^b and the other Isaiah Scrolls is realized, many more readings from these most ancient of our sources will surely be recognized and adopted by revised English Bible translations as part of the most authentic or pristine text of Isaiah.

CLEARER INSIGHT INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BIBLE—A GIFT OF THE SCROLLS*

EUGENE ULRICH

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this conference is to reflect on the progress made in Qumran studies during the past decade and to look toward future study. One of the principal areas of progress has been in methodological clarity. Methodological reflection both on the setting of the Scriptures within general Judaism during the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., and on modern scholars' attempts at evaluating the Qumran scriptural evidence has already produced major advances and holds great promise for further advances. We must ask: were earlier generations of scrolls scholars, and are we today, looking, seeing, and interpreting the nature of the Scriptures with correct vision, or might there be distortions in our vision that it would be good to correct? What can we learn from observing early scholarly assessments of the evidence provided by the Qumran discoveries? The first section of this paper will consider theoretical issues; the second section will treat specific issues with regard to Scripture and particular manuscript evidence; and the third will explore issues regarding the collection of Scriptures, later to emerge as the canon.

1. THEORETICAL ISSUES

Among the first aspects to be discussed is the question of perspective, or coign of vantage. Where should our standing point be, and where should we aim our focus, when setting out to think and speak

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about the scriptural scrolls? Should we use modern concepts, categories, and terms? Or concepts, categories, and terms that would have been appropriate in the “first centuries,”¹ at the close of the Second Temple period? At the time of their discovery, the Dead Sea Scrolls represented a unique body of evidence for the history of scriptural development. When we encounter something radically new, in whole or even in part, that goes beyond our acquired knowledge, we are at risk of failing to interpret it correctly or adequately. Since the texts and the collection of Scriptures evidenced by the scrolls are distinctly different from the biblical text and canon of the twentieth and twenty-first century, it is possible that our interpretation and explanation of them could be less than adequate. If, instead of viewing them from the present, we immerse ourselves in the first centuries, observing and discussing the scriptural MSS according to the understanding the people had then and the reality they knew, we may achieve a clearer, more accurate understanding.

Epistemologically, we come to achieve new knowledge through a process of experience, understanding, and judgment. Through experience or sense perception we take in any new data and then begin the work of understanding, conceptualizing, interpreting. The conceptualization or interpretation takes place according to the categories we already know, categories well established and confirmed by our past experience of their repeated usefulness for absorbing and correctly classifying knowledge. When the data are complex, alternate interpretations are possible, and then it is the task of judgment to decide which of the interpretations is in fact the correct one, the one that best explains the data.

Pedagogically that is the first step. But should it be our final, definitive step? Examination of this process exposes a possible pitfall to attaining a proper understanding of the new evidence. If our present categories are not adequate or not sufficiently refined for accurate interpretation of the new evidence, we may adopt a judgment regarding the evidence that, though perhaps partly accurate, may also

¹ The term “the first centuries” will be used to denote the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., the time period on which this study is focused. The bulk of our MS scriptural evidence comes roughly from these two centuries, and they are crucial for understanding the emergence of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism.

be partly misleading. Thus, articulations of that judgment and future decisions could reinforce the misleading viewpoint.

Accordingly, one can discern two models for conceptualizing the biblical text and two methodologies according to which people proceed to understand the evidence for the biblical text. One model or methodology, often unexamined, is to start by presupposing that we know what the content, wording, and orthography of the biblical text is—we have known it all along, we know it well from the MT. That text has had an amazingly stable existence since about the early second century C.E., and much of it is demonstrably based on one form of texts that goes back to the second century B.C.E. When we discover new data that appear to be biblical or biblically related, we know how to understand that data because we know what the biblical text is supposed to look like. Our categories and well-learned criteria are determined by our present knowledge, and data from antiquity are interpreted according to these categories.

A second model or methodology, in contrast, acknowledges that conclusions should follow upon data and upon an adequate understanding of the data. We should operate according to the empirical principle that we must start our intellectual construct from the data, not from preconceived notions of what historical reality must have been like. Every source of evidence we have for the nature of the biblical text in the Second Temple period—the Qumran scrolls, the SP, the LXX, the NT, and Josephus—demonstrates that the biblical text was pluriform and dynamically growing, with variant literary editions for many of the biblical books. According to the second model, the data are first understood on their own terms, in their historical context. If that picture clashes with our modern picture, one honestly asks whether our modern picture ought not be revised.

According to the first model, if a text does not look similar enough to the traditional MT, or even the MT-SP-LXX, then it is classified as “nonbiblical,” or “parabiblical,” or “reworked Bible.” But according to the second model, as we will see below, that same text could be classified as “biblical,” if it fits the profile of what the biblical text was really like in antiquity. Once seen correctly, it can help us better understand the history of the biblical text.

An illustration may help. When the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a) was first discovered, it was labeled a “vulgar” or even “worthless”

MS.² It did not conform with the “biblical” text that scholars knew—the MT. They had their categories well learned and their criteria well formed, and they knew what a biblical MS should look like; 1QIsa^a did not make the grade. A number of other, analogous judgments were made, many of which have since been revised in the light of ongoing investigation.

Thus, a paradigm shift is needed, one element of which is the adoption of an ancient, in contrast to a modern, perspective; anachronism will distort our vision.

2. THE SCRIPTURES

Another element in that paradigm shift is the revision of our view of the MT in comparison with other witnesses to the biblical text. The common, sometimes unreflective, view of the text of the Hebrew Bible is that it is basically a “purified” MT. That is, the single “standard text” form that the rabbis and the Masoretes handed on, the traditional *textus receptus*, once the obvious errors are removed, is considered to present the “original text,” or the closest one can come to it. Accordingly, most Bible translations translate “the MT except where there is a problem,” at which point they look to the SP, the LXX, the versions, or emendation. But the Qumran scrolls show that the textual form of the MT was not always the central text of the Hebrew Bible, but is simply one of several forms that existed in antiquity. As early as 1988 both Emanuel Tov and I had challenged the centrality of the MT. Tov correctly stated that the Qumran texts have “taught us no longer to posit MT at the center of our textual thinking”;³ and I discussed a series of variant editions of biblical books, several Qumran scrolls, and LXX readings which “prove to be superior in general to the MT” and which thus demonstrate “the decentralization of the MT as *the* text of the

² Harry M. Orlinsky, “Studies in the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll, IV,” *JQR* 43 (1952–1953): 329–40, esp. 340.

³ Emanuel Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism,” *JJS* 39 (1988): 5–37, esp. 7; this clear statement was foreshadowed in his “A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls,” *HUCA* 53 (1982): 11–27.

Hebrew Bible.”⁴ Beginning from these observations, we must reassess how we approach the text of the Hebrew Bible.⁵

The common mentality of privileging the MT is usually formed from the very beginning of a reader’s interest in the Bible. Normally, when one desires to pick up and read a Bible, the translation is basically from the MT. If one wishes to proceed further and learn the original language, the introductory Hebrew textbook presents the details of Tiberian Hebrew, the form solidified by the Masoretes. When one advances to reading the Hebrew text, one purchases *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), which is a transcription of Codex Leningradensis. Advanced problems get solved by Gesenius, who explains MT anomalies mainly within the Tiberian system. To be fair, since only one Hebrew text tradition has been transmitted after the second century C.E., it is difficult to do otherwise, and prior to the scrolls it was virtually impossible to do so. But we should now be aware of the situation and attempt to broaden the patterns.

2.1. *Biblical vs. Parabiblical Distribution in DJD*

Another area where modern terminology does not adequately address the situation in the first centuries is along the border between what are labeled “biblical” and “nonbiblical” scrolls. Understandably, before a full picture of the nature of the biblical text in antiquity was achieved, the early editors of the DJD series classified the scrolls according to modern classifications and divided the “biblical” scrolls from the “nonbiblical” scrolls according to the contents of the MT. For the

⁴ Eugene Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to be Translated,” in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed. James L. Crenshaw; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988), 101–16; repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 34–50, esp. 46–47; and idem, “The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran Cave 4: An Overview and a Progress Report on Their Publication,” in *Biblical Texts* (vol. 1 of *The Texts of Qumran and the History of the Community: Proceedings of the Groningen Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls [20–23 August 1989]*; ed. Florentino García Martínez; Paris: Gabalda, 1989 [= *RevQ* 14/2 No. 54–55 (1989): 207–228]), esp. 223 (emphasis in original).

⁵ *The Oxford Hebrew Bible*, currently in preparation, is the first effort since the discovery of the scrolls to produce a critically established text; see a description of the project plus individual samples in Ronald Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition,” *VT* 58 (2008): 324–51; and Sidnie White Crawford, Jan Joosten, and Eugene Ulrich, “Sample Editions of the Oxford Hebrew Bible: Deuteronomy 32:1–9, 1 Kings 11:1–8, and Jeremiah 27:1–10 (34 G),” *VT* 58 (2008): 352–66.

continuation of the series Emanuel Tov and I decided to follow the established practice, classifying mechanically according to those same modern formal categories. Thus, those manuscripts, and only those, would be classified as “biblical” that correspond to books of the traditional Hebrew Bible. That practice does, however, involve the double anomaly that some books that were very likely considered Scripture at Qumran (such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*) are classified as “nonbiblical,” while many of the Ketuvim, which were evidently not yet considered Scripture, are classified as “biblical.” In a recent article, James VanderKam correctly notes more broadly that “what are identified as ‘biblical’ manuscripts are often treated separately by scrolls scholars, with some focusing all or almost all of their scholarly labors on them. It seems to me that this segregation of texts is not a valid procedure in that it does not reflect what comes to expression in the ancient works found at Qumran.”⁶

2.2. A “Standard Text” in the First Centuries?

Another problem concerning the perception of the MT is the view that the text tradition that it represents was the “standard text” in the first centuries. By “standard text” people usually envision some form of the “original text” minimally marred by human copyists’ errors, or the “correct” texts preserved by the priests in the Jerusalem Temple, somehow transferred to the Pharisees-rabbis, or some combination of the two.⁷ The Qumran MSS, however, show no evidence of being “sectarian,” but are representative of the Jewish Scriptures generally in that period, bountifully demonstrate that textual pluriformity was not only the common state of the biblical text but also that there was no expectation of conformity to a standard text. The SP, the LXX,

⁶ James C. VanderKam, “Questions of Canon Viewed through the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee M. McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 91–109, esp. 95.

⁷ But the developmental composition of the biblical books shows that “the original text” is a naïve and unattainable concept, often based on an unnuanced view of an *Urtext*. Moreover, to my knowledge, no one has demonstrated how we could know either the textual nature of the priests’ MSS in the Jerusalem Temple, or how the Pharisees-rabbis, usually considered a lay group, would have received them in contrast to the (probably priestly) LXX translators and the Qumran leaders who were presumably very strict priests.

the quotations in the NT, and the biblical texts used by Josephus all resoundingly confirm that widely accepted state of pluriformity. To be sure, scribes attempted to copy their source texts as accurately as possible, including (as also seen in the MT) accurately copying errors already solidified in the text. But the source texts they were copying were already widely different from each other. The MT of each book was more or less accurately copied from *some* text or other that existed in the Second Temple period, but its specific text form for many books was only one of the equally valued forms in which the text of that book existed in antiquity.

The future still awaits a full demonstration of whether the texts preserved in the medieval MT transmit the texts guarded by the priests in the Jerusalem Temple as opposed to other popular or vulgar texts that were less well preserved by less well qualified people. Nor has a line of succession—from Temple priests to Pharisees to rabbis—been convincingly shown. If any group had Temple texts that they preserved and copied, the Qumran group would seem to be the most likely candidate. Their early members are widely believed to have been priests in the Temple who separated themselves because they believed the Temple had been defiled. Similarly, the translators of the LXX Pentateuch presumably used approved Hebrew texts as their basis. There does not seem to be any evidence that the Pharisees were conscious that their texts differed from other less valuable textual forms. Nor did they have the religious authority—acknowledged by other Jewish parties—to claim that their texts were standard and others were not.⁸ The specific texts for each book in the rabbinic collection as reflected in the MT are, as far as we can tell, not selected or chosen but chance or coincidental.⁹ The poor state of the text, for example, of Samuel and Hosea would seem to preclude conscious textual preference and selection; and the criteria for the choices of the MT vs. the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX could not have been the same for the books of Jeremiah and Daniel. It is difficult to prove that there was a centralized

⁸ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1991), 98 and 112.

⁹ See Eugene Ulrich, “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls—The Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim, with Larry W. Hurtado, A. Graeme Auld, and Alison Jack; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 67–87, esp. 72.

and dominant group within Judaism prior to the revolts that possessed the detailed attention and concern for a “standard text,” or indeed the power to establish one.¹⁰

It is possible, but it is undocumented, that some individuals may have been conscious of differences between variant editions of particular books and may have chosen one deliberately instead of another. But scrolls not in use were usually rolled up; and if there was more than one scroll of a book, it seems more in line with the evidence that a reader would have picked up one of the available rolled-up scrolls marked “במדבר” without knowing and, apparently from the Qumran evidence, without caring which text-form of Numbers was inscribed inside. If there were an awareness of different editions and a conscious choice between them, the articulation of the choice is less likely to have been in terms of “pre-Samaritan vs. proto-MT” and more likely “the newer, fuller edition vs. the earlier, shorter edition.”

2.3. *Classification of Qumran Scriptural Scrolls*

The set of categories used most commonly today for describing scriptural scrolls from Qumran proposes five classifications: “Proto-Masoretic texts,” “Pre-Samaritan texts,” “texts close to the Septuagint,” “texts written in the Qumran Practice,” and “Non-Aligned texts.”¹¹ This system has the distinct pedagogical advantage, especially for students or non-specialists, of helping one understand and classify the textual situation of the new scrolls quickly. For example, James VanderKam in an article on the canon uses these classifications as a *starting point*, saying that they “give one extremely well informed scholar’s overview of the situation.”¹² But I suggest that one must quickly go further and redescribe the situation in terms appropriate to a first-centuries mentality for proper focus. VanderKam apparently agrees, since he also points out that “there are some problems with these categories,”¹³ and

¹⁰ See the quotation from James VanderKam below.

¹¹ Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d. ed.; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 114; see also note 17 below.

¹² VanderKam, “Questions of Canon,” 94.

¹³ VanderKam, “Questions of Canon,” 94. Some problems that he mentions are that “not all of [the categories] are of the same kind” (spelling system vs. textual nature), and that sometimes a MS “agrees with both the MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch.”

indeed some manuscripts actually must be assigned to more than one category according to those criteria.

Significant problems appear in our use of these categories. People at that time would not have had conceptually available, or used, textual categories such as “Masoretic or Proto-Masoretic Text,” “Samaritan” or “Pre-Samaritan.” The category of Masoretic, or Proto-Masoretic Text, or even Proto-Rabbinic, seems anachronistic, as does “Pre-Samaritan.” The term “Samaritan” would be used of the religion or of a person, but it would be used of a text only when describing the theologically changed texts with a Mount Gerizim perspective. The category “texts close to the Septuagint” raises the anomalous situation that most MSS of Genesis or Leviticus (including the MT texts!) could be so classified, since there is minimal difference between the LXX and the MT for those books.

An additional complication is that the textual character of the MT changes from book to book, and so the criteria for labeling any text “Proto-MT” change, depending on whether, for example, the text is Numbers or Jeremiah or Daniel. A further problem is that the MT and the LXX are not text types; the text of each of the books is simply the only MS (for MT) or one of the only MSS (for LXX) preserved. They are, in varying degrees, simply more or less accurate *copies* of whichever edition they happen to attest; they do not present their edition in pure form nor constitute proper standards against which other MSS should be compared.

Regarding the fourth category, I have suggested elsewhere that “the Qumran Practice” is probably not unique to Qumran but is representative of the scribal practice generally in the latter half of the Second Temple period in Palestine.¹⁴ E. Kutscher, who wrote an exhaustive monograph on the linguistic character of the Great Isaiah Scroll,¹⁵ also stated that “we may assume that many of those points in which the Scroll [1QIsa^a] differs linguistically from the Masoretic Isaiah represent characteristics of the literary Hebrew of the last centuries of the first millennium B.C.E.”¹⁶ The scribal practice visible in the scrolls is not

¹⁴ Ulrich, *Scrolls and Origins*, 110–13.

¹⁵ Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974).

¹⁶ Eduard Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 95.

one single, moderately clear system as opposed to a different system in the MT. Rather, there is a spectrum of features which appear to be natural developments of the morphology and the expanding orthography of late biblical Hebrew, as can also be seen in the Targums. The features appear somewhat arbitrarily and erratically in the Qumran MSS, which at some points use the spelling familiar from the Tiberian–MT practice(s), and at other points (often in the same verse) use the “Qumran practice.”¹⁷ The features are not consistently applied in the MSS, and some appear in distinctly non-Qumran places: on Hasmonaean coins, in the Nash Papyrus from Egypt, and in an Aramaic inscription from Hatra. Perhaps most interestingly, many of these features show up in the MT itself; a few examples may be listed:

כול:	cf. לכול Jer 33:8; כולם Jer 31:34
לוא:	cf. לוא Isa 16:14; Jer 7:28; Nash Papyrus
כיא:	cf. נקיא Joel 4:19; Jonah 1:14
המה-:	cf. מהמה Jer 10:2
כה-:	cf. ידכה Exod 13:16
קטלתה:	cf. וראיתה Num 27:13; וצויתה Num 27:19
אקטולה:	cf. אשקוטה Isa 18:4.

For the final category, in light of the lack of a “standard text” in the late Second Temple period, as discussed above, the category “Non-Aligned texts” ought not to be viewed as an operative category in this period. Rather, it seems increasingly clear that the text of each book developed through successive revised literary editions, whereby an earlier form of the book was intentionally revised to produce a newer revised edition. Thus, I have alternatively proposed that the text types for each book be classified according to the successive editions for which we have evidence, e.g.:

¹⁷ For the distinctive features of “the Qumran practice,” see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004); idem, *Textual Criticism*, 107–110; and idem, “Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert—An Overview and Analysis,” in his *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 128–54.

<i>Edition</i> ¹⁸	<i>Exodus</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Joshua</i>	<i>Jeremiah</i>	<i>Daniel</i>	<i>Psalms</i>
<i>n+1</i>	OG-Exod 35–40	MT-Num	4QJosh ^a , Josephus	4QJer ^{b,d} , OG	MT-Dan	MT-Pss
<i>n+2</i>	MT-Exod	4QNum ^b	[SamPent, OL] ¹⁹	4QJer ^{a,c} , MT	OG-Dan	11QPs ^a
<i>n+3</i>	4QpaleoExod ^m		OG-Josh			
<i>n+4</i>	SamPent-Exod		MT-Josh			
<i>n+5</i>	4QPent-Exod					

The biblical books each developed through a number (“*n*”) of “new and expanded editions” prior to the earliest surviving MSS. For the Exodus example above, the earliest preserved edition (“*n + 1*”) is that in the OG for chapters 35–40. The MT has a revised edition (“*n + 2*”) of those chapters. 4QpaleoExod^m displays a yet expanded edition (“*n + 3*”) beyond the MT edition, etc. The “*n + 1*” symbols may appear less elegant than “proto-MT,” etc., but since the successive editions form the primary lines for charting the history of the text of the individual books, the system, once understood, arguably describes the shape(s) of the biblical texts in the first centuries accurately, more so than the previous categories. For an extended period of time, the earlier edition would have co-existed alongside the newer edition, and both would have been used, probably with little awareness of the differences in the editions. Thus, terms and classifications such as “earlier or shorter edition” of Jeremiah vs. “secondary, expanded edition” of Jeremiah seem preferable. We should appreciate the pedagogical usefulness of medieval and modern concepts, categories, and terms as a starting point, but I suggest as the necessary next stage the adoption

¹⁸ Eugene Ulrich, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:79–100, esp. 85. The “*n + 1*” type of designation for successive editions of a text assumes that there has been a number (“*n*”) of editions during the composition of the text which constitute its growth leading up to the first extant witness (“*n + 1*”) to a given book. The last line, “*n+5* 4QPent-Exod,” was not yet in the 1998 article but is added here in light of the revised classification of 4QPentateuch (see below).

¹⁹ The SP has בִּהְרֵי גְרִיזִים and the OL (undoubtedly reflecting a LXX MSS) has *Garzin* at Deut 27:4, where Moses gives the command which is executed in Joshua by the building of the first altar at Gilgal (4QJosh^a, Josephus), Mount Gerizim (SP, OL), or Mount Ebal (MT).

of concepts, categories, and terms that would have been appropriate to the first centuries.

2.4. 4QPentateuch and 11QPsalms^a

There are many more topics than can be treated here which deserve re-examination in light of the more richly detailed understanding of the biblical text in antiquity afforded by the scrolls. A carefully thought-out discussion of the *Urtext* is one such topic. Another is the “biblical” or “nonbiblical” status of various MSS, in view of the shift in scholarly awareness as seen especially regarding 4QPentateuch (*olim* 4QReworked Pentateuch) and 11QPsalms^a.²⁰

Already in 1993 I suggested that 4QRP should be reconsidered as possibly a variant form of the Pentateuch, since the characteristics listed for describing the texts as “reworked” were becoming increasingly recognized as typical characteristics of the biblical text in the Second Temple period.²¹ In a 1997 conference in Jerusalem Michael Segal argued persuasively for the same position.²² And in 2007 a similar conclusion was reached by Emanuel Tov,²³ one of the two editors of 4QRP.²⁴

²⁰ For 4QRP see Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White, “364–367. 4QReworked Pentateuch^{b–c},” in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al. in consultation with James VanderKam; DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 187–351. A fifth MS, 4Q158, has been connected with 4QRP^{b–c}, but it remains debated whether these five MSS are all copies of one work or simply similar expansions of the Pentateuch. See Molly M. Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 315–39, and the literature cited there.

²¹ Eugene Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 77–93 esp. 92 n. 51; repr. in Ulrich, *Scrolls and Origins*, 32.

²² His lecture was presented in 1997 and published in 2000: Michael Segal, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam, with Galen Marquis; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 391–99.

²³ Emanuel Tov now agrees that 4QRP is “to be reclassified as a biblical text, ‘4QPentateuch,’” and needs “to be studied as Hebrew Scripture.” See Emanuel Tov, “The Many Forms of Hebrew Scripture: Reflections in Light of the LXX and 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo* (ed. Armin Lange, Matthias Weigold, and József Zsengellér; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 11–28, esp. 27–28.

²⁴ See now also Sidnie White Crawford’s *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

When James Sanders edited 11QPsalms^a and treated it as a biblical Psalms MS in 1965,²⁵ many leading scholars disagreed, arguing that it was a post-biblical, liturgical MS.²⁶ But also in 1993 the characteristics just mentioned above, along with other correctives (such as the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for the divine name in other square script MSS), suggested that the arguments against the biblical nature of 11QPsalms^a could no longer be seen as determinative.²⁷ In 1997 Peter Flint presented the evidence more comprehensively.²⁸ Thus, fresh analysis of a wide variety of MSS may produce advances in understanding many texts.

3. THE COLLECTION OF SCRIPTURES

The abundant new data provided by the scrolls illumines not only the individual texts but also the collection of texts that eventually would become the canon of Scripture, as well as the dynamics of the process leading to the formation of a biblical canon. Exploration of the dynamics of the canonical process promises to be a rich field for enhancing our knowledge of the history of Judaism in this crucial period. Meanwhile, a less exciting but methodologically quite important task is to define appropriate terminology and to clarify the various elements that constitute or contribute to the canonical process. Some discussions since the discovery of the scrolls have been confusing and at cross purposes due to the lack of clear definitions and terminology, and thus have hindered scholarly progress. In fact a full volume was collected to try to address the problem.²⁹ Two areas in particular will benefit from discussion: the web of trajectories for the various books on their road

²⁵ For 11QPsalms^a see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsalms^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).

²⁶ Shemaryahu Talmon, "Pisqah Be'emś'a Pasuq and 11QPsalms^a," *Textus* 5 (1966): 11–21; Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPsalms^a): A Problem of Canon and Text," *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33; and Patrick W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPsalms^a," *CBQ* 34 (1973): 195–205, plus "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. Mathias Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 163–82, esp. 168–69.

²⁷ See Ulrich, *Scrolls and Origins*, 30, and more fully on 115–20.

²⁸ Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), esp. 202–27.

²⁹ McDonald and Sanders, *The Canon Debate*.

from national literature to canon of sacred Scripture, and the definition of “canon” and related aspects.

3.1. *From Literature to Scripture*

The Bible as transmitted is the end product of a lengthy and complex set of historical trajectories. The status of (1) Scripture, as verbally inspired or recorded revelation, is accorded to (2) each complete literary book; it is (3) the textual basis of the Jewish and Christian religions, and (4) its text is fixed and unchangeable, with (5) a definitive and exclusive list of contents collected into a single book.

But what eventually became the Bible did not have its origins as Scripture.³⁰ Here there is space for only a brief sketch, but it would be a rewarding project to analyze in detail for each of those five aspects just mentioned the transformational shift from the original situation to the final state:

- (1) the gradual shift from being regarded as *literature* to being regarded as authoritative *Scripture*, which probably happened in different ways for each different book or group of books;³¹
- (2) the shift from a collection of *individual sayings* or utterances originally understood to be God’s message to the people, to an *entire book* understood as divinely inspired;
- (3) the shift in the *status* of texts, from *secondary* to *primary*, after the Temple was destroyed in 70 and the religion, whose central focus had been the Temple and its sacrifices and rituals, was forced to change into one whose unifying focus for the dispersed communities was now the transportable texts;³²

³⁰ We will consider below, for example, whether Ben Sira was envisioning the sources for his Praise of Famous Men as Scripture or simply as literature.

³¹ See Eugene Ulrich, “From Literature to Scripture: The Growth of a Text’s Authoritativeness,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 3–25.

³² 1 Maccabees mentions Scripture only a few times; but note an earlier occurrence of a shift toward rising importance of text after loss of Temple when Judas and his warriors “opened the book of the law to inquire” (1 Macc 3:48) after they were excluded from the Temple. Moreover, when 1 Macc 4:41–58 recounts the cleansing and rededication of the sanctuary, it is the altar of burnt offering that is first to be mentioned (4:44, 47); and, while there is extended discussion of the furnishings of the sanctuary, sacrifices, and celebration, note that texts are mentioned only in a subordinate clause (“as the law directs” 4:53) in reference to the sacrifice on the new altar.

- (4) the shift from a centuries-old process of dynamically *growing and pluriform* textual forms to a static situation of a *stable and unchangeable* text for each book;
- (5) the shift from a long-developing *undefined collection* of separate scrolls to a *single book* with a front and back cover which *included* those texts that were consciously chosen for inclusion *and excluded* all others.

Thus, the Bible had its origins in numerous disparate units, many of which were oral, and only some of which were viewed as repeating God's inspired message. Each of the books developed organically along its own particular trajectory as part of the nation's literature, but the sacrificial rituals of the Temple were the primary focus of the religion. The organic and pluriform character of the texts was the norm until the process of textual growth was abruptly halted by the results of the two revolts. Finally, it was only late in the process that debates arose about which books should be included or excluded and that conscious decisions were made which eventuated in the canon.

There is also need for exploration in a related direction. Just as there was a web of historical trajectories for the different books as they were transformed from national literature to Scripture, so too are there "sliding scales" both from earlier to later editions of the scriptural books and subsequently from scriptural books to rewritten scriptural compositions. George Brooke describes the issue well:

What emerges from a consideration of the scriptural and rewritten scriptural compositions in this overall manner is that there is no neat separation of the two classes of works. It is certainly not the case that the emerging authoritative collection contained no rewritten works [e.g., Deuteronomy or Chronicles]. The categorization into canonical and non-canonical does not serve our purposes suitably. Rather, it seems as if there is a sliding scale of affinity or dependence and that function needs to be considered in a qualified way too. This sliding scale approach prevents us from applying the anachronistic labels of scriptural or non-scriptural too quickly to manuscript evidence which is so obviously replete with variety, pluralism, multiple editions of books and a range of secondary compositions.³³

³³ George J. Brooke, "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British

3.2. *Canon and Related Concepts*

The second area for which clarification will prove helpful is the definition of “canon” and related concepts. The term “canon” is a long-established theological *terminus technicus* with a precise meaning: it is the official, exclusive list of books accepted by the community as authoritative, because inspired, Scripture. Though the term can mean both “rule” and “list,” the phrase “canon of Scripture” is predominantly used to denote the list. It was the end result of a lengthy “canonical process” of valuing, sifting, and debating that finally resulted in reflective judgments to include the essential books and to exclude those judged not so. Ancient discussions apparently involved only books, and not the specific textual form of a book. Canon as such is a static concept, the result of a retrospective conclusion that the state of affairs that has been guiding the community has now come to be seen and judged as permanent.³⁴ Talk of an “open canon” is self-contradictory, as is “a square with uneven sides and angles” (see “canonical process” below).

There are a number of aspects closely associated with the concept of canon that often get intermingled and confuse discussions, and so it helps to differentiate them and use each properly:

- (1) An *authoritative* work is a writing which a group, secular or religious, recognizes and accepts as determinative for its conduct, and as of a higher order than can be overridden by the power or will of the group or any member. A constitution or law code would be an example.
- (2) A book of *Scripture* is a sacred authoritative work believed to have God as its ultimate author, which the community, as a group and individually, recognizes and accepts as determinative for its belief and practice for all time and in all geographical areas.
- (3) The *textual form* of most books of Scripture was pluriform in antiquity. A book may have been widely and definitively considered Scripture, but it could circulate in several textual forms and

Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 31–40, esp. 36. See also Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, and Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch.”

³⁴ For fuller discussion see Ulrich, “The Notion and Definition of Canon,” in *The Canon Debate*, 21–35.

may have been still developing. It is the book, and not the textual form of the book, that is canonical.

- (4) The *canonical process* is the journey of the many disparate works of literature within the on-going community, from the early stages when they began to be considered as somehow authoritative for the broader community, through the collection and endorsement process, to the final judgment concerning their inspired character as the unified and defined collection of Scripture—i.e., until the judgment of recognition that constituted the canon. If the focus is on a book or the collection of books while a historical, developmental trajectory is still envisioned or is still in process, then the proper term is “process toward canon” or “canonical process.”
- (5) A *collection of authoritative Scriptures* was certainly in existence and taken to be fundamental to the Jewish religion from sometime in the first half of the Second Temple period. But it is necessary to keep in mind Bruce Metzger’s distinction between “a collection of authoritative books” and “an authoritative collection of books.”³⁵ One can designate the growing collection of authoritative books as “canonical” [adjective] in the first sense of rule, but there is not yet a canon [noun] in the second sense of an authoritative list.
- (6) The *Bible*, in the singular, denotes a textual form of the collection of canonical books. Whereas the canon is the normative list of the books, the Bible is the text of that fixed collection of books, conceived of as a single anthology, and usually presented as such. In a sense, the term may seem anachronistic until the format of the collection of scriptural books was the codex (third century CE?). “The Scriptures” may be an open collection, but the “Bible” would seem to indicate an already closed collection.³⁶

A further area related to canon that could profit from close analysis is the precise time when a third subcollection (the Ketuvim) of the Scriptures came to be recognized. We have space here for brief consideration of three examples. First, the Qumran evidence, though not conclusive, strongly suggests that the collection was still bipartite up to the end of the first century C.E.: we find in the scrolls a heavy

³⁵ Bruce Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 283.

³⁶ Ulrich, “The Notion and Definition of Canon,” 29–30.

emphasis on the Torah and the (Latter) Prophets, including *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*, but virtually no attention to the Former Prophets and Writings.³⁷

Second, was Ben Sira, in his Encomium on Israel's Famous Men (44–50), drawing on what he considered “Scripture,” or did he view his sources simply as his people's proud literature? Both the structure and the genre suggest the latter. Regarding structure, his praise apparently begins with Enoch (not Adam) and ends with the high priest Simon (nonbiblical). Regarding genre and intention, he explicitly lists those types of ancestors he will praise: rulers, heroes, counselors, prophetic oracles, wise leaders, instructors, musical composers, wealthy estate owners; “all these were honored in their generations and were the pride of their times” (44:7). Does he not appear to be envisioning a list of national heroes recorded in their literature, rather than scriptural saints recorded in the sacred books?

Third, how should the evidence in the Prologue to Ben Sira and in 4QMMT be interpreted? What was the intended object of the Grandson in his triple, but nonetheless persistently vague, expression in the Prologue to Ben Sira: a bipartite or a tripartite canon? Is there any validity in the claim that 4QMMT attests a third subcategory beyond “the Law and the Prophets”?³⁸

The most compelling conclusion to these questions is provided by James VanderKam, who states clearly, and to my mind correctly: “As nearly as we can tell, there was no *canon* of scripture in Second Temple Judaism. That is, before 70 C.E. no authoritative body of which we know drew up a list of books that alone were regarded as supremely authoritative, a list from which none could be subtracted and to which none could be added.”³⁹

³⁷ For the evidence and assessment see Ulrich, “Qumran and the Canon of the Old Testament,” in *The Biblical Canons* (ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Henk Jan De Jonge; Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense; BETL 163; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003), 57–80. Psalms and Daniel were considered prophetic.

³⁸ Discussed in Eugene Ulrich, “The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14, esp. 212–14; and “Qumran and the Canon,” 71.

³⁹ VanderKam, “Questions of Canon,” 91.

CONCLUSION

Methodological reflection on the three areas discussed above promises to yield continually greater precision in our understanding of the Scriptures. First, careful analysis of methodological procedure in itself is always warranted in scientific endeavors. It is important that we reflect on how it is that we have come to know what we know, and on whether there might be flaws in our perception or our articulation of its significance. We should be aware that our store of knowledge and our ways of thinking are largely derived from the preceding generation; as grateful as we are for that, we should always ask whether current advances require revision of our ways of thinking.

Second, methodological rigor should be applied to assessments and discussion of both individual texts and the process toward the canon and beyond. Just as clarifying advances have been made on texts such as 4QPentateuch and 11QPs^a, and as the value of the SP and the LXX have been restored, other texts undoubtedly hold analogous promise.

Finally, the process leading toward the canon and beyond remains mostly unexplored terrain, but it holds rich promise of shedding important light on the scriptural process and socio-political history throughout the Second Temple period and continuing through the early Christian and rabbinic centuries.

2b. INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING AHEAD

MOSHE J. BERNSTEIN

1. INTRODUCTION

Although I was aware that addressing the topic assigned to me, “developments on the interpretation of the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls over the past ten years, and prospects for the future,” and attempting to integrate them with the overarching goals for this conference was a challenge, I decided to make my task a bit more difficult by expanding its horizons somewhat. I thought that it was necessary to describe the development of the field of biblical interpretation (which I use synonymously with “interpretation of the Scriptures”) at Qumran since the initial discoveries, in order to locate both the work of the last ten years and that of the near future in an appropriate context. I should stress that when I use the term “biblical interpretation at Qumran” I mean, as a rule, biblical interpretation found in the texts at Qumran, with no implication that the interpretation is automatically “Qumranic.” And I take “the interpretation of Scriptures” broadly to denote not only exegesis, what a modern student of the Bible would mean by the term, but also all of the many ways in which the books which we now call the Bible were read, rewritten, explained, employed, and manipulated in the Qumran scrolls.¹

In the original, oral, version of this paper, I tried to enumerate as few specific names of scholars as possible, for fear that in attempting to specify as many of those who have contributed to the field as I could, I should accidentally offend those whom I have unintentionally omitted from the list. Such a luxury is unavailable in a written piece, so I

¹ I have drawn in this essay on some of my earlier scholarship on Qumran biblical interpretation, among them the broad treatments in “Pentateuchal Interpretation at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:128–59; “Interpretation of Scripture,” *EDSS* 1:376–83; “Scriptures: Quotation and Use,” *EDSS* 2:839–42.

apologize *ab initio* for the omission of any significant contributors to the field whom I have unintentionally overlooked.

2. THE FIRST FORTY YEARS

For the first forty years or so of Qumran scholarship, the study of biblical interpretation did not occupy a prominent position, either as regards the Dead Sea Scrolls narrowly or Second Temple literature more broadly. The reasons were varied, involving the many forms which biblical interpretation could take, with the result that it often was not recognized as such; the diverse languages in which surviving interpretation was preserved, which often limited the access of scholars to the material; and the fact that biblical interpretation in antiquity was not in the “objective” mode of modern scholarship, but was often ideologically motivated, making it often appear to be something other than “interpretation.”²

For the first two of those four decades, the material available for the study of biblical interpretation at Qumran consisted more or less of two kinds: one was that new genre, the pesharim, encompassing the nearly complete peshar on Habakkuk from Cave 1 published by Millar Burrows and the many fragmentary pesharim from Cave 4 published by Allegro in DJD V;³ the other was the new example of the genre which Vermes named “rewritten Bible,”⁴ the *Genesis Apocryphon*, which is the subject of Esti Eshel’s paper in this volume.⁵

The pesharim were a new example of the commentary genre because their interpretations of the prophetic texts were oriented to events contemporary with the peshar’s author rather than the days of the prophets. Scholars quite understandably probed them more for

² See my “The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the History of Early Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation* [Festschrift for James L. Kugel] (ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215–38.

³ Millar Burrows et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery I. The Isaiah Scroll and Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: ASOR, 1950); John M. Allegro, with the collaboration of Arnold A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

⁴ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Interpretation in Judaism* (2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 95.

⁵ Esti Eshel, “The *Genesis Apocryphon*: A Chain of Traditions,” 181–93. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956) is the *editio princeps*, containing the Aramaic text of cols. 2 and 19–22 with English and modern Hebrew translation, photographs, and introductory material.

their historical hints than for their relationship to the biblical text. The pesharim seemed to teach us more about Second Temple history than about the biblical text on which they were commenting. Soon we found out that there was more than one kind of pesher, some called continuous and others thematic, but both exhibiting similar approaches to the Bible.⁶

The *Genesis Apocryphon* could be studied only partially because just five of its twenty-three columns could be read. It presented its readers with a new sort of Aramaic interpretation of the Bible which was neither targum nor midrash, although many scholars attempted to define it as one or the other of those.⁷ That very fact shows us how much the old categories of rabbinic literature were being allowed to shape the analysis of Second Temple material. The publication and initial study of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, however, gradually began to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that biblical interpretation in the Scrolls had to be viewed against the background of their Second Temple milieu, and not only in light of their similarity or dissimilarity to rabbinic material. *Jubilees* and *Enoch* began to appear on the radar screens of scholars studying the *Apocryphon* even before the substantial fragments of those works found in the Qumran caves were published.

Over the next two decades, from roughly 1968 (after the publication of DJD V which, in addition to pesharim, includes a variety of other texts related to the Bible) through 1987, the publication of new texts slowed to a crawl. One very important new text from the perspective of biblical interpretation, 11QT, the *Temple Scroll*, however, was published in two magnificent editions, Hebrew and English, by the late Yigael Yadin.⁸ It was the first substantial new legal Qumran text to be published, and it presented scholars like Lawrence Schiffman with the opportunity to study the way in which the Qumranites read the

⁶ For an introduction to the fundamental issues in the interpretation of the pesharim, see Shani L. Berrin, "Pesharim," *EDSS* 2:644–47.

⁷ E.g., Manfred R. Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," *RevQ* 1 (1958–59): 249–63; Gerard J. Kuiper, "A Study of the Relationship Between 'A Genesis Apocryphon' and the Pentateuchal Targumim in Genesis 14_{1–12}," in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. Matthew Black and Georg Fohrer; BZAW 103; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968), 149–61.

⁸ Yigael Yadin, *Megillat ha-Miqdash* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977) (Hebrew); idem, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983).

legal portions of the Pentateuch and to contrast it with later rabbinic interpretation.⁹

3. THE SECOND PHASE: 1987–TODAY

3.1. 1987–1997

It was in the last two decades of the sixty years that we are commemorating that biblical interpretation at Qumran came into its own as a field of academic enterprise, but it is not easy to separate them by drawing a sharp line in the middle at 1997. The decade from roughly 1987 to 1997 was marked in particular by rapid publication of new textual material in the Discoveries in the Judean Desert series under the guidance of editor-in-chief Emanuel Tov, but that publication process continued into the most recent decade which I have been asked to review.¹⁰

The most important contribution of that spate of activity has undoubtedly been the wealth of new texts which were published, wealth which is measured not only in sheer volume, but in variety as well. The four volumes of texts which were described as “parabiblical” and published from 1994 to 2001 furnished the student of biblical interpretation at Qumran with a very large body of new material which had to be gradually analyzed, digested, synthesized, and, only then integrated into the results of the previous four or five decades of research.¹¹ Doing this too quickly was guaranteed to produce, if I may be permitted to continue the metaphor, indigestion.

I take this opportunity to draw attention to some of the titles which have been given to the works in these volumes and others recently published in order to characterize the breadth of material relating to the Bible that is contained within them: reworked Pentateuch, *Jubilees*, *pseudo-Jubilees*, Genesis Commentaries, *Exposition on the Flood*, *Expo-*

⁹ In a lengthy series of articles since 1980, many of which have been collected in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

¹⁰ See Emanuel Tov, “Some Thoughts at the Close of the DJD Publication Project,” in this volume, 3–13.

¹¹ Harold Attridge et al. in consultation with James VanderKam, *Qumrân Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Magen Broshi et al. in consultation with James VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4. XIV: Parabiblical Texts, part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995); George J. Brooke et al. in consultation with James VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4. XXI, Parabiblical Texts, Part 4, Pseudo-prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

sition on the Patriarchs, apocryphal Pentateuch, paraphrase of Genesis-Exodus, *Apocryphon of Joshua*, *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*, *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, *Pseudo-Daniel*. In some way or other, and often in very different ways, all of these works may be said to contain or to reflect biblical interpretation. In addition, there are many other works published in DJD since 1987 which can be said to engage in biblical interpretation in the broader sense of the description in my opening paragraph. Although the wisdom work, *4QInstruction* or *Musar leMevin*, is not a work of biblical interpretation in any technical fashion, it engages issues with which biblical scholars are familiar from the book of Proverbs, and demands analysis against that background.¹² The new legal material in the Cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document* (4QD), like all other legal material from Qumran, requires careful study of the biblical exegesis which underlies the Qumran version of these laws.¹³ And this list could easily be extended considerably.

As these texts were published, culminating with their appearance in the DJD volumes, scholars gradually began to give them the attention they deserve. We should not forget that many of these texts, despite their grandiose nomenclature, often consist of only a piece or two or three of leather with not very much writing on them. So the process of interpreting the interpretation, or even of discerning whether there is any interpretation there, is not an easy or rapid one, and scholars should not be criticized, in my opinion, for the lack of speed in producing such analyses. I think that the gradually increasing pace of scholarship in this area of Qumran studies, and perhaps in others as well, has to do with the learning curve that exists when we confront a great deal of new fragmentary textual material which does not "belong" to a body of work or to a genre with which we have been familiar in the past. It is often much more difficult to interpret a few fragments than a large and complete work.

This is the reason that I have looked a bit more closely at the last two decades rather than only the last one which I was assigned. Scholarship

¹² John Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV: Sapiential texts, part 2: 4QInstruction (Musar le-mevin): 4Q415ff. with a re-edition of 1Q26* (DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). See George J. Brooke, "Biblical interpretation in the wisdom texts from Qumran," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. Charlotte Hempel et al.; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 201–20.

¹³ Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumrân Cave 4. XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). See some of the articles noted toward the end of n. 39 below.

does not proceed in neatly fixed intervals, and I hope I have shown that, especially when examining biblical interpretation at Qumran, the last two decades taken together stand out against the previous four. In preparing this paper, I hoped, nevertheless, to be able to discover some characteristic difference between the last two decades, so I employed as a very imprecise and impressionistic technique a search of the RAMBI database for the linked subjects “Dead Sea Scrolls” and “biblical interpretation.”¹⁴ The results were only 20 entries for 1987–1997 and 92 for the decade 1997–2007. Despite the fact that I knew that such a search could not possibly be accurate and exact, I felt that it might be the only way to quantify even loosely what I thought was an important trend in our scholarship. And if I may be permitted to judge that scholarly trend generously, as the early mishnaic sage Joshua ben Perahia instructs us to do always,¹⁵ I suggest that we spent the first of the last two decades reading and thinking about these new texts, and the second, the most recent ten years, writing about them.

In a sense, then, it is similarly difficult to find dichotomies between the last two decades in the ways that we studied biblical interpretation in the Scrolls. I think that our methodology is gradually growing more sophisticated as the nuts and bolts work on the texts and their philology comes to completion and more attention can be devoted to the first levels of synthetic study. So my discussion of what we have been doing for the last ten years should not be taken as implying that some scholars were not already doing some of the same things fifteen or twenty years ago. But there are more of us doing it now, as the sub-discipline that we are describing, biblical interpretation at Qumran, has become more sharply defined.

3.2. 1997–2007

A typological survey of what has been going on in the last decade in the study of biblical interpretation at Qumran will furnish a sense of the diversity which the field encompasses. It is significant to note that we are now getting second or third studies on topics which had been the objects of investigation in the first four or five decades but demanded restudy either because we have more textual data or more

¹⁴ <http://jnul.huji.ac.il/rambi/>; רשימת מאמרים במדעי היהדות; Index of Articles in Jewish Studies.

¹⁵ See, inter alia, *m. 'Avot* 1:6 והווי דן את כל האדם לכף זכות.

sophisticated methodology, or both. Let us begin with some of the works that belong to the genre which I still call “rewritten Bible” and others prefer to call “parabiblical” or the like.¹⁶ Once a determination is made about what to call them and what works then fit into the ensuing category, they are studied from many perspectives, very frequently to extrapolate their implicit exegetical technique and its results. Careful reading of such texts, whether the *Genesis Apocryphon*¹⁷ or *Jubilees*,¹⁸ demonstrates how the exegesis is embedded in the story. In an analogous fashion, a variety of other works that are generically quite different from rewritten Bible are also probed for their exegetical method and results.¹⁹ And in almost all the cases that I have described and

¹⁶ The bibliography on this topic, both theoretical and applied, continues to grow rapidly. The following is a representative selection from only the last half decade or so: Armin Lange, “The Parabiblical Literature of the Qumran Library and the Canonical History of the Hebrew Bible,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; SVTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 305–21; Dwight D. Swanson, “How Scriptural is Re-written Bible?” *RevQ* 21 (2004): 407–27; Moshe J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–96; Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28; Jonathan G. Campbell, “‘Rewritten Bible’ and ‘Parabiblical Texts’: A Terminological and Ideological Critique,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* (ed. Jonathan G. Campbell et al.; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 43–68; Daniel Falk, *Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures Among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8; LSTS 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007); Anders Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon—Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech and Eibert Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–306; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting the Bible in the Second Temple Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Armin Lange, “From Paratext to Commentary,” in this volume, 195–216.

¹⁷ The remainder of the legible material in the *Apocryphon* was published by Jonas C. Greenfield and Elisha Qimron, “The *Genesis Apocryphon* Col. XII,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka; AbrNSup 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 70–77; and Matthew Morgenstern, Elisha Qimron, and Daniel Sivan, “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *AbrN* 33 (1995): 30–54. Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), has made further significant contributions to the reconstruction of the surviving text as well as its interpretation. For the exegesis in the *Apocryphon*, see my “The *Genesis Apocryphon*: Compositional and Interpretive Perspectives,” in *Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming).

¹⁸ See Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹⁹ E.g., for 4Q*Genesis Commentary A* (4Q252), see my “4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 1–27 and George J. Brooke, “4Q252 as

shall describe, the study of the world-view or theology of the work accompanies the analysis of its relationship to the Bible. From a formal standpoint, this is not an aspect of biblical interpretation, but since the Qumran group's beliefs are so often derived from biblical sources, it must be mentioned in this context.

Several studies have been devoted to biblical figures as they are portrayed in the Qumran scrolls, Abraham,²⁰ Moses,²¹ and David,²² to mention just three. The fact that such biblical characters are not por-

Early Jewish Commentary," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 385–401; for the so-called 4QPrayer of Enosh (4Q369), see James L. Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation," *DSD* 5 (1998): 119–48; for 4QCatena^a (4Q177), see Annette Steudel, "Eschatological Interpretation of Scripture in 4Q177 (4Q Catena)," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 473–81.

²⁰ For a collection of essays on the treatment of a variety of biblical figures in Second Temple sources, see *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 1998). For Abraham, see: Craig A. Evans, "Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2001), 149–58; Reinhard G. Kratz, "Friend of God, Brother of Sarah, and Father of Isaac: Abraham in the Hebrew Bible and in Qumran," in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 79–105.

²¹ Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "4Q374—A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: the Deification of Moses and Early Christology," *DSD* 3 (1996): 236–52; Paul E. Hughes, "Moses' Birth Story: A Biblical Matrix for Prophetic Messianism," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1997), 10–22; James E. Bowley, "Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed," in Flint, *The Bible at Qumran*, 159–81; Géza G. Xeravits, "Moses Redivivus in Qumran?" *Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003): 91–105; Émile Puech, "Le fragment 2 de '4Q377, Pentateuque Apocryphe' B: l'exaltation de Moïse," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 469–75; Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Mose, der 'Gesalbte JHWHs': messianische Aspekte der Mose-Interpretation in Qumran," in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* (ed. Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter; BZAW 372; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 129–42; Phoebe Makiello, "Was Moses Considered to Be an Angel by Those at Qumran?" in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, 115–27; Wido Th. van Peursen, "Who Was Standing on the Mountain? The Portrait of Moses in 4Q377," in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, 99–113.

²² Elio Jucci, "Davide a Qumran," *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 7 (1995): 157–73; Craig A. Evans, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1997), 183–97; Claude Coulot, "David à Qumrân," in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVIIe congrès de l'ACFEB, Lille, 1er–5 septembre 1997* (ed. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeylen; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 315–43; Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, "David's Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 6 (1999): 44–65; William M. Schniedewind, "The Davidic Dynasty and Biblical Interpretation in Qumran Literature," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 82–91; Peter W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in Henze, *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 158–67.

trayed uniformly is one excellent indicator that the Qumran scrolls should not be taken as an undifferentiated unity. When studies of this sort are expanded to include the depictions of biblical figures in Second Temple (and often rabbinic) literature as well, we are looking at the contextualization of the Qumran material in its natural milieu, not treated in isolation but in conjunction with its chronologically appropriate relatives. Still linked to the Bible, but moving away from “interpretation” in the strict sense are the many studies of biblical themes as reflected in the Qumran texts. Creation,²³ covenant,²⁴ and evil,²⁵ have

²³ Esther G. Chazon, “The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; ed. Judith Frishman and Lucas van Rompay; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 13–24; John J. Collins, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues and Technological Innovations* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and Donald W. Parry; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 609–18; idem, “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* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 287–305; idem, “Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Henze, *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 29–43; Michael A. Daise, “Biblical Creation Motifs in the Qumran Hodayot,” in Schiffman et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, 293–305; Bilhah Nitzan, “The Idea of Creation and Its Implications in Qumran Literature,” in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman; London: Sheffield, 2002), 240–64; Matthew J. Goff, “The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 163–86; Florentino García Martínez, “Creation in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretation of Genesis I in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics* (ed. George H. van Kooten; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 49–70, repr. in Florentino García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora* II (STDJ 64; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 219–240; Matthew E. Gordley, “Creation Imagery in Qumran Hymns and Prayers,” *JJS* 59 (2008): 252–72.

²⁴ Bilhah Nitzan, “The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January, 1999* (ed. David Goodblatt et al.; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 85–104; Craig A. Evans, “Covenant in the Qumran literature,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55–80; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Concept of Covenant in the Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature,” in Najman and Newman, *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation*, 257–78.

²⁵ John J. Collins, “The Origin of Evil in Apocalyptic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Congress Volume. Paris, 1992* (ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 61; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 25–38; James H. Charlesworth, “Theodicy in Early Jewish Writings: A Selected Overview,” in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible* (ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. De Moor; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 470–508.

all been discussed one or more times, and it is usually against the background of the biblical sources, if not overtly, then tacitly.

The study of comparative exegesis is another facet of biblical interpretation at Qumran which is growing, but has certainly yet to meet its full potential. Especially in the study of Qumran legal material, we find discussions of the different ways in which the Qumran texts and later rabbinic material interpret Scripture.²⁶ In my view there is still not enough attention paid to the hermeneutical similarities and differences between them, but the groundwork has been laid for further profitable work in this area. The similarities and dissimilarities between the ways in which the Hebrew Bible is read in the Qumran texts and in Christian Scripture has not stopped being of interest to New Testament scholars. But, by contrast with the early days of Scrolls scholarship when the guidelines for solid comparative study had not yet been laid down, as the study of Qumran interpretation has matured, the ways in which the Scrolls are employed now as a backdrop to the New Testament has matured as well.²⁷ Finally on the comparative list, it is interesting, and shows how far we have come in Qumran studies, that it is quite respectable to study Qumran and Karaite exegesis together; there is no suspicion that such an approach conceals the eccentric view of more than half a century ago that the Scrolls are medieval forgeries.²⁸

Another sign of the healthy growth of this area as a subdiscipline of Qumran studies is the number of specialized volumes devoted to it. These take two forms: collections of essays such as *Biblical Perspectives, The Bible at Qumran*, and *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*;²⁹

²⁶ See, in this volume, Vered Noam, "Creative Interpretation and Integrative Interpretation in Qumran," 363–76, and see the literature referred to in the latter portion of n. 39 below.

²⁷ See the various studies in George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), and also Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); idem, "Midrash Peshet in the Pauline Letters," in Porter and Evans, *Scrolls and the Scriptures*, 280–92; Stephen E. Witmer, "Approaches to Scripture in the Fourth Gospel and the Qumran 'Pesharim,'" *NovT* 48 (2006): 313–28.

²⁸ For a thorough discussion of the issue, see Meira Polliack, "Wherein Lies the Peshet? Re-questioning the Connection Between the Medieval Karaite and Qumranic Modes of Biblical Interpretation," *JSIJ* 4 (2005): 151–200; and, more broadly, Albert I. Baumgarten, "Karaites, Qumran, the Calendar, and Beyond: At the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century," in this volume, 603–619.

²⁹ *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. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998); Henze, *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*; Flint, *Bible at Qumran*.

and works which are devoted to introducing the field to the less initiated such as *The Pesharim*, *The Exegetical Texts*, *The Parabiblical Texts*, and *Reworking Scripture in Second Temple Times*.³⁰ There is rarely a *Festschrift* for a scholar working in Qumran or related areas which does not contain one or more essays which could be subsumed under the rubric “biblical interpretation at Qumran.”³¹ Collections of essays, as well, on the broader theme of biblical interpretation in antiquity, such as *Mikra*, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, and *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, of course, have their mandatory chapters on Qumran material.³²

4. DESIDERATA FOR THE FUTURE

4.1. Commentaries

Until now, the focus of our discussion has been “looking back.” Turning to the “looking ahead” part of the essay, I should like to divide it into “looking inward” and “looking outward,” where the latter section will respond to some of the charges given in the themes for this conference. First, what are the desiderata in the investigation of biblical interpretation at Qumran to which we should give some of our attention in the near future? One area of scholarship which has been underrepresented in the past is the production of commentaries on Qumran works of interpretation. Even though the DJD series, in

³⁰ Timothy Lim, *The Pesharim* (CQS 3; Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002); Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Parabiblical Texts* (CQS 4; London: T&T Clark, 2004); Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*; White Crawford, *Rewriting the Bible in the Second Temple Period*.

³¹ A small representative sample: Najman and Newman, *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation*; Paul et al., *Emanuel*; Hilhorst et al., *Flores Florentino; For a Later Generation: the Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* [Festschrift George W. E. Nickelsburg] (ed. Randal A. Argall et al.; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 2000); *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint et al.; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

³² Michael Fishbane, “Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 339–77; Johann Maier, “Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (ed. Magne Saebø et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 1.1:108–29; Philip R. Davies, “Biblical Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *A History of Biblical Interpretation Vol. 1: The Ancient Period* (ed. Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 144–66.

its latter volumes, has expanded the nature of the commentaries far beyond what was included in the early volumes, there is a need to go back to each of the texts which interprets the Bible and to produce commentaries which focus, among other things, on the way in which each of them reads the Bible. We need to “reverse engineer” (to borrow James Kugel’s term)³³ the way that the Qumranites read the Bible, and in the process produce the good exegetical commentaries that are a *sine qua non* for progress in our understanding how the Qumran authors interpreted the Bible.

This is true especially of works which were published in the first two-thirds of the 60 year period that we are celebrating in this conference. We need constantly to reread those texts in light of what we have published and what we have learned over the intervening years. Almost all of the pesharim need fresh treatments in light of the more sophisticated literary and historical analysis which has been developed in the last couple of decades. A couple of very detailed studies of the Nahum pesher have been published recently, but what of all of the others?³⁴ The last full commentary in English on all the pesharim dates to 1979, and it certainly falls short of what a comprehensive commentary should look like today.³⁵ Even the outstanding Hebrew language commentary of 1986 on *Pesher Habakkuk* might well be updated.³⁶

And at this juncture, I am pleased to take the opportunity to mention one such endeavor, the re-edition of Allegro’s DJD V that is being carried out by a group of scholars under the editorship of George J. Brooke and myself. Through the active co-operation of a variety of colleagues our long-planned revision is becoming a reality. A June 2009 symposium in Copenhagen, hosted by Professor Jesper Høgenhaven, brought together many of the participants in the project to share their

³³ James L. Kugel, *In Potiphar’s House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), 251. Borrowing the term from the world of technology, Kugel uses it to understand the development of midrashic motifs “to recreate the thinking that lies behind each and every one of its components.”

³⁴ Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004); Gregory L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; London: Sheffield, 2001).

³⁵ Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979).

³⁶ Bilhah Nitzan, *The Pesher Habakkuk Scroll of the Judean Desert Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986) (Hebrew).

current work on the texts that they are editing.³⁷ In this volume, the “*Apocryphon of Samuel*,” five Isaiah pesharim, two on Hosea, one on Micah, one on Nahum, one on Psalms, and related works (such as, for example, those designated heretofore “*Florilegium*” [4Q174] and “*Catena*” [4Q177]), as well as one of the “reworked Pentateuch” manuscripts (4Q158) and a text related to biblical legal material (4Q159) will receive fresh editing and commentary.

We are in even greater need of commentaries on the legal texts from Qumran as well, especially, but not only, the various *Serekh Hayahad* and *Damascus Document* manuscripts. Other than the outstanding Hebrew language commentary on the *Serekh*,³⁸ which must be acknowledged to be out-of-date due to the further textual material which has been made available and the stemmatic work which has been done on the manuscript traditions, none of those texts has ever received a first-rate commentary. Although these are not interpretive documents in the narrow sense, they contain a good deal of biblical exegesis, much of it legal, and that relatively unstudied area would benefit from such scholarly editions. There has been some work on the non-legal exegesis in a text like CD, but the legal material in it, as well in its 4QD ancestors has not been heavily analyzed.³⁹ The “minor” legal texts from Qumran must also be probed so that we can understand the

³⁷ The proceedings of that symposium will appear as *Qumranica Hafniensia: Selected Texts from Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 5 Revisited* under the editorship of Professor Høgenhaven in the STDJ series.

³⁸ Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll From the Wilderness of Judaea IQS, IQSa, IQSb: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965) (Hebrew).

³⁹ Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995); Liora Goldman, “The Exegesis and Structure of the Pesharim in the Damascus Document,” in Dimant and Kratz, *Dynamics of Language and Exegesis*, 193–202. With Shlomo A. Koyfman, I made a first attempt at a broad classification of certain aspects of Qumran legal exegesis in “The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods,” in Henze, *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 61–87. But that initial foray needs to be followed up, expanded, and probably corrected. For other significant contributions in this area, see Steven D. Fraade, “Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran,” in Stone and Chazon, *Biblical Perspectives*, 59–79; Aharon Shemesh, “Scriptural Interpretations 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. Joseph M. Baumgarten et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 161–75; idem, “4Q251: ‘Midrash Mishpatim,’” *DSD* 12 (2005): 280–302; idem, “The Scriptural Background of the Penal Code in the ‘Rule of the Community’ and ‘Damascus Document,’” *DSD* 15 (2008): 191–224.

relation between the laws in them and the laws in the Hebrew Bible. In the long run, it will be more than a little valuable to know whether the modes of reading biblical legal texts are shared broadly by a variety of Qumran legal documents or whether different legal texts approach Scripture in different ways.

4.2. *Nomenclature*

4.2.1. *Texts*

The time has also come to do more work in the area of systematization in two different, but related, ways. The first is the very significant issue of nomenclature: what we do call the texts that had no names before we discovered and named them?⁴⁰ I admit that although what I am suggesting here may be viewed as a step backward, I think that we should avoid, as much as possible, the employment of terms like “pseudo-X” and “Apocryphon of Y,” and certainly “Book of Z” in our identification of works that survive on only two or three small pieces of leather that give us no idea of their extent or complete contents. We often underestimate the power of a name to influence the way in which later scholars think about texts, and it is clear that more neutral terms like “commentary” and “narrative” are far less likely to be misleading.

At the recent Copenhagen symposium dedicated to the ongoing revision of DJD V, this was a hotly discussed issue, as the participants grappled with the dilemma of “re-naming” some of the texts that have been in the public domain for more than half a century. We hope to replace, for example, terms like “*Florilegium*” and “*Catena*” with “*Eschatological Commentary*,” plus a distinguishing capital letter, certainly a more descriptive term in both instances; “*Ages of Creation*” (4Q180–181) will be redesignated “*Pesher on the Periods*” A and B. The two wisdom texts, 4Q184 and 4Q185, that were unnamed in DJD V, will be called “*Sapiential Admonitions*” A and B.⁴¹ In the course of

⁴⁰ I have discussed one aspect of this issue in “The Contours of Genesis Interpretation at Qumran: Contents, Contexts and Nomenclature,” in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. James L. Kugel; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 57–85. We should always bear in mind that the titles of few Qumran texts survive from antiquity, and that what we call them is almost always the product of scholars of the 20th and 21st centuries.

⁴¹ 4Q184 has been popularly called “Wiles of the Wicked Woman,” and is actually designated as such on the Brill CD-Rom and in the DSSR, but the term is only appropriate, if at all, for frg. 1.

time, Qumran scholars may discover that such changes in nomenclature are appropriate for other documents as well.

4.2.2. *Genres*

The second matter is to decide which texts go together and how should they be organized when publishing editions with commentary, or even collected translations, of assorted fragmentary texts that relate to the Bible. Let me again take as an example the texts in DJD V on which I am currently working. When these texts were originally sorted and assigned, it was natural and reasonable to group the pesharim together, for example, but what of the rest of the texts? Do 4Q158, whatever its designation, and 4Q159 “*Ordinances*,” and 4Q160 “*Vision of Samuel*” belong together, not to mention “*Florilegium*” and “*Catenas*.” I believe that if we were starting from scratch, we would have found a better way to group these texts and many others that have been published over the last 60 years. The important point is not that someone got these things wrong in the past, but rather that we need to work on getting them right in the future.

An attempt at reclassification and recombination was made in the listing in DJD XXXIX, but the seemingly simple division of texts related to the Bible into “exegetical texts” and “parabiblical texts” creates a dichotomy that is, to say the least, not very successful.⁴² I believe that the problem there begins with the use of “parabiblical” with far too wide a range to be meaningful. On the other hand, it is not clear why a fairly restrictive term like “exegetical” should be applied to 4QTestimonia or 4QList of False Prophets.⁴³ The *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* has gone beyond DJD XXXIX, and has taken texts like “*Apocryphon of Jeremiah*” and “*pseudo-Daniel*” out of the “parabiblical” category, and they appear in the sixth volume under “additional genres: non-symbolic apocalypses.” That, however, has the obvious disadvantage of severing their classificatory connection with the Bible, which would seem to be at least as important as their significant generic feature.

⁴² Armin Lange and Ulrike Mittman-Richert, “Annotated List of Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,” in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert—Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. Emanuel Tov; DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115–64.

⁴³ When I observe the distribution of Bible-related texts in the Companion to the Qumran Scrolls series (see above, n. 30), the same difficulties present themselves.

To set matters aright, the categories as well as the subcategories that we employ to distribute works relating to the Bible need to be refined. And we need an agreed-upon “generic” vocabulary that we can share when discussing our texts, and it must be terminology that is as precise as we can make it; the global use of “parabiblical” is paradigmatic of what we need to avoid. I know that my own preference for the term “rewritten Bible” for certain works does not meet with favor in the eyes of many of my colleagues, but the refusal by some of them to acknowledge the existence of something that we can call “Bible” or “Scripture” in the period when the Scrolls were penned is at least as problematic in my view, and at times goes so far as to appear to be obstructionist. I am almost willing to give up “rewritten Bible” in favor of some as yet undiscovered term if it would free us from the untrammelled employment of “parabiblical.” Both the form and the methodology of interpretation as well as other aspects of the relationship of each work to the Bible must be considered carefully before we make decisions that associate diverse works with each other. So if we make the ironing out of these generic issues some sort of priority in the near future, we shall all be the happier for it.

4.2.3. *Literary Issues*

To conclude the ways in which we can improve our comprehension of biblical interpretation at Qumran, we should keep on doing that which we have been doing, employing our best knowledge of paleography, philology, and the Scrolls themselves, to delve deeper into the meaning of the scrolls and their understanding of the Bible, paying close attention to both methods of reading and the literary forms in which those readings are expressed. I believe that in our striving to find the ways in which all of these texts relate to the Hebrew Bible, we have failed to pay sufficient attention to the issue of the literary forms that they take. And it may very well be that in focusing on the literary question we may find solutions to some of the exegetical conundrums that we are still pondering.⁴⁴ Here we may be able to take advantage of the applica-

⁴⁴ In a paper, entitled “Narrator and Narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” delivered at the World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in August 2009, I proposed to approach the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a literary narrative, rather than as an exegetical document. My suggestion is that through such an approach we might be able to explain certain features of the text that appear problematic if we focus only on its relationship to Genesis.

tion of some modern literary theory in dissecting the hermeneutics of those texts, an approach which when employed judiciously can be as productive as it is destructive when employed injudiciously.

4.2.4. *Broader Issues*

In addition to close work on the texts that involve biblical interpretation, I believe that the time has come when we have to ask (or re-ask) some larger questions. Why did the authors of these scrolls choose to write about the Bible in all of these literary forms? Do the diverse forms derive historically from different strands, sectarian or otherwise, in Second Temple Judaism? Because certain features of 4QReworked Pentateuch make it very difficult for me to accept the view that it is a “biblical text,”⁴⁵ I have been bothered for quite a while by the question: if it is not a “biblical text,” why did someone go to the trouble of writing out such lengthy documents with such minimal internal exegetical activity? In a similar fashion, although I do not believe that the issue of canon is quite as important to Qumran studies as some other scholars do, it certainly should not be ignored, and our further work on biblical interpretation is likely to have an impact on canon studies as well.

Let us ask further what was the role of these many kinds of Bible-related works in the life of the community? Did the diverse genres of interpretive texts, whose modern titles we have mentioned throughout this paper, have any liturgical role or function in the Qumran sect? Were any of them employed in the communal learning and teaching that seems to have gone on in the group? In short, we should go beyond the narrow focus on the methods of reading and the nature of interpretation to ask these and other questions about the roles that all these documents might have played in the social and intellectual life of the Qumran community.⁴⁶ We should be prepared to be frustrated in our search for answers since our data are so meager, but the issues are worth thinking about nonetheless.

⁴⁵ I have presented the arguments in “What Has Happened to the Laws? The Treatment of Legal Material in 4QReworked Pentateuch,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 24–49.

⁴⁶ See Steven D. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 46–69; idem, “Law, History and Narrative in the Damascus Document,” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): *35–*55.

4.2.5. *Outreach*

But even if we were to do all that, we should fail at the larger goal which this conference has set as its task, what I referred to as looking outward. Here is where we must consciously remind ourselves that there is no such field as “the Dead Sea Scrolls” in which we specialize, but identify ourselves with one or more of the humanistic disciplines for whose mills the Scrolls furnish intellectual grist. All of us who do our academic research in the Dead Sea Scrolls know very well that the Dead Sea Scrolls do not constitute single field of study, but rather a body of material which can contribute mightily to the study of the Hebrew Bible or New Testament, the study of Semitic languages, the study of Jewish history in classical antiquity, and the study of rabbinic Judaism, to mention just a few fields. Our external future progress may lie in our gradual breaking down of the walls or the boundaries that artificially delineate Qumran studies as an independent field, and that separate them from other areas, such as Judaism in late antiquity, Second Temple Judaism, early Christianity, early rabbinic Judaism, etc. As I’ve noted earlier, this idea is expressed regularly by scholars in all of the subdisciplines which taken together constitute Dead Sea Scrolls studies, but it is one which is honored more in the breach than in the observance.

I think that our goal should be to prevent Qumran studies from appearing to the educated public and to scholars in other disciplines merely as an attractive and entertaining, but isolated field of study. It is the many comparative and contextual dimensions of Qumran studies which need to be emphasized in order to accomplish this. From the perspective of the topic of this essay, one of our tasks might be to demonstrate that “biblical interpretation at Qumran” is not only a subfield in Dead Sea Scrolls studies, but also, and perhaps more significantly, in the history of biblical interpretation in antiquity more broadly. In this subfield, there are a number of obvious connections to broader fields which can and have been made. We know that not every text found at Qumran was composed at Qumran or by groups who would be sympathetic to the Qumranites. The handling of Scripture at Qumran manifests, if not a complete cross-section, then at least a partial cross-section of biblical interpretation in the Judaism or Judaisms of this era. Appropriate comparison of that Qumran material and other biblical interpretation which was produced by Jews at this time can illuminate not just the intellectual and religious world of Qumran, but

that of all Jews in Eretz Yisrael, and perhaps in the Diaspora as well, at that time.

And if we move our perspective from the strictly contemporary to the slightly more diachronic, both early Christian and early rabbinic exegesis are available for comparison. The work which has been already done on early biblical interpretation as a continuum and as a series of traditions can be developed further.⁴⁷ Such research can actually produce a fuller understanding of the way in which the Qumran texts were reading the Bible (or what we now call the Bible) as well as convey to the larger public the sense that Qumran was not an isolated place at an isolated point in time, but was part of the larger world out of which both Christianity and rabbinic Judaism derived.

Wishful thinking? Perhaps, but when we next gather here to celebrate the 70th or 75th anniversary of the discovery of the Scrolls, we shall have the opportunity to discover whether these wishes will have come true.

⁴⁷ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*; Kugel, *In Potiphar's House*; idem, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1997); idem, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

REVELATION AND PERSPICACITY IN QUMRAN HERMENEUTICS?

JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

This work focuses on one question: If biblical interpretation is central in Second Temple Judaism, what is unique about biblical hermeneutics in the Pesharim? The importance of the question becomes evident when we perceive that the First Temple period was shaped by the prophecies of the classical prophets, especially Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and that the Second Temple period began after Ezekiel and was highlighted by the prophecies preserved in the Books of Haggai and Zechariah. Later, at Qumran the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel were especially formative. Thus, from the third century B.C.E., with the composition of the earliest sections of the *Books of Enoch* (1En), until 68 C.E., with the destruction of Qumran, the interpretation of Scripture significantly shaped Jewish thought. During this period, what was unique to biblical interpretation within the Qumran Community?

1. WORKING THESIS

The thesis that I am proposing for discussion, after more than 40 years of examining the Qumran Scrolls, is as follows:

The uniqueness of Qumran's biblical interpretation may be expressed as follows. Along with other Jews, the Qumranites not only were shaped by Scriptures, they shaped scriptures. Their source of self-understanding was obtained by studying Torah which they claimed contained God's inviolate will and trustworthy promises. They knew they were unique, created as Sons of Light, divinely chosen to prepare God's Way in the wilderness, and they assumed that the Scriptures were directed only to them, prophesied concerning their unparalleled teacher (מורה הצדק), and focused on their own special time in biblical history, "the last period" (viz. 4QpPs^b), "the latter days (viz. 4QpIsa^a)." Their method for studying Scripture was an interpretation that emphasized fulfillment; thus, the Pesharim reveal the earliest examples of fulfillment hermeneutics. This method was controlled by the presence of "the Holy Spirit" who dwelled only at Qumran in the קהל, which is the "House of Holiness," the abode

of “the Most Holy of Holy Ones.” When we meditate on the Pesharim, Qumran’s creations, we enter the Qumranic sociology of knowledge. Through the Pesharim, the Qumranites help us comprehend their unique interior view of history and how God has been acting for them. A blessed future is thus assured for each of the Sons of Light (defined paradigmatically, categorically, and focused on the followers of the Righteous Teacher), even though evil now reigns on earth; thus, though there was no orthodoxy at Qumran, a coherent view of the world and time unites the Pesharim with other Qumran creations, notably the Rule of the Community, the Thanksgiving Hymns, and the War Scroll. All these Qumran compositions are shaped by biblical exegesis and fulfillment hermeneutics; all recognize the power of Israel’s God and that the End of time will be good for the Sons of Light, as God promised when he declared his creation **וְהָיָה טוֹב מֵאֲדָם**.

2. DEFINITIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

At the outset, it is helpful to summarize the proper perspective for comprehending the importance of prophecy in Second Temple Judaism, and note how it shaped many of the Jewish groups. It is also imperative to emphasize again that no closed canon united the various Jewish groups, and that would have been impossible since the scriptural texts were being altered by devout Jews.

2.1. *The Three Stages in the Development of Prophecy and Interpretation*

A setting is provided for answering this question by John Hoffmann’s *The Post-exilic Prophets: The Bridge Between the Classical Prophets and the Sages*. In this work Hoffmann clarifies three major developments in biblical prophecy.¹ First, in the eighth century B.C.E. pre-eighth-century prophecy evolves into classical prophecy. Second, about the sixth century B.C.E. classical Israelite prophecy shifts to deutero-prophetic prophecy since the monarchy collapsed. Third, despite a view that prophecy had ceased long ago (which may have been dominant among many Jews in Jerusalem before 70 CE), many documents in the Pseudepigrapha and among the Dead Sea Scrolls prove that prophecy continues alive in Second Temple Judaism (but perhaps only in so-

¹ J. Hoffmann, “*The Post-exilic Prophets: The Bridge Between the Classical Prophets and the Sages*” (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1999).

called sectarian groups). Fecund for our present work is Hoffmann's claim that the third transition occurred because *the prophet* was perceived no longer primarily as God's spokesman but *as the interpreter of God's Word*. Hoffmann adroitly indicates that when we examine Qumran's *Pesharim*, we see the prophet, the Righteous Teacher, portrayed as one who can perform exegesis because of special revelation and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This latter point needs development below.

2.2. *Prophecy Helps Shape Early Jewish Groups and Sects* [viz., 1En and DSS]

The examination of 1 (*Ethiopic*) *Enoch* or the *Books of Enoch* has led many scholars to imagine Jewish groups for over three centuries interpreting Scripture in light of an exegesis of Genesis five. To the Jews who produced the *Books of Enoch*, the traditions preserved in Bereshit (Genesis) proved Enoch had not died but was alive, with God, speaking to their group, and giving them special revelation and knowledge about the depressing present and especially the hopeful future. For these Jews, inspiration and prophecy were alive within their communities, as witnessed by new compositions bearing the name of "Enoch." According to the authors, editors, compilers, and those who found spiritual insight in the *Books of Enoch*, Enoch was shown all the mysteries of God, and revealed all of them to his son and thus to subsequent generations of the righteous and chosen ones (*Ethiopic*: *xeruyan*; *Aramaic*: בְּחִירָן; see 1En 93:10).² Note the words of Enoch:

And now, my son Methuselah, I will show you all the visions that I saw; before you I will recount (them).³

At Qumran, or in another location after leaving the Temple, *the Righteous Teacher* reveals to his followers the most important books from God and how to interpret them. His followers claimed neither that he was the Messiah nor that he would return as the Messiah. They claimed that he was *the only one who could interpret Scripture with wisdom*, since God had revealed to him all the mysteries in God's

² See Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Plant Metaphor in its Inner-Enochic and Early Jewish Context," in *Enoch and Qumran origins* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2005), 210–12.

³ George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 117.

Word (see the following demonstration). For the Qumranites, the Righteous Teacher was the only True and Perfect Teacher.⁴ Prophecy was thus alive at Qumran, and interpretation of Scripture was possible because of the efficacious power of prophecy and the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

2.3. *Scripture*

It is clear that the use of “canonical” and “extra-canonical” is anachronistic when trying to describe the world of Second Temple Judaism. At Qumran and elsewhere among those who revered the *Temple Scroll*, some documents rivaled, even surpassed, the spiritual power of the works eventually canonized. Moreover, the canon was not yet defined; it certainly was not closed, and debates over such books as Sirach continued long after 70 CE.⁵

2.4. *Words in Scripture are Fluid and Need Interpretation*

Scholars once thought that an *Urtext* existed and that variants from it developed over time. Now most scholars have observed, thanks to the biblical text types found at Qumran, that numerous types of biblical texts existed and slowly moved to a customary dominant text (the Masoretic Text) sometime during the first century CE. Thus, one must not assume because the *lemmata* of a *Pesharim* are different from the received Masoretic Text that Qumran scribes deliberately altered them. Sometimes, however, it is relatively certain that a Qumran scribe has deliberately altered Scripture.

During Second Temple Judaism, scribes inscribed only consonants. The ancient manuscripts never contained vowels; these were to be supplied by an interpreter. Some consonants are often so similar that a gifted interpreter has to choose which ones were intended (by the author and God) and which ones are misread by other Jews (esp. the ruling priests in the Temple). According to the Qumranites, it is evident that a prophet and chosen exegete, guided by the Holy Spirit,

⁴ God is the Revealer and Teacher at Qumran; see esp. 1QS 4.22, 10.13, 11.17–18; 1QSb 3.23; 1QH 2.17, 4.27–28, 6.9, 7.10, 26–27, 10.407, 11.4, 12.33; CD 2.12, 3.8, 13, 6.4, 7.4, 20.4.

⁵ I am indebted to Lee Martin McDonald for many discussions on the origin of the canon; now see his *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2007).

could understand what had been written. Among these often similarly written consonants are Beth and Kaph, Daleth and Resh, medial Mem and Beth, Yodh and Waw, Waw and Zayin, and sometimes He and Heth. Sin and Shin are never distinguished with a dot. The visual ambiguity of more than half of the Semitic consonants would have prompted a Qumran interpreter toward eisegesis. Moreover, we know at Qumran many types of the biblical text were present and the so-called Masoretic Text (or proto-Masoretic text) was not dominant. Thus, I suggest that we avoid concluding that a Qumranite changed scripture to obtain a desired meaning until we know that a fixed text probably has been deliberately altered to reveal the meaning of Qumran's view of history.

3. *PESHARIM* ARE QUINTESSENTIAL QUMRANIC COMPOSITIONS⁶

Professor D. Dimant succinctly reports the *consensus communis* among Qumranologists:

The commentaries are identified as belonging to the Qumran community by virtue of their terminology, subject matter, and ideology. These commentaries are the only Qumran texts so far published that refer to historical persons and events, and they constitute the main evidence for dating the Qumran community and understanding its history.⁷

By studying the *Pesharim* we imaginatively enter the mindset of the Community (the Yaḥad). We should recall Professor S. Talmon's sage advice that experts in Second Temple Judaism should strive to imagine Qumran from within.⁸

We observe how Qumranites perceive history by interpreting the Prophets; and for some Qumranites (and other Jews) these include David⁹ as is clear from the *Pesharim* devoted to the "Davidic" Psalms (1QpPs, 4QpPs^a, and 4QpPs^b) as well as from the Dead Sea *Psalms*

⁶ For full discussion, see J. H. Charlesworth, et al., *The Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002) and idem, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

⁷ Devorah Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5.244–51; the quotation is on p. 245.

⁸ Shemaryahu Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989).

⁹ See P. W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158–67.

Scroll: “And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun... And he wrote 3,600 psalms... And the total was 4,050. All these he composed through prophecy (בנבואה) which was given him from before the Most High” (11QPs^a 27.2–11).¹⁰

3.1. *Method: Lemma with a Peshar is Unique to Qumran*

The use of a *lemma* joined with a Peshar is unique to the Qumranites. Both the chosen *lemma* and the Peshar make the hermeneutic distinctly Qumranic.

What appears frequently in the Pesharim and distinguish them? These commentaries are unique because their authors frequently refer to and are devoted to the Righteous Teacher, disclose the Qumranic interior view of history, and repetitively emphasize a disdain for the ruling cult in Jerusalem and the priests in the Temple (esp. the High Priest). They are also distinct due to the use of *termini technici* typical of Qumran (see the next section). Finally, the Pesharim are exceptional within Second Temple Jewish biblical interpretation because of the pneumatic interpretation of prophetic books including the Psalms (not the halachic works like Leviticus that were so important to other Jews). These characteristics of the Pesharim distinguish them from Philo’s allegorical interpretations of scripture, Josephus’ penchant to learn from Scripture how to see God’s hand in current events, and the expansions of Scripture found in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (as, e.g., in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*).

3.2. *Terminology: Pesharim Contain the Qumranic termini technici*

Within the *Pesharim* are a vast number of Qumranic technical terms, including the well-known sobriquets such as “the Righteous Teacher” (e.g., 1QpHab 1.12; 4QpPs^b Frg. 1.4), “the Wicked Priest” (e.g., 1QpHab 8.8), “the Man of the Lie” (e.g., 1QpHab 2.1–2),” and “the Spouter of the Lie” (1QpHab 10.9). Additional *termini technici* include the ways the Qumranites refer to themselves: “the Council of the Community” (4QpIsa^a Frg. 1.2), “the Congregation of his chosen ones” (4QpIsa^a Frg. 1.3), “the Poor Ones” (e.g., 4QPs^a 2.10; 1QpHab 12.3), “the elect of God” (1QpHab 10.13), and “the Sons of Zadok” (4QpIsa^a Frg. 22.3).

¹⁰ For the Hebrew and English, see James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 86–87.

Their enemies are the Jews who are “the Seekers-After-Smooth-Things” (e.g., 4QpNah Frgs. 3–4, Col. 1.2) and “the Kittim” (e.g., 1QpHab 4.11) who are usually the Romans.¹¹

3.3. *Ideology: The Moreh haṣ-Ṣedek’s Place in Hermeneutics*¹²

The Qumran compositions reveal that the Righteous Teacher opposed the Hasmonean high priesthood. He was a descendent of Aaron (and probably a Zadokite since Zadok was an Aaronite). Most likely, the Righteous Teacher formerly had been powerful in the Temple cult. He is a priest; in particular note this passage: “Its interpretation concerns the Priest, the [Righteous] Teacher, [whom] God [ch]ose as the pillar” (4QpPs^a Col. 3 line 15, cf. 4QpPs^b Frg. 1 lines 4–5). He may have acted as High Priest during the Intersacerdotum (159–52 B.C.E.). He left the Temple (cf. MMT) or was expelled (1Macc 14:35–49). He was followed by many priests, including the Sons of Aaron, and Levites. He was foremost a teacher of Torah. He is called a scribe (4QpPs^a 4. line 27 [from Ps 45:2b]). He is most likely the “Interpreter of Knowledge (מליץ דעת)” (4QpPs^a Frgs. 1–10, Col. 1.27) and “the Interpreter of the Torah (דורש התורה)” (4QCata^a Frgs. 7, 9–11, 20, 26.5).

He had a very high self-esteem, most likely considering himself the Irrigator chosen by God for the Eternal Planting (cf. 1QH^a 16). He alone had been given the key to unlocking the mysteries of Scripture (1QpHab 7). He did not think of himself as the Messiah. We do not know when or how he died but he was not crucified or martyred, despite the claims of some scholars. While his death was probably a shock to the Community, those in it did not find his death efficacious. His followers did not “believe in” him; they were faithful to him (see the following discussion). His followers did not think he was the Messiah or the Prophet who would precede him. There is every reason to imagine that his followers developed the Peshar method from his

¹¹ For detailed discussion of these sobriquets, see Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?*

¹² I am indebted to Jürgen Becker, *Das Heil Gottes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), Samuel Byrskog, *Jesus the Only Teacher* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1994), Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), and Paul Schulz, *Der Autoritätsanspruch des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit in Qumran* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974).

teachings, since almost all the Pesharim clearly postdate the Righteous Teacher.

3.4. *Pesharim were Created, Written, and Copied at Qumran*

Despite the claim of some early scholars, we can no longer conclude that the Pesharim are probably autographs.¹³ Some show signs of copying. For example, *Isaiah Pesher* 2 (4QP_{Isa}^b Col. 1, line 4) contains the following: וַאֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר. This is a scribal error; and a scribe made a meaningless correction by adding a ׀ above and before the second אֲשֶׁר. The error is conceivably, but probably not, an example of dittography. Perhaps the error occurred when a scribe misread an original וַאֲשֶׁר אֲמַר. If so, then it is more likely that the error occurred when this passage, which is in an early Herodian script, was copied from an earlier Hasmonean text in which a medial *mem* can be confused with a *shin* (esp. the left foot). In any case we are confronted with an error in copying the Pesher portion of one of the Pesharim. Errors in copying the much earlier biblical text also occur, but they cannot be used to ascertain if the Pesharim are autographs or copies of an earlier Pesher (cf. 4QP_{Pesher Isaiah}^c frg. 23, col. 2, line 14).

4. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND HERMENEUTICS IN THE *PESHARIM*: NOT UNIQUE TO QUMRANITES

4.1. *God's Word is in "Scripture" and it is Infallible*

The Book of the People took shape during the Second Temple Period by the People of the Book.¹⁴ While the early Jews had no books but scrolls, this statement clarifies that the early Jews were shaped and found self-identity in relation to Scripture, which was God's Word bequeathed to them inviolately. All religious Jews, and not only the

¹³ Particularly noteworthy is Frank M. Cross's judgment: "most of the commentaries are autographs." His conclusion derives from the observation that there are many copies of the biblical books but the commentaries "were rarely if ever copied." See Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1961), 114–15. N.B. that Cross was typically careful; he said "most of the commentaries."

¹⁴ See Charlesworth, "The Book of the People from the People of the Book," in *Jewish and Christian Scriptures: The Function of "Canonical" and "Non-Canonical" Religious Texts* (eds. James H. Charlesworth and Lee M. McDonald; Jewish and Christian Texts Series; London: T & T Clark, 2009 [in press]).

Qumranites, knew that the ancient scrolls contained God's Word; and it is infallible.

4.2. *God's Word is Trustworthy*

All religious Jews, including those who produced the *Enoch Books*,¹⁵ knew that Torah (broadly defined) was trustworthy. The Samaritans also stressed that the Pentateuch (which is very similar to the well-known Pentateuch) is full of God's trustworthy message. The Jerusalem priests claimed to sacrifice according to the trustworthy instructions found in Scripture (compare the rules in the *Temple Scroll*).

5. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND HERMENEUTICS IN THE *PESHARIM*: UNIQUE TO THE QUMRANITES

By interpreting Scripture, especially the Prophets, the Qumranites obtained both their *raison d'être* and an explanation for why they were living in the wilderness. The Righteous Teacher and his small group explained their exile in the wilderness by understanding Isaiah 40:3 to refer to them alone: "A Voice is calling, 'In the wilderness prepare the way of YHWH.'"

For the Qumranites, the wilderness was the place of preparation.¹⁶ Consequently, the members of the Yahad came to comprehend why they "separated" from the Temple cult and went into the wilderness. According to the normative collection of rules in the *Rule of the Community* (esp. 1QS 8.13–15), they followed the prescription: "[T]hey shall separate themselves (יבדלו)¹⁷ from the session of the men of deceit (הנשי העול)¹⁸ in order to depart into the wilderness to prepare there the Way of the Lord." They obtained social identity by interpreting Isaiah 40:3 in a unique way: "[A]s it is written: 'In the wilderness

¹⁵ The seemingly anti-Torah sections in the *Books of Enoch* seem to be anti-Judean; that is, the Jews who produced the *Books of Enoch* apparently lived in Galilee and rejected some of the legislations coming out of Jerusalem. For a recent discussion, see Martha Himmelfarb, "The Book of the Watchers and the Priests of Jerusalem," *Henoah* 24 (2002): 131–35. While covenant seems to be a dominant theme in Jerusalem, the importance of covenant is not a feature of the *Books of Enoch*. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) and Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Theology of Early Enoch Literature," *Henoah* 24 (2001): 107–12.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Shemaryahu Talmon for decades of discussing this point.

¹⁷ Niphal Imperfect.

¹⁸ This *terminus technicus* refers to the wicked priests officiating in Jerusalem.

prepare the way of the Lord, make level in the desert a highway for our God.”¹⁹ In a document from the early phase of the Community, the Sons of Light utilize a key term again to define the Righteous Teacher’s group as those who have separated from others. According to *Some Works of the Torah*, they report: “We have [se]parated ([ש]פרשנו) from the mass of the [people]” (4QMMT Section C, line 7 [Composite Text]).²⁰

Qumran, thus, is where those who are predestined “Sons of Light” become members of the Community—the Yaḥad (יחד); preparing for the future by studying Torah as commanded through Moses.²¹ The Qumran Community reflects the living influence of interpreted Scripture. This relationship between scripture and community life is well displayed in the *Rule of the Community*:

When these become the Community in Israel {according to these rules},²² they shall separate from the session of the men of deceit to depart into the wilderness to prepare there the Way of the Lord (?); as it is written: “*In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make level in the desert a highway for our God.*” This (alludes to) the study of the Torah wh[ic]h he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed (from) time to time, and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit (1QS 8.12–16).²³

When the priests left the Temple and followed the Voice into the wilderness, they began to “prepare the Way of YHWH in the wilderness.” The *raison d’être* of their social consciousness results from a pneumatic interpretation of Isaiah 40:3. The exegesis and hermeneutic

¹⁹ See James H. Charlesworth, “Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yaḥad,” in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Craig A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197–224.

²⁰ For the Hebrew and English translation, see J. H. Charlesworth et al., *Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents* (PTSDSS Project vol. 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 246–47.

²¹ See the reflections by Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Qumran יחד—a Biblical Noun,” *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 53–60.

²² The Words “according to these rules” is supralinear (above line 13) and are not found in MSS D and E. They were thus not translated in the PTSDSSP 1.

²³ Unless otherwise noted, all translations in the present article are from the volumes in the PTSDSS Project. The bold text indicates scriptural citation. This translation is by J. H. Charlesworth and appeared in vol. 1 (with the addition noted in the previous note).

derives from the claim of having received fresh revelation.²⁴ This point is made obvious in the final words of the passages just quoted:

וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו.

We now turn to the unique features that define the Pesharim. What will be dominant is the place of the Righteous Teacher and the fulfillment of prophecies in the recent life of the Community.

5.1. *Prophecy*

The Pesharim are primarily hermeneutical documents that affirm how prophecy reliably points to the future and has been partly realized already in the life of the Qumranites. Thus, the exegesis and exposition in the Pesharim should be defined as “*Fulfillment Hermeneutics*.” That is, the Qumranites believed that God’s promises were being fulfilled in their time and for the elect Community, the דת. According to the Qumranites, the prophets described the future which featured the history of the Righteous Teacher and his followers (see esp. 1QpHab and 1QpNah).

5.2. *God’s Word is About the “Latter Days”*

The Pesharim refer to events that can be dated between 110 B.C.E. and 55 B.C.E. Note these historical events assumed or mentioned in the *Pesharim*:²⁵

c. 110 B.C.E.	Righteous Teacher	conceivably dies about then
103 B.C.E.	Ptolemy Lathyrus	invades Palestine
88 B.C.E.	Demetrius III	invades Palestine and is defeated by Jannaeus
56–51 B.C.E.	Peitholaus ²⁶	Jewish general in Judaea
55 B.C.E.	Crassus	plunders the Jerusalem Temple.

The Qumranites perceived God acting on their behalf in these events, and they were judged to be events of the latter days in the history of salvation. The Qumranites explained through their hermeneutic of fulfillment how God had been active during the origins of the Qumran

²⁴ The use of masculine pronouns to describe the members of the community reflects the scholarly assumption that the Community included only males.

²⁵ For citations and discussion, see Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?*

²⁶ See BJ 1.162, 172, 180; Ant. 14.84,3.

Community. A good example of the *lemma* (Hab 2:5–6 in italics) and the Peshar which reveals the Qumran interior view of history is found in 1QpHab 8.6–11:

Do not all of them raise a taunt against him and interpreters of riddles about him, who say: "Woe to the one who multiplies what is not his own! How long will he weigh himself down with debt?" (VACAT) Its interpretation (פִּשְׂרֵי) concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called by the true name at the beginning of his standing, but when he ruled in Israel, his heart became large, and he abandoned God, and betrayed the statutes for the sake of wealth.²⁷

5.3. *Scripture is Full of God's Mysteries*

Like many early Jews, the Qumranites were convinced that God's mysteries were hidden in Scripture. However, they claimed that God had allowed only them to know these mysteries. Why? They explained that God had chosen only their Teacher, the Righteous Teacher, as the unique interpreter of Scripture. Only the Righteous Teacher had been allowed by God to know the meaning of God's mysteries.

Such claims to exclusive knowledge are found in other early Jewish groups; for example, those behind the *Books of Enoch* believed that Enoch was given mystical and special knowledge and he revealed it to those who had the *Books of Enoch*. While Philo seems in *De Agricultura* and in *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini* to be influenced by Greek *diairesis*, he was well versed in Jewish exposition, utilizing, for example, the rabbinic *gēzērâ šāwâ*.²⁸ Philo, however, saved Scripture from literalism by teaching that inspired allegorical interpretation helped to disclose the mysteries in Scripture, but he did not claim to have received special, exclusive, revelation. Josephus, like the Qumranites, appears to claim special revelatory powers; he can see apocalyptic events unfolding in and around Jerusalem.

5.4. *God's Mysteries are Revealed Only to the Righteous Teacher*

Through all biblical history, God revealed *only* to the Righteous Teacher "all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpHab 7.5). Note this passage in the Pesharim:

²⁷ Translation by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 175.

²⁸ See esp. George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOT SS 29; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 22–25.

...so that he can run who reads it, Its interpretation concerns the Righteous Teacher, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets. [1QpHab 7.3–5]

This is the most important passage in the *Pesharim* concerning the ability of the Righteous Teacher to interpret God's Word. He is the only one to whom God has revealed the meaning of Scripture—the embodiment of God's will. All others, including contemporary teachers, did not know what God revealed only to the *מורה הצדק*. In the whole history of salvation God revealed only to the Righteous Teacher *כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים*.²⁹ As mentioned earlier, it is likely that Qumranites perceived “the Interpreter of Knowledge” (4QPs^a Frgs. 1–10, Col. 1.27) to be none other than the Righteous Teacher. That seems warranted by the epithet alone and is perhaps confirmed by the comment that he was opposed by “the Man of the Lie” (Col. 1.26).

The Qumranites were convinced that the Righteous Teacher alone was endowed with prophetic visionary powers and directly inspired and guided by God. D. Dimant rightly contends that these “enigmatic mysteries (Heb *ryzm*; e.g. 1QpHab 7:8; 1QS 3:23; 1QH 2:13; 1QM 3:9; CD 3:18; cf. Dan 2:29 et al.) could only be unraveled by an inspired person living close to the time of the actual events.”³⁰ If so, such historical references are much more reliable than if they were written a century later from memories bequeathed to the members of the Community.

In interpreting the *Pesharim*, it is imperative to note how the “interpretation” sometimes does not begin after the *lemma*. Some of the meaning is found in the biblical citation—this will be true of most of the following excerpted passages. That is, we should avoid the mistake of some interpreters who focus only on the words after “Peshet,” missing the insight that the interpretation is foreshadowed, and often begins, within the *lemma*.

The unique and unparalleled knowledge accorded the Righteous Teacher, found in 1QpHab 7.3–5, is coherent with other Qumran compositions. He alone can understand the meaning of Torah (1QpHab 8.1–3; 1QpMic Frag. 8–10, 6–7).

The Community perceives two aspects of Torah. First, the Torah, God's Word, is revealed in well-known Scripture but God's message cannot be understood except by those who have the benefit of the

²⁹ N.B. the spelling of “the prophets:” contrast the full spelling in 1QS 8.16.

³⁰ Dimant, *ABD* 5.248.

revelations given to the Righteous Teacher. Second, the Torah includes also the further revelations made known only to the Righteous Teacher and through him to the Men of the Community. Some Qumranites most likely imagined the Righteous Teacher was a messenger from God; that is, the words (or works) of the Righteous Teacher are “from God’s mouth” (1QpHab 2.1–3). The Qumranites affirmed that from “the mouth of the Priest,” the Righteous Teacher, due to God’s revelation, comes the means to discern and “interpret all the words of his servants, the prophets” (1QpHab 2.7–9). Obviously, his followers must adhere to his teachings (1QpHab and CD 20.32).

The Qumranites are the priests and Levites who remained faithful to the Righteous Teacher. Note this key passage in the *Habakkuk Peshar*:

[...*And the righteous man will live by his faithfulness.* (= Hab 2:4b)] Its interpretation concerns all those who observe Torah in the House of Judah, whom God will save from the house of judgment on account of their tribulation and their fidelity (ואמנתם) to the Righteous Teacher. [1QpHab 7.17–8.3]

The “House of Judah” denotes Qumran; this term appears again elsewhere in the biblical commentaries.³¹ What is stated here is faithfulness to the Righteous Teacher (not something like faith in Jesus of Nazareth). At Qumran, faith is not grounded in a person, as in the New Testament.³² In the passages already excerpted from the Pesharim, the Qumranites are expressing how they remember the tribulations caused by the Wicked Priest and the unfaithfulness of the Man of the Lie. It is not possible to explain all the numerous cryptograms; they were intentionally hid from all except the one who had joined “the Many” at Qumran.³³

5.5. *All Scribes and Teachers in Jerusalem are Ignorant of the Full Meaning in Scripture*

Non-controversial is the claim that God allowed only the Righteous Teacher to know all the mysteries in the Prophets and, by implication,

³¹ See esp. 4QFlor Frg. 4.4.

³² Much has been written on this subject and is either well known or easily accessible in numerous publications. See esp. H. Feltes, *Die Gattung des Habakkuk Kommentars von Qumran (1QpHab)* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986), 47.

³³ “Lebanon” may refer to the Temple, but more likely to the Community as the temple. It also may have obtained more than one meaning at Qumran.

that no scribe or teacher in Jerusalem knows what God revealed only to the Righteous Teacher. That is stated in the *Habakkuk Pesher* Col. 7, as we have just seen.

Somewhat controversial is my conclusion that the author of the *Habakkuk Pesher* also implies that God has not allowed anyone else to know his mysteries; and that would mean that God did not allow the prophets to know the full meaning of his Words. According to the Qumranites, the prophets prophesied, without full revelation, about the latter days. Moreover, the Qumranites believed they were living in these latter days of history and by means of the Holy Spirit and God's revelations to the Righteous Teacher could understand the mysteries in God's Word.³⁴ According to the *Pesharim* (esp. 1QpHab 7), only the Qumranites knew the meaning of the prophetic books; even the authors of scripture did not know what had been revealed, in the latter days, only to the Righteous Teacher and thence to his group. Those "in Jerusalem" are categorically "the men of mockery" (4QpIsa^a 2.10).

Qumran polemics against all who interpret Torah in Jerusalem, and elsewhere, and also a claim that the prophets themselves did not know God's mysteries in their utterances, are found in the *Habakkuk Pesher*. For the Qumranites, God did instruct Habakkuk to write down "the things that are going to come upon the last generation, but *God did not allow him to know* "the fulfillment of the period" (1QpHab 7.1–2 [my emphasis]). One must not miss the inclusive power of "*God did not allow him (Habakkuk) to know*" (1QpHab 7.2) The dualism becomes stark: God did not allow Habakkuk and by implication all the Prophets to know the full meaning of God's Word, but God did allow the Righteous Teacher to know "all (כול) the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets" (1QpHab 7. 1–5). This revelation to the Righteous Teacher elevates him in the history of salvation as the quintessential prophet, other prophets did not know all the mysteries in the words given to them by God.

5.6. *The Holy Spirit from God Aids in Exegesis and Hermeneutics*

Most Qumranologists tend to concur that the Qumran sect belongs to the world of Jewish apocalypticism. This perspective appears especially in the research published by F. García Martínez and A.S. van der

³⁴ This consensus was stated long ago by Cross in *The Ancient Library*, 90.

Woude.³⁵ One unique element supplied by the Qumranites is the concept of the Holy Spirit *from* God. The Holy Spirit dwells in the “House of Holiness” in which the Qumranites—that is, “the Holy Ones,” and “the Most Holy of Holy Ones”—live together in God’s Eternal Planting (1QH^a 16). The “Many” live in the “House of Holiness” because “the Holy Spirit” has left Jerusalem and dwells on earth with them. The Qumranites consider their Community to be “the House of Holiness.” It is only in this house, made holy by the presence of the Holy Spirit, that God’s Word is fully understood and the Way for the future is clarified. The Qumranites claim that they alone have the guidance of the Holy Spirit in interpreting God’s Word; thus, they have become “a foundation of the Holy Spirit in eternal truth” (1QS 9.3).

5.7. *Only the Qumranites Can Interpret Scripture and It Points to their Special History*

The Righteous Teacher was “the unique Teacher” (מורה היחיד; CD 20.1). Interpreting Scripture provided the three dimensions necessary for a social group like the Qumranites who united to form the Yahad, the Community. First, as we saw earlier, the interpretation of Isaiah 40:3 provided meaning and the *raison d’être* for being in the wilderness. The Qumranites self-identity appeared when the Voice called them into the wilderness with a God-given task in the economy of salvation. They were the Ones predestined and ordained to prepare the Way for Yahweh.

Second, their unity with the One and only Right Teacher, the Righteous Teacher, provided the high esteem necessary for survival in the barren wilderness, near the foul-smelling (δυσωδίαν)³⁶ Salt Sea (the Dead Sea).³⁷ The Righteous Teacher bequeathed to them what he had been chosen by God to know: The wisdom in all the mysteries of God’s

³⁵ Florentino García Martínez and Adam S. van der Woude, “A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 521–42. I would disagree with the “Groningen Hypothesis,” which places the origin of Essenism in the late third or early second century B.C.E., by pointing out that the Essene movement does not antedate the second century B.C.E. In its well-known form, it seems to originate after the Maccabean rebellion.

³⁶ Diodorus in *Bibliotheca Historica* II and XIX clarifies that the Dead Sea was well-known for “its evil smell.” See M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976), 1.172–74.

³⁷ Pliny the Elder’s comment about the noxious fumes of the Dead Sea area is well known.

Words preserved by the prophets, God's chosen servants. Thus, life-sustaining prophecy was rekindled and afire in their Community.

Third, a study of the Qumranites' interpretation of Scripture provides data and insight to correct the Weberian claim that all religious movements begin with inspired, perhaps charismatic, authority and devolve into institutional norms. With insight provided by Brian Stock,³⁸ we may see how Qumran's compositions, especially the *Pesharim*, disclose a charismatic figure, the Righteous Teacher, who stimulates an educational process which flows into a Community and enables it to remain energetic long after he dies. This divinely chosen group of Jews develops rituals so that Scripture is comprehended and celebrated, and—most importantly—history is filled with meaning because the group, the Community, advances sacred history; that is, their own special narrative, their history, grounds them in salubrious salvation history.

There is more to contemplate. Psalm 119, the most popular psalm at Qumran (11QPs^a, 1Q10, 4QPs^g, 4QPs^h, and 5Q5), appears in the *Psalms Scroll* with variant readings. The usual passive verb appears as an active verb. Note these examples:

It is good for me that you have afflicted me,
That I might learn your statutes. (11QPs^a 119:71)

For you have made me like a wineskin in the smoke,
Yet I have not forgotten your steadfast love. (11QPs^a 119:83).³⁹

5.8. Summary

The thesis articulated at the begging has become evident: The Qumranites knew they were unique, created as Sons of Light, divinely chosen to prepare God's Way in the wilderness. They assumed that the Scriptures were directed only to them, prophesied concerning their unparalleled teacher (מורה הצדק), and focused on their own special time in biblical history, "the last period" (viz. 4QpPs^b), "the latter days (viz. 4QpIsa^a)." Their method for studying Scripture was an interpretation

³⁸ See esp. Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990) and idem, *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

³⁹ I am indebted to Sanders; see his, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 17.

that emphasized fulfillment. This method was controlled by the presence of “the Holy Spirit” who dwelled only at Qumran in the $\tau\eta\tau$, which is the “House of Holiness,” the abode of “the Most Holy of Holy Ones.” Through the Pesharim, the Qumranites help us comprehend their unique interior view of history and how God has been acting for them. A blessed future is thus assured for each of the Sons of Light (defined paradigmatically, categorically, and focused on the followers of the Righteous Teacher), even though evil now reigns on earth.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1. *Special Revelation*

We have seen how the Qumranites claim to be special. They alone are faithful to the Righteous Teacher to whom God alone revealed all the mysteries in the words of the prophets.

6.2. *Perspicacious?*

Were the Qumranites perspicacious as they interpreted Scripture? There is much to admire in the way the Qumranites found meaning in an inhospitable location, living first in ruins, and constantly by foul-smelling water and in a region which is defined by a Dead Sea, a Salt Sea. We might also admire the way that they believed God remained faithful and was perceived to be active in history. Finally, most of us would part from their company, since their claims about the Righteous Teacher, and their lifestyle, especially their hatred and absolute dualism, appear far from attractive or perspicacious.

6.3. *The Polemics and Dangers in Qumran’s Interpretive Moves*

It is easy to imagine the hostility in Qumran’s hermeneutics. According to them, the Wicked Priest persecuted and attempted to kill the one chosen by God to interpret Scripture. Recall the well-known passages in the *Habakkuk Peshar*:

[M]aking (them) drunk in order that he might look upon their feasts. (vacat) Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who pursued the Righteous Teacher—to swallow him up with his poisonous vexation—to his house of exile. And at the end of the feast, (during) the repose of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them to swallow them up and

to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful sabbath. [1QpHab 11.3–8)

The wicked one lies in ambush for the righteous one and seeks [to murder him. Yah]weh [will not abandon him into his hand,] n[or will he] let him be condemned as guilty when he comes to trial. Its interpretation concerns [the] Wicked [Pri]est who l[ay in ambush for the Righte[ous Teach]er [and sought to] murder him [...]. [4QPs^a Frgs. 1–10, Col. 4.7–8]

The Righteous Teacher was persecuted by הרשע הכוהן. The latter seems to have gone to Qumran on “the Day of Atonement” to disturb the worship of the Righteous Teacher and his followers. It is possible that the Righteous Teacher was hurt when the Wicked Priest allegedly sought to murder him (4QPs^a). If pertinent passages of the *Hodayot* were composed by the Righteous Teacher, then some of the autobiographical reports may well mirror the wounds he received from the Wicked Priest; yet, most of these passages reflect the generic language of the Psalter. Dupont-Sommer claimed that the Righteous Teacher had been killed,⁴⁰ but Carmignac showed that this hypothesis was without merit.⁴¹

As is well known, two calendars were followed by Jews during the Second Temple Period, a solar calendar and the lunar calendar. The Peshet just quoted implies that the two priests observed different liturgical calendars, since the high priest officiating in Jerusalem could not leave the Temple cult during Yom Hakippurim.⁴²

6.4. *The Sociology of Such Hermeneutics*

The unique Qumran hermeneutic reflects a sociology of exclusiveness. Inside the group are the predestined Sons of Light. All those outside the Yah)ad are the Sons of Darkness. And all such Jews are damned (see the curses in 1QS 4). Clearly, only those in the Qumran group, and in the group defined by the *Damascus Document*, contend that they alone are faithful to God. They interpret Scripture from the perspective that they alone are those created for a glorious future.

⁴⁰ André Dupont-Sommer, *Aperçus Préliminaires sur les Manuscrits de le Mer Morte*, 121–22.

⁴¹ Jean Carmignac, *Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1957).

⁴² This fact was first pointed out by Shemaryahu Talmon; see his “Yom Hakippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll,” now in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 186–99.

Perhaps the most important insight obtained by studying the Qumranites interpretation of Scripture is the perception of how exclusivist is their hermeneutic. A hermeneutic of fulfillment loses its power if it is only for a small group in the distant past. That is, God's mystery may have been heard, but it was not shared. Sectarian hermeneutics can lead to annihilation; it isolated and eventually extinguished the Qumranites.

Yet, there is much to admire in Qumran hermeneutics. First, there is the attempt to see a Creator who continues to be active in history, if only for a selected few. Second, the Pesharim and Commentaries help us comprehend how Jews, during the growing domination of the might of Rome, could affirm "that the mysteries of God are awesome (כִּי אֵל לֵהפִלָּה)" (1QpHab 7.8). Thus, the Qumranite could chant: "My eye beheld his wonders, and the light of my heart beheld the mystery of what shall occur and is occurring forever" (1QS 10.3–4).

We have seen that the Qumranites claimed that their biblical interpretation was guided by the presence of the Holy Spirit. It was thus revelatory. Through their exegesis, comprehension (even manipulation) of the biblical text, and clever insights into the meaning of recent historical events (including the persecution of the Righteous Teacher by the Wicked Priest), they displayed unusual perception, even perspicacity that provided meaning for those who had exiled themselves in the wilderness east of Jerusalem.

THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON: A CHAIN OF TRADITIONS

ESTHER ESHEL

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Genesis Apocryphon* is one of the first seven scrolls discovered in Cave 1 at Qumran, and the final one to be unrolled. The scroll, opened in 1956, has been the subject of many studies, but the official edition is yet to be published.¹ Written in Aramaic, it recounts, with additions, omissions, and expansions, the narratives of the Patriarchs corresponding to Gen 5:18–15:5, that is, from Enoch to Abraham's vision of the stars. It does so mainly through first-person narration by Enoch, Lamech, Methuselah, Noah and Abraham, but some third-person narrative can be found as well.

The scroll contains the remains of 23 columns, but was originally longer; the sheet to the right of column 22 was clearly cut away in antiquity and the text of column 22 breaks off in the middle of a sentence. It is now generally accepted that text survives from at least one column before column 1, which has been labeled "Column 0."² The work is generally attributed to the second or first century B.C.E., but based on

¹ For the latest edition of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (BibOr 18/B; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2004³). The readings and translation of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are based on this edition. However, certain readings were arrived at by the author in conjunction with Moshe J. Bernstein; others were formulated in the course of working on this article, together with the readings and translations made in the Ph.D. dissertation of Daniel A. Machiela, "The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of *Jubilees*" (Ph.D. diss., submitted to Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007), to whom I would like to express my gratitude for sharing his work with me prior to its official publication. See now, Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

² As presented by Bruce Zuckerman and Michael O. Wise, in their unpublished lecture, "The Trever Fragment: Recovery of an Unstudied Piece of the Genesis Apocryphon," *AAR/SBL Annual Meeting, Missouri*, 1991; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 64–67, 115–17.

my study of this composition, an earlier date in the third century B.C.E. should not be ruled out. Like the other Aramaic texts found at Qumran, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not considered sectarian.³

A number of studies have been devoted to the question of the specific genre of this scroll. Suggestions have included parabiblical composition or rewritten bible or scripture. Moshe J. Bernstein has suggested to distinguish between the first part of the composition, which includes the first 19 columns up until the end of Noah story, to be labeled as “parabiblical,” and the second part, which includes the Abraham story, to be labeled as “rewritten bible.”⁴

In her characterization of *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*, Rachel Adelman suggested the term “Narrative Midrash.” In her study, she states, “the ‘Narrative’ component of the term for this genre refers to the artful story telling of the composition; ‘Midrash’ to its exegetical aspect, the dependence on its biblical progenitor.”⁵ Without entering a detailed discussion, and taking into consideration the fact that *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* is traditionally considered Midrash, while the *Genesis Apocryphon*, is a pre-rabbinic composition, I would like to suggest that this broad definition of a narrative Midrash be adopted for the *Genesis Apocryphon* as well.⁶

³ See the discussion of Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 22–25. For a study of the nature of the Aramaic texts from Qumran, see Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert Tigchelaar; JSJSup122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205.

⁴ For a discussion of the various suggestions regarding the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see Craig A. Evans, “1QapGen and the Rewritten Bible,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 153; Armin Lange, “1QGenAp XX₁₀–XX₃₂ as Paradigm of Wisdom Didactic Narrative,” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25–26 Juli 1993* (eds. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 191–204.

⁵ Rachel Adelman, *The Return of the Repressed: Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer and the Pseudepigrapha* (JSJSup 140; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–21; the citation is from p. 19.

⁶ On the use of the term “midrash” in Qumran studies, see Paul Mandel, “Midrashic Exegesis and Its Precedents in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 149–86; idem, “The Origins of Midrash in the Second Temple Period,” in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash* (ed. Carol Bakhos; JSJSup 106; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 9–34.

2. THREE CYCLES

The centrality of the narrative aspect of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is pertinent for understanding the structure of the composition, which is the subject of this paper. Specifically, I will focus on the sub-division of the *Genesis Apocryphon* according to its content.

In a recent treatment of this topic, D. Falk raised the option of dividing the work into either three stories—a story of Lamech, a story of Noah, and a story of Abraham; or just two stories—that of Noah and Abraham. He concluded that at least for the text as it has been preserved, the latter is preferable.

Thus, according to his understanding, “[t]he Lamech section is best seen as part of the Noah cycle, and its purpose is to more fully place the story of Noah in the context of the sons of God myth from Gen 6:1–5.”⁷ As for the text’s style, he notes: “it is part of the narrative’s style to allow characters to speak in their own words.” Nevertheless, since he traces a change from first person to third person in the middle of Abraham’s narrative, from col. 21 line 23 until the end of the existing text, to an impersonal narration, he concludes that “the narrative voice does not seem to be an entirely reliable guide to the intended structure.”⁸

According to my reading of the first six columns, and more precisely, col. 0–col. 5:27, this section cannot be titled either as a Lamech cycle, or as part of the Noah cycle. Cols. 0–1 include parts which do not seem to belong to Lamech’s speech, such as a first person plural speech. These parts seem to best fit the Watchers’ appeal:

[...ונקבל אסר [ושבועת]א די אסרנא [על נפשתנא ...]

...and we took an oath [and a vow] that we bind [ourselves (?)]
(1QapGen 0:2–3)

and:

וכען הא אנחנא אסירין

And now we are prisoners (line 8).

Furthermore, the first-person appeal to God, referring to his anger or to his decision to destroy the world seems to fit Enoch’s appeal

⁷ Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8; LSTS 63; Sheffield: T&T Clark, 2007), 30.

⁸ Ibid. See earlier, Moshe J. Bernstein, “Pentateuchal Interpretation at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Boston, 1998), 145.

to God rather than that of Lamech, to be compared with *1 Enoch* chapters 12–16. The Enoch story includes apocalyptic visions referring to God’s deeds that will take place at *ביום דינא רבא וקץ* “[...] at the Great Day of Judgment and End” (1QapGen 4:12); to be compared with *1 Enoch* 22:4, according to 4QEnGiants^f:

ועד זמן יום קצא ד[י] דינא רבא די מנהון יתעבד

...and until the time of the Day of the End o[f] the Great Judgment which will be exacted of them⁹

as well as with 4QEn^g:

ומן [בתרה שבוע עשרי דבשב]י[ע]ה דין עלמא וקץ דינה רבא [יתנקם...]

And af[ter it, the tenth week, in the se]venth [part of which] an eternal Judgment and the (fixed) time of the Great Judgment [shall be executed in vengeance...] (Frag. 1 iv:23 = 1 En 91:15).¹⁰

It is therefore more reasonable to take the first six columns as telling a story from the perspective of Enoch. This section features some elegant interweaving of first-person narration: Lamech’s first-person reaction to Noah’s exceptional appearance, where he feared he was the son of an angel, followed by his confrontation with his wife Bitenosh (1QapGen col. 2); Enoch’s assurance to Lamech through Methuselah that Noah is indeed his son (5:2–23); and Lamech’s final reaction to Enoch’s assurance (5:26–27). Therefore I suggest a division of the *Genesis Apocryphon* into three cycles, which seems to me to be the most suitable means of accommodating both structure and content:

- (1) The Enoch cycle, cols. 0–5:27;
- (2) The Noah cycle, cols. 5:29–18:22;
- (3) The Abraham cycle. This cycle starts at col. 18:24, but its end, as mentioned earlier, was lost in ancient times.

This division is further supported by the physical marker of blank lines left between the cycles, that is, in col. 5 line 28, at the end of the Enoch cycle, and in col. 18 line 23, at the end of the Noah cycle.¹¹ Of these

⁹ 4Q206 2–3 Frg. 1 xxii 2–3. Cf. Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1976), 229–30.

¹⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 266, 269.

¹¹ Armin Lange has suggested that in 18:23–24 there was a *vacat* of 1.5 line, which probably marked the beginning of the Abram Story at line 25. See Armin Lange,

three, only the full length of the Noah cycle has survived, though it is poorly preserved. This cycle covers no less than 13 columns, while only 4–5 columns of each of the other two cycles have survived. There is, however, no reason to doubt they were both originally longer. Furthermore, since the beginning and end of the manuscript have not been preserved, the original composition might have included additional cycles that are now lost, the content of which is left for speculation. As for the proposed Enoch cycle, one might suspect that col. 0 was preceded by additional passages devoted to the story of the Fallen Angels, which together with the surviving reference to this myth might be added to other such compositions so dominant in the Qumran library.¹² It is worth noting in this context, that the topic of the Watchers was one of the main subjects of both the Enoch and Noah cycles. Thus it is mentioned again and again in the words of Lamech (1QapGen 2:1, 16), and appears in the words of Enoch referring to ביומי ירד אבי “for in the days of Jared my father” (3:3).¹³ This phrase is found in a broken context, but from its parallels in *1 Enoch* it is clear that it refers to the descent of the Watchers as reflected in the name midrash of Jared, as can be seen in *Jub.* 4:15 “He named him Jared (ירד), because during his lifetime the angels of the Lord who were called Watchers *descended* (ירדו) to the earth...”.¹⁴ The Watchers are mentioned again later, as they are referred to in one of Noah’s visions (6:19–20).

From the extant text, we can see a well-written story, with smoothly-connected individual components, which share both themes and terminology. Thus, as I will try to argue, the composition as it stands before us is a unified text, and is not a mere patchwork of three independent compositions. This, in turn, does not exclude the possibility that *Genesis Apocryphon* used earlier sources, which is probably the

“1QGenAp XX₁₀–XX₃₂ as Paradigm of Wisdom Didactic Narrative,” in Fabry, Lange, and Lichtenberger, *Qumranstudien*, 192, n. 10.

¹² See Michael E. Stone, “The Axis of History at Qumran,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–49.

¹³ To be compared with 4QEn^a 1 iii: 4–5: ביומי ירד [די נחתו] ביומי ירד, “[And they were all of these two hundred who came down] in the days of Jared...” (*1 En* 6:6); See also 4QEn^c 5 ii: 17–18 א[בי ירד] ביומי ירד א[בי] עברו, “...according as I saw and told you my son that] in the days of Jared my father (Watchers) transgressed [the words of the Lord (and departed) from the covenant of Heaven...]” (*1 En* 106:13), Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 209–210.

¹⁴ See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 139.

case in the Enoch cycle, where clear connections with *1 Enoch* are found. Being one of the earliest and most detailed sources devoted to the figure of Noah, one might assume that it was used by later compositions, such as *Jubilees*, as I have argued elsewhere in regard to the division of the earth among Noah's sons.¹⁵

Moving to the third cycle, the Abraham cycle, it was already noted by scholars that there are differences in style between the Enoch and Noah cycles and that of Abraham. It was also noted that the Abraham cycle is much closer to its biblical source. Recently, Bernstein has shown a clear distinction in regard to the usage of divine epithets between what I call the Enoch and Noah cycles, and that of Abraham.¹⁶ These differences deserve further study, but about this matter I would like to say that in addition to the biblical text being used by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, there might be evidence for his use of discrete sources, whether oral or written. Nevertheless, the text as it stands before us is a unified composition.

3. THE UNITY OF THE COMPOSITION

One of the major pieces of evidence in support of such a claim for unity, is the significant parallels found between the main characters. I suggest that this literary technique should be termed a "chain of traditions." The way the story is told, Enoch, like Noah, struggles with a sinful generation, of the Fallen Angels and their sinful offspring. Enoch also seems to be singled out as the only righteous person, as Abraham will later be singled out with respect to Sodom, serving as the mediator between the sinners and God, and bringing their appeal to heaven. Like Abraham, Enoch too has immediate communication with God, being vouchsafed various visions regarding the future of humanity that can be compared with Genesis 15. By the same token, Noah is described in terms close to those applied to Abraham, being the ultimate righteous individual who has visions regarding the future of humanity.

¹⁵ Esther Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111–31.

¹⁶ Moshe J. Bernstein, "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *JBL* 128 (2009): 291–310.

To the similarities in characters and plot, one should add the shared terminology found in the different cycles. In the Enoch and Noah cycles the following three main locutions stand out:

- (1) The root אסר, meaning both “to swear” and “to bind” is found in the Enoch cycle used for both the Watchers’ sin and punishment (1QapGen 0:2,8,12). Yet a third meaning of this root, “to gird,” is used in Noah’s biography: “I girded my loins (וחצי אסרת) with a vision of righteousness” (1QapGen 6:4).
- (2) In connection with Enoch’s visit to heaven it says, “[and] he shares his lot]with the angels[(ועם קדישיא [עדבה פליג])” (1QapGen 2:21). This terminology derives from Joshua 15,¹⁷ and is used later to describe Noah’s division of the world among his sons, e.g. “For Shem emerged the second lot (ערבא תניאנא)” (1QapGen 16:14), as well as “[And] Japhet divided between his sons (יפת פלג בין) [בנוהי]” (1QapGen 17:16).
- (3) The reference to (רז) “mystery” is found in both stories: רז is first mentioned in the Enoch cycle in the Watchers’ appeal in col. 1, “the mystery of wickedness (רז רשעא)” (1QapGen 1:2; and just רזא in lines 3,7). Later, when Enoch speaks to his son Methusaleh, he says: “[...] your son make known by this mystery (ברזא דנא)” (1QapGen 5:21). Methusaleh then tells it to his son Lamech: “and he spoke with Lamech his son about a mystery (ברז)” (5:25). When we move to the Noah cycle we hear again, “I hid this mystery within my heart (וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי)” (6: 12); to be compared with *Aramaic Levi Document* 4:13 “And I hid this too in my heart and I revealed it to nobody. (וטמרת אף דן בלבי).”¹⁸ רז has a neutral meaning, and it gets its value weighting from its context. Thus, while in the context of the Watchers, the mystery has a negative sense, here with respect to both Enoch and Noah it is given a positive sense as well.

Next, in the Noah and Abraham Cycles the following four main locutions stand out:

¹⁷ See James C. VanderKam, “Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,” in *From Revelation to Canon* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 488.

¹⁸ Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 68–69.

- (1) When Noah gets out of the Ark, after the Flood, he says, “[Then] I Noah went out and walked throughout the land by its length and by its breadth (אנא נוח נפקת והלכת בארעא לאורכהא) (ולפותיהא [אדין] 11:11), which is clearly taken from God’s command to Abraham, “Rise, walk about the land, through its length and its breadth (קום והתהלך בארץ לאורכה ולרחבה) (Gen 13:17), reflected in the *Genesis Apocryphon* as, “Rise, walk about, go and see how great is its width (קום הלך ואזל וחזי כמן ארכהא וכמן) (פתיהא) (21:13–14).¹⁹ Abraham obeys this command: “So I, Abraham, went to go around and look at the land... and moved along Mount Taurus toward the east through the breath of the land (ואזלת אנא אברם למסחר ולמחזה ארעא...ואזלת ליד טור תורא) (למדנחא לפותי ארעא) (21:15–16).
- (2) God’s promises to Noah are clearly taken from those to Abraham in the Bible: Thus, God says to Noah: (11:15) “Do not fear, O Noah, I am with you and with those of your sons who will be like you forever (אל תדחל יא נוח עמך אנא ועם בניך די להון כואתך) (לעלמים),” which is based on Gen 26:24, “...do not fear, for I am with you and will bless you and make your offspring numerous for my servant Abraham’s sake (אל תירא כי אתך אנכי וברכתיך)”; as well as on Gen 15:1a, “Do not fear, Abraham, I am your shield.... (אל תירא אברם)... (אנכי מגן לך).”²⁰ Furthermore, the second part of this verse—“your reward shall be very great (שכרך הרבה מאוד) (15:1b)—can be found earlier in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, when God promises Noah לך משלם לך יקר, “honor and reward I am paying to you” (7:5).
- (3) In one of his dream-visions in col. 14 (lines 9–19), Noah sees a large cedar tree, with three branches. The interpretation of the dream identifies the different parts of the tree. Thus Noah is the cedar, and the three shoots are Noah’s three sons. Shem can be identified as the first scion, described as com-

¹⁹ See Moshe J. Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63, at 60–61.

²⁰ See also “...to your sons after you for all [...] do not fear... (...לבניך מן בתרך...) (אל תדחל) (8:33–34).

ing forth from the cedar and growing to a height (14:10).²¹ A cedar also plays a role in Abraham's dream-vision (19:14–21) just before he and Sarai descended to Egypt due to the famine in the Land of Canaan. In his dream Abraham saw a cedar, which people were trying to cut down, and a palm tree, which was left alone. This dream reflects Abraham's awareness that his life was in danger. His response was to ask Sarai to protect him by claiming that they were brother and sister.

- (4) When Noah divides the world among his sons, Arpachshad's allotment (17:11–15) is the same as that in Abraham's tour of the Promised Land as described in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (21:15–19).

Another unifying technique employed by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, apart from structuring three cycles around three major figures and creating intertextual connections between them, is the creation of secondary characters within these cycles. These secondary characters, according to my explanation, serve transitional functions. Each of these is used as a "link" connecting the earlier and later main figures, thus creating an even closer connection between the cycles. Thus one might characterize the figure of Lamech as a "secondary figure," who serves as the connection between Enoch and Noah, by appealing to Enoch in regard to Noah's miraculous birth. The end of the Noah cycle and the beginning of the Abraham cycle have not survived, but I would like to suggest, based on the Noah story, that we might tentatively expect parts of cols. 17–18 to be devoted to the figure of Shem as the "secondary character." Shem's special role is noted elsewhere in the story. He is found first, when Shem is identified with the first scion, on which Noah's name will be called (14:12). Thus, as in the case of Noah, Shem and his descendants are also called נַצְבַת קוֹשֵׁט "a righteous planting" (14:13). Later, when Noah wakes from his dreams he goes and tells them to him: "[Then I], Noah, [awoke] from my sleep [...] I went to Shem, my son, and relat[ed] everything to

²¹ It is interesting to note that cedar trees were also mentioned in Midrash *Gen. Rab.* 30:7: "[Noah was in his generations] a man [righteous and whole-hearted]." Wherever 'a man' occurs. It indicates a righteous man who warned [his generation]. For a whole one hundred and twenty years Noah planted cedars and cut them down (שָׁכַל ק"ב שָׁנָה הָיָה נֹחַ נוֹטֵעַ אֲרָזִים וְקוֹצֵצָן). On being asked, 'Why are you doing this?' he replied: 'The Lord of the universe has informed me that he will bring a Flood in the world.' Said they [his contemporaries] to him: 'If a flood does come, it will come only upon your father's house!'"

[him] (וואתעירת א[נא נוח מן שנתי... וואז] לית אנה לשם ברי וכולא) [ה] [אחונת] [לה] (15:21–22). God’s promise to be with Shem and his descendants is mentioned earlier, when God promised Noah: “I am with you and with those of your sons who will be like you forever (עמד) (אנה ועם בניך די להון כואתך לעלמים) (11:15).

Shem’s special role seems to be further developed by the author of *Jubilees*, particularly in the detailed description of Shem’s portion found in *Jub.* 8:12–21. This includes Noah’s happy reaction, especially when he makes his portion the best, including the three main mountains, and being in the center of the world.

Finally, I would like to focus on two significant elements found in the story of Noah in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, that of his birth narrative, and his portrait as an ideal figure.

In regard to the story of Noah’s birth, according to my reconstruction, the birth story was integrated with the Watchers’ sin and appeal to Enoch, as part of the Enoch cycle, to be reconstructed before the debate between Lamech and Bitenosh, which has no parallels in other compositions. This debate was probably composed by the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, who wanted to prove that Noah was not an offspring of an angel. As for the Noah cycle, after the title “[co]p[y] of the book of the words of Noah” (1QapGen 5:29) there are some unreserved lines, and when we resume, we read Noah’s autobiographical description as a truthful and righteous person, already in his mother’s womb at the moment of his birth. I thus suggest that in the missing lines before Noah’s autobiography we might reconstruct a description of Noah’s miraculous birth. Such a description is mentioned earlier in col. 5, when Enoch quotes Lamech description of Noah’s birth, saying: “[...] he lifted his face to me and his eyes shown like the su[n...]” (line 12).

In the Bible, Noah is famously described as “a righteous man, blameless in his generations (איש צדיק תמים היה בדורותיו) (Gen 6:9). In rabbinic literature, this formulation is viewed by some as qualifying Noah’s status—his righteousness is relative, and evaluated in comparison to the sinful state of his generation. Thus, e.g., *Midrash Gen. Rab.* 30:9:

“In his generations”: R. Judah and R. Nehemiah differed. R. Judah said: Only in his generations was he a righteous man [by comparison]; had he flourished in the generation of Moses or Samuel... R. Nehemiah said: If he was righteous even in *his* generation, how much more so [had he lived] in the age of Moses.

In the Genesis narrative, Noah is thus presented as an obedient person, following God's commands without any reaction, and at the end we hear of the shameful accident of his drunkenness. This act is condemned in rabbinic sources, as we would expect, and it is even interpreted as the cause of exile:

“And he was uncovered within his tent (ויתגל בתוך אהלה)”: R. Judah b. R. Simon and R. Hanan in the name of R. Samuel b. R. Isaac said: Not ויגל is written but ויתגל: he was the cause of exile for himself and subsequent generations (*Gen. Rab.* 36:4).

In contrast, in the *Genesis Apocryphon* Noah is described in terms close to those applied to Abraham, as being the ultimate righteous individual who has visions regarding the future of humanity. Although many parts of this story were lost forever, it is still possible to reconstruct it based on the remains.

Thus, as noted by Daniel Machiela, the biblical description of Noah's drunkenness and shame (Gen 9:21–24) is re-interpreted in the *Genesis Apocryphon* in an opposite manner to the plain sense of the biblical text. The episode in Genesis starts with “He drank the wine and became drunk, and he uncovered himself within the tent (וישת ומן היין וישתכר ויתגל בתוך אהלה)” (Gen 9:21) and ends with Noah's disgrace “When Noah woke up from his wine... (וייקץ נח מיינו)...” (v. 24). In the *Genesis Apocryphon* cols. 12–15, ויתגל is interpreted in the sense of having a vision, from גלה “to reveal,”²² and Noah is described as having a set of symbolic dream-visions, starting with his statement: “and I was lying on my [...]” (12:19), perhaps his side or his bed. This formula can be compared to God's command to Ezekiel “Lie on your left side” (4:4), as well as to Dan 7:1, which states: “Daniel saw a dream and a vision of his mind in bed.” Even more closely related is Levi's statement in the *Aramaic Levi Document*: “Then [...] I lay down and I remained o[n...] ([...] ע[ל] אנה ע[ל]...)” (4:3), which is immediately followed by a vision (4:4ff).²³ This set of dream-visions in the *Genesis Apocryphon* ends by saying, “[Then I,] Noah, [awoke] from my sleep, and the sun rose [...] נא[א] ואתעררת א[נא]”

²² To be compared with 4Q201 iv 4–5: רזין לנשיהן ה רזין לגליהן, “[And they all began to reveal] secrets to their wives”. For a detailed discussion of this interpretation, see Machiela, “The *Genesis Apocryphon*,” 211–18.

²³ Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 66–67.

(ה'נוח מן שנתי ושמשא רמה" (col. 15:21).²⁴ Thus, after waking up, not only does Noah not curse Canaan, but he blesses God, and proceeds to tell his dreams to Shem.²⁵ In the following, very fragmentary, text (15:23ff), Noah apparently speaks to Shem, mentioning the righteous one and God. Here I would assume that a major part of the bottom line of col. 15 (lines 23–36) and maybe even parts of the beginning of col. 16 were devoted to our “secondary figure,” who was Shem. Nevertheless, one cannot rule out the possibility that in the non-preserved lines at the end of col. 15 Noah’s curse of Canaan was included. If so, one might speculate that it was based on Noah’s set of dream-visions in which he was informed of Canaan’s future violent deeds, thus Noah might have cursed him for that rather than for his father’s deeds.

It is not coincidental that these three figures of Abraham, Enoch, and Noah were connected. Already in the Bible, the unusual use of the *hitpa'el* form of ה"ל"ך in descriptions of these obedient individuals highlights their shared special status. The description of Noah reads “Noah was a righteous man; blameless in his generations; Noah walked with God (נח את האלהים התהלך נח)” (Gen 6:9). This is to be compared with God’s command to Abraham, according to Genesis 17:1 “walk in my ways and be blameless (התהלך) (לפני והיה תמים)” This, in turn, brings us back to Enoch, about whom it is written, “Enoch walked with God, then he was no more (ויתהלך) (חנוך את האלהים ואיננו).” The biblical expression is echoed in Ben Sira chapter 44, in the “Praise of Israel’s great Ancestors,” which includes seven covenantal figures, from Enoch to Phinehas: “Enoch was found without reproach, and he walked with God, and was taken (חנוך נמצא) (תמים והתהלך עם ה' ונלקח),” and about Noah he writes “Noah, the just man, found without reproach (נח צדיק נמצא תמים).” Of the three figures, the image of Noah was the most complex, and posed the greatest challenge to the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* in his attempt to create idealized portraits of his heroes. The author employed some creativity in order to depict Noah not only as one who did not sin, but as an elect figure who had a set of dream visions about the future of the world until the End of Days, thus being a part of a chain of tradi-

²⁴ See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 92–93.

²⁵ Pace Bernstein, who hypothesized that Noah’s drunkenness and its ensuing embarrassment, is to be reconstructed in the missing parts of 1QGenAp. See Moshe J. Bernstein, “Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 43.

tions of Israel's Great Ancestors, in a similar way that which is found in *Ben Sira*.

4. CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the *Genesis Apocryphon* can be divided into three cycles, where the first two cycles of Enoch and Noah include many non-biblical themes, some of which have parallels in other Second Temple Jewish compositions, while others are without parallels. The largest and most significant cycle is that of Noah. Not only is the presentation of the Noah material very different from its biblical base-text, but it is unique in comparison with other known Jewish traditions about Noah. The portrait of Noah according to the *Genesis Apocryphon* is that of a patriarch, structured in parallel with both Enoch and Abraham. Noah, according to *Genesis Apocryphon*, was a righteous patriarch, communicating with heavenly beings, who had various dream-visions in which he was informed about both past events, such as the sin of the Watchers, as well as future events, such as the division of the world among his sons. Apparently, some of his visions also referred to eschatological events, among them the final judgment. This positive description of Noah seems to lead the author to change the biblical story from the shameful result of his drunkenness to a glorious set of visions.

Furthermore, Noah's story is interwoven into the *Genesis Apocryphon* as an integral part, with both thematic and linguistic interconnections with the other cycles of Enoch and Abraham. As I have argued, between these three main characters there were probably two "secondary characters," that is, Lamech and probably Shem, which served as "links" connected these cycles.

Thus, the *Genesis Apocryphon* enables us to have a unique look the story of Israel's great ancestors Enoch, Noah, and Abraham, which might have been followed by other stories now lost. This story was written as a Narrative Midrash, whose author drew upon other sources devoted to these figures. The author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* was able to create an ideal portrait of these figures, in an artful way of a chain of traditions, where Enoch, Noah and Abraham are the center, at least of the surviving columns, and Lamech and Shem are secondary characters which connect them.

FROM PARATEXT TO COMMENTARY

ARMIN LANGE

Already in the fifth century B.C.E., the Greek historian Herodotus reported about the severe consequences that await a person who alters holy texts (*Hist.* 7.6):

With these came Onomacritus, an Athenian oracle-monger, the one that had set in order the oracles of Musaeus; with him they had come, being now reconciled to him after their quarrel: for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus' son Hipparchus, having been caught by Lasus of Hermione in the act of interpolating in the writings of Musaeus an oracle showing that the islands of Lemnos should disappear into the sea.¹

Herodotus' brief note refers to measures taken by the Pisistradid tyrants of Athens in the first half of the sixth century B.C.E. The tyrant Hipparchus not only ordered a re-edition of the highly respected oracles of Musaeus but also forced the rhapsodes to perform the Homeric poems in a fixed sequence (Plato, *Hipparch.* 228b–c).² The punishment of Onomacritus is part of this Pisistradid effort to preserve Greek authoritative texts unchanged.

I do not know if the Essene movement in particular or ancient Judaism in general punished those who altered their holy scriptures. Different from classical Greece, no evidence for such a punishment is preserved from ancient Judaism. Even the command of Deut 4:2 and 13:1 not to add or to take away anything to or from the law does not mention any such punishment. Was the Pisistradid Athens of the 6th century B.C.E. hence more serious about protecting its cultural heritage than ancient Judaism was?

¹ Translation according to Alfred D. Godley, *Herodotus: With an English Translation*, vol. 3: *Books V–VII* (LCL 118; rev. and repr.; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963), 307.

² For a critical discussion of the Pisistradid measures, see Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 5–8.

In this brief essay, I cannot answer this question for all groups of Second Temple Judaism. I will focus specifically on the question of the willingness of the Essenes to rewrite their scriptures. To do this I have compiled a list of interpretative texts in the Qumran library, which I will discuss in the first part of my article. In the second part, I will compare paratextual and exegetical literature with regard to how they treat their respective base texts. At the end of this article, I will draw some conclusions.

1. A LIST OF THE INTERPRETATIVE LITERATURE FROM THE QUMRAN LIBRARY

The Qumran library allows for unprecedented insights into how the Essenes read and interpreted authoritative literature. More than 60 years of research on the Qumran texts enable us to distinguish between Essene and non-Essene texts.³ After almost all Dead Sea Scrolls have been published it is now also possible to compile comprehensive lists of the interpretative literature found in the Qumran library. I have compiled such a list, which is presented below.⁴

³ For the criteria I used in the below list to distinguish between Essene and non-Essene texts, see Armin Lange, "Kriterien essenischer Texte," in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. Jörg Frey and Hartmut Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifazius, 2003), 59–71. In this, article I regard texts which use the Tetragrammaton freely, which accept calendars other than the 364-day-solar calendar, which are not composed in Hebrew, or which were written before the year 150 B.C.E. as non-Essene. But texts which employ the typical sectarian terminology described by Devorah Dimant ("The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* [STD] 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 23–58), which attest to a critical distance from the Jerusalem temple, which argue for a radical observance of the Torah, which regard other Essene texts as authoritative, which adhere to the peculiarities of Essene halakhah (e.g., the beginning of the day in the morning), and whose world view is coined by a cosmological and ethical dualism I view as Essene.

⁴ Texts that appear in bold font are of Essene origin (the first Essene texts can be found in section 1.1.3. of this list). Texts that are highlighted in gray might be of Essene origin. Texts which are not marked by either bold or highlighting are texts that, due to lack of evidence, cannot be attributed to any group or are not of Essene origin.

1.1. *Paratextual Literature*1.1.1. *Paratextual Rewriting*

Pentateuch

- *Jubilees* (1QJub^{a-b} [1Q17–18]; 2QJub^{a-b} [2Q19–20]; 3QJub [3Q5]; 4QJub^{a-h,i?} [4Q216–224, 4Q176a]; 11QJub + XQText A [11Q12 + XQ5a]⁵)
- *Apocryphon of Moses*⁶ (1QDM [1QapocrMoses[?]] [1Q22]; 1QLit. of 3 Tongues of Fire [1QapocrMoses^{b?}] [1Q29]; 4QapocrMoses^{a,b?,c?} [4Q375–376, 4Q408])
- 4QpsJub^{a-c?} (4Q225–227)
- 4QapocrPent. A (4Q368)
- *Temple Scroll* (4QT^b [4Q524];⁷ 11QT^{a-b}, 11QT^{c?} [11Q19–21])

Genesis-Exodus

- 4QBiblical Paraphrase (4QRP^a; 4Q158)
- 4QParaphrase of Gen and Exod (4Q422)

Gen 6–9

- *Book of Noah* (1QapGen [1Q20] 5:29–18:23)

Gen 12–50

- 4QExposition on the Patriarchs (4Q464)

Gen 12–25

- *Book of Abraham* (1QapGen [1Q20] 18:25–22:34)

⁵ For XQ5a as part of 11QJub (11Q12), see Hanan Eshel, “Three New Fragments from Cave 11,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 273–78 (Hebrew); Shemaryahu Talmon, in Stephen J. Pfann ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts*; Philip S. Alexander et al., *Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 485.

⁶ For the identification of the different manuscripts of the Apocryphon of Moses, cf. John Strugnell in Magen Broshi et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV, Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 129–30 (1Q22, 1Q29, and 4Q375–376), and Annette Steudel, DJD XXXVI, 298 (4Q408).

⁷ The damage patterns of the 4Q365a (4QT^{a?}) fragments are clearly in accord with those of 4Q365. The fragments should therefore be understood as being part of 4QRP^c (4Q365) and not as an independent witness of the *Temple Scroll* (oral communication by Hartmut Stegemann; cf. idem, “The Origins of the Temple Scroll,” *Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986* [ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill, 1988], 237).

Joshua

- *Apocryphon of Joshua* (4QapocrJosh^{a-b} [4Q378–379]; 4QProphecy of Joshua [apocrJosh^{c?}] [4Q522]; 5QWork with Place Names [5QapocrJosh?] [5Q9]; Mas apocrJosh [Mas11])⁸

1 Samuel–2 Kings

- 1–2 Chronicles (4QChr [4Q118])

Samuel

- 4QVisSam (4Q160)

Jeremiah (MT)

- 4QJer^a (4Q70; cf. 2QJer [2Q13] and 4QJer^c [4Q72])

Ezekiel

- *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (4QpsEzek^{a-e} [4Q385, 386, 385b, 388, 391]; 4QpsEzek: Unid. Frags. [4Q385c])

1.1.2. Paratextual Continuation

Enoch and Giants (Gen 5:21–24; 6:1–4)

- *Book of Watchers* (1 *Enoch* 1–36 = 4QEn^{a-b} ar [4Q201–202]; 4QEn^c ar [4Q204] 1 i–xiii; 4QEn^d ar [4Q205] 1 xi–xii; 4QEn^e ar [4Q206] 1 xx–xxii, xxvi–xxviii)
- *Astronomical Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 72–82 = 4QEnastr^{a-d} ar [4Q208–211])
- *Book of Dreams* (1 *Enoch* 83–91 = 4QEn^c ar [4Q204] 4; 4QEn^d ar [4Q205] 2 i–iii; 4QEn^e ar (4Q206] 4 i–iii; 4QEn^f ar [4Q207] 4; 4QEn^g ar [4Q212] 1 i 1–ii 21)
- *Letter of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 92–108 = 4QEn^c ar [4Q204] 5 i–ii; 4QEn^g ar [4Q212] 1 ii 21–v 26; 7QpapEn gr? [7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q11–14])⁹

⁸ For the identity of the different manuscripts of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, cf. Emanuel Tov, “The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 233–56, esp. 234–52. Against Tov, 4Qpaleo paraJosh (4Q123) should not be understood as an additional manuscript of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, because the palaeo-Hebrew script in which it is written suggests the Biblical character of this manuscript.

⁹ For 7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q11–14 as different parts of one Greek Enoch manuscript, see Ernest A. Muro, “The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8, & 7Q12 = 7QEn gr = Enoch 103:3–4, 7–8),” *RevQ* 70 (1997): 307–12; É. Puech, “Sept fragments grecs de la Lettre d’Hénoch (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7QHéng),” *RevQ* 70 (1997): 313–23.

- *Book of Giants* (1QEnGiants^{a-b?} ar [1Q23–24]; 2QEnGiants ar [2Q26]; 4QEnGiants^{a-f} ar [4Q203, 206 2–3, 530–533]; 6QpapGiants ar [6Q8])

Lamech and Noah

- *Birth of Noah* (1QapGen [1Q20] 1–5: 27)
- 4QBirth of Noah^{a-c} ar (4Q534–536)

Jacob

- 4QTJacob? ar (4Q537)

Levi

- *Aramaic Levi Document* (1QTLevi ar [1Q21]; 4QLevi^{a-f} ar [4Q213, 213a, 213b, 214, 214a, 214b]; CLev^{Bodl.Cam.}, Koutloumousiou 39)

Benjamin

- 4QTJud ar (4Q538)¹⁰

Amram

- 4QVisions of Amram^{a-g?} ar (4Q543–549)

Naphtali

- 4QTNaph (4Q215)

Joseph

- 4QTJoseph ar (4Q539)

Qahat

- 4QTQahat ar (4Q542)

¹⁰ Because 4Q538 1 6 reports that Joseph fell upon the neck of the narrator and because this is reported in Gen 44:14 only of Benjamin, the narrator of the text attested by 4Q538 should be identified as Benjamin and not Judah (cf. e.g., Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* [SVTP 19; Leiden: 2004], 27–28; against Józef T. Milik, “Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d’Hénoch à Amram,” in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* [ed. Mathias Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Gembloux, 1978], 97–98, and Émile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549* [DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001], 191.

Jonah (2 Kgs 14:25)

- Jonah (4QXII^{a,f,g} [4Q76, 81–82])

Jeremiah

- *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*¹¹ (4QapocrJer A [4Q383]; 4Qpap apocrJer B? [4Q384]; 4QapocrJer C^{a-f} [4Q385a, 387, 388a, 389–390, 387a])
- *Letter of Jeremiah* (7QpapEpJer gr [7Q2])¹²

Ezekiel

- *New Jerusalem*¹³ (1QNJ? ar [1Q32]; 2QNJ ar [2Q24]; 4QNJ^{a-b} ar [4Q554–555]; 5QNJ ar [5Q15]; 11QNJ ar [11Q18])

Daniel (Ezek 14:14, 20; 28:3)

- Daniel (1QDan^{a-b}, 4QDan^{a-e}, 6QpapDan [1Q71–72, 4Q112–116, 6Q7])
- 4QapocrDan ar (4Q246)¹⁴
- 4QFour Kingdoms^{a-b} ar (4Q552–553)¹⁵

¹¹ 4Q383–384 are regarded by their editors, Mark Smith (DJD XIX, 137) and Devorah Dimant (*Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* [DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001], 117), as manuscripts of independent literary works because in contrast to 4QapocrJer C^{a-f} 4Q383 uses the first person for Jeremiah. However, 4Q383's use of the first person can also be explained in the context of Jeremiah's letter from Egypt to the exiles in Babylon which is mentioned in 4Q389 1. Thus, the evidence for 4Q383 as a textual witness to a Jeremiah apocryphon independent from 4QapocrJer C is rather weak. Furthermore, the reference to the *Book of Jubilees* in 4Q384 9 2 corresponds with the ten jubilees mentioned in 4Q387 2 ii 3–4. The concern with jubilees in two manuscripts, attesting to a Jeremiah apocryphon, suggests that we should understand them as two witnesses of the same literary work.

¹² For the difficulties in identifying 7Q2 as a copy of the *Letter of Jeremiah*, see Devorah Dimant, "B. Apocryphon of Jeremiah," *DJD* 30, 91–260 (107 note 18) (I am obliged to Hanan Eshel for referring me to this note).

¹³ The frequent phrase "and he showed to me" (2Q24 1 3; 8 7; 5Q15 1 ii 2, 6; 11Q18 i 6f.; vi 1; x⁵) suggests that the *New Jerusalem* text should be understood as an other-worldly journey of a visionary guided by an *angelus interpres*. Since the *New Jerusalem* text is guided by Ezekiel 40–48, the visionary in question is probably the prophet Ezekiel himself. For a more detailed discussion of the paratextual character of the *New Jerusalem* text and its visionary, see Armin Lange, "Between Zion and Heaven: The New Jerusalem Text from Qumran as a Paratext," in *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (ed. Hermann Lichtenberger and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature. Yearbook 2008; Berlin Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 397–412.

¹⁴ The reference to "sparks that you saw" in 4Q246 ii 1–2 hints at an *angelus interpres* who explains a symbolic vision to a visionary.

¹⁵ Daniel is not explicitly mentioned in the extant text of 4Q552–553, but there is a reference to a king (4Q552 1 8) whose dream of four trees, representing four sequen-

- 4QpsDan^{a-b} ar (4Q243–244)
- 4QpsDan^c ar (4Q245)¹⁶

Job

- Job (2QJob, 4QJob^{a-c}, 4QtgJob, 11QtgJob [2Q15, 4Q99–101, 4Q157, 11Q10])

Unidentified Figure

- 4QapocrLevi^{a-b?} ar (4Q540–541)¹⁷

1.1.3. *Pastiche*

Florilegia and other Quotation-Collections

- **4QTestimonia (4Q175)**
- 4QTanh (4Q176)

Poetry Written in Anthological Style

- ***Hodayot*: 1QH^a; 1QH^b (1Q35); 4QH^{a-f} (4Q427–432)¹⁸**
- **4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a-c} (4Q434–438)**
- 4QDibHam^{a,c} (4Q504, 506)¹⁹

tial kingdoms, is interpreted by a seer. This similarity of settings strongly suggests that 4QFour Kingdoms should be understood as a Daniel Apocalypse.

¹⁶ For 4QpsDan^{a-b} ar and 4QpsDan^c ar as witnesses of two independent literary works, cf. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, in George J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 133, 153.

¹⁷ For the difficulties in identifying the speaker of the testament attested by 4Q540–541, see John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 88–89, 93–94, and Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition, from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 51–52.

¹⁸ The collections of *hodayot* attested by 1QH^{a-b} and 4QH^{a-f} differ substantially in content and order although large overlaps exist between the different manuscripts. For a detailed description, cf. Eileen Schuller, in Esther G. Chazon et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 69–75. For a comprehensive examination of the fragmentary prayer material from Qumran, cf. John Strugnell and Eileen Schuller, “Further Hodayot Manuscripts from Qumran,” in *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum* FS Hartmut Stegemann (ed. Bernd Kollmann, Wolfgang Reinbold, and Annette Steudel; BZNW 97; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 50–72.

¹⁹ That 4Q505 is not another manuscript of *Dibre HaMeorot* but of the text called *Prières pour les fêtes* has been shown by Florentino García Martínez, “Review of *Qumrân Grotte 4 III* (4Q482–4Q520), ed. by Maurice Baillet,” *JSJ* 15 (1984): 157–64, at 161–62, and Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 59–61.

Texts Concerned with Religious Law

- **Damascus Document: CD A, B, 4QD^{a-h} (4Q266–273); 5QD (5Q12); 6QD (6Q15)**
- 4QOrdinances^{a-c} (4Q159, 513–514)
- 4QHalakha A (4Q251)

Other Texts

- Zechariah 9–12 (4QXII^{a,e,g} [4Q76, 80, 82])

1.1.4. *Paratextual Literature Too Fragmentary for Classification*

Genesis 6–9

- 4QAdmonFlood (4Q370)
- 4QText Mentioning the Flood (4Q577)

Noah

- 1QNoah (1Q19, 19bis)

Judah

- 3QTJud? (3Q7)
- 4QpapTJud? (4Q484)²⁰

Rachel and Joseph

- 4QText Concerning Rachel and Joseph (4Q474)

Mosaic Pentateuch

- 2QapocrMoses? (2Q21)
- 4Qpap paraExod gr (4Q127)
- 4QapocrPent. B (4Q377)

Exodus + Joshua?

- 4QExod/Conq. Trad. (4Q374)

1 Samuel–2 Kings

- 4Qpap paraKings et al. (4Q382)
- 6Qpap apocrSam–Kgs (6Q9)

²⁰ For 3Q7 and 4Q484 (*Testament of Judah*), see Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997–98), 228–2, 966–67.

Unidentified Base Texts

- *Prayer of Enosh* (4QPrayer of Enosh [4Q369]; 4QpapHymns/Prayers [4Q499])²¹
- *Narrative and Poetic Composition* (2QapocrDavid? [Narrative and Poetic Composition?] [2Q22]; 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^{a-c} [4Q371–373])
- 4QNarrative Work and Prayer [4Q460])²²
- 4QNarrative D (4Q463)²³

1.2. Exegetical Literature

1.2.1. Commentaries

Thematic Pesharim

- 4QMidrEschat^{a-b,c?,d?} (4Q174, 177–178, 182)²⁴
- 4QAgEsCreat A (4Q180)
- 4QAgEsCreat B (4Q181)
- 11QMelch (11Q13)

Continuous Pesharim

- 4Qpap pIsa^c, 4QpIsa^e + papUnclassified frags. (4Q163, 165, 515)²⁵
- 4QpIsa^{a-b,d} (4Q161–162, 164)
- 4QpHos^{a-b} (4Q166–167)
- 1QpMic²⁶ (1Q14)

²¹ For the identification of 4Q499 as a second copy of the so-called *Prayer of Enosh*, cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “4Q499 48 + 47 (par 4Q369 1 ii): A Forgotten Identification,” *RevQ* 18 (1997–98): 303–6.

²² For the paratextual character of 4QNarrative Work and Prayer, cf. Erik Larson, *DJD XXXVI*, 372–74.

²³ For 4QNarrative D as paratextual literature, cf. Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a-b})*. *Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 53.

²⁴ For the different manuscripts of the *Midrash on Eschatology*, cf. Steudel, *Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 3–155.

²⁵ According to Johann Maier (*Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, vol. 2 [Munich: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1995–1996], 679), the fragments designated 4Q515 (4QpapUnclassified Frags.) belong to 4Q163.

²⁶ Although it cannot be excluded that 4QpMic? (4Q168) is a pesher to the book of Micah, the fact that the text as a whole, with the exception of frg. 4, attests to the book of Micah seems to suggest that 4Q168 is a biblical manuscript; see Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, D.C.: CBA, 1979), 262.

- **4QpNah (4Q169)**
- **1QpHab**
- **1QpZeph, 4QpZeph (1Q15, 4Q170)**
- **1QpPs, 4QpPs^{a-b} (1Q16, 4Q171, 173)**

Commentaries without Peshier-Formula

- **4QCommGen A (4Q252)²⁷**
- **4QCommGen B (4Q253)**
- **4QCommGen C (4Q254)**
- **4QCommGen D (4Q254a)**
- **4QCommMal (4Q253a)**

1.2.2. *Halakhic Midrash*

- **4Qpap cryptA Midrash Sefer Moshe (4Q249)**

1.2.3. *Other Exegetical Texts*

- **4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339)**
- **4QpapBibChronology ar (4Q559)**

1.2.4. *Unclassified Exegetical Texts*

- **3QpIsa (3Q4)**
- **4QPeshier on the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q247)**
- **4QpUnid (4Q172)**
- **4QMidrEschat^e? (4Q183)²⁸**
- **4QNarrative C (4Q462)²⁹**

Because it seems unlikely that the Essene inhabitants of the Qumran settlement adhered to the idea of a closed canon of scriptures,³⁰ biblical texts which are interpretative in a broader sense, are also included in the above list. The list distinguishes between two basic types of inter-

²⁷ 4QCommGen A (4Q252) is listed here as a commentary because most of its interpretations are not introduced by a peshier formula. In its preserved text, the single exception to this rule can be found in col. IV line 5.

²⁸ For the exegetical nature of 4Q183 and the difficulties in identifying it as another manuscript of the *Midrash on Eschatology*, cf. Steudel, *Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 155–56.

²⁹ For the exegetical character of 4Q462, cf. Mark Smith, DJD XIX, 206.

³⁰ Cf. my study “From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library,” in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives* (ed. Christine Helmer and Christof Landmesser; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51–107.

pretative literature, i.e., paratextual literature and exegetical literature. As paratexts I define texts which were composed based on one or more authoritative base texts. Scholarly publications use different labels for this type of literature. Paratexts have been called:

- Pseudepigrapha: Pseudepigraphy is the ascription of a literary work to another author by way of title, content, or tradition.³¹
- Rewritten Bible: The term is defined by G. Vermes as follows: “In order to anticipate questions, and to solve problems in advance, the midrashist inserts haggadic development into the biblical narrative—an exegetical process which is probably as ancient as scriptural interpretation itself.”³²
- Parabiblical literature: The term was introduced by H. L. Ginsberg³³ and was defined by E. Tov as literature “closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible.”³⁴

³¹ The earliest attestation of the term “pseudepigrapha” is found with Serapion in the second century C.E. (see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, 6, 12). Wolfgang Speyer defines pseudepigraphy as follows: “Als Pseudepigraphen sind diejenigen Schriften des Altertums zu betrachten, die nicht von den Verfassern stammen, denen sie durch Titel, Inhalt oder Überlieferung zugewiesen sind” (“Religiöse Pseudepigraphie und literarische Fälschung im Altertum,” in *Pseudepigraphie in der heidnischen und jüdisch-christlichen Antike* [ed. Norbert Brox; Wege der Forschung 484; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977], 195–263, 195; cf. also idem, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 1.2; München: C. H. Beck, 1971); Josef A. Sint, *Pseudonymität im Altertum: Ihre Formen und ihre Gründe* (Commentationes Aenipontanae 15; Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1960).

³² Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 95. Vermes develops his definition with the *Sefer ha-Yashar* but names the Palestinian Targum, Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*, the *LAB*, *Jubilees*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* as further examples.

³³ “To the question of literary genre, I should like to contribute a proposal for a term to cover works, like GA, Pseudo-Philo, and the Book of Jubilees, which paraphrase and/or supplement the canonical Scriptures: parabiblical literature. The motivation of such literature—like that of midrash—may be more doctrinal, as in the case of the Book of Jubilees, or more artistic, as in at least the preserved parts of GA, but it differs from midrashic literature by not directly quoting and (with more or less arbitrariness) interpreting canonical Scripture” (H. Louis Ginsberg, Review of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1. A Commentary*, TS 28 [1967]: 574–77, at 574).

³⁴ Emanuel Tov in Harold W. Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), ix. See Armin Lange and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, “C. Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Genre and Content,” in Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115–64: “On the basis of biblical texts or themes, the authors of parabiblical texts employ exegetical techniques to provide answers to

- Parascriptural literature: The term was recently proposed by Robert A. Kraft in his 2006 presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature.³⁵ Kraft understands parascriptural texts as literature which uses antecedent materials or creates alternate tellings.

None of these labels is without problems. To dub a significant part of ancient Jewish literature as pseudepigrapha ignores the basic character of the texts in question. They were influenced by earlier authoritative literature and employ exegetical techniques to provide answers to questions of their own time. The result of their exegetical effort is communicated in the form of a new book. The texts in question did not intend to borrow the authority of highly respected authors but tried to update authoritative literature and reapply it to their own times. Furthermore, the terms pseudepigraphon and pseudepigraphy imply the concept of an individual author, which in Judaism developed first in Jewish Alexandria and occurs in Judea only since Ben Sira. Hence pseudepigraphy is rare in ancient Judaism. An example for an ancient Jewish pseudepigraphon is the 4QPrNab ar (4Q242) from the Qumran library.

Terms like rewritten Bible, parabiblical literature, and parascriptural literature imply a special relation to Jewish scriptures. This is problematic because other ancient cultures produced paratextual literature as well. The use of the words Bible, biblical, and scripture in the scholarly designations of Jewish paratextual literature is also anachronistic because many studies on the canonical history of the Hebrew Bible have shown that neither the canon of the Hebrew Bible nor the concept of Bible existed when many Jewish paratexts were written.³⁶

Furthermore the reiteration of 1 Samuel–2 Kings in 1–2 Chronicles shows beyond any doubt that the phenomenon of writing related to authoritative literature can also be observed inside the Hebrew Bible. This would make the Bible itself parabiblical. Comparable problems exist with the term parascriptural, as the idea of scripture exists only since the Hellenistic religious reforms.³⁷

questions of their own time, phrased as answers by God through Moses or the prophets. The result of their exegetical effort is communicated in the form of a new book” (117).

³⁵ Robert A. Kraft, “Para-mania: Beside, Before, and Beyond Bible Studies,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 5–27, at 18.

³⁶ See e.g., recently, Kraft, “Para-mania,” 10–18.

³⁷ See Lange, “From Literature to Scripture,” 51–107.

The words “parabiblical” and “parascriptural” are religious in character and predetermine a canonical understanding of the literature in question. To avoid anachronisms as well as a theological rhetoric which predetermines a canonical understanding of texts written in relation to authoritative literature, a neutral terminology is required—one which does not carry canonical implications and does not apply Graeco-Roman concepts of individual authorship to ancient Jewish texts. Because by now the prefix *para-* is established in the study of biblical and ancient Jewish literature, I suggest to speak of paratexts, paratextual literature, and paratextuality.³⁸

Three different types of ancient Jewish paratexts can be distinguished. Paratextual rewritings rewrite a main base text but include secondary base texts into their re-narration as well. Examples are *Ecclesiasticus* *44–49, the *Book of the Words of Noah* (1QapGen ar 5:29–18:23), *Narrative and Poetic Composition* (= NPC; 2Q22; 4Q371–73), the *Temple Scroll* (4Q524; 11Q19–21), the *Apocryphon of Moses* (1Q22; 1Q29; 4Q375–6; 4Q408), Ezekiel the Tragedian, the *Apocryphon of Joshua* (4Q378–79, 4Q522; 5Q9; Mas11 [Mas 1039–211]), 1–2 Chronicles, and Jeremiah-MT. The example of the protomasoretic Jeremiah redaction shows that these reiterations and rewritings include redactions. What distinguishes a redaction from a paratextual rewriting is that in case of the former only the redaction but not its base text survives while in case of the latter both the base text and the rewriting are known at least in part.

³⁸ A discussion of modern and contemporary paratextual literature can be found in the magisterial study of Gerard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). Genette uses the terms *hypertext* and *hypotext*, which imply a more or less detailed reiteration of the underlying hypotext in the hypertext. But in the ancient literatures, just one type of paratextual literature reiterates its base text in this way (see below). I prefer, hence, to use the terms *paratext*, *paratextuality*, and *paratextual literature* as Genette introduced them in his essay *The Architext: An Introduction* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1992), 82. In *Palimpsests*, Genette redefines the term *paratext* to designate “a title, subtitle, intertitles; prefaces, postfaces, notices, forewords, etc.; marginal, infrapaginal, terminal notes; epigraphs; illustrations; blurbs, book covers, dust jackets, and many other kind of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic” (3). For a more extensive discussion of ancient paratextual literature in the sense of Genette’s essay *The Architext*, see Lange, “In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. Armin Lange and Renate Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

Paratextual continuations focus on individual figures or events in authoritative texts and develop new literary works out of them. Examples are *Astronomical Enoch* (1 Enoch 72–82), the *Book of Watchers* (1 Enoch 1–36), the *Book of Giants*, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, the *New Jerusalem* text, and Daniel 2–6. By using one or several base texts, these compositions develop a new literary work which describes the life or events and deeds connected to the life of a figure of Jewish literature. Most often, paratextual continuations focus on “open ends” in their base texts. The brief remark on Enoch in Gen 5:21–24 as a figure who was important enough to walk with the angels, invites speculation about why this was. Similarly the few references to Levi in the Pentateuch raise the question of how he is related to levitical priesthood. To answer these questions, paratextual continuations extrapolate the narratives of their base texts to continue the unfinished storyline. This second type of paratextual literature can hence best be described as paratextual continuation. The story of the *Matriarch in Danger* (1QapGen ar 19:10–20:32)³⁹ which is incorporated into the third part of 1QapGen ar shows that significant gray zones exist between paratextual rewritings and paratextual continuations. On the one hand, the *Matriarch in Danger* text retells Gen 12:10–20 and could thus be classified as a paratextual rewriting. On the other hand, it extrapolates this base text to an extent that it can also be understood as a paratextual continuation.

Both paratextual rewritings and continuations alter their base texts significantly while the third type of paratext does not. Texts belonging to this third type are neither written alongside a principal base text nor do they function as continuations by developing new narratives around figures, events, or topics of Jewish authoritative texts. Instead, the pastiche—this is a term I have borrowed from Gérard Genette⁴⁰—either expresses itself in a rhetoric, which is drafted from earlier authoritative texts, or compiles quotations and allusions of earlier texts

³⁹ For this text cf. Lange, “1QGenAp XIX₁₀–XX₃₂ as Paradigm of the Wisdom Didactic Narrative,” in *Qumranstudien. Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Hermann Lichtenberger and Armin Lange, Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 191–204.

⁴⁰ See Genette, *Palimpsests*, 98–103.

into new texts.⁴¹ The pastiche realizes itself in various genres ranging from florilegia like 4QTestimonia to texts like the *Hodayot*.

Paratexts of all three categories can employ various genres to express themselves. Examples include apocalypses (e.g., *Astronomical Enoch* and *New Jerusalem*), legends (e.g., Daniel *2–6), and biographies (e.g., *Aramaic Levi Document*). Due to the more rigid guidance of the principal base text(s) the genres of rewritten paratexts are more or less determined by their principal base text(s) while paratextual continuations enjoy more formal freedom. Pastiche is often found in poetic literature but are not restricted to it. All three types of paratexts have in common that they employ only few if not one principal base text (e.g., Gen 5:21–23 and 6:1–4 in the *Book of Watchers*) but a significantly larger number of secondary base texts. At least for secondary base texts, it is not uncommon that they did not become part of the later Hebrew Bible (see e.g., the *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* mentioned in 1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 16:11; 20:34; 24:27; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 35:27; 36:8).

Different from paratextual literature, the 25 exegetical works from the Qumran library do not alter the texts which they interpret. Typically, ancient Jewish commentaries quote a lemma out of Jewish scriptures and interpret it. Good examples are the continuous and thematic pesharim from the Qumran library. After quoting a lemma, they isolate individual items out of it and recontextualize these items into the life of the Essene movement.⁴² A good example is 1QpHab 3:2–6. *Pesher Habakkuk* quotes Hab 1:7:

To take possession of dwellings not theirs. It is dreadful and terrible; his judgment and his exaltation arise from himself.

In order to interpret this rather cryptic verse, just one phrase is isolated out of it: “dreadful and terrible”. These two words are recontextualized into the pesharist’s contemporary experience:

⁴¹ For this type of paratext, see George J. Brooke, “Hypertextuality and the ‘Parabiblical’ Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Lange and Pillinger, *In the Second Degree*.

⁴² For the interpretative and hermeneutic strategies of the Qumran pesharim, see E. Osswald, “Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentar,” *ZAW* 68 (1956): 243–56, and Michael Fishbane, “The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics,” in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 13–19 August 1973 Under the Auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 1: *Division A* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977), 97–114, at 98–100.

Its interpretation concerns the Kittim, the fear and dread of whom are on all the peoples; all their thoughts are premeditated to do evil, and with cunning and treachery they behave towards all the nations⁴³

In its new context, “dreadful and terrible” refers to the dread and fear experienced when ancient peoples encounter the Roman armies.⁴⁴ The appearance of the Romans heralds the judgment mentioned in the Habakkuk quote.

The Qumran pesharim’s two-way process of reading is clearly inspired by Ancient Near Eastern omen interpretation, which attests to the hermeneutics of isolation and recontextualization, too.⁴⁵ For my current question, it is of particular interest that ancient omen-lists and omen-interpretations consist of a protasis, which summarizes the omen, and an apodosis, which interprets it. This structure of protasis and apodosis can also be observed in the Qumran pesharim. The quoted lemmata are analogous to the protaseis of an omen list while its interpretations correspond to the omen list’s apodoseis. The close relation between Ancient Near Eastern omen interpretation and peshar hermeneutics demonstrates, that scriptural interpretation was an act of revelation for the pesharist.⁴⁶ This conclusion is confirmed by the claim that God revealed the meaning of the prophetic books to the Teacher of Righteousness (see 1QpHab 2:7–10; 7:3–4; and below).

Other exegetical texts engage with ancient Jewish scriptures without quoting them. A good example is 4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339). This small fragment compiles a list of the false prophets mentioned in ancient Jewish scriptures—probably in preparation for writing a

⁴³ Translation according to *DSSSE*, 1:13.

⁴⁴ For the “Kittim” as a cipher for the Romans in Qumran literature, see e.g., Timothy H. Lim, “Kittim,” in *EDSS* 1: 469–71, at 470.

⁴⁵ For the Pesharim and Ancient Near Eastern omen-interpretation, see Lou H. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Scripture and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (1 Q p Hab),” *RevQ* 3 (1961–1962): 323–64, at 330–35. Asher Finkel, “The Peshar of Dreams and Scripture,” *RevQ* 4 (1963–1964): 357–70; Isaac Rabinowitz, “Peshar/Pittaron: Its Biblical Meaning and Its Significance in the Qumran Literature,” *RevQ* 8 (1972–1975): 219–32, at 230–232; Michael Fishbane, “Qumran Peshar,” 97–114.

⁴⁶ See Armin 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. Florentino García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), 17–33.

commentary.⁴⁷ There is of course a gray area between paratextual and exegetical literature. Thematic pesharim could for example be listed as both pastiche and commentary.

To come back to my first question: Were the Essenes willing to rewrite their holy scriptures? On first glimpse, the 65 paratexts from the Qumran library listed above suggest a positive answer. But is it really possible that a group like the Essenes, which was so committed to following the laws of God, changed the text of these laws at will and violated a command explicitly forbidding such changes (Deut 4:2 and 13:1)? A more detailed analysis of my lists points into a different direction.

Since the beginning of the last decade of the last century it became a common opinion that the Qumran library contains both sectarian and non-sectarian texts. This raises the question: How many paratexts and how many exegetical texts did the Essenes write? In my opinion, only three out of the 65 paratexts from Qumran are with some degree of certainty of Essene origin. All of these texts fall into the category of pastiche. Two further paratexts from Qumran might be Essene. Barki Nafshi is also a pastiche and 4QNarrative D is too fragmentary to define its paratextual character. That most if not all Essene paratexts are pastiches is significant as the pastiche is the only form of paratext which does not change or recreate its base-texts. With the exegetical texts from the Qumran library, the situation is very different. Out of the 25 exegetical texts from the Qumran library, 15 are Essene and another 8 might be Essene. This means: Only between 4.5 and 8% of the paratextual literature from Qumran is Essene. Most if not all of these texts fall into the category of pastiche while none of the paratextual rewritings and continuations are of Essene origin. As opposed to this low percentage of Essene paratexts, between 60 and 92% of the exegetical literature from the Qumran library are of Essene origin.

These statistics demonstrate that while archiving and in some cases reading and even highly appreciating individual paratexts, the Essenes avoided composing their own paratextual rewritings and continuations. They clearly favored the composition of commentaries and pastiches. This is all the more interesting because other ancient Jewish

⁴⁷ For this text, see Armin Lange, "The False Prophets Who Arose Against Our God' (4Q339 1)," in *Aramaica Qumranica: The Aix en Provence Colloquium on the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

groups continued to write paratexts in the time from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. Examples include the *Book of Similitudes* (1 Enoch 37–71), the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, and from the Qumran library the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*.

2. PARATEXTUAL VERSUS EXEGETICAL LITERATURE

Why were the Essenes reluctant to compose rewritings and continuations? Why did they produce commentaries and other exegetical works instead? Does the Essene preference for commentary and other forms of exegesis point to a different attitude towards Jewish scriptures? Did the Essenes regard their scriptures as too holy to be altered in a way, which goes beyond the textual variants of ancient biblical manuscripts? To answer these questions, I will discuss two sample texts. I will ask how one paratext (1 Chr 21:1) and one commentary (11QMelch 2:9–15) treat their respective base texts.

2.1. *The Paratextual rewriting of 2 Sam 24:1 in 1 Chr 21:1*

ויסף אף יהוה לחרות בישראל ויסת את דוד בהם לאמר לך מנה את ישראל ואת יהודה

Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he incited David against them, saying, “Go, count the people of Israel and Judah” (2 Sam 24:1)⁴⁸

ויעמד שטן על ישראל ויסת את דויד למנות את ישראל

A Satan stood up against Israel, and incited David to count Israel (1 Chr 21:1)

In the base text 2 Sam 24:1, it is God himself who commands David to count the people of Israel and Judah. God’s command is even quoted verbally. Because of his growing anger with Israel, God gives David a command, which contradicts his own rules and which provokes catastrophic punishment. 1 Chr 21:1 changes this base text drastically. It is not God anymore but a satan, who incites David to count his people and to violate God’s rules. To understand the term satan as a designation of a category of demonic beings is recommended by its

⁴⁸ Translation according to NRSV.

use in 11QPs^a (11Q5) 19:15 and *ALD* 3:9 (= *ALD* supp. 10; 4QLevi^b [4Q213a] 1 17; cf. also 4QDibHam^a [4Q504] 1–2 2 iv 12).⁴⁹ Not God is responsible for David's violation of his rules but a demonic being. The anger of God, which motivated the questionable divine command in 2 Sam 24:1, is not even mentioned in 1 Chr 21:1. What was phrased as a direct command in 2 Sam 24:1 is now expressed as a subordinate clause construed with an infinitive. A satan incited David to count Israel. The reason behind the Chronistic rewriting of 2 Sam 24:1 is theological. When the Chronicler reworked the *dtr* History in early Hellenistic times, it was unimaginable that God would have given a command which violated his own rules and which would provoke such a catastrophic punishment. Hence, Chronicles adjusted its base text to a third century B.C.E. understanding of God.

How does the Essene exegesis of scripture compare to this example of paratextual rewriting and its liberal treatment of the text of an authoritative work?

2.2. *The Essene Exegesis of Scriptures*

To answer this question, I will analyze how the thematic pesher 11QMelchizedeq interprets a quotation, which was theologically as problematic to him as 2 Sam 24:1 was to the Chronicler, i.e., Ps 82:1. Ps 82:1 gives a description of how God judges in the midst of the gods.

אלהים נצב בעדת אל בקרב אלהים ישפט

God has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgment.⁵⁰

The text of Ps 82:1 is polytheistic in nature. It implies that the God of Israel judges in a council of gods, i.e., that the God of Israel is one among many gods.⁵¹ Only later in the text of this psalm, it becomes

⁴⁹ For this interpretation of ןטש in 1 Chr 21:1 and a discussion of the scholarly literature regarding 1 Chr 21:1, see Armin Lange, "The Significance of the Pre-Maccabean Literature from the Qumran Library for the Understanding of the Hebrew Bible: Intermarriage in Ezra/Nehemiah—Satan in 1 Chr. 21:1—the Date of Psalm 119," in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007* (ed. André Lemaire; VTSup 133; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 171–218.

⁵⁰ Translation according to the NRSV.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g., Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen, 2. Teilband: Psalmen 60–150* (BKAT 15.2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989⁶), 735–37; Frank Lothar Hossfeld and

apparent that the God of Israel is judging the other gods and condemns them to death. In this way, the God of Israel becomes the sole ruler of the universe (Ps 82:6–8). Different from the Chronicler's approach to a theologically problematic text, the pesharist of 11QMelchizedeq does not rephrase the problematic part of Ps 82:1 in 11QMelch 2:9–15. By way of pesher hermeneutics, the pesher isolates the word אֱלֹהִים instead and recontextualizes it into the Jewish mythology of Hellenistic times. In this epoch, the word אֱלֹהִים is not only a divine *epitheton* but also a designation of angels. The latter use of אֱלֹהִים is prominent in the *Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat*.⁵² For 11QMelchizedeq, God does not judge in the middle of other gods but in the middle of a council of angels, i.e., in the midst of “the holy ones of God” (קְדוּשֵׁי אֵל; 11QMelch 2:9). And angels, i.e., “the sons of God” (בְּנֵי אֵל; 11QMelch 2:14), support God in his judgment activity. Although Ps 82:6–8 is not quoted, this text is also present in the interpretation of Ps 82:1–2. It seems as if 11QMelchizedeq quotes only two verses of psalm 82 but has the whole psalm in mind. As in Ps 82:6, in 11QMelchizedeq, the object of God's judgment is a group of אֱלֹהִים. But the אֱלֹהִים which are mentioned in Ps 82:6 and which God sentences to death in Ps 82:7 are not gods for 11QMelchizedeq. As before, 11QMelchizedeq understands אֱלֹהִים as referring to angelic beings, in this case negative ones, i.e., Belial and the spirits of his lot (11QMelch 2:14). 11QMelchizedeq distinguishes thus between angels who are members of the council of God, i.e., the holy ones of God and the sons of God (11QMelch 2:9, 14), and angels which are judged by him, i.e., Belial and the spirits of his lot (11QMelch 2:14). What was one group of deities in Psalm 82 becomes two groups of angels in 11Melchizedeq.

The difference between the thematic Pesher 11QMelchizedeq and the paratext 1–2 Chronicles in their respective approaches to authoritative texts is obvious. In composing a paratext to the Deuteronomistic History, the Chronicler changes and eliminates what is theologically problematic to him. In interpreting the problematic second part of Ps 82:1, the pesharist does not alter his base text but gives a monotheistic reading of the seemingly polytheistic line. But why did the

Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100: Übersetzt und ausgelegt* (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 485–86.

⁵² See e.g., 4QShirShabb^a (4Q400) 1 ii 7; 4QShirShabb^d (4Q403) 1 i 32; and Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1985), 24.

Essene pesharist not simply substitute the offensive phrase בקרב אלהים with בקרב קדושי אל? Why does the pesharist treat Ps 82:1 more scrupulously than the Chronicler treats 2 Sam 24:1?

3. CONCLUSIONS

Above I have already mentioned the pesher hermeneutics of isolation and recontextualization, which construe a dual meaning of the interpreted text. In the famous passage 1QpHab 7:1–5 this idea of a dual meaning is made explicit.

And God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen <to> to the last generation; but he did not let him know the consummation of the era. vacat And as for what he says: “so that may run the one who reads it,” Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets.⁵³

A prophetic text has a dual meaning, i.e., a surface meaning accessible to all readers and a deeper true meaning, which is available only to the Teacher of Righteousness and through him to the Essenes. The true meaning of his prophecy is hidden even to the prophet Habakkuk himself. Although God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen to the last generation, the דור האחרון, Habakkuk himself does not know when the eschaton is coming. This deeper level of meaning is enclosed in his prophecy but only the Teacher of Righteousness has access to it.

The Essenes applied such hermeneutics of dual meaning not only to prophetic texts but to the Torah as well. 1QS 5:10–12 speaks of a hidden and a revealed meaning of God’s laws:

He should swear by the covenant to be segregated from all the men of injustice who walk along the path of wickedness. For they are not included in his covenant since they have neither sought nor examined his decrees in order to know the hidden matters (הנסתרות) in which they err by their own fault and because they treated revealed matters (והנגלות) with disrespect.⁵⁴

⁵³ Translation according to *DSSSE*, 1:17.

⁵⁴ Translation according to *DSSSE*, 1:81.

CD 3:12–16 claims that the hidden meaning of the Torah was revealed to the Essenes in much the same way as the hidden meaning of Habakkuk's prophecy was revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness.

But with those who remained steadfast in God's precepts, with those who were left from among them, God established his covenant with Israel for ever, revealing to them hidden matters (נסתרות) in which all Israel had gone astray: *vacat* his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, his just stipulations and his truthful paths, and the wishes of his will which man must do in order to live by them.⁵⁵

In my opinion, the hermeneutics of dual meaning made it impossible for the Essenes to compose paratextual rewritings and continuations of their own. If texts carry an openly accessible surface meaning and a hidden deeper meaning, rewriting them would carry the danger of losing their hidden meaning. It was hence the Essene idea of a dual meaning of scripture, which required a more careful treatment of the texts of the Essene scriptures. In rewriting them, the Essenes would have risked eliminating the hidden meaning of scripture. Hence the Essenes avoided paratextual rewritings and continuations.

⁵⁵ Translation according to *DSSSE*, 1:555.

2c. SECTARIAN AND NON-SECTARIAN LITERATURE

ENOCHIC JUDAISM: AN ASSESSMENT

JOHN J. COLLINS

1. INTRODUCTION

The non-canonical literature from Qumran that has commanded most scholarly attention in the last decade or so is undoubtedly the literature associated with the name of Enoch. The Aramaic fragments of the Enoch literature had been published by J. T. Milik already in 1976.¹ They became a subject of intensive study, however, in the last decade, in part because of the monumental commentary by George Nickelsburg in the Hermeneia series,² and in part through the labors of Gabriele Boccaccini, not only in his own publications,³ but also in his leadership of the international Enoch seminar, which devoted its first meeting to “the origins of Enochic Judaism,”⁴ its second meeting to the subject of “Enoch and Qumran Origins,”⁵ and also sponsored a comprehensive volume of essays on “The Early Enoch Literature.”⁶ It is on Boccaccini’s theses that I wish to focus here, specifically his view of Enochic Judaism and the relationship he posits between this

¹ Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). For an up-to-date overview of the Enoch literature from Qumran see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment,” in *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins; JSJSup 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41–63.

² George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

³ Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

⁴ Gabriele Boccaccini, *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19–23, 2001*, = *Henoah* 24/1–2 (2002).

⁵ Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

⁶ Boccaccini and Collins, *The Early Enoch Literature*.

branch of Judaism and the sectarian movement known from the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁷

2. ENOCHIC JUDAISM

According to Boccaccini, the books of Enoch attest to a tradition that extended over centuries, possibly beginning as early as the fourth century B.C.E. and extending into the first century C.E.⁸ He recognized that this was “a complex and dynamic trend of thought...and therefore cannot be fit entirely into a unitary scheme or a universal definition.” Yet “its generative idea...can be identified in a particular conception of evil, understood as an autonomous reality antecedent to humanity’s ability to choose, the result of ‘a contamination that has spoiled [human] nature,’ an evil that ‘was produced before the beginning of history.’”⁹ He associates this tradition with a movement of dissent within the priesthood, reflected in the strong interest in the calendar and the negative reference to the temple in the *Animal Apocalypse*.¹⁰ According to Boccaccini, writings preserved in *1 Enoch* were the constitutive documents of this tradition, but not the only ones. He finds the same conception of evil in some books in which the figure of Enoch was not central (*Jubilees*, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) or was even missing (*4 Ezra*). He also argues that this Enoch tradition was in fact the early Essene movement.¹¹

⁷ See already my essays “‘Enochic Judaism’ and the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Boccaccini and Collins, *The Early Enoch Literature*, 283–99, and “How Distinctive was Enochic Judaism?” in *A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov) = *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): *17–*34. Also, Matthias Albani, “‘Zadokite Judaism,’ ‘Enochic Judaism’ und Qumran. Zur aktuellen Diskussion um G. Boccaccinis ‘Beyond the Essene Hypothesis,’” in *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (ed. Jörg Frey and Michael Becker; Einblicke 10; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2007), 85–101.

⁸ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 12. For the antiquity of the earliest Enoch literature see already Michael E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” *CBQ* 40 (1978) 479–92; idem, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

⁹ Boccaccini, *ibid.* In this he builds on the work of his teacher, Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

¹⁰ Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 89, 99–103.

¹¹ An independent formulation of “Enochic Judaism” as a paradigm of regularity and deviance, can be found in David R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism* (LSTS 49; London and NY: Continuum, 2004). Jackson distinguishes three “paradigm exemplars”: the “Shemik hazah exemplar,” focusing on the union of angels with human women; the “‘Aza’el exemplar,” focusing on improper revelation; and the “cosmic exemplar,”

Some features of this construct are more widely accepted than others. The books that make up *1 Enoch* are indeed closely bound together by recurring motifs and allusions.¹² Moreover, several of the Enochic writings envision a distinct group of righteous within Israel. The *Book of the Watchers* refers to “the plant of righteousness and truth” (10:16). In the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the elect are “the chosen righteous from the chosen plant of righteousness” (93:10). The *Animal Apocalypse* speaks of “lambs” whose eyes are opened (90:6). Even the *Similitudes of Enoch*, which are later in date than any other part of *1 Enoch* by at least a century, seem to envision the righteous as a community. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that these books of Enoch were composed within a movement of some sort, although continuity becomes problematic in the case of the *Similitudes*. The further “Enochic Judaism” is extended beyond the book of *1 Enoch*, however, the more problematic it becomes.

The notion that the story of the Watchers, understood as a paradigm for the origin of evil, was generative for the whole corpus, has been accepted, virtually without question, in Italian scholarship. But while this story is undoubtedly important, and reverberates in later Enochic books, it is only one motif among many.¹³ A far more balanced account of the worldview of *1 Enoch* has been given by George Nickelsburg, who argues, quite rightly, that the focal point in all the Enochic books is the coming judgment.¹⁴ The Enochic books share “an apocalyptic construction of reality” that became common in Judaism in the Hellenistic period, and that has both temporal and spatial dimensions. Revelation comes from above, mediated by angels and conveyed to earth by Enoch. Angelic and demonic forces influence human affairs.

focusing on the rebellion of angels who were in charge of cosmic phenomena related to the calendar.

¹² See my essay, “Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 44–48.

¹³ Compare the criticism of Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Interrogating Enochic Judaism”: *1 Enoch* as a Source for Intellectual History, Social Realities, and Literary Tradition,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 340.

¹⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 37–56; idem, “The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in *1 Enoch*,” in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Conference* (ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth; JSPSup 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 51–64.

The entire sweep of history can be foreseen by the visionary. The judgment is not only a cosmic judgment of the earth, but of individuals, who attain everlasting reward or punishment. The interest in the temporal future is balanced by a corresponding interest in places beyond the range of ordinary human experience, including the throne of God and the resting places of the elect. While the different Enochic books vary in their emphasis and nuance, and sometimes even take issue with each other, Nickelsburg's sketch of a shared worldview is well founded. This apocalyptic worldview is also found, with variations, in the other apocalyptic writings of the era, including Daniel.¹⁵

There are also some distinctive features in the Enochic writings that distinguish them as a corpus within the apocalyptic writings. These include the specific story of the Watchers, and the degree of interest in otherworldly geography, neither of which is attested in Daniel. Moreover, the negative reference to the temple in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 Enoch 89:73) implies a rupture with what was arguably the most central symbol in Judaism at that time. The most obvious and basic distinguishing trait of this literature, however, is the fact that Enoch is the mediator of revelation, rather than Moses or any other figure drawn from Israelite tradition. This in turn raises the question of the status of the Mosaic, Sinaitic revelation in these books. Was this group Enochic, in the sense that it looked on the legendary patriarch as the primary mediator of revelation? Or was the invocation of the ante-diluvian hero merely a literary device in books that were solidly grounded in the Mosaic covenant?

Scholarship on this issue has in fact been rather evenly divided.¹⁶ On the one hand, George Nickelsburg has argued that Enochic wisdom was an alternative to Mosaic Torah.¹⁷ On the other, E. P. Sanders¹⁸ and

¹⁵ See my essay, "Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism," in Collins and Charlesworth, *Mysteries and Revelations*, 11–32, and, more generally, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), passim.

¹⁶ See the review of the debate by Kelley Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: "No One Has Seen what I Have Seen,"* (JSJSup 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 289–99.

¹⁷ Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?" in *Hesed ve-Emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs* (ed. Jodi Magness and Seymour Gitin; BJS 320; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 123–32; *1 Enoch* 1, 50–56.

¹⁸ Ed P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 346–62.

Mark Elliott¹⁹ have viewed it as an example of covenantal nomism. The division of opinion is most acute in the case of the early Enochic *Book of the Watchers* (1 Enoch 1–36).

At the core of this book is the story of the fallen angels, in 1 Enoch 6–11. This is usually regarded as a midrash on the story of the sons of God in Genesis 6,²⁰ although J. T. Milik famously argued that the Enochic story was older than the variant in Genesis.²¹ The account of Enoch's ascent to heaven has various points of contact with prophetic traditions.²² In his subsequent tour with an angelic guide he is shown a holy mountain in the center of the earth, which is evidently Mt. Zion, and beside it a cursed valley, presumably Ge Hinnom or Gehenna.²³ He also sees the Garden of Righteousness, and the tree of wisdom, from which "your father of old and your mother of old, who were before you, ate and learned wisdom. And their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they were driven from the garden" (1 Enoch 32:6). Moreover, the opening chapters of the *Book of the Watchers* are a virtual tissue of biblical allusions, and Lars Hartman has argued that they find their referential background in covenant renewal ceremonies and that the entire passage must be understood in a covenantal context.²⁴

Despite occasional arguments that the *Book of the Watchers* preserves old traditions independent of the Bible, it seems to me beyond reasonable doubt that, in all stages of its composition, it reflects

¹⁹ Mark Elliott, *The Survivors of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-Christian Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 330–32; 529–33; "Covenant and Cosmology in the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book," in Boccaccini, *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, 23–38.

²⁰ See James C. VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 129–48; idem, "Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 14; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 96–125; Philip S. Alexander, "The Enochic Literature and the Bible: Intertextuality and its Implications," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, in association with The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities, 2002), 57–69.

²¹ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 31. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 176–77, shows that the Enochic text follows Genesis 6 quite closely.

²² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 30.

²³ *1 Enoch* 26–27; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 317–19.

²⁴ Lars Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (ConBNT 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979).

knowledge of at least parts of the Biblical tradition. This is not to say, however, that it is exegetical in intent or that it presupposes the authority of the Mosaic Torah. James Kugel, who more than any other scholar has made the case for the exegetical character of the Pseudepigrapha, grants that *1 Enoch* may well have passed on traditions originally unrelated to the biblical text.²⁵ There is, to be sure, an exegetical element in the story. In the *Book of the Watchers*, the flood is clearly the consequence of the sins initiated by the Sons of God, while this connection is not explicit in Genesis. But there is no biblical basis at all for the stories of Asael and Shemihazah, the leaders of the fallen angels. The ascent of Enoch and his tour of the extremities of the earth are spun off from the biblical statement that he “walked with *elohim*” (Gen 5:22) but many of the details of these chapters (e.g. the geography of chapters 17–19,²⁶ or the discussion of the chambers of the dead in chapter 22)²⁷ have little basis in biblical tradition.

3. A DISTINCT FORM OF JUDAISM?

There is no real doubt that the “chosen righteous from the chosen plant of righteousness,” or the elect group envisioned in *1 Enoch*, constituted a Jewish sect. (I think the tendency to speak of Judaisms, in the plural, is unfortunate. Judaism is what all varieties of Judaism have in common). They understood themselves as descendants of Abraham, the chosen plant of righteousness. In the *Animal Apocalypse*, and in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, it is quite clear that they are an offshoot of historic Israel. Yet, as George Nickelsburg has observed, the only *explicit* reference to the Sinai covenant appears in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in *1 Enoch* 93:6, which says that “a covenant for all generations and a tabernacle” will be made in the fourth week. The *Animal Apoca-*

²⁵ James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1998), 180; compare Andreas Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt tritt auf den Sinai. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktionsweise der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte, 8; Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 2000), 157–63.

²⁶ Coblenz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, 297, concludes that shared concerns about disobedience and illicit relationships do not necessarily demonstrate points of contact between these chapters and the Mosaic Torah.

²⁷ See Marie-Theres Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht: Studien zu 1 Henoch 22* (Würzburg: Echter, 1982).

lypse, in contrast, which clearly knows the story of the Exodus, refers to the ascent of Moses on Mt. Sinai (“and that sheep went up to the summit of a high rock”) but conspicuously fails to mention either the making of a covenant or the giving of the law. At no point is there any polemic against the Mosaic Torah, but it is never the explicit frame of reference. In this respect, the Enochic literature stands in striking contrast to Jubilees, which retells the stories of Genesis from a distinctly Mosaic perspective, with explicit halachic interests.²⁸ The revelation to Enoch is anterior to that of Moses and in no way subordinated to it. As Nickelsburg has argued, “the general category of covenant was not important for these authors.”²⁹ The word is rare. To quote Nickelsburg again:

In short, the heart of the religion of *1 Enoch* juxtaposes election, revealed wisdom, the right and wrong ways to respond to this wisdom, and God’s rewards and punishments for this conduct. Although all the components of “covenantal nomism” are present in this scheme, the word *covenant* rarely appears and Enoch takes the place of Moses as the mediator of revelation. In addition, the presentation of this religion is dominated by a notion of revelation—the claim that the books of Enoch are the embodiment of God’s wisdom, which was received in primordial times and is being revealed in the eschaton to God’s chosen ones.³⁰

The understanding of the relationship between the elect and God may be covenantal, in the sense that it is based on laws which entail reward or punishment as their consequences, but it is not based on the Mosaic covenant, which was so widely accepted as the foundation of Jewish religion in the Hellenistic period.

It is often argued that the reason that *1 Enoch* is not specifically Mosaic is simply a reflection of its pseudographic setting in the prediluvian period. But the choice of pseudonym and setting is not incidental. By choosing to attribute vital revelation to a figure who lived long before Moses, long before the emergence of Israel as a people, the authors of the Enoch literature chose to identify the core revelation, and the criteria for judgment, with creation, or the order of nature as they understood it, rather than with anything distinctively Israelite.

²⁸ Compare the reflections of VanderKam, “The Interpretation of Genesis in *1 Enoch*,” 142–43.

²⁹ Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom,” 125.

³⁰ Nickelsburg, *ibid.*, 129.

The idea of a movement within Judaism that is not centered on the Mosaic Torah may seem anomalous in the context of the Hellenistic age, but it was not without precedent. The biblical wisdom literature is distinguished precisely by its lack of explicit reference to either the Mosaic Torah or the history of Israel, and it retains this character as late as the book of Qoheleth, which may be roughly contemporary with the early Enoch literature. The Book of Ben Sira, which is close to the early Enoch literature in date, professes that all wisdom is the book of the covenant of the Most High. But Ben Sira remains a wisdom book rather than an exposition of the Torah. It pays no attention to the purity laws of Leviticus, and it sometimes adapts biblical narratives in surprising ways, most notably in its references to the creation stories.³¹ 4QInstruction, a relatively early wisdom book found at Qumran, which has many points of contact with the Enoch literature, clearly reflects knowledge of the Torah at several points. Nonetheless, the Torah is not thematized there, as it is in Ben Sira, and the primary guides to wisdom appear to be the mysterious “vision of Hagi” and the teaching about “the mystery to come” that is transmitted by parents to their children.³² Judaism in the early second century B.C.E. was not uniformly Torah centered, even among those who were familiar with the Torah and respected it as one source of wisdom among others.

I would agree then, with Boccaccini and others, that the Enoch literature reflects a distinctive form of Judaism (not “*a Judaism*”) in the late third/early second centuries B.C.E.³³ (Whether this form of Judaism persisted into the first century B.C.E. or later is another question, into which I do not wish to enter here). The distinguishing marks of this form of Judaism were not only the explanation of the origin of evil by the myth of the Watchers, but the invocation of the pre-diluvian Enoch rather than Moses as the revealer of essential wisdom, and the view that angelic life was the ultimate ideal for humanity. Whether the

³¹ See John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 1997), 42–61.

³² See the essays in John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements, ed., *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004). Note especially the essay by Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran,” *ibid.*, 89–100, on the very limited use of legal material. See also Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 225, with reference to 4QInstruction: “it uses the Torah without invoking it as a source of authority.”

³³ For a fuller treatment of this issue see Collins, “How Distinctive was Enochic Judaism?” *17–34.

authors of this literature were dissident priests is not so clear. Their interest in the calendar is congenial to such a hypothesis, the *Book of the Watchers* is certainly interested in the heavenly temple, and the *Animal Apocalypse* is explicitly critical of the Second Temple. Nonetheless, the failure to characterize Enoch explicitly as a priest would be remarkable if the movement were indeed priestly.

4. THE RELATION TO THE SECT KNOWN FROM THE SCROLLS

The more controversial part of Boccaccini's thesis concerns the relation of this "Enochic Judaism" to the sectarian movement known from the Scrolls.³⁴ Boccaccini proposes the thesis that "Enochic Judaism is the modern name for the mainstream body of the Essene party, from which the Qumran community parted as a radical, dissident, and marginal offspring."³⁵ This suggestion is not entirely without precedent. At one point in the history of research it was customary to associate all references to elect groups in the books of Enoch, Daniel, and *Jubilees* with the Hasidim, and regard them as the forerunners of the Essenes (and Pharisees).³⁶ In 1984 Devorah Dimant suggested that the *Animal Apocalypse* was an early sectarian work, and refers to the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness.³⁷ In 1987 Philip Davies, who a decade earlier had debunked the all-embracing portrayal of the Hasidim,³⁸ threw caution to the winds and declared that it seemed "unnecessarily pedantic" not to call the authors of the Enochic texts and *Jubilees* "Essenes,"³⁹ and proceeded to equate the terms "pre-Qumran" and "Essene."⁴⁰ Davies also promoted the view that the *Damascus Document* reflected "the organization of the parent community, from which the Qumran group emerged" and that the latter group originated in

³⁴ Collins, "Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Essene Groups and Movements in Judaism in the Early Second Century B.C.E.," in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 345–50; "Enochic Judaism' and the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 283–99.

³⁵ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 16.

³⁶ For a classic example, see Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1.175–80.

³⁷ Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings from the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2/2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 544–45.

³⁸ Philip R. Davies, "Hasidim in the Maccabean Period," *JJS* 28 (1977): 127–40.

³⁹ Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 109.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

a schism not with Judaism as a whole but with the parent “Essene” group.⁴¹ The “Groningen hypothesis” advanced by Florentino García Martínez in 1990 also tried “clearly to distinguish between the origins of the Qumran group and the origins of the parent group, the Essene movement, and to trace back to the Apocalyptic Tradition of the third century B.C. the ideological roots of the Essenes.”⁴² García Martínez also sought “the origins of the Qumran group in a split which occurred within the Essene movement in consequence of which the group loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness was finally to establish itself in Qumran.”⁴³

Boccaccini, then, is building on the results of earlier scholarship, although one cannot speak of a consensus on these issues. In my view, however, there are serious problems with this reconstruction of Essene origins, and the resulting identification of Enochic Judaism as Essene is at best an oversimplification. There are, to be sure, clear lines of continuity between the Enoch literature and the Dead Sea sect that are not in dispute. These include the common solar calendar, division of history into periods, and an interest in the angelic world that involves life after death, as well as the fact that the Enoch literature, like the *Damascus Document*, speaks of the emergence of an elect group late in the Second Temple period. But these affinities must be seen in perspective of what we know of the Essenes, of continuities with other literature, and of the range of interests that characterize the sectarian scrolls.

5. THE ESSENES

Let us begin with the issue of terminology. I still believe that the community (or communities) described in the *Community Rule* and *Damascus Rule* should be identified with the Essenes described in the Greek and Latin sources, despite some troubling discrepancies.⁴⁴ But it is important to remember the basis of the identification. This is primarily the similarity in community organization and process of

⁴¹ Ibid., 18–19.

⁴² Florentino García Martínez, “A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 537.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ See John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community. The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010) 122–65. The most controversial point in the debate about the identification is the question of celibacy.

admission. There are also some similarities in religious ideas, such as the Essene belief in determinism and the description of life after death, but I doubt that these would be sufficient to sustain the identification without the community structures. The closest parallels are found in the *Community Rule*. If, then, we are justified in speaking of Essenes in connection with the DSS at all, the *yaḥad* of the *Community Rule* should be our primary example of an Essene community. If we share the common assumption that the Qumran community was a settlement of this *yaḥad*, then that community is our touchstone of what it meant to be an Essene.⁴⁵ If we compare what is said about the “lambs” in the *Animal Apocalypse* or about the “chosen righteous” in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* with the accounts of the Essenes in Josephus, Philo or Pliny, we find that they have almost nothing in common. The Enochic texts do not attest the kind of separatist community that is central to the classical accounts. It seems to me then that to speak of the tradents of the Enoch literature as Essenes is to sow confusion.

Now it may be objected that I am overlooking the evidence of the *Damascus Document*, which has been taken to reflect a middle ground between the Enoch literature on the one hand, and the *yaḥad* (which is taken to reflect the Qumran community) on the other. CD col. 7 legislates for people who live in camps according to the order of the land and marry and have children. These people are often identified with “the marrying Essenes” who are mentioned by Josephus as another branch of the sect.⁴⁶ Josephus says that these were in agreement with the other Essenes on the way of life, usages, and customs, and differed only with respect to marriage. Presumably, people who married and had children cannot have lived the same kind of communal life as those who did not. But the mere absence of communal life is hardly sufficient grounds for identifying them with Enochic Judaism. In the end, the case for such an identification stands or falls on the degree

⁴⁵ The *yaḥad* cannot be simply identified with “the Qumran community.” 1QS 6:1–7 clearly presupposes multiple settlements of the *yaḥad*. See my article, “The Yaḥad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. Charlotte Hempel and Judith M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–96. Torleif Elgvin also argues that “The Yaḥad is More than Qumran,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 273–79, but his argument is based on the paleographic dating of some texts that refer to the *yaḥad* to a time before the establishment of the Qumran settlement. See the critical remarks of Florentino Garcia Martínez, “Response: The Groningen Hypothesis Revisited,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 314.

⁴⁶ BJ 2.160.

of similarity that we find between the *Damascus Document* and the Enoch literature.

6. THE ALLEGED SCHISM

Before I turn to that question, however, I want to comment on the relation between the two orders of Essenes, and between the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*. Josephus gives no hint that the existence of the two orders of Essenes was due to a schism. Quite the contrary. He suggests that they differed only with respect to marriage. The best evidence for a distinction of two orders in the Scrolls is found in CD 7, which can be taken to distinguish between those who “walk in perfect holiness” and those who live in camps and marry.⁴⁷ The passage can be construed so that those who live in camps are a sub-group of those who walk in holiness, but there is still a distinction between two groups. But here again there is no suggestion of a schism. CD legislates for both. Whether the people of the *yaḥad* were celibate is much disputed, especially with reference to the evidence of the cemetery.⁴⁸ But in any case the people who are said to go into the desert to prepare the way of the Lord in 1QS 8 are not schismatics, but are people who are set aside within the community for a life of holiness.⁴⁹ There is no indication that the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document* represent different sides in a schism. Both texts are preserved at Qumran. The *Damascus Document*, it should be noted, pays explicit homage to the Teacher, who is not mentioned in the supposedly Qumranic *Community Rule*, but is associated with the *yaḥad* in the *Pesharim*. It seems to me then that the two orders of Essenes represented different options within the sect, not dissenting factions. Equally, the *Damascus Document* represents both the “men of perfect holiness” and those who live in camps as loyal followers of the Teacher of Righteousness.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 13–24.

⁴⁸ See Jürgen Zangenberg, “The ‘Final Farewell,’ A Necessary Paradigm Shift in the Interpretation of the Qumran Cemetery,” *Qumran Chronicle* 8 (1999): 273–78. For a recent assessment of the cemetery see Brian Schultz, “The Qumran Cemetery: 150 Years of Research,” *DSD* 13.2 (2006): 194–228.

⁴⁹ John J. Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 105–107.

⁵⁰ See further Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 12–87.

The idea of schism within the parent movement is based above all on the references in the *Damascus Document* to the “Scoffer” (CD 1:14) and to those who turned back with the man of the lie (CD 20:15).⁵¹ It is clear that some people rejected the Teacher and broke with his community. One may well argue, then, that the whole Essene sect arose as the result of a schism within a wider movement (such as the Hasidim), and this was in fact the usual argument in the earlier phase of research on the Scrolls. But there is no reason to suppose that the people who settled at Qumran were the only ones loyal to the Teacher; CD 7 clearly regards those who lived in camps as members of the same movement. I see no justification for referring to those who left with the Man of the Lie as Essenes.⁵²

As a first step towards reducing confusion, therefore, I suggest that the word Essene be restricted to the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness, whether celibate or married. Those who turned back with the Man of the Lie ceased to be Essenes (and may have become Pharisees),⁵³ but I see no evidence of any schism between two parties who remained Essene. I might add that I would not object to a complete moratorium on the word Essene in connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is inevitable that we discuss the identification of the sect, but the information provided by the Greek and Latin sources is suspect anyway, and does not add anything reliable to what can be gleaned from the Scrolls themselves.

7. THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT AND THE ENOCH LITERATURE

But leaving aside the term “Essenes,” can we say anything about the identification of the “plant root,” the community that existed for some twenty years before the arrival of the Teacher? Was this community identical with the “chosen righteous” and “small lambs” of the Enoch literature?

The argument for the identification is clear enough: one should not multiply sectarian groups without cause. Since the Enoch literature

⁵¹ See especially Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn: published privately, 1971), 48–52.

⁵² So also Mark Elliott, “Sealing Some Cracks in the Groningen Foundation,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 263–72.

⁵³ So Stegemann, *Die Entstehung*, 257.

was known and influential at Qumran, and it indicates the rise of an elect group late in the Second Temple period, why not identify this group with the “plant root” of the Dead Sea sect? Moreover, they have in common allegiance to the solar calendar, which set them at odds with the Jerusalem temple, and they shared ideas of reward and punishment after death. Even the metaphor of planting figures prominently in *1 Enoch*.⁵⁴ These factors certainly show that there was some connection between the Enoch group and the plant root of CD. Are they enough to establish the identification?

I think not. The concept of covenant and the Torah of Moses are absolutely central to the *Damascus Document*.⁵⁵ As we have seen repeatedly, neither is at all prominent in the early Enoch literature. Conversely, while the *Damascus Document* knows the story of the Watchers, it never appeals to the authority of Enoch as a revealer, although it does appeal to Levi, and cites *Jubilees*. It also attaches major importance to issues of purity, which are not especially prominent in the Enoch literature. There is then an ideological gulf between the Enoch literature and the Damascus covenant.

Boccaccini tries to bridge that gulf by appeal to the book of *Jubilees*. Here we have a revelation that was allegedly given to Moses and that is greatly concerned with halachic issues.⁵⁶ It also draws on the Enoch tradition, notably on the myth of the Watchers, and attaches great importance to the solar calendar. Boccaccini concludes that “the Book of Jubilees gives us evidence that after the Maccabean crisis, the Enochians, or at least some Enochians, now considered the Mosaic revelation as no longer a competitive revelation to pass over in silence, as Dream Visions did, but as a common heritage that could neither be ignored nor dismissed.”⁵⁷ But is the book of *Jubilees* necessarily a product of Enochians? Might one not equally well suppose that some

⁵⁴ Patrick A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35.

⁵⁵ John J. Collins, “The Nature and Aims of the Sect Known from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. in Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35–40; Stephen J. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community. Literary Historical and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 141–232.

⁵⁶ See now *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), which appeared after this essay had gone to press.

⁵⁷ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 88.

people who venerated Moses no longer regarded Enochian revelation as competitive? Or indeed that some people who were devoted to the Torah of Moses became aware of the Enoch literature and tried to incorporate it into “Mosaic religion”? There is a fusion of traditions in *Jubilees*, but can we be so confident that the people doing the fusing were the so-called Enochians? In his more recent work, Boccaccini grants that “it is unlikely that the authors of the Enoch apocalypses and the sectarian rule books once belonged to the same group or organization,” although he still claims that they constituted one “intellectual movement.”⁵⁸

The impulse to apply Ockham’s razor to the identification of groups in second century Judaism is commendable up to a point, but it can be carried to excess.⁵⁹ The Enoch literature and the *Damascus Document* are not the only texts from this period that speak of the emergence of an elect group. We also have the *maskilim* in Daniel, and we also have remnants in the pseudo-Daniel writings, that do not seem to me to come from the same source as the canonical book.⁶⁰ Daniel was also known and influential at Qumran, and like *Enoch* had a great interest in the angelic world and hoped for an angelic afterlife. But as Boccaccini recognizes, Daniel cannot be subsumed into Enochic Judaism. Now we must also add 4QInstruction to the list.⁶¹ This wisdom text is addressed to “people of the spirit” who are sharply distinguished from “the spirit of flesh.” It has been suggested that this text too was influenced by the Enoch literature, especially by the *Epistle*,⁶² but it never refers to Enoch, nor to distinctively Enochic themes like the fall of the Watchers. In each of these cases, *Enoch*, Daniel and 4QInstruction,

⁵⁸ Boccaccini, “Enochians, Urban Essenes, Qumranites: Three Social Groups, One Intellectual Movement,” in Boccaccini and Collins, *The Early Enoch Literature*, 315. In addition to the importance of the Torah of Moses in the *yahad*, he notes the clear sociological discontinuity entailed by the elaborate entry procedures in the *yahad*.

⁵⁹ Compare James C. VanderKam, “Too Far Beyond the Essene Hypothesis?” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 388–93.

⁶⁰ See my article, “Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation,” 43–58.

⁶¹ John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV. Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Musar le Mevin)* (DJD XXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

⁶² Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century B.C.E.—The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 226–47.

there are clear lines of continuity with central writings of the sectarian scrolls,⁶³ but they cannot be reduced to a single parent movement.

8. CONCLUSION

It seems to me that the safest conclusion from this evidence is that the Dead Sea sect drew its inspiration from various quarters. One of these was certainly the Enoch literature. Another was the wisdom tradition attested in 4QInstruction. Daniel was another, and the Torah of Moses was yet another, arguably the most important of all. The reduction of all these to a single line of tradition is a temptation that should be avoided. Rather than being a splinter movement, an offshoot of a branch, it seems to me that the sectarian movement reflected in the Scrolls involved a synthesis of traditions, Enochic and Mosaic, sapiential and apocalyptic. It was still a sectarian movement, but drew together traditions, and probably also people, from various sources. If the people who settled at Qumran were originally Enochians, I would expect *Enoch* to play a larger role in the sectarian writings. This is not at all to deny the important continuities between *Enoch* and Qumran, but these continuities must be seen in the broader context of elect communities in Judaism in the second century B.C.E.

⁶³ For the continuities with wisdom literature see especially Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 69–79.

BETWEEN QUMRAN SECTARIAN AND NON-SECTARIAN TEXTS: THE CASE OF BELIAL AND MASTEMA

DEVORAH DIMANT

1. INTRODUCTION

More than sixty years have elapsed since the discovery of the first scrolls in Qumran Cave 1. Much has been achieved but more is still to be learned from the wealth of texts published for the first time in recent years. They introduce novel elements into the scholarly discussion and thus cast new light on old problems. Above all, these additional data reveal the complexity of the Qumran library and the need to refine methods and terminology in dealing with its content. One of the most fruitful distinctions introduced to Qumran studies in the last few decades is that between sectarian and non-sectarian texts. However we define the character and historical circumstances of the Qumran Yaḥad community, a fact established beyond doubt is that the scrolls related to this particular community are set apart by style and terminology.¹ The complexity of the relationship between the sectarian and non-sectarian texts is just beginning to emerge. Therefore the distinction between the two should not be disregarded: instead, the methods of their analysis must be improved and perfected.² It is in this perspective that I wish to offer the following remarks.

¹ See my initial classification in Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls* (ed. eadem and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58. In that first attempt at a comprehensive classification of the Qumran material I introduced a different nomenclature in an attempt to avoid using the term "sect," which has rightly been criticized as inappropriate for the Qumran community. However, the terms I proposed have not gained wide currency and scholarly discussion continues to use the "sectarian/non-sectarian" terminology, probably because it is short and stylistically more convenient. For these reasons I follow here the same practice, but without attributing to the Qumran community the conceptual significance of the term "sect."

² I advance my initial classification by introducing further categories into the sectarian literature in "Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Qumran Scrolls: Introductions and Studies* (ed. Menahem Kister; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008), 49–86 (Hebrew). In press is an English updated version "The Vocabulary

One of the most salient figures to emerge from the Qumran scrolls is the archdemon Belial, leader of the forces of darkness. Prominently described by two of the first scrolls to be discovered, the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and the *War Scroll* (1QM), he became the emblem of the bold dualistic worldview embraced by these two scrolls, unique in ancient Jewish literature. Hence an early study of Qumranic dualism from the pen of the German scholar Peter von der Osten-Sacken was entitled simply *Gott und Belial*.³ From this labeling one gets the impression that the Qumran scrolls espouse a single figure who masters all evil in the world. In fact, this has been the general understanding of the Qumran worldview since the inception of research in the scrolls. But written almost four decades ago, Osten-Sacken's monograph was based on the Qumran texts then available to the public.⁴ In a later article Annette Steudel rightly remarked that newly published Qumran texts, and one may add recent advances in the study of previously known texts, justify a fresh examination of the subject.⁵ Yet as indicated by its title, "God and Belial," this article retained the conventional view that a single figure is involved.⁶ Steudel was aware of other appellations for demonic figures found in the Qumran documents, but she embraced the general opinion that they represent different names for one and the same personage.⁷ The same argument has been applied

of the Qumran Sectarian Texts," in *Qumran und die Archäologie* (ed. Jörg Frey, Carsten Clausen, and Nadine Kessler; WUNT 2nd series; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).

³ Cf. Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1969).

⁴ The book is, in fact, a slightly revised version of the author's dissertation, already completed in 1966–1967. See Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, "Vorwort." This author connects the figure of Belial with the demonized ruler of the eschatological era, (Gog and Magog of Ezek 38, or the demonic figure of Daniel 11–12). The appearance of such rulers is related, in my opinion, to the concept of "the rule of Belial" (see below). But this requires a separate study.

⁵ Annette Steudel, "God and Belial," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2000), 332.

⁶ Steudel, "God and Belial," 332–33. In a subsequent article Steudel rightly qualified this statement, noting that in the Qumran texts Belial is always subordinate to God and therefore the dualism espoused by these texts is relative. See Annette Steudel, "Der Teufel in den Texten aus Qumran," in *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (ed. Jörg Frey and Michael Becker; *Einblicke* 10; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2007), 195. See below n. 33.

⁷ Steudel, "God and Belial," *ibid.* The same view is expressed by many others. See, for instance, Theodore J. Lewis, "Belial," in *ABD*, 1:655–56; Philip S. Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:341; Michael

to the similar demonic chief known from the *Book of Jubilees*, “the Angel of *mštmh*.” Two approaches have been adopted to explain the similarities between Belial and the Angel of *mštmh*. They have been viewed either as two epithets for a single figure or as different stages of development of this same personage.⁸ However, new texts reveal differences between Belial and the Angel of *mštmh*, for which neither approach provides a satisfactory explanation. In fact, in several Qumran texts Belial and the Angel of *mštmh* appear as two figures active side by side. This circumstance calls for a re-evaluation of the evidence related to the two figures, scattered in the Qumran texts.⁹

2. BELIAL

Like most of the Qumran nomenclature the appellations “Belial” and “the Angel of *mštmh*” too are rooted in biblical parlance. In biblical Hebrew both *bly’l* and *mštmh* are nouns, which designate abstract qualities. The abstract noun *bly’l* (בליעל) is employed in the sense of

Mach, “Demons,” in *EDSS*, 1:191; Corrado Martone, “Evil or Devil? Belial between the Bible and Qumran,” *Henoah* 26 (2004): 115; Heinz-Josef Fabry, “‘Satan’—Begriff und Wirklichkeit: Untersuchung zur Dämonologie der alttestamentlichen Weisheitsliteratur,” in *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, (ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 287. Moshe J. Bernstein asserts that “The ‘persecuting angel’ Mastema is found frequently in the Qumran literature in such texts as 1QS, 1QM, CD, 4Q286, 4Q525, 4Q387 and 4Q390....” (Bernstein, “Angels at the ‘Aqedah: A Study in the Development of a Midrashic Motif,” *DSD* 7 [2000]: 267 n. 8). It is the merit of Eshel that she treats Belial and the Angel of *mštmh* as two separate figures. (Esther Eshel, “Demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period” [Ph.D. diss.; The Hebrew University, 1999] 106–35 [Hebrew]). However, she considers the word *mštmh* the name of this angelic being in all the writings discussed, including the Qumran documents. That this is hardly the case will be shown below. Also, Eshel discusses the Qumran scrolls together with various non-Qumranic apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works, thus blurring their distinct character. See below n. 63.

⁸ See Steudel, “God and Belial,” 332. But compare the more judicious approach of Eshel, *Demons*, 106–35.

⁹ The Qumran Hebrew texts will be considered here synchronically as contemporary documents, unlike the diachronic approaches of, for instance, Osten-Sacken, *Got und Belial*; Steudel, “Der Teufel.” Attempts to establish datable literary layers in various scrolls and to reconstruct diachronic histories of themes on their basis have not been convincing for the Qumran documents yield insufficient data for such an undertaking. For the Aramaic texts see n. 91.

“worthlessness,”¹⁰ “uselessness,” “wickedness.”¹¹ Of uncertain etymology, it often appears as the attributive *nomen rectum* in construct pairs. In this way the locution **בני בליעל** (literally “people of wickedness/worthlessness”) describes wicked or worthless people (1 Sam 1:16). A worthless or wicked thing is expressed as **דבר בליעל** (literally “a thing of wickedness”) (Ps 41:9), while abstract wickedness is rendered by a locution such as **יעץ בליעל** (“a wicked plotter,” [literally “a plotter of wickedness”]) (Nah 1:11). Another sense, “ruin, destruction” is suggested for the pair **נחלי בליעל** (“streams of wickedness”) in 2 Sam 22:5 and Ps 18:5.¹² Since this pair stands in parallelism to **משברי מות** (“breakers of death”) in 2 Sam 22:5, or **חבלי מות** (“ropes of death”) in Ps 18:5, some see here a reference to the final destruction, namely to death.¹³ Nevertheless, most examples may be construed as referring to an abstract quality.

While preserving its abstract sense, some Qumran passages attach the term *bly'l* to a specific figure. So besides the interest in the meaning of this word and how it became associated with the leaders of the evil forces, this term provides an interesting illustration of the process of personification. Personification of abstract qualities is an ancient and well known procedure, classically illustrated by the figure of Lady

¹⁰ See BDB, s.v. **בליעל**, 117.

¹¹ HALOT, s.v. **בליעל**, 133–34; DCH, s.v. **בליעל**, 2:178; B. Otzen, “*b'liyya'al*,” TDOT 2:131–33. Maag understands *bly'l* in most biblical occurrences in the sense of utter destruction in religious as well as social contexts. See Victor Maag, “*B'lija'al* im Alten Testament,” TZ 21 (1965): 294–95. Rosenberg, suggested that in biblical usage the term designates a specific transgression, namely “the violation of the covenantal relationship between the individual, community and God,” which is punishable by death. (Ruth Rosenberg, “The Concept of Biblical ‘Belial,’” *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* 8/A [1982]: 35–40). She thinks that this meaning may have contributed to the later development of the demonic force or figure. *Ibid.*, 38.

¹² HALOT s.v., **בליעל**, 134. The claim that the collocation **נחלי בליעל** in Ps 18:5 employs *bly'l* as a proper name (of a netherworld deity), as argued, for instance, by Osten-Sacken, *Got und Belial*, 76, remains unsubstantiated, for nowhere does the Hebrew Bible offer an unequivocal example of such a use. Osten-Sacken sees a proof for this interpretation of Ps 18:5 in the use of the same expression by the Qumran *Hodayot* 11 [3]:30, 33. However, *Hodayot* was created in a different time, and in a literary milieu that recognized *bly'l* as a proper name, a fact that cannot be asserted for Ps 18:5. See the discussion below.

¹³ See, e.g., B. Otzen, “*b'liyya'al*,” 134; Menahem Z. Kaddari, *A Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (Ramat Gan, 2006), 106 (Hebrew). Some scholars view the biblical *bly'l* in these verses as referring to Sheol. Cf. e.g., Maag, “*B'lija'al*,” 296–98; Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Concepts of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (*BibOr* 21; Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1969), 125–28. But note the criticism of this interpretation by John A. Emerton, “Sheol and the Sons of Belial,” VT 37 (1987): 214–18.

Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9¹⁴ and the figure of Zion in Isaiah.¹⁵ But the Hebrew Bible leaves no explicit trace of this procedure being applied to Belial.¹⁶

The picture in the Qumran texts is different. Many Qumran passages take up biblical idioms in which *bly'l* designates an abstract quality, but they also employ it as a proper name. As an abstract quality, *bly'l* is often used by the *Hodayot*. This work welds the biblical collocations יַעַץ בְּלִיעַל and נַחֲלֵי בְלִיעַל to its own style (1QH^a 11 [3]:30, 33; 14 [6]:24). Other Qumran texts employ the common biblical expression בְּנֵי בְלִיעַל¹⁷ or אֲנָשֵׁי בְלִיעַל (“worthless/wicked men”).¹⁸ Taken in isolation, the word *bly'l* in these expressions may be understood in an attributive sense, like other Qumranic construct pairs. In this manner may be construed expressions such as עֲדַת בְּלִיעַל (“a congregation of wickedness”—1QH^a 10 [2]:24), מַחֲשַׁבַת בְּלִיעַל (“a thought of wickedness”—in 4Q174 1–2 i 8 [III, 08¹⁹]; 4Q177 12–13 i 8 [XI, 11]),

¹⁴ Cf. the recent summary of research on the subject by Alice M. Sinnot, *The Personification of Wisdom* (Hants: Ashgate, 2005), 58–87.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g., Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, “Die Frau Zion,” in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah* (ed. Jacques van Ruiten and Marc Vervenne; BETL 127; Leuven: University Press, 1997), 20–23; 27–37; Ulrich Berges, “Personifications and Prophetic Voices of Zion in Isaiah and Beyond,” in *The Elusive Prophet* (ed. Johannes C. de Moor; OTS 45; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001), 54–82.

¹⁶ Sperling, thinks that some features of personification are already revealed in the Hebrew Bible. Cf. S. David Sperling, “Belial בְּלִיעַל ‘wickedness,’” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. Karel van der Toorn et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 169. But as he himself notes, the syntactical markers specific to personal names are missing as the word takes the definite article (e.g., 1 Sam 25:15; 2 Sam 16:7; 1 Kgs 21:13). Van Henten, “Mastemah,” 553 compares the personification of *belial* to a similar process that took place for the word *abdn*. (Jan Willem van Henten, “Mastemah מַשְׁטָמָה,” in Karel van der Toorn et al., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 553). The biblical figure of Satan seems to be the result of a different process, through which the noun *štn*, meaning “an adversary, opponent, obstacle” used in the absolute (שֹׁטֵן) (e.g., Num 22:32; 1 Kgs 5:18; 11:25; 1 Chr 21:1 . cf. HALOT, s.v. שֹׁטֵן, 1317), became an adversary *par excellence*, even an angelic one. As such it stands in the emphatic state (הַשֹּׁטֵן). See Zech 3:1; Job 2:1,7. Cf. HALOT, *ibid.* Cf. discussion below.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g., 1 Sam 10:27; 2 Chr 13:7. See for instance. 4Q174 1–2 i 8; 4Q286 7 ii 6.

¹⁸ Thus 4Q177 10–11 4. Perhaps the expression is a contracted form of the biblical אֲנָשֵׁי בְנֵי בְלִיעַל (“men sons of *belial*” [= “wicked/worthless men”]). See, e.g., Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22; 20:13) or the plural of the singular אִישׁ בְּלִיעַל (“a man of *belial*” [= “wicked man”]). see Prov 16:27; cf. 1 Sam 25:17, 25).

¹⁹ In the present article I use double sigla for 4Q174 (*Florilegium*) and 4Q177 (*Catena*^a). Steudel re-edited both texts and produced improved editions, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumran-gemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und Traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 23–29 (4Q174) and 71–76 (4Q177). However, she con-

or ממשלת בליעל (“the rule of wickedness”—1QS 1:18, 24; 2:19; 1QM 14:9; 4Q390 2 i 4; 4Q491 8–10 i 6).²⁰ Nevertheless, the fact that in certain instances *blyl* appears as a proper name suggests that in some of the above mentioned pairs it may also stand as a name.

The appearance of *blyl* as a personal name is indicated by well-defined syntactic markers. It occurs either as a determinate subject of a transitive or active verb, or is connected to nouns through their suffixed possessive pronouns. The *Damascus Document* 4:13 reads: “in all these years, Belial will run unbridled amidst Israel...”²¹ A copy of *Pseudo-Jubilees*, 4Q225 2 ii 14, states “...and Belial listened to [...]”.²² A fragmentary line in 4Q463 2 3 reads “and Belial scolded.”²³ Similar verbs are attributed to Belial in the *Damascus Document* (CD) and *Florilegium* (4Q174).²⁴ In several instances Belial appears to possess or rule over a certain group of beings.²⁵ Thus the *Melchizedek Pesher* applies Psalm 82:2 to Belial: “its interpretation concerns Belial and concerns the spirits of his lot” (11Q13 2:12).²⁶ One of the *Blessings* texts describes a ritual of the Qumranites: “And afterwards [t]he[y] shall damn Belial and all his guilty lot” (4Q286 7 ii 1–2).²⁷ The expression “at/from the hand of Belial” also suggests a specific being.²⁸ But

sidered the two to be copies of the same work and therefore combined their columns into a running sequence. In my judgment the two manuscripts do not stem from the same work and therefore merging them is unwarranted. Cf. Devorah Dimant, review of Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, in *DSD* 10 (2003): 305–10; this is also the opinion of George J. Brooke, review of Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, in *JSJ* 26 (1995): 380–84. I therefore retain the references to separate editions. (So too, Jacob Milgrom. Cf. Milgrom, “Florilegium: A Midrash on 2 Samuel and Psalms 1–2 [4Q174=4QFlor],” in *PTSDSSP* 6b:248–63; idem, “Catena A (4Q177=4QCat^a),” in *PTSDSSP* 6b:288–303).

²⁰ Cf. also 1QH^a 10 [2]:18, 24; 4Q174 1–2 i 8 [III, 08]; 4Q175 23.

²¹ ובכל השנים האלה יהיה בליעל משולח בישראל

²² שר המ[ש]טמה וישמע בליעל א[?]

²³]ויגער בליעל[.

²⁴ CD 5:18 במזמתו ואת אחיהו ואת יחנה את בליעל ויקם את יחנה ואת אחיהו במזמתו... (“...and Belial raised up Johne and his brother by his plotting...”); 4Q174 4 3 [II, 14], היא העת אשר יפתח, (“[...] בליעל] this is the time when Belial will open[...].”)

²⁵ As observed by Alexander, “Demonology,” 334, it is not always clear whether the subordinates of Belial are angels or demons. 1QM 13:10–12 speaks of “angels of destruction” (מלאכי חבל). But other passages refer just to “spirits,” a regular term for demonic beings. In any case they are not human. Cf. idem, *ibid.*

²⁶ פשרו על בליעל ועל רוחי גורלו. Similarly 4Q177 12–13 i 13; 4Q286 7 ii 1, 2, 6. Compare גורל בליעל (“the lot of Belial”) in 1QS 2:5; 1QM 1:5.

²⁷ וואחר יזעמ[ו] את בליעל ואת כול גורל אשמתו [1QM 13:2]. Note also 1QM 13:4.

²⁸ בליעל ב/מיד; cf. CD 8:2; 4Q177 12–13 i 9; 4Q266 3 iii 25; 11Q13 ii 25.

only once, in the *War Scroll*, do we find an explicit identification of Belial as an evil supernatural being: “You have made Belial to corrupt, an angel (of) *mštmh* (=hostility)” (1QM 13:10–11).²⁹

On the whole, one notes the relative paucity in the scrolls of unequivocal personal formulations concerning this Belial. But however few they may be they clearly attest to the usage in the scrolls of *bly'l* also as a personal name. So the term *bly'l* functions in the Qumran texts in two ways: either as the appellation of the evil archdemon or as an abstract quality characteristic of this evil creature and of those who obey him. Since *bly'l* stands frequently as *nomen rectum* in construct pairs it is sometimes difficult to tell whether it is a name or a descriptive noun. This syntactic ambiguity is well reflected in the fluctuating choices of various modern translations.³⁰ In such ambiguous cases the context may serve as a guide to the more plausible choice, although it is often a matter of interpretation. Yet this stylistic ambiguity is in itself indicative of the close connection between the evil figure and the evil quality of his character and actions. In passing, it should be noted that *Hodayot* tends to employ the term *bly'l* in its abstract sense rather than as a personal name.³¹ This feature may be due to the influence of biblical psalmodic phraseology, but the phenomenon merits further study as one of the stylistic markers of these Qumran *Hodayot*.

The specific role and character of Belial emerge through many statements about him scattered in the Qumran documents. These texts provide information about his origin, his position and character, his domain of influence, his activities and his final demise. Two instances refer to the origin of Belial. The *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3:18–21) depicts both the Prince of Light and Angel of Darkness, alias Belial,³² as beings active under divine authority.³³ While this formulation avoids

²⁹ אתה עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משטמה. Van Henten, “Mastemah,” 553 recognizes that the phrase “angel of *mštmh*” describes here Belial. Cf. the analysis below.

³⁰ Cf. below nn. 66, 87.

³¹ Cf. e.g., 1QH^a 10 [2]:18, 24; 11 [3]:29, 30, 33; 13 [5]:28, 41; 14 [6]:24; 15 [7]:6. 1QH^a 11 [3]:29 בליעל לכול וקץ חרון לכול (“and a period of wrath for all [that which is] *belial*”) appears to refer to an abstract entity, just as does Nahum 1:11.

³² Cf. below n. 38.

³³ See 1QS 3:18: וישם לו שתי רוחות (“and He [i.e., God] designated for him [i.e., Man] two spirits”). For a description of Belial’s character and activity see Johann Maier, “Geister (Dämonen) B.III.b,” *RAC* 9 (1976): cols. 633–35. Two early surveys by Huppenbauer cover only CD and the main scrolls of Cave 1 (1QH^a, 1QS, 1QM). Cf. Hans Walter Huppenbauer, “Belial in den Qumrantexten,” *TZ* 15 (1959): 81–89; idem, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten; der Dualismus der Texte vom Qumran (Höhle I)*

specifying the origin the two angels, the *War Scroll* states explicitly that Belial was created by God: “You have made Belial to corrupt...” (1QM 13:10–11).³⁴

Belial’s hostile character comes out through his link to the noun *mštmh*, “enmity.” Attached to Belial by the singular 3rd person possessive pronoun suffix, or connected to him as qualifying *nomen rectum*, the noun *mštmh* describes two domains of Belial’s activity, his “thought/scheme” and his “rule”. One copy of the Qumran work *Blessings* records a curse pronounced by the Qumranites against Belial: “Cursed be [Be]lial in his hostile thought/scheme” (4Q286 7 ii 2).³⁵ The editor has appropriately rendered the word משטמ(תו) as an adjective, “hostile,” as befits the constructed pair מ[חשבת משטמתו] (“his hostile thought/scheme”).³⁶ Similarly the *Rule of the Community* speaks of “the rule of his hostility” (= “his hostile rule”; 1QS 3:23),³⁷ referring to the worldly rule of the Angel of Darkness, probably identical with Belial.³⁸ The expression “the rule of his hostility” (= “his hostile rule”) depicts the manner in which this angel exercises his authority. A similar use of the noun *mštmh* is found in the so-called *Catena*^a (4Q177 9–11 13 [IX, 13]), where the word ובמשטמ[תמה] (“in their *mštmh* [=hostility/enmity]”) qualifies the behavior of human individuals, the so-called Seekers of Smooth things. They are defined in terms proper to Belial precisely because they act under his sway. Also to be noted are two forms of the root שט"ם, used of Belial. The *War Scroll* speaks of the existence “under the rule of Belial” and how the sectaries withstood temptation “in all the mysteries of his animosity” (1QM 14:9).³⁹ This phrase employs the noun שטמה,⁴⁰ “animosity,” akin to משטמה of the

und der Damaskusfragmente; ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums (ATANT 34; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959), 84–86. Huppenbauer holds the view that Belial and the Angel of *mštmh* are two names for a single figure.

³⁴ Huppenbauer, *zwei Welten*, 85 stresses that 1QM 13:10–11 shows the character of Belial as subordinate to God.

³⁵ ארור [ב]ליעל ב[מ]חשבת משטמתו.

³⁶ Cf. Bilhah Nitzan, “286. 4QBerakhot^a,” in Esther Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 27–28.

³⁷ ממשלת משטמתו.

³⁸ The identification of Belial with the Angel of Darkness is suggested by CD 5:18, which opposes Belial with the angel of Light, just as the Angel of Darkness opposes him in 1QS 3:20–22. This identity is also intimated by the similarity of the curses of Belial in 1QS col. 2, 1QM 13:1–6 and 4Q286 7 ii 1–12 to the description of the Angel of Darkness in 1QS 3:20–25.

³⁹ ובכול רזי שטמתו.

⁴⁰ This is the only attestation of this noun in ancient Hebrew texts (but note the cognate שטנה in Gen 26:21, Ezra 4:6). However, the noun occurs in *piyyutim* of the

same root ש"ט. In 4Q174 4 4 [II, 15] the verb לשוטמם (“to bear animosity to them”) appears, probably alluding to Belial’s actions injurious to the sectaries. These cases also attest to the close link between Belial and activities described by the root ש"ט, but they are never applied to Belial’s name.

The foregoing considerations clarify the meaning of the unique description of Belial found in the *War Scroll* (1QM 13:10–11), which states as follows: “You have made Belial to corrupt, a hostile angel”⁴¹ (literally “an angel of *mštmh*”). In this phrase the collocation “an angel of *mštmh*” (מלאך משטמה) stands in apposition to Belial. It consists of an indeterminate construct pair in which *mštmh* is the *nomen rectum* that describes the *nomen regens* “angel” (מלאך). So the phrase asserts that Belial is an angel whose chief trait is animosity. Thus Belial is not equated here with a being named Mastema but is described as an angel full of animosity. If Belial is subordinate to of the Angel of *mštmh*, as I will argue below, such a qualification is not surprising. It designates Belial as belonging to the general camp headed by the Angel of *mštmh*.

Belial’s enmity is directed against the members of the opposing camp, led by the angel of light. It is expressed in his relentless attempts to lead the people of Israel astray and to divert them from the Torah of Moses. According to the *Damascus Document* (4:20–6:17) Belial does it by luring the Israelites into three traps: “fornication” (זנות), “wealth” (הון), and “defilement of the temple” (טמא המקדש).⁴² “Fornication” refers to transgressing the Torah incest laws by unlawful marriages, “wealth” concerns misuse of the temple dedicative gifts and other dues

Byzantine period. Cf. e.g., the *piyyut* of the type *shiv'ata* for the portion *zachor* (6) of El'azar Qalir, (published by Shulamit Elizur, *In Thanks and Song: Shiv'atot for the Four Portions by Rabbi El'azar Birabbi Kallir* [Jerusalem: R. Mas, 1991], 6 [Hebrew]) and the *piyyut* of the type *Yozer* for the portion *balak, emet* by El'azar Qillar, or the one for the portion *nitzavim, yotzer* by the same author (see Elizur, *The Piyyutim of Rabbi El'azar Birabbi Qillar* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988], 282, 314 [Hebrew]). Van Henten, “Mastemah,” 553 asserts that the noun שטמה “occurs also in Ethiopic” but I have found no evidence for it. The name Mastema in Ethiopic is a transliteration of a Hebrew name, and has no etymology in that language. Cf. August Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (Lipsiae: Weigel, 1865; repr. New York: Ungar, 1955), 177; Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 367. Cf. below n. 62.

⁴¹ Translation of Jean Duhaime, “War Scroll,” PTSDSSP (1993), 2:23.

⁴² See also the *Pesher on Psalms* (4Q172 1–10 ii 9–10), which states that the sectarians were saved from Belial’s traps. For the entire CD section see the analysis of Hans Kosmala, “The Three Nets of Belial,” *ASTI* 4 (1965): 94–107.

and possession of “wicked wealth,” and “defilement of the temple” is committed by unlawful sexual intercourse with menstrual women.⁴³ The *Damascus Document* further accuses the opponents of the Qumranites of “defiling the spirit of their sacred things,” probably alluding to their erroneous interpretation of the Torah (5:11–12).⁴⁴ In this manner the *Damascus Document* attributes the errors of the sect’s foes to the influence of Belial. Accordingly, these adversaries are described in terms applied to Belial himself (see Catena^a [4Q177] 7–11 13 [IX, 13]). Indeed, Belial is said to control a whole army, his “lot,” whose members are both demonic beings⁴⁵ and wicked humans who have succumbed to his influence.⁴⁶ Labeling humanity in this way permitted the sectarian literature to include in Belial’s camp gentiles as well as Israelites who disagree with the sectarian philosophy and practice.⁴⁷ The antipode of this evil host is the camp of light, partly consisting of members from the Qumran community. This dualistic structure of reality places Belial as the antithetic opponent of the Angel of Lights (1QS 3:20), probably identical with the Angel of His (i.e., God’s) Truth.⁴⁸

The dichotomy between the divine and truthful righteous and the demonic and wicked, under their respective angelic leaders, is defined in dualistic pairs: light and darkness, justice and evil, truth and falsehood. In terms of these antithetic qualities Belial is dark, wicked and

⁴³ The snare of fornication is understood to include marriage to two women at the same time, and marriage to one’s niece. The snare of wealth may be connected to the view of the community that all property of the outside world is impure, since it is gained by sin and wickedness (cf. e.g., CD 8:5, 7; 1QS 5:20). See the discussion of Kosmala, “Three Nets,” 100–102.

⁴⁴ רוח קדשיהם טמאו. Most translations render the collocation as “their holy spirit/s.” Thus Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 18; Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in PTSDSSP (1993), 1:21; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 1:557; Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls—A New Translation* (rev. ed.; New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 56. However, the context and the subsequent assertion that “with a tongue of blasphemies they opened their mouth against the statutes of God’s covenant” show that “the spirit of their sacred (things)” has to do with interpretation of the Mosaic Law rather than with the “holy spirit,” which is entirely out of place there. In fact, the accusation “they polluted the spirit of their sacred things” is an exegetical development of Belial’s third snare, “the defilement of the Temple.”

⁴⁵ See “Belial’s spirits” in CD 12:2 and “Belial and the spirits of his lot” in 11Q13 2:12.

⁴⁶ Cf. the *War Scroll* (1QM) 1:2 which places the wicked of Israel (“those who violate the covenant”—מרשיעי בריית) in the camp of Belial.

⁴⁷ Cf. 1QM 1:2, 5.

⁴⁸ מלאך אמתו. Cf. 1QS 3:24–25; 4Q177 12–13 i 9.

deceitful.⁴⁹ In this bipolar system darkness is one of the main characteristics of Belial's domain (e.g., 1QS 1:10; 3:19–21; 1QM 13:5–15; 15:9).⁵⁰ Deceit is another trait typical of the Spirit of Darkness (1QS 4:9, 21), as is wickedness (1QS 4:17–19). The last two features are characteristically human and thus emphasize the nature of Belial as a personality. This feature of Belial appears clearly through the curse against him and his lot, pronounced by the Levites in the service of the Covenant: “May God not be merciful when you entreat him. May He not forgive (you) by atoning your iniquity” (1QS 2:8).⁵¹ It may be gathered that Belial is considered here the wicked sinner *par excellence*, whose iniquity is boundless and cannot be requited or forgiven. This view suggests that Belial is a being endowed with the capacity to choose between good and evil and fully responsible for his deeds, since he is punishable for his transgressions. One may speculate that underlying this notion is the idea of Belial as a onetime member of the celestial entourage who committed a primordial sin.⁵²

Be that as it may, the sectarians were interested in the impact of Belial's doings on their own lives and times. According to the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3:13–4:26), God created the Spirit of Evil and the Spirit of Light for eternal enmity, a state to last throughout history (1QS 3:18–24; 4:15–16). But in the last period of the temporal sequence, Belial managed to take control of Israel and of humanity at

⁴⁹ This picture of Belial, emerging from the Qumran sectarian texts, is close to the ruler of the Darkness Milki-reša, who appears in the dream-vision of Amram, Moses' father. This dream is described by the Qumranic Aramaic work *Visions of Amram* (4Q 544 2 13). Therefore Belial has often been identified with Milki-reša. See for instance Alexander, “Demonology,” 341. However, differences of language, aspect and context dissuade us from such an easy identification. Cf. below n. 91.

⁵⁰ Note the apocryphal Psalm against demons which describes one of the demons as follows: “you are darkness and not light” (11Q11 5:7 *אוֹר וְלוֹא אַתָּה*). Note the *Testament of Joseph* 20:2, which associates Beliar (=Belial; cf. below n. 89) with the plague of Darkness in Egypt (Exod 10:21–23). For the connection of the “camp of Light” with physical light see Dimant, “Dualism at Qumran: New Perspectives,” in *Caves of Enlightenment* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, Texas: Bibal, 1997); Devorah Dimant, “Egypt and Jerusalem in Light of the Dualistic Doctrine at Qumran (4Q462),” *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 27–58 (Hebrew); Menahem Kister, “4Q392 and the Conception of Light in Qumran ‘Dualism,’” *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 125–42 (Hebrew).

⁵¹ לֹא יְחֻנְכֶה אֶל בְּקוֹרֵאכֶה וְלוֹא יִסְלַח לְכַפֵּר עוֹנֵיךְ.

⁵² The background to this notion may be found in *1 Enoch* 6–11, which comes from an ancient source. See Dimant, “*1 Enoch* 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work,” *JJS* 53 (2002): 223–37. Its impact on sectarian thinking may be seen in the Qumran *Peshar on the Periods* (4Q180 1 7).

large. Since the sectaries believed they were living in this final stage they viewed their own generation as the era of “the rule of Belial.” Only at the end of the historical sequence will the demise of Belial and his host take place, and the world will be purified of all iniquity and impurity.⁵³ Belial then stands for the cause and actualization of all evil in the present world, and his collapse and disappearance will come about only at the end of the historical process

3. *mštmh*

While the portrait of Belial is outlined by the sectarian texts in considerable detail, the contours of the Angel of *mštmh* are less so. Even so, comparison of the two reveals clear similarities. Both are malevolent and command evil subordinate beings, with whom they act injuriously to humans, chiefly Israel. However, there are also differences between the two, rooted in their nomenclature. In the Hebrew Bible the nouns *bly'l* and *mštmh* differ in use and meaning. *bly'l* signifies “wickedness” while *mštmh* denotes “animosity,”⁵⁴ “hostility.”⁵⁵ *bly'l* is not connected to a verb while *mštmh* derives from the root *štm* (ש"טם) “to cherish animosity, to be at enmity with.”⁵⁶ *bly'l* appears in the Hebrew Bible twenty-seven times whereas *mštmh* occurs there only twice (Hosea 9:7–8). This numerical relationship is also reflected in the Qumran texts. *bly'l* features in them no less than eighty-eight times, *mštmh* only eighteen.⁵⁷ This disparity is coupled with two others. In the Qumran documents *bly'l* is used both as proper name and as abstract noun. *mštmh* is employed solely as an abstract noun, as is evident from the syntactical environment of its occurrences. Almost in all of them

⁵³ See, e.g., 1QS 4:18–23; 1QM 1:1–7; 11Q13 11–13; 4Q286 7 ii 8–11.

⁵⁴ BDB, s.v. משטמה/שטמ: 966; Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 673.

⁵⁵ DCH, 5:502–503. HALOT, s.v. משטמה, 640–41 gives references mainly to Qumran documents and the offered meaning “persecution” is obviously influenced by them.

⁵⁶ BDB, s.v. שטמ, 966; HALOT, s.v. שטמ, 1316; Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 1079. Olyan thinks that the angel of *mštmh* in *Jubilees* and several Qumran documents is “derived from the exegesis of the rare noun *maštēmā* of Hos 9:7 and 8” (Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him [TSAJ 36; Tübingen: Mohr, 1993]*, 66). However, this rests on the assumption that *mštmh* is the name of the angel; but it is not, as I show below. As *nomen rectum* this noun is used simply in the biblical sense.

⁵⁷ The data are culled from Martin G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (Leiden-Boston, 2003).

mštmh stands as an attributive noun, determined by the article⁵⁸ or by a possessive suffix.⁵⁹ This fact is expressed by the locutions /מלאך/ שר המשטמה or מלאך/שר המשטמה.⁶⁰ Such constructions show that *mštmh* is construed as an attributive construct noun. In the Qumran documents this word never stands as a proper name but always as a descriptive noun.

Another disparity between Belial and the Angel of *mštmh* concerns their titles. When the word *bly'l* functions as a proper name it is not accompanied by any other title. But *mštmh* is always accompanied by other terms, either “Angel” (מלאך) or “the Prince” (שר). These clearly designate the place of this being in the celestial hierarchy, so the term *mštmh* itself is neither the being’s proper name nor his title. In contradistinction, Belial is used only as a proper name without any additional epithet. To judge from the title “Prince,” the Angel of *mštmh* is a being of authority. No such distinction is bestowed on Belial. He is referred to simply by his name. But while the Hebrew sources understand the nomenclature “the Angel of *mštmh*” as applying to an angel whose characteristic is animosity, in translations into other languages the noun *mštmh* becomes the proper name of this angel. This took place in the rendering of the *Book of Jubilees* in Greek, Latin and Ethiopic,⁶¹ probably because the meaning of this rare word was not understood.⁶²

⁵⁸ See CD 16:5; 4Q270 6 ii 18; 4Q271 4 ii 6 (מלאך המשטמה); 4Q225 2 i 9; 2 ii 13, 14 (שר המשטמה) and a small fragment from Masada, Mas 1276–1786 i 5 in Herodian script (ושר המשטמה), published by S. Talmon, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada,” in *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 118. The expression appears once non-determined, in 1QM 13:4 (מלאך משטמה), but it describes Belial. See below.

⁵⁹ See IQS 3:23 (ממשלת משטמתו); 4Q286 7 ii 2 (ב[מ]חשבת משטמתו).

⁶⁰ It is never מלאך משטמה or המלאך משטמה. A small fragment from a sapiential work, 4Q525 19 4, preserved an isolated case]המשטמה[. Since the few surviving words in this piece concern wickedness the term may stand as an emphatic abstract noun. However, the emphatic state also permits the restoration]המשטמה[שר/מלאך (“angel/prince of *mštmh*”). The Hebrew locution שר המשטמה is attested as late as the sixth century in a passage close to *Jubilees*, cited in the introduction to by the *Book of Asaph the Physician*. See Süssman Muntner, *Introduction to the Book of Assaph the Physician* (Jerusalem: Geniza, 1957), 149 (Hebrew). Michael Segal (*The Book of Jubilees* [JSSup 117; Leiden-Boston, 2007], 171–72) thinks that the passage depends on *Jub.* 10:1–14. For discussion and additional references see his notes 4–8 *ibid.*, 170–71.

⁶¹ One of the few who noted the transition from a descriptive use of *mštmh* in the Hebrew sources to its employment as a proper name in translations is Maier, “Geister,” col. 632. See below nn. 62, 89.

⁶² This is not surprising since Ethiopic does not possess a root cognate to this name, as does Hebrew. So the link between שט"ם/משטמה, evident in Hebrew texts and making sense of *mštmh* as an attributive noun, is absent from Ethiopic, as it is from

However, the most striking difference between the two demonic figures concerns their distribution. While the Qumran sectarian texts frequently refer to Belial and his activities they are silent about the Angel of *mštmh*. Except for the single reference in the *Damascus Document*, the Angel of *mštmh* is nowhere mentioned in the sectarian text.⁶³ In fact, the references to this figure are limited to a small group of non-sectarian works, all of which rework the Hebrew Bible: the *Book of Jubilees*, *Pseudo-Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*. Moreover, all three know both the Angel of *mštmh* and Belial, but it is the Angel of *mštmh* who plays the leading role.⁶⁴ One fragmentary line in *Pseudo-Jubilees* actually places the two side by side: "...the Prince of *mštmh*, and Belial listened to [the Prince of *mštmh*...]" (4Q225 2 ii 14).⁶⁵ Here Belial seems subordinate to the Angel of *mštmh*. In the *Book of Jubilees* the Angel of *mštmh* is involved in several historic episodes, but Belial is mentioned only once, in Moses' prayer on Mount Sinai. Moses prays that Belial will be prevented from harassing Israel (*Jub.* 1:20).⁶⁶

Greek and Latin. In the fragments of the Latin version of *Jubilees* 18:12, 48:2 the name Mastema appears in the form *mastima*. See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 274, 298. The name is not preserved in the various remains of the Greek translation for *Jubilees*.

⁶³ As shown above, 1QM 13 does not refer to the Angel of *mštmh*, so the reference of the *Damascus Document* 16 is the only one found in the sectarian scrolls. Accordingly, the assertion that the Angel of *mštmh* is mentioned in the sectarian texts, found in several critical discussions (inter alia, Alexander, "Demonology," 341; Bernstein, "Angels," 267 n. 8; Segal, *Jubilees*, 178, n. 24), is incorrect. See n. 7 above.

⁶⁴ Belial is mentioned in all three: *Jubilees* 1:20, *Pseudo-Jubilees* (4Q225 1 2; 2 ii 4) and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* (4Q390 2 i 4). The dominant figures in the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* are the Angels of *mštmwt* (4Q387 2 iii 4; 4Q390 1 11; 2 i 7). See below.

⁶⁵ The Hebrew is cited in n. 22 above. The context of this phrase is broken. Perhaps it belongs to the story of the Exodus. Compare *Jub.* 48:9, 12, 15–16.

⁶⁶ The word *belial* is mentioned once more in *Jub.* 15:33, but there it is part of the locution "sons of *belial*," describing the Israelites who do not practice circumcision. The syntactical ambiguity of such a construct pair, known also from the Qumran texts, makes it impossible to determine whether it means "wicked persons" or "persons belonging to Belial." The difficulty is well reflected in modern translations, some of which choose the first meaning, others the second. Unfortunately neither of the two instances has survived in the Hebrew fragments of *Jubilees* found at Qumran. In the Ethiopic version the name Belial appears in the late form Belchor (1:20) or Belear/Biliar (15:33). See references and discussion in Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* (Yale Judaica Series 6; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 160–61, n. 20; Friedrich E. Dobberahn, *Fünf Äthiopische Zauberrollen* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag H. Vorndran, 1976), 150–51.

Given the limited information on the Angel of *mštmh* his portrait relies mainly on the *Book of Jubilees*. Unfortunately none of the passages concerning this evil being survived in the Hebrew copies of *Jubilees* found at Qumran. So the analysis is based on the Ethiopic rendering of the book, which takes *mštmh* to be a proper name.

In *Jubilees* the angel Mastema is introduced in chapter 10 as an already known figure. Nothing is said of him before that point in the narrative, nor is anything said of his origin or character. He is presented by the title “angel” so he must belong to one of the angelic groups, created on the first day together with the heaven and earth (*Jub.* 2:2).⁶⁷ However, it is noteworthy that even in his first appearance the angel Mastema is presented by a specific title, “the angel of the spirits.” The Ethiopic version employs here the word *mal’ak*, which in this language means “angel, messenger, prince, chief.”⁶⁸ Most modern translators chose the last meaning and render the title “the chief of spirits,”⁶⁹ but this is not necessarily the most appropriate meaning; if the Ethiopic stands for a Hebrew epithet, it may be reconstructed as מלאך הרוחות (“the angel of spirits”). The title defines Mastema’s character and function as angel, as is the practice with other angelic titles in contemporary Jewish documents.⁷⁰

Yet the description of Mastema is unique in several ways. In *Jubilees* ch. 10 he is engaged in dialogue with God and asks Him not to imprison all the demons but to leave a tenth of them under his command (*Jub.* 10:5, 7). Mastema’s explanation for this audacious request is telling: since men are wicked by nature some of them are destined to sin, so they are bound to come under his authority. To exercise his role, argues Mastema, he needs evil spirits to remain in his service

⁶⁷ See the analysis of Jacques van Ruiten, “Angels and Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*,” in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. Friedrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schöpflin; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 588. For the angels as witnesses of the creation of the world see *Jub.* 2:2–3; 11Q5 (4QPs^a) 26: 11–12.

⁶⁸ See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 48–49; Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Ge’ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 10–11; idem, *Dictionary*, 303.

⁶⁹ See for instance Rabin, “Jubilees” (revision of Robert H. Charles), in *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H. F. D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 41; André Caquot, “Jubilés,” in *La Bible: Écrits Intertestamentaires* (ed. André Dupont-Sommer and Marc Philonenko; Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 681; VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 59.

⁷⁰ Compare the names and functions of the archangels in e.g., Daniel 10:13; *1 Enoch* 9–10; 17–18; Tob 12:14–15. Segal, *Jubilees*, 176–77 rightly emphasizes that Mastema is distinct from the spirits which he commands.

(*Jub.* 10:8–9).⁷¹ In this exchange Mastema betrays his character: it is the rule over the wicked and sinful. The fact that God grants Mastema's request shows that his rule over the demons is willed by God and is part of the overall plan for creation.⁷²

Mastema carries out his activity on various historical occasions. He orders his subordinates to cause annihilation and sinfulness among the sons of Noah (*Jub.* 10:10; 11:4–5). He harasses Abraham and Moses. As a youth Abraham foils Mastema's plot when he manages to get rid of the ravens sent by Mastema to rob men of grains (*Jub.* 11:11, 19–24). As an adult Abraham prepares his son's sacrifice as a test initiated on Mastema's advice. Mastema pursues Moses twice: he attempts to kill Moses on his way to Egypt (*Jub.* 48:2–3 on basis of Exod 4:24–25), and later he supports the Egyptian magicians in Pharaoh's court (*Jub.* 48:9–10). Israel too is menaced by Mastema: he is prevented from telling the Egyptians that the Israelites are about to leave Egypt for good and thus cannot stop them from borrowing various Egyptian commodities (*Jub.* 48:18; cf. Exod 12:35–36). Later Mastema incites the Egyptians to pursue the departing Israelites (*Jub.* 48:12–13).

These episodes depict the Angel of Mastema in the typical role of the accuser and enemy of mankind, and especially of Israel and his ancestors. But his particular nature takes shape in two scenes: the request to rule over the demons (*Jub.* 10:8–9) and the sacrifice of Isaac (*Jub.* 17–18). On both occasions Mastema is in direct dialogue with God, and as such seems to be of special rank. Mastema's role in the episode of Isaac's sacrifice is clearly indebted to the story of Satan's proposed test of Job (Job 1–2). The scene of *Jub.* 10:8–9 also seems influenced by the story of Job, inasmuch as it depicts a dialogue between God and Mastema.

The similarity between Mastema of *Jubilees* and biblical Satan from the book of Job is evident in the nature of Mastema's activities, but also in literary terms. This holds also for the concise version of the Aqedah in *Pseudo-Jubilees* (4Q225 2 i–ii).⁷³ Such a comparison reveals

⁷¹ On this point *Jubilees* may present a particular concern specific to it.

⁷² The episode of the demons is heavily in debt to *1 Enoch* 12–16. I have dealt with it at length in Dimant, "The 'Fallen Angels' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them" (Ph.D. Diss.: The Hebrew University, 1974), 72–103. For a recent treatment of the theme see Segal, *Jubilees*, 97–143 with further references.

⁷³ See VanderKam, "The 'Aqedah, Jubilees, and PseudoJubilees,'" in *The Quest for Content and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*

the influence of Job's story also on the exchange between God and Mastema in *Jub.* 10:8–9. It is significant that on both occasions the Angels of Presence as a group (*Jub.* 10:10–12; 4Q225 2 ii 4), or their leader (*Jub.* 18:9), oppose Mastema's actions.⁷⁴

The links displayed by the story of Job and the role of Mastema in these episodes of *Jubilees* suggests that the Angel of *mštmh* is a more elaborate version of the biblical *štn*.⁷⁵ Even the names of the two figures derive from the cognate roots *štn/štm* (ש"ט/ש"ט).⁷⁶ This etymological link is emphasized by *Pseudo-Jubilees*, which describes the incitement by the Angels of *mštmh* to sacrifice Isaac by the verb *ישטיים* ("accused"; 4Q225 2 i 10). This is a unique *hiph'il* form of ש"ט, but the *qal* forms are used in this sense already in Job's complaints of God's attacks against him (*Job* 16:9; 30:21).⁷⁷ But in *Pseudo-Jubilees* the use of the *hiph'il* strengthens the malevolent character of the Prince of

(ed. Craig A. Evans & Shemaryahu Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 249. Cf. my analysis in "The Biblical Basis of Non-Biblical Additions: the Sacrifice of Isaac in *Jubilees* in Light of the Story of Job," in *Zaphenath-Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Daniel Sivan, David Talshir, and Chaim Cohen; Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2009), 89–116 (Hebrew).

⁷⁴ 4Q225 2 ii 6–8 describes the jubilant demonic angels when Isaac is bound for sacrifice. But *Jubilees* 17–18 lacks this detail. In the opinion of VanderKam, "The Demons in the Book of *Jubilees*," in Armin Lange et al., *Die Dämonen*, 346, this is due to *Jubilees'* intention to show Mastema as acting alone. Segal, *Jubilees*, 177–78 n. 23, estimates that the stories of *Jubilees* that present Mastema alone came from an earlier source which indeed depict Mastema as a sole actor. Only the redactor of *Jubilees*, Segal thinks, attached Mastema to the myth of the Watchers' demonic spirits. But Segal's comment is placed in the context of his overall theory on the sources underlying *Jubilees*, which is problematic. I prefer to view Mastema as standing for his entire host even in episodes in which he appears alone. In the story of the *Aqedah* (*Jubilees* 17–18) the analogy to Satan in Job's story provides an additional reason for presenting him as a single actor.

⁷⁵ Maier, "Geister," col. 632; VanderKam, "Aqedah," 249; Alexander, "Demonology," 341–42; García Martínez, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225," *Qumranica Minora II* (STDJ 64; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 136; Van Ruiten, "Angels and Demons," 600. Van Ruiten remarks that the Angel of Mastema cannot be identical with one of the Watchers, since these sinful angels are bound up in the depths of the earth until their final judgment (*Jub.* 5:6–11; see *1 Enoch* 10:12); nor is he one of the demons (see idem, "Angels and Demons," 600).

⁷⁶ HALOT, s.v. "ש"ט, ש"ט," 1316; Kirsten Nielsen, "ש"ט, ש"ט," *TDOT*, 14. 73. *1 Chr* 21:1 mentions ש"ט, instead of God in the parallel story of *2 Sam* 24:1, who incited David to conduct a census. Many scholars see in it a development of the term *štn* as "obstacle, adversary" in early biblical books to the later figure of Satan as a malevolent figure. See, e.g., Walter Kornfeld, "Satan (et démons)," *DBSup* 12: col. 2. According to this view, Satan of *Zech* 3:12 and *Job* 1–2 (see also *Ps* 109:6) represents a further step in this direction.

⁷⁷ See VanderKam, "Aqedah," 253–54; García Martínez, "Sacrifice of Isaac," 136.

mštmh.⁷⁸ In later biblical books—the prophecies of Zechariah (Zech 3:1–2) and the narrative framework of the Book of Job (Job 1–3)—we meet a figure whose role is to act as the accuser (see also Ps 71:13; 109:6), related to the act of hostility or enmity (שׂט"ם/שׂט"ן).⁷⁹ But in no instance of the Hebrew Bible does *štn* (שׂטן) become the name of this specific figure, nor is he typically evil. In striking contrast with the Rabbinic literature, the word *štn* comes very rarely in the Qumran documents, Hebrew as well as Aramaic, as the name of the archdemon or in connection with his deeds. Only in one instance in *Jubilees* (10:11), preserved in the Ethiopic translation, is the name *mštmh* substituted by *satan*.⁸⁰ A few other cases which employ the term *štn* in *Jubilees* (23:29; 40:9; 46:2; 50:5; none survived in Hebrew), stand in the generic sense of “adversary,” as part of the locution “and there will be no *štn* (‘adversary’) in the land,” based on 1 Kgs 5:18.⁸¹ In fact, *štn* may be construed as a proper name only in the case of *Jub.* 15:33. Interestingly, the apocryphal psalm *Apostrophe to Judah*, preserved in a Psalms manuscript from Qumran, produces an expression similar to 1 Kgs 5:18, but replaces the term *štn* by the word *bly’l* (4Q88 [4QPs^f] 10:9–10: “for there is in your midst no *bly’l*”).⁸² But all the occurrences of the word *štn* in the Qumran Hebrew texts are used in the sense of “obstacle” or “adversary.”⁸³ Again, it illustrates the two possible interpretations of the word *bly’l*: as an abstract noun meaning “wickedness” or as the name of the leader of evil forces or one of his subordinates.

⁷⁸ As noted by Bernstein, “Angels,” 269.

⁷⁹ HALOT, *ibid*.

⁸⁰ Also in the concise version of *Jub.* 10:8, produced by Syncellus in his *Chronography*, the term for *satan*, ὁ διάβολος, replaces the name Mastema (see below n. 92). Interestingly, this same version defines the role of the demons as putting humans to the test (πρός πειρασμόν). See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 266. See below n. 90.

⁸¹ אין שׂטן ואין פגע רע (“there is no adversary [= *štn*] and no mischance”). In 1 Kgs it describes the peace achieved by King Solomon. So, contra Alexander, “Demonology,” 341, שׂטן does not function as a proper name in the Qumran scrolls.

⁸² בי אין בקרבך בליעל.

⁸³ Thus *štn* appears as a generic term. See 1QSb 1:8; 1QH^a 22 [frg. 4]:23; 24 [frg. 45]:23; 4Q504 1–2 vi 12; 11Q5 (=11QPs^a) 19:15. In the same sense the word is employed by 4Q504 1–2 vi 12, a copy of the Words of the Luminaries: ואין שׂטן ופגע רע, again borrowed from 1 Kgs 5:18. However, a different sense may be implied by two other texts. 11QPs^a uses the formula וואל תשלט בי כל שׂטן in a liturgical context. The same phrase appears in the prayer of Levi in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4Q213a 1 17). The two texts may employ *štn* as a generic term for evil spirits, as argued by Lange, “Considerations Concerning the ‘Spirit of Impurity’ in Zech 13:2,” in Armin Lange, et al., *Die Dämonen*, 259–63.

If the second alternative is adopted, the phrase constitutes a significant case of interchange between “Satan” and “Belial” as names for a single leading evil figure or a being from the evil host.

Yet even if the distinction between Satan and Mastema, or between Satan and Belial, is blurred at a certain point, the available sources show that originally Belial and the Angel of *mštmh* were different figures. The latter is mostly associated with demons which he rules. This may also be the background to the reference to the Angel of *mštmh* in the *Damascus Document* 16:4–5. This passage states that the day a person commits himself to be faithful to the Torah the Angel of *mštmh* will cease persecuting him. The Angel of *mštmh* is often linked to various historical episodes. In this capacity he opposes or obstructs acts intended to protect or advance biblical patriarchs or Israelites.⁸⁴ So the Angel of *mštmh* plays the role of the adversary *par excellence*. By contrast, Belial is presented as the sinner *par excellence*, who leads Israel astray.⁸⁵

As noted, Belial seems subordinate to the Angel of *mštmh*. This agrees with the epithet “Prince of *mštmh*,” a title never accorded to Belial. Belial appears to be one of his secondary *aides-de-camp*, apparently an important one, but subordinate nonetheless.

The evil “angels of *mštmwt*” (מלאכי המשטמות) of the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* (4Q387 2 iii 4; 4Q390 1 11; 2 i 7) should be seen in the light of this conclusion. This appellation consists of a double plural, in which the plural *mštmwt* (משטמות), like the singular, denotes a manner of behavior, namely enmity.⁸⁶ The semantic identity with the title of the Angel of *mštmh* suggests that these beings belong to the camp commanded by the Angel of *mštmh*. Significantly, the term *belial* also occurs in this *Apocryphon*, but in a separate context. It is mentioned in 4Q390 2 i 4 as part of the pair ממשלת בליעל (“the rule of *bly’l*”). Syntactically this pair may be understood either as the rule of the figure named Belial or as a quality attributed to the rule in question. In any case this rule seems to belong to the sphere of humans under the yoke of the Angels of *mštmwt*. It therefore points to distinct types of

⁸⁴ Interestingly, CD 5:18 assigns Belial a role in history, when he supports the opponents of Moses in the desert. Perhaps he does so as assistant to the Angel of *mštmh*.

⁸⁵ This is also the conclusion of Eshel, *Demons*, 119; 134–35.

⁸⁶ DCH, 5:503 renders this double plural “the angels of hostilities.” Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), 74–75, treats this expression in the category of doubly-marked plural of attributive constructs, common in the Qumran scrolls and Mishnaic Hebrew.

activity performed by Belial and by the Angels of *mštmwt*, although they are patently bound to each other.

Once the difference between the epithets Belial and the Angel of *mštmh* is made clear a striking fact emerges as to the distribution of the two in the Qumran documents. The term *bly'l*, as a name or as an abstract noun, is used by a well defined group of the sectarian texts and by a few non-sectarian ones. Of the sectarian texts *bly'l* appears in the *Damascus Document*, the *Rule of the Community*, the *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll*, the *Pesher on Psalms* (4Q171), *4QFlorilegium* (4Q174), *Catena*^a (4Q177) and the *Melchizedek Pesher* (11Q13). In all these texts, except for *Hodayot*,⁸⁷ *bly'l* appears also as a name of a figure. Belial is undoubtedly the chief of the evil powers in the sectarian literature, and mostly the only one advanced by them.

In contrast, the allusions to the Angel of *mštmh* are confined chiefly to a small, non-sectarian group of works, namely the *Book of Jubilees* and works related to it, *Pseudo-Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*. Moreover, these works are familiar with both Belial and the Angel of *mštmh*. So the use of Belial alone, as distinct from the use of both him and the Angel of *mštmh*, serves as a marker of the sectarian texts.

The single reference to the Angel of *mštmh* produced by the sectarian *Damascus Document* should be seen in the light of this conclusion. As is well known, the *Damascus Document* is unique among the sectarian writings in that it combines various genres, traditions and sources, and displays affinity to literature outside Qumran. In particular it shares various notions and traditions with *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*.⁸⁸ The mention of both Mastema and Belial is another instance of this affinity. Still, the *Damascus Document* is closer

⁸⁷ In 4QMMT (4Q398 14–17 ii 5) the term *bly'l* should be understood as an abstract noun since the locution *ועצת בליעל* (“and a wicked/worthless advice/device” [literally “an advice/device of wickedness/worthlessness”]) is parallel to *מחשבת רעה* (“an evil thought/scheme”). Similarly *bly'l* in an apocryphal psalm (in 4Q88 X 9–10) seems to stand as a noun. So in both cases there is no occasion to render the term as the name Belial, as some translators do. For 4QMMT see, e.g., García Martínez-Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2:803, and Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, “*Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*=MMT,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 335; for 4Q88 see, e.g., García Martínez-Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1:283, and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “4Q88 (4QPsⁱ non-canonical segments),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 203.

⁸⁸ See Dimant, *Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, 110–112.

to the sectarian literature in that Belial is the dominant figure in it. It occurs in this work five times (CD 4:13, 15; 5:18; 8:2; 12:2) whereas the angel of *mštmh* appears only once (CD 16:5).

4. CONCLUSIONS

Despite their differences, Belial and the Angel of Mastema are undeniably similar. Both are malevolent beings, are engaged in pestering humans, chiefly Israelites, and both perform their malicious activity with the help of their subordinate evil spirits. Furthermore, both are rivaled by the opposite angelic figure, and therefore are placed in a dualistic context. So it is not surprising that scholars have viewed them as one figure. Yet the differences analyzed above indicate a different origin, and perhaps even a slightly different character, of the two. Belial is overwhelmingly attested in the sectarian texts, whereas he is poorly represented by the non-sectarian ones. The Angel of *mštmh* presents the reverse case: he is dominant in the non-sectarian works, but is not mentioned at all in most of the sectarian writings. It appears that the small group of non-sectarian texts espousing the Angel of *mštmh* reflects a tradition particular to a limited circle, at the margins of Second Temple Jewish literature, perhaps already disappearing. It may not be accidental that the name of Belial, in the form of Beliar, became the appellation of the king of demons in later tradition.⁸⁹ The title “Angel of *mštmh*” left relatively limited traces outside the *Book of Jubilees* and its related works.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Mainly in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but see also 2 Cor 6:15, *Sib. Or.* 3:63, 73 and *Vita Proph* V, 1. For the later survival of the name as head of the demons in later magical and other texts see Gershom Scholem, “Bilar the King of Devils,” in *Devils, Demons and Souls: Essays on Demonology by Gershom Scholem*, edited and updated by Esther Liebes (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute and the Hebrew University, 2004), 9–53 (Hebrew).

⁹⁰ In various homiletic and magical Coptic texts Mastema appears as the heavenly adversary of the archangel Michael (Caspar D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959], 208–209, 297) and as the name of Satan (*ibid.*, 284). According to the Karaite Yefet ben Eli, the “Sadducees” (probably the Qumran authors), believed in an inferior angelic being, שר משטמה (“Prince *mštmh*”), who ruled the world and caused the Israelites to fashion the Golden calf. Yefet states this in his commentary to Exod 32:1–4. Significantly the locution שר משטמה is cited in Hebrew within the Arabic text. See Yoram Erder, “The ‘Prince Mastema’ in a Karaite Work,” *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 243–46 (Hebrew). Apparently Yefet considered *mštmh* to be a proper name.

Finally one may note that neither *bly'l* nor *mštmh* occurs in the Aramaic texts found at Qumran. They employ other appellations for demonic figures.⁹¹ During Second Temple times the terms *bly'l* and *mštmh* belonged exclusively to the linguistic sphere of the Hebrew texts. Later, from the first century C.E. onwards, Belial becomes a name for Satan, but at times also *mštmh* is considered one of his names.⁹²

⁹¹ Cf. the epithet *Milki-reša* (מלכירשע) in the *Visions of Amram*, introduced as one of the three names of the Angel of Darkness; the other two have not been preserved. The tendency has been to regard these epithets as different appellations for the same figure (see, e.g., Alexander, "Demonology," 341 n. 31). Yet despite their similarities, differences may also be detected. Therefore the Aramaic and Hebrew texts should be studied independently.

⁹² Note the Vulgate, which in several cases treats the word *bly'l* as a proper name by transliterating it (e.g., Deut 13:13[14], Judg 19:22, 2 Sam 16:7). In 1 Kgs 21:13 it renders *bly'l* as *diabolus*. For Belial/Beliar as Satan, see 2 Corinthians 6:14–15; often in *the Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs* (e.g., *T. Reuben* 4:7, 11; *T. Levi* 3:3; *T. Dan* 1:7); *the Martyrdom of Isaiah* 2:4, 3:11 et al. In *Sibylline Oracles* 3:63–64 Beliar appears as a demonic figure, probably alluding to Nero (but see nn. 80, 90 above). Cf. the surveys Maier, "Geister," col. 634–35; Lewis, "Belial," 655.

WHICH IS OLDER, *JUBILEES* OR THE *GENESIS*
APOCRYPHON? AN EXEGETICAL APPROACH

JAMES KUGEL

Scholars have long been puzzled by the relationship between the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) and the book of *Jubilees* (as well as by the *Apocryphon*'s relationship to another text, the account of Noah's birth in *1 Enoch* chapters 106–107).¹ Almost from the time of the *Apocryphon*'s discovery, similarities between the two works were noticed, leading to speculation that the author of one of the texts had known, and borrowed liberally, from the other. But which came first? On this question researchers have been, and still are, fundamentally divided. Among those who have maintained the priority of the *Apocryphon* over *Jubilees* are Ben Zion Wacholder,² Pierre Grelot,³ Geza Vermes,⁴ and, more recently, Cana Werman.⁵ Those who have taken the opposite position include Joseph Fitzmyer,⁶ George W. E. Nickelsburg,⁷ and Craig A. Evans.⁸ Still others, including Florentino García Martínez,⁹ have suggested that the two texts drew on a common source.

One particular focus for comparison has been the two texts' account of the division of the world among Noah's sons and grandsons, since

¹ I deal briefly with the connection between the *Apocryphon* and *1 Enoch* 106–107 later in this article.

² Ben Zion Wacholder, "How Long Did Abram Stay in Egypt," *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56, at 53.

³ Pierre Grelot, Review of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, in *RB* 74 (1967): 102–5, at 103.

⁴ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition* (StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 124.

⁵ Cana Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the Orion Center, 12–14 January 1997* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 171–81.

⁶ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (BibOr 18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), 14.

⁷ George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives," in Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–58, at 145.

⁸ Craig A. Evans, "The *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Rewritten Bible," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 153–65, at 162.

⁹ Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies in the Aramaic from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 40–41.

both the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* contain a wealth of geographic details in their accounts that are not present in the Bible. Two recent studies have focused on this issue. In his 2007 doctoral dissertation, Daniel Machiela has sought to reconstruct the map of the world underlying the two texts; his conclusion is appropriately tentative, but he ultimately suggests that the similarities between the two texts are best explained by postulating the existence of a common source from which the two drew some of their material.¹⁰ Esther Eshel, in a 2007 article on the same topic, has come down on the side of the *Apocryphon*'s priority to *Jubilees*, though she also points out the similarity between the world map found in the *Apocryphon* and in Josephus's much later account of the division of the world in his *Jewish Antiquities* 1:122–147; Josephus differs from the *Apocryphon*, she notes, only in small details, and “these are due to the differing amounts of detail provided.”¹¹ If so, it would seem to me, the evidence of her study cannot be considered decisive. We are still at something of an impasse.

OVERALL CHARACTER OF THE TWO WORKS

In considering this question one more time, I wish to start by offering an overall characterization of the works in question. The book of *Jubilees* is a lengthy, exegetical retelling of much of the book of Genesis and part of Exodus. It presents itself as the words dictated by the angel of the presence to Moses on Mount Sinai. Pseudepigraphy is a convention in many literatures, and it apparently became a literary commonplace in late Second Temple Judea; a great many pseudepigraphic texts originated in that period—testaments, apocalypses, and other texts in which some ancient biblical worthy talks about events from the distant past. Many of these writings make little effort to disguise their pseudepigraphic character: apparently, this form of invention had simply become an accepted literary premise. Still, I believe that the author of

¹⁰ Daniel Machiela “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of *Jubilees*” (Ph.D. diss., Notre Dame University, 2007), 310–11. See now, Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

¹¹ Esther Eshel, “The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber, *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111–31, at 131.

Jubilees did actually set out to fool the public into believing that his was an authentically Mosaic document. To help bolster this fiction, he composed his book in a pretty good imitation of standard biblical Hebrew, although the Hebrew of his own day was significantly different. He likewise sought to identify his text as embodying a certain “[Book of the] *Te‘udah*” which, according to the prophet Isaiah, God had ordered to be “bound” and “sealed up” (Isa. 8:16)—a condition that would explain why this allegedly authentic, Mosaic text was only now (that is, in the time of *Jubilees*’ author) coming back to light: the claim implied by *Jubilees*’ full title (“The Book of the Divisions of Time According to the Torah and the *Te‘udah*...”) was that this book had just recently been “unsealed” and rediscovered.¹²

The author of *Jubilees* was an extraordinary exegete, and in his retelling of Genesis he sought to resolve many apparent inconsistencies or unexplained aspects of the biblical text.¹³ But this was only part of his purpose in writing. He also wished to convince his readers to adopt his program of reform: to avoid all forms of “impurity and fornication,” which for him meant essentially *moral* impurity and, especially, any improper sexual relations; and to separate themselves from all foreigners, since contact with foreigners was itself a source of such impurity.¹⁴ He also felt that Jews in his day were lax in their observance of the sabbath and festivals—this too, he believed, needed to be changed. The author of *Jubilees* did not simply put forward his program of reform as such, but sought to justify it and bolster it by

¹² The precise wording of the title is unfortunately missing from 4Q216 *Jubilees*, which lacks its first two lines, although the wording can be approximately reconstructed from the (somewhat inconsistent) evidence of 4Q216 col. 1 lines 11–12 and col. 4 lines 4–5, as well as the parallel verses in the Ethiopic manuscripts and the reference to the book in CD 16:3; see James C. VanderKam and Józef T. Milik, “The First *Jubilees* Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication,” *JBL* 110 (1991): 243–70, at 249. Cf. Cana Werman, “The Torah and the *Te‘udah* on the Tablets,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 473–92 and James Kugel, “Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period,” in Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 166–77. I discuss the matter further in “On the Interpolations in the Book of *Jubilees*,” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 215–72.

¹³ There were in fact two authors; see my “On the Interpolations.” Both writers predated the Apocryphon.

¹⁴ Many recent studies have examined this subject in general: see, inter alia, Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Christine Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

attributing it to what the angel of the presence dictated to Moses, as well as by connecting it to various specific details from the book of Genesis.¹⁵ Thus, for example, the story of Dinah (Genesis 34) becomes, in his interpretation, a summons to avoid intermarriage with non-Jews—which it certainly is not in the biblical version of the story.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* is of an entirely different character. It consists largely of a series of first-person narratives in which various figures—Lamech, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and perhaps others—retell incidents from Genesis from their own point of view. The text is written in the literary Aramaic of the author's own day; here, apparently, is no attempt to fool the public into believing that these first-person accounts represent the actual words of the people involved. True, one section of the text purports to be a "copy"¹⁶ of the book of the words of Noah" (1QapGen 6:29), but it is unlikely that the other parts of the book were afforded even this thin veneer of verisimilitude; there certainly is no evidence of such in the surviving parts of the manuscript. Indeed, the fact that these original, first-person accounts are presented one after another gives the text an anthological character that removes it still a bit further from the world of verisimilitude: readers do not have here a single, authentic, historical document (as *Jubilees* purports to be), but a series of texts purported to be by different authors from different times, written in uniform style and then presented one after another, presumably by an editor, in order to constitute a running retelling of much of the book of Genesis.

Why the *Genesis Apocryphon* was written remains a mystery. The beginning of the text is lacking, and the missing part may have made clearer the author's purpose in writing; as it stands, however, the text's intended audience, *Sitz im Leben*, and overall purpose are far from evident. One thing is clear, however: this text is quite different in character from *Jubilees*. Its author has no apparent program of reform, no critique of the status quo, or of other Jews, or of the current regime. What stands out is its interest in biblical interpretation and especially in fleshing out the details of biblical narrative. Geza Vermes has aptly described the *Apocryphon* as a "lively and delightful narrative, largely

¹⁵ On such strategies of authority in Second Temple literature: Hindy Najman, *Sec-onding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJ-Supp 77) (Leiden: Brill, 2003); specifically on *Jubilees*, 41–70.

¹⁶ 1QapGen 5:29; פֶּרֶשׁוֹן—if this term is properly restored in the text—might also be used to suggest a translation of the original work.

devoid of sectarian bias... a mixture of Targum, Midrash, rewritten Bible and autobiography.”¹⁷ Unlike *Jubilees*, it has little interest in dating events or the fine points of halakhah. And yet, despite these differences, it shares a number of elements with *Jubilees*, as will be seen below.

AN EXEGETICAL APPROACH

In the present article I wish to approach the question of the relative dating of the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* from a slightly different angle, that of biblical interpretation. Can anything be concluded about the relative time of composition of these two texts by comparing the biblical exegesis found within them?

It hardly needs saying that both *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon* expand on the laconic words of Genesis, and many of those expansions have a specifically exegetical character, that is, they explain things that Genesis does not or fill gaps in the Genesis narrative. Both texts know, for example, that Jared was so called because the Watchers *went down* (דָּרָד) to Mount Hermon during Jared’s lifetime (*Jub.* 4:15, 1QapGen 3:3; contrast Gen 5:15; the same motif is also found in *1 Enoch* 6:6 and 106:13). Both texts also seem to know that the Watchers were imprisoned and held beneath the earth and that at least some of them were subsequently released.¹⁸ Not surprisingly, both texts seem to be

¹⁷ Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 449.

¹⁸ What survives of column 0 in the *Apocryphon* seems to cite the words of the Watchers, who say “And now, look, we are prisoners” (1QapGen 0:8) and “because of his words the [time] of our imprisonment is coming to an end” (0:13); note also col. 1:22 “a strong prisoner.” These seem to refer to the imprisonment of the Watchers, a theme found in *Jubilees*, albeit somewhat later in the narrative (*Jub.* 10:1–9). The point was made in Moshe J. Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63, at 44–45. One might go further and point out that “his words” in the phrase “because of his words the [time] of our imprisonment is coming to an end” seems to refer to the words of the head of the Watchers (in *Jub.* 10:7, the angel Mastema) asking that a tenth of the Watchers be let free. In *1 Enoch* 13–14, the fallen angels similarly request that their punishment be lightened, but there they are turned down in no uncertain terms. Thus, the presence of this phrase in the *Apocryphon*

familiar with the very ancient tradition of Enoch the heavenly scribe (*Jub.* 2:17, 4:21; perhaps 1QapGen 5:1), who was privy to the secrets of heaven (1QapGen 2:20–21, *Jub.* 4:21). Both texts like to supply names for unnamed figures, especially for the anonymous wives of various patriarchs; thus, for example, both know that Lamech's wife was called Bitenosh (1QapGen 2:3,5, *Jub.* 4:28) and that Noah's wife was Emzara. Both say that the great Flood that was decreed by God would wipe out "man and cattle and beasts and birds and everything" that walks on the earth (1QapGen 6:26; *Jub.* 5:2, 20; the Genesis narrative has a similar list of victims—see, e.g. 6:7, 7:23—but nothing that matches this exact wording). Both know the name of a specific mountain in the Ararat range where Noah's ark came to rest: Mt. Lubar (1QapGen 12:13; *Jub.* 7:1). Both explain that Noah's sacrifice after the Flood was for the purpose of atonement for the sins that brought it about (1QapGen 10:13, *Jub.* 6:2).¹⁹ Both know that Noah planted a vine whose fruit was picked in the fourth year and turned into wine; the wine was then drunk on the first day of the first month of the fifth year (1QapGen 12:13–15, *Jub.* 7:2). Both report that when Abram "called on the name of the Lord" in Gen 12:8, he specifically spoke the words "You are my God, the Eternal God/King" (1QapGen 19:7–8, *Jub.* 13:8). Both know that Abram and Sarai were in Egypt for five years before Sarai was taken from him by Pharaoh (1QapGen 19:23, *Jub.* 13:11). Both allude to Num 13:22 in recounting Abram and Sarai's descent to Egypt (1QapGen 19:9–10, *Jub.* 13:12). All this, and the many common geographic details in the division of the earth, suggest that one of these two works borrowed from the other or that both had a now-lost common source (though, in my opinion, the scholarly resort to such

suggests that, here too, is a unique motif common to both texts, though who borrowed from whom is unclear.

¹⁹ See on this John C. Reeves, "What Does Noah Offer in 1QapGen X, 15" *RevQ* 12 (1986), 415–19, Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," 175–76, and James C. VanderKam, "The Angel Story in the *Book of Jubilees*," in Stone and Chazon, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 163–67. The content of the sacrifices appears to be the same (though the *Apocryphon* is quite fragmentary here), but the *Apocryphon* mentions the addition of salt *at the end* of this passage; as Bernstein has noted ("From the Watchers to the Flood," 58), both its position and wording here seem intended to evoke Lev 2:13, which is certainly not the case with *Jub.* 6:3. Did the *Apocryphon* improve on *Jubilees*, or did *Jubilees* for some reason (but why?) displace the salt from its originally climactic placement? I certainly think the former more likely, though I admit that this argument could be made both ways. See further the Appendix to this article.

otherwise unknown common sources ought always to be viewed with great suspicion).

But then there is the matter of the *exegetical motifs* that appear in one text but not the other. An exegetical motif is an explanation of the meaning of a biblical verse, especially a potentially problematic one, or even a phrase or a word within that verse. These explanations were typically incorporated into an expanded retelling of biblical stories, and as such they traveled from teacher to student in ancient times, or from one written retelling to another, often gaining a new wrinkle or two as they went on. Hence they are called *motifs*, ideas about the biblical text that show up in a variety of different settings and sources.

With regard to the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*, I should say that comparing the overall store of exegetical motifs found in these two works will not get us very far. As was seen above, the two texts are quite different in their purpose, style, and coverage. What is more, the text of the *Apocryphon* is often quite fragmentary, so it is difficult even to estimate how many common motifs may have been lost. The only useful way of considering these authors' store of exegetical motifs is to examine passages in both texts that deal with basically the same material in order to see whether one author includes a motif or an element within a motif of which the other author was apparently unaware. That is what I propose to do on the following pages.

ABRAM WALKED THE LAND

After Abram and his nephew Lot part company, God instructs Abram: "Lift up your eyes and look out from where you are, to the north and south and east and west: I am giving you all the land that you see... Arise, walk about the land, through its length and breadth, for I am giving it to you" (Gen 13:14–17). This summons was not problematic in itself; what was problematic was what followed it—or, rather, what did not, since, surprisingly, Genesis never records that Abram carried out this divine commandment. Instead, it simply says that Abram moved to the terebinths of Mamre and settled down there (Gen 13:18). Could Abram have disregarded a direct order from God?

As many commentators have noted, the *Apocryphon* remedies the situation via two exegetical motifs: the text describes how Abram climbed up Ramat-Hazor (which allowed him to carry out the first part of the commandment, "Lift up your eyes and look out...")

Gen 13:14); it then tells how Abram set out on a long journey “to go around and look at the land” (1QapGen 21:15), thereby fulfilling the second part of God’s commandment, “Arise and walk about...” (Gen 13:17). Abram’s tour of the land is in fact described in some detail in 1QapGen 21:15–19.

In *Jubilees*, however, as in Genesis, there is no mention of Abram ever lifting up his eyes or undertaking such a tour. *Jubilees* actually cites every word of God’s commandment in Gen 13:14–17, “Lift up your eyes...” etc., but then simply adds: “And Abram went to Hebron and dwelt there” (*Jub.* 13:19–21). This seems rather odd. If the author of *Jubilees* borrowed other exegetical motifs from the *Apocryphon*, would he not have borrowed this one as well, rather than leave readers to wonder about Abram’s obedience? Even if he did not want to duplicate the detailed description of the *Apocryphon*, he could have simply added, “And Abram did as the Lord commanded” at the end of God’s instructions, thereby scotching any impression that Abram had frivolously disregarded a divine summons. If the author of *Jubilees* did not do so, would not the most likely explanation seem to be that he never heard of this exegetical motif, indeed, that he was quite unaware of the problem (as was, likewise, the biblical narrator)? But if so, how could he have known of the *Apocryphon*, with its lengthy account of Abram’s tour of the land?

ABRAM RETURNED THE SPOILS

A somewhat similar case is connected with the account of Abram’s participation in the war of the four kings against the five (Genesis 14). On his way back from the battle, Abram encounters the king of Sodom, who offers Abram a deal regarding the spoils: “Give me the people [captured], and keep the possessions for yourself” (Gen 14:21). Abram answers this proposal with pious disdain: “I lift up my hand [in oath-taking] to the Lord God Most High, creator of heaven and earth: I will not take so much as a thread or a sandal strap of what is yours, lest you be able to say, ‘I am the one who made Abram rich.’” (Gen 14:22–23). Fine sentiments—but did Abram ever do what he swore he would? Genesis does not say.

The *Apocryphon* remedied this situation with two sentences:

Then Abram returned all the goods and all the captives and gave (them) to the king of Sodom. All the captives who were with him from this land he set free and sent them all away. (1QapGen 22:24–26)

Once again, the *Apocryphon* has made sure that the words cited in Scripture were actually carried out by Abram. But not *Jubilees*. The author of *Jubilees* cites in full Abram's pledge to give everything to the king of Sodom (*Jub.* 13:28–29), but says nothing about him actually doing what he promised. One might object that *Jubilees* had no need to do so, since, after all, Scripture did not. Still, if the author of *Jubilees* had a copy of the *Apocryphon* in front of him, he could not have been unaware of the perceived need to spell out what Scripture only implied, and he could have met this need with three little words, **ויעש אברם כן**, “And Abram did so.” The fact that he did not write even this suggests once again that the problem never occurred to him. But to say that is, once again, virtually to say that he did not know the *Apocryphon* account.²⁰

NOAH'S DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS

A third exegetical motif present in the *Apocryphon* but absent in *Jubilees* concerns the birth of Noah's daughters and granddaughters. It should be noted at the start that both the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* mention the birth of daughters where the Pentateuch does not—apparently for the sensible purpose of explaining whence various

²⁰ Both this and the preceding example embody a particular kind of exegetical motif, one that might be called the “carrying out” motif, since its whole point is to show that what had been said in Scripture was actually carried out. A further example occurs in the *Apocryphon* in the story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt. Although Abram foresees that the Egyptians will wish to kill him and therefore instructs Sarai to say that she is his sister (Gen 12:13), the subsequent narrative never reports that either thing occurred. It says only that Sarai was “taken” from Abram without any threat being uttered. The *Apocryphon*, by contrast, goes to the trouble of relating that both things mentioned by Abram had actually come to pass: “When he [Pharaoh] beheld her, he marveled at all her beauty and took her to himself as wife. *He wished to kill me, but Sarai said to the king, ‘He is my brother,’ so that I might be rewarded on her account.* And I, Abram, was spared because of her” (1QapGen 20:9–11). Now, it is noteworthy that such “carrying out” motifs are also attested outside of the *Apocryphon*. Thus, for Seth's snakebite (carrying out Gen 3:15) and the rainbow that appeared after the flood (carrying out Gen 9:12–15), see my *Traditions of the Bible A Guide to the Bible as it Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998), 143–44, 221–22. Note, however, that I have not found any evidence of such “carrying out” motifs having existed earlier than the first century B.C.E.

named males in the Pentateuch acquired their spouses. Thus, *Jubilees* mentions the birth of Cain and Abel's sister (4:1), as well as Seth's sister (4:11), Enosh's (4:13), and so forth. From this one might reasonably conclude that the author of *Jubilees* had no objection *in principle* to reporting on the birth of females whose existence is not mentioned in the Genesis narratives.

Interestingly, however, only the *Apocryphon* mentions that Noah and his wife had three sons *as well as daughters* (the number of daughters is not disclosed), and that Noah later acquired wives for those sons from his brothers' daughters, while giving his daughters in marriage to his brothers' sons; all this, Noah explains, was "in accordance with the custom of eternal statute, which the Lord gave to mankind" (1Qap Gen 6:8–9). The author of *Jubilees* apparently knew nothing of this (or was not troubled by the daughters' omission); he speaks only of the birth of Noah's sons (*Jub.* 4:33). Later, while the Pentateuch mentions the birth and names of Noah's grandsons (Gen 10:2, 6, 22), the *Apocryphon* similarly reports on the birth of his granddaughters, sixteen in all (12:11–12).²¹ By contrast, when *Jubilees* mentions Noah's grandsons (7:13, 18–19), he fails to mention the birth of any granddaughters.²²

Given the fact that *Jubilees* had no reluctance in mentioning the existence of females not mentioned in the Pentateuch—indeed, mentioning them by name (names invented by him or someone else)—this omission certainly seems odd. After all, that Shem, Ham, and Japhet had sisters is hardly a trivial fact! By the same token, if the author of *Jubilees* had a copy of the *Apocryphon* in front of him, why should he fail to recount the birth of Noah's sixteen (!) granddaughters mentioned in the *Apocryphon*, saying (presumably at *Jub.* 7:18–19) something like: "And to Shem, Ham, and Japhet were born daughters as well, sixteen, like the number of their sons"? The simplest explanation for all these omissions would once again seem to be that this author did *not* have a copy of the *Apocryphon* in front of him.

Of course, *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon* are, as noted, different texts with different agendas. There is no reason why *Jubilees* would *have to* include a particular exegetical motif found in the *Apocryphon*. But I

²¹ Noah thus had thirty-two grandchildren in all, according to the *Apocryphon*, sixteen of each sex. See on this VanderKam, "The Granddaughters and Grandsons of Noah," *RevQ* 16/63 (1994): 457–61; Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 224.

²² Note that *Jubilees* does mention that one of Noah's grandsons, Arpachshad, married his brother Elam's granddaughter, Rasu'eya (*Jub.* 8:1), quite in keeping with his tendency to name females whose existence is necessary in biblical genealogies.

have begun my investigation with these three cases because they all seem to me rather compelling. If humanity started afresh after the Flood, would not *Jubilees* have mentioned—as his “source text” did—where the females after the Flood had come from? And if the *Apocryphon* went to the trouble of giving a detailed account of Abram’s tour of the land in response to God’s command, would not the author of *Jubilees* at least have mentioned that such a tour took place—if he had read about it in the *Apocryphon*? And would he not have done the same with Abram’s apparently unfulfilled promise to return the spoils? If one considers the quantity of common material that *does* exist in these two books—right down to invented names like Bitenosh and Emzara and Lubar, and the invented quote “You are my God, the Eternal God/King”—the omission of these things in *Jubilees* is hard to reconcile with the idea that *Jubilees* borrowed from the *Apocryphon*. Rather, they seem to suggest that the borrowing went in the opposite direction. And that is true as well of other Genesis narratives explained by both texts.

FORBIDDEN KNOWLEDGE

The *Apocryphon* knows that the Flood was caused by “medicines, sorcery, and incan[tations]” ([שׂיִן] וְחַרְרִי—1QapGen 1:9). This is actually a version of an ancient exegetical motif that held that the Watchers had passed on forbidden knowledge to humanity and that *this* was what led them astray. The same motif is attested in *1 Enoch* 7:1 (the Watchers taught the women “charms and spells...and the cutting of roots and trees”), 8:3–4 (various angels taught “incantations and the cutting of roots... sorcery... wizardry [etc.]”); see also *1 Enoch* 9:6–7.

This motif originated as an expansion on Gen 6:5, wherein God sees that “every imagination of the thoughts of their [humanity’s] heart was nothing but evil all day long.” How could such a thing have happened to creatures that God had originally created in His own image and likeness? This motif answers that question by suggesting that the humans’ minds did not become focused on “nothing but evil all day long” on their own; their minds had been *led* astray by the Watchers, who taught them things that they should not have learned.

The author of *Jubilees* may have heard of the “Forbidden Knowledge” motif, but if so, he decided not to include it in his book. For him, the causes of the flood were “fornication and pollution and...injustice”

(7:20; cf. 5:1–2). He cites Gen 6:5 in *Jub.* 5:2 and then rephrases it in 7:24, but he understands it merely to mean that the humans “were always contemplating vanity and evil”; he says nothing about the Watchers teaching things that the humans were not supposed to learn. Perhaps the author of *Jubilees* simply did not like this motif. Still, its absence in *Jubilees* must be noted in any tally of motifs present in one text but absent in the other.

NOAH STOOD AT THE DOOR

In the *Apocryphon*, Noah offers his sacrifice “and for the whole earth I made expiation” (10:13). The details of the sacrifice are then listed (10:14–18), and after a new sentence beginning “Then the Most High,” the text breaks off. The story resumes in the next column with the words, “I, Noah, stood at the door of the ark” (11:1), and, several lines later, we read: “[Then] I, Noah, went out and walked about the land . . .” (11:11). M. Bernstein has pointed out that this sequence is quite different from that of Genesis, where Noah and his family first leave the ark (Gen 8:18) and only then offer a sacrifice (Gen 8:20). More relevant to our theme, this arrangement of events is also quite different from that of *Jubilees*, which here follows the biblical order: first Noah goes out (*Jub.* 6:1), and only then does he offer a sacrifice (*Jub.* 6:2).

The scenario suggested by the *Apocryphon* is actually quite odd; how can one offer a sacrifice while still standing on a boat? That is probably why the text says that Noah was “at the door of the ark”; the altar had been built on the ground, but now Noah was apparently standing on the ark, at the very door of the ark, as the sacrifices were offered. Bernstein also suggested a reason for this awkwardness: “the purification of the earth accomplished by Noah’s sin-offerings had to be completed before Noah and the others descended from the ark,” since “it would do no good for the survivors of the flood to be rendered impure immediately by their descent onto an impure earth.”²³

What, then, of *Jubilees*? It is difficult to imagine that the author of *Jubilees* was familiar with the *Apocryphon*’s shift in the order of things here but decided not to follow it. After all, this author *loves* to change the order of things in order to make better sense of the biblical nar-

²³ “From the Watchers to the Flood,” 59.

rative. Thus, in *Jubilees* God first brings the animals to be named by Adam, and only later says “It is not good for man to be alone...” (*Jub.* 3:1, 4; compare Gen 2:18–20); in *Jubilees* Eve first saw that the tree was “pleasant and it was pleasing to the eye” and only afterwards that “its fruit was good to eat” (*Jub.* 3:20; compare Gen 3:6); in *Jubilees* God says “My spirit will not dwell...” only *after* the observation that human thought was “continually evil” (*Jub.* 5:2, 8; compare Gen 6:3, 6)—and so on and so forth throughout the book. Yet here *Jubilees* follows the biblical order of things with regard to Noah’s sacrifice: Noah lets all the animals and birds out of the ark, then he himself disembarks, presumably with the rest of his family, all of them treading the impure earth. Only then is the sacrifice offered whereby Noah “made atonement for the earth, took a kid, and with its blood atoned for all the sins of the earth.”²⁴ Thus, here again, it would seem that the exegetical motif present in the *Apocryphon* was simply unknown to the author of *Jubilees*—otherwise, he would have had little reason not to adopt it along with the other material he shares with the *Apocryphon*.

IT WAS REVEALED TO NOAH

One incident that apparently embarrassed the author of *Jubilees* was the story of Noah’s drunkenness. He adds a few apologetic touches to the account in Gen 9:21–27: Noah drank from the wine as part of the celebration accompanying his pious sacrifice (*Jub.* 7:6); Noah “lay down drunk” in the evening (7:7; compare Gen 9:21) and became uncovered “as he slept” (7:7). But the *Jubilees* text otherwise follows Genesis, and is correspondingly brief.

Not so the *Apocryphon*. Here there is no account whatsoever of Noah’s drunkenness, at least in the surviving parts of the text; in its place is a lengthy account of a certain prophetic dream of Noah’s along with its interpretation (cols. 13–15). The text is fragmentary, and there certainly is room for a brief account of Noah’s drunkenness and the subsequent cursing of Canaan. But D. Machiela has offered a new, and convincing, explanation for the existence of these chapters and the absence of any account of Noah’s drunkenness.²⁵ The author of

²⁴ For this translation see James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 36n as well as the Appendix below.

²⁵ Machiela, “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation”, 210–17.

the *Apocryphon* apparently interpreted the biblical phrase describing Noah's uncovering himself, ויתגל בתוך אהלו, as if it meant "and it was revealed [to Noah] in the midst of his tent." In other words, the whole dream vision and its interpretation are the *Apocryphon's* fleshing out the implications of the word ויתגל. This was a brilliant stroke, since it left Noah's reputation as a righteous man altogether untarnished.

Why did the author of *Jubilees* forgo this brilliant bit of exegesis? Even if he did not want to repeat the entire content of the dream, he certainly could have summarized the *Apocryphon's* great insight in a single sentence; the important thing was to make it clear that word ויתגל did not mean "uncovered himself." Perhaps the author of *Jubilees* did not understand the exegesis underlying the *Apocryphon's* long narrative expansion, but this seems unlikely for such a clever exegete, especially since he would have had the benefit of a far less fragmentary text than ours. No, once again it seems more likely that he did not know of the exegetical motif underlying the *Apocryphon's* words—for the very good reason that the author of the *Apocryphon* had not yet written them.

ABRAM'S DREAM AT THE BORDER

Gen 12:10–20 recounts an incident that troubled many ancient interpreters. When they were about to enter Egypt, Abram instructed his beautiful wife Sarai to say that he was her brother, lest the Egyptians, desiring her, kill him and take Sarai for themselves. Abram's instructions to Sarai certainly struck later readers as cowardly. Why did he not resolve to defend her honor even at the cost of his own life? Or why, at the very least, did he not take measures to prevent the Egyptians from ever catching sight of her? Still worse, after Sarai is indeed taken from him, Abram hardly appears to be upset in the Genesis narrative. On the contrary, one might be right in supposing that Abram laughed all the way to the bank, since the text notes that he now had "sheep, oxen, asses, male and female slaves, she-asses, and camels"—all, apparently, part of the bride-price paid by Pharaoh for Abram's "sister."

The author of *Jubilees* clearly did not like this story; he dealt with it in three verses (*Jub.* 13:13–15). There is not a word about Sarai's beauty, and Abram's instructions to Sarai are never mentioned. All this leaves the reader with the impression that *Jubilees* is in a hurry to move on to something less troubling. The author does manage to introduce two apologetic elements even within this hasty recounting. First, he asserts that Sarai was *seized* from Abram (*Jub.* 13:11), a verb

not found in the biblical text. He also inverts the order of things, mentioning Pharaoh's gifts of sheep and oxen and asses and so forth *after* Pharaoh had been stricken for taking Sarah, rather than before, as in Genesis. The apparent purpose of this inversion was to avoid giving the impression that these gifts were a bride-price paid by Pharaoh to the cooperative Abram. These changes notwithstanding, the main impression left by *Jubilees*' retelling is that this story is an embarrassment best dealt with in summary fashion.

By contrast, the *Apocryphon* greatly expands the Genesis account. Of course, even if the author of *Jubilees* had the *Apocryphon* in front of him, one could readily understand why he might still not wish to accord the same attention to this incident. Still, there are certain exegetical motifs that would have been of great use to *Jubilees*. One of these is the dream that Abram has when he and Sarai enter Egypt (1QapGen 19:14–21). In the dream, people come to cut down the cedar (Abram), but the date-palm (Sarai) protests, asserting that she and the cedar are “of one root.” As a result, the cedar's life is saved. Biblical dreams are often messages from God, so Abram understands that in this one God is telling him to have Sarai say that she and Abram are “of one root,” that is, sister and brother. The recounting of this dream in the *Apocryphon* thus serves to show that Abram was not a coward after all—he was just doing what God ordered him to do.

One is left to wonder why, if the author of *Jubilees* was borrowing motifs from the *Apocryphon*, he chose *not* to solve the troubling problem of Abram's apparent cowardice by mentioning this dream. Surely he did not shrink from including dreams in *Jubilees* that were not mentioned in the biblical text. For example, Levi dreams a non-biblical dream in which he is informed that he has been chosen for the priesthood (*Jub.* 32:1); Rebekah foresees her own death in another non-biblical dream (35:6); and Judah has a non-biblical dream in which the angel of the presence tells him he has been forgiven for his sin with Tamar (41:24). As a matter of fact, however, Abram's dream as presented in the *Apocryphon* is actually not altogether non-biblical; the *Apocryphon* has cleverly derived it from a particular biblical verse. For, when Abram gives his instructions to Sarai in the biblical account, he says “Now²⁶ I know that you are a beautiful woman, so that when the Egyptians see you they will say, ‘This is his wife,’ and they will kill me

²⁶ On **אָנָּה** in biblical Hebrew as “now,” see Steven E. Fassberg, *Studies in Biblical Syntax* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994), 38–39. All the ancient targums render this as **בְּעַ**, “now.”

and let you live..." (Gen 12:11–12). The "now I know" certainly puzzled exegetes; Abram and Sarai had been married all those years and only "now" does he discover her beauty! A number of amusing exegetical motifs emerged in rabbinic literature to explain this wording.²⁷

The *Apocryphon* provides an altogether unique exegetical motif to account for this same phrase. Apparently, the author of the *Apocryphon* understood "now I know" *not* as connected to what immediately follows, "that you are a beautiful woman," but to what comes next: "Now I know that, *since* you are a beautiful woman, when the Egyptians see you they will say, 'This is his wife,' and they will kill me and let you live..." But if that is what the sentence means, one is left to wonder how Abram could have *known* (and not merely feared, suspected, believed, etc.) that such a thing would happen. It would only be possible for Abram now to *know* the future if he had just had a divinely sent dream that revealed it; that is why Abram says "Now I know..."

This is wonderful exegesis, but it only sharpens the question already asked: If *Jubilees* borrowed so many other exegetical motifs from the *Apocryphon*, why would he forgo this one? Even if he wished to give the motif only the shortest and most peremptory treatment, he could have written, in 13:10, "and he stayed in Egypt five years. And we [angels of the presence] instructed him in a dream to have Sarai say he was her brother, for we knew that the Egyptians would wish to kill her husband." True, the exegetical basis for such an assertion might not be clear from such a brief mention, but surely readers of *Jubilees* would know the fuller account from the *Apocryphon*—if indeed such an account were around at the time of *Jubilees*' composition.

NOBLES GAVE ABRAM GIFTS

Another clever exegetical touch connected with the same story is the *Apocryphon*'s description of Pharaoh's dispatching three Egyptian nobles to visit Abram and so gain some of his great wisdom (19:24). This invention accounts for the fact that, despite Sarai's attempts to hide her beauty from Egyptian eyes, on that particular day three Egyptians were allowed into Abram and Sarai's dwelling; it was thus that

²⁷ See Kugel, *Traditions*, 271–72.

word of her beauty got out. But before any of this occurs, Abram says about these three wisdom-seekers, “They gave m[e many gifts. They as]ked of m[e] erudition and wisdom and truth” (19:24–25). The nature of those gifts (if this common restoration is correct) is not specified, but it would seem that they might well have included some of the “sheep, oxen, asses, male and female slaves,” etc. mentioned in Gen 12:16. If so, then the *Apocryphon* is making it clear that Abram already had received those emoluments (as perhaps suggested by the precise wording of Gen 12:16, וַיְהִי לוֹ) as an inducement to share his wisdom *before* Pharaoh ever took Sarai away.²⁸ Surely here was another happy exegetical coup that *Jubilees* could have borrowed—but somehow did not.

WIVES CAME FROM EGYPT

One of the better known spouses in Genesis is Lot’s wife, who ended up being turned into a pillar of salt (Gen 19:26). But when were she and Lot married, and where had she lived before? Genesis never says. By the same token, it never explains how Sarai acquired Hagar, the female servant who was to give birth to Abram’s first child. Hagar is mentioned for the first time in Gen 16:1, where she is described as an “Egyptian slave-girl,” but how, or under what circumstances, she became Sarai’s is never stated.

The *Apocryphon* kills two birds with one stone by reporting that both women were acquired during the sojourn in Egypt. Hagar was included with the other gifts that Pharaoh showered on Abram and Sarai as they were leaving Egypt (1QapGen 20:32), while Lot is said in the same passage to have “taken a wife for himself from among the daughters of [Egypt]” (1QapGen 20:34). *Jubilees* knows nothing of this, although the fact that Hagar was acquired via Pharaoh’s parting generosity is known in later, rabbinic sources.²⁹ Of course, *Jubilees* did

²⁸ Note that other gifts are mentioned in 1QapGen 20:31–32, but they are given to Sarai, not Abram, after her release from Pharaoh’s house, and, although this part of the text is fragmentary, they do not appear to consist of livestock, but silver, gold, clothing, and the servant-woman Hagar. The summary sentence that follows, “So I, Abram, went forth with very many possessions and with silver and gold too...” may be intended to combine the first gifts with the later ones or may simply refer to the latter. Either way, it is clear that Abram did not receive any of these things as a bride-price.

²⁹ See *Genesis Rabba* 45:1 (Theodor-Albeck ed., 1:448) and parallels listed there.

not *need* to mention these facts. Still, it is odd that an author who is otherwise concerned to fill in the blanks of biblical narrative, especially in regard to biblical spouses, should have lost this opportunity. Once again, it would seem that a tradition promulgated in later times was simply not known to *Jubilees'* author.

THE HOLY MOUNTAIN

The poor state of preservation of the sentence found in 1QapGen 19:8–9 has led to no small amount of speculation. Here is Fitzmyer's restoration:

8. לִי אֵל [ע]למא וה[לל]ת] לה לעלמים [בר]ם עד כען לא דבקה לטורא
 קדישא ונגדת
 9. ל [] והוית אזל לדרומא ואת[ית] עד די דבקה לחברון

8. to [me the eterna]l [Go]d," [and I pr]aised Him forever. [Bu]t up till now I had not reached the holy mountain. So I set out
 9. for []. and I kept going *southward* [and] I wen[t] until I reached Hebron.

The one fairly certain thing here is that Abram seems to be saying of himself that he did not reach "the holy mountain." While the earlier part of the sentence is unclear—and unclear as well is whether the phrase *עד כען* is to be connected to what follows it or to what precedes it—this point seems fairly undisputable. But precisely that assertion seems to point to a basic exegetical difficulty in the verse in the Genesis narrative.

That verse, Gen 12:8, was potentially confusing to ancient exegetes, since it speaks of Abram going "to the mountain" (ההרה), passing between Bethel and Ai. To readers in the Second Temple period, "the mountain" sounded like a reference to a specific, known mountain³⁰—the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, *the* mountain par excellence. But that could not be, since much later on, in announcing to Abraham that he is to sacrifice his son, God tells him to go to "the land of Moriah... on one of the mountains *that I will show you*" (Gen 22:2). By the time *Jubilees* was written, everyone knew, thanks to 2 Chr 3:1, that the mountain in question was the future Temple Mount in Jerusalem. But

³⁰ And not, as it is usually translated nowadays, "the hill country" (JPS, NRSV, etc.).

if God said “on one of the mountains *that I will show you*,” this last phrase certainly implied that, up until that point, Abraham had not yet seen it. How could God be saying such a thing in Genesis 22 if Abraham had already gone “to the mountain” in Genesis 12?

To address this problem, *Jub.* 13:5 specified the location of the mountain in question: “And he departed from there to the *mountain of Bethel* which is toward the sea.”³¹ The parallel passage in the *Apocryphon* takes an entirely different tack: “I [Abram] did not reach the holy mountain; and I headed south...and kept going until I reached Hebron.” In other words, the *Apocryphon*, troubled by the implications of *heharah* in Gen 12:8, asserts outright that this word does indeed refer to the Temple Mount, but that Abram only went *toward* it; he “did not reach the holy mountain,” having turned southward instead “until I reached Hebron.”

In this case we have two “rival motifs,”³² and it is impossible to say which came first. The best one can do is suppose that, since one of these two authors seems to have been familiar with the other’s book, in this case the later author chose not to accept the earlier one’s solution to this exegetical problem.

OTHER ITEMS NOT FOUND IN *JUBILEES*

Apart from these specific examples, there is much other material in the *Apocryphon* that is not paralleled in *Jubilees*. To mention just a few more items: the *Apocryphon* reports that Enoch dwells on the far side of the land of Parvaim (1QapGen 2:23); it also asserts that after the flood, Noah walked the length and breadth of the land and blessed God for having purified the land of wrongdoing (1QapGen 11:11–14); it specifies the name of the branch of the Nile crossed by Abram, the “Carmon” (19:11),³³ and the name of the Pharaoh who takes Sarai to his palace, “Zoan” (20:14). It relates that Sarai wept when she learned

³¹ For the textual problem, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 75. Charles observed that after the words *to the mountain* the Ethiopic *Jubilees* text tradition seems to have lost the next phrase “to the east of Bethel with” so that it now reads “He departed from there toward the mountain of Bethel which is toward the sea,” which makes little sense vis-à-vis the text of Gen 12:8.

³² Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 6.

³³ A name paralleled in rabbinic sources, but not earlier; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 182.

she was to be taken by Pharaoh (19:21) and that Abram prayed for God to intervene (20:12). It mentions a certain Hirqanos, apparently an official in Pharaoh's court (20:21, 24). It explains *how* the king discovered that Sarai was Abram's wife (20:22–23)—a detail omitted in Genesis. It states, in witness to the fact that Pharaoh never touched Sarai, that Pharaoh later swore an oath to this effect (20:30). It says that Abram added to Lot's flocks when the two of them parted (21:6), and that a shepherd of Abram's, apparently included in that gift, was the one who later returned to tell Abram of Lot's capture (22:1–3). It says that Lot, upon arriving in Sodom, bought a house (21:6)—a subtle dig at Abram's nephew.³⁴ It provides geographical and other details in the account of the war in Genesis 14 that do not appear in the biblical text—particularly the names of places, such as Cappadocia and Gebal (21:23, 29)—and it asserts that “Salem” is Jerusalem (22:13)³⁵ and that the “Valley of the King” is the “Valley of Beit ha-Kerem” (22:14). None of these items is mentioned in *Jubilees*, although some of them do appear in later sources such as Josephus, various targums, and rabbinic midrash.³⁶

But this imbalance is inherently ambiguous in its implications. *Jubilees* may have, for its author's own reasons, decided to include only part of what he read in the *Apocryphon*, modifying it and sometimes condensing it as he went—that would explain the presence of more names and exegetical motifs in the *Apocryphon* than in *Jubilees*. Equally possible, the *Apocryphon* may have copied from *Jubilees* but added to it other details and exegetical motifs, some of his own creation, some attested elsewhere. After all, what has survived of the *Apocryphon* gives every indication of its being a very chatty text: its author has created the long section on Lamech and Bitenosh, Noah's lengthy prophetic dream, the breathless description of Sarai's beauty, and so forth. Theoretically, then, the greater number of exegetical motifs even in the largely parallel sections surveyed above offers no definite proof in itself.

My argument, however, has not been a matter of theory but of practice. In practice, motifs like “Noah's Daughters and Granddaughters,” “It Was Revealed to Noah,” “Abram Walked the Land,” “Abram

³⁴ A subtle deviation from the biblical narrative; see Kugel, *Traditions*, 345–46.

³⁵ See on this Kugel, *Traditions*, 278, 283, 291–93.

³⁶ For these see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 246.

Returned the Spoils,” “Abram’s Dream at the Border,” and so forth all answered potentially troubling questions about the Genesis text. Any of these and the other exegetical motifs surveyed would have been a valuable addition to *Jubilees* (and in many cases, as we have seen, they could have been included via a few extra words or an added sentence of two). Especially if the *Apocryphon* was regarded as an authoritative text in the time of *Jubilees*—“the most ancient midrash of all,” in the words of Geza Vermes³⁷—a failure even to allude to them seems inexplicable. Surely the author of *Jubilees* was not prejudiced against the author of the *Apocryphon* or had some basic, doctrinal dispute with him—otherwise why borrow so obviously from him in other matters? For this reason, it seems to me that a comparison of exegetical motifs in the sections of the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* that closely parallel each other can indeed tell us something rather definite, and what it tells in the cases discussed above is that the author of *Jubilees* was simply unaware of many of the exegetical motifs found in the *Apocryphon*. He never read that text.

THINGS OMITTED FROM THE *APOCRYPHON*

For this comparative approach to be complete, however, it must hold in the opposite direction as well; that is, there must be no, or at least relatively few, interpretive motifs found in *Jubilees* but not in the parallel sections of the *Apocryphon*. Of course, given the fragmentary state of the *Apocryphon*, it is impossible to determine what it might once have contained that is not attested in the current fragments. Moreover, there is much material in *Jubilees* which, because of its homiletical or polemical character, most probably never would have been incorporated into the *Apocryphon*. This material includes *Jubilees*’ various exhortations not to eat blood (for example, *Jub.* 6:7–14), instructions about the proper calendar (*Jub.* 6:23–38), connections of various festivals with the patriarchs, and similar concerns dear to the heart of *Jubilees*’ author. Nevertheless, at least in regard to those passages where there is considerable overlap between the two texts, I have not been able to identify a single exegetical motif present in *Jubilees* but absent

³⁷ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124–26.

in the *Apocryphon*.³⁸ There may be a detail or two found in *Jubilees* but not in the *Apocryphon*; however, the only significant example of which I am aware is that of *Jub.* 13:10, which specifies that Abram proceeded southward from Hebron “as far as Ba‘alot.”³⁹ (There is no mention of Ba‘alot in the corresponding part of the *Apocryphon*, 19:10.) But this mention does not, I think, seriously undermine the conclusion of this survey.⁴⁰ The *Apocryphon* contains at least nine exegetical motifs listed above that could, and probably would, have served well the purposes of the author of *Jubilees*, yet not one of them found its way into his book; at the same time, *Jubilees* contains no exegetical motifs that are *not* found in the *Apocryphon* in the sections that parallel the *Jubilees* narrative. This fact certainly strengthens the conclusion that, if one of these sources borrowed from the other, it was the *Apocryphon* that borrowed from *Jubilees*.

TWO YEARS IN THE PALACE

Most of my discussion thus far has centered on exegetical motifs present in the *Apocryphon* and absent from *Jubilees*. I wish now to examine one more motif that falls into this category, a particularly significant one precisely because it is usually thought to be present in both texts, but on closer examination proves not to be.

The biblical story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20) contains no indication of how long Sarai was kept in Pharaoh’s palace,

³⁸ I must stress that I am considering only those passages in the two texts that overlap. There are all sorts of things present in *Jubilees* but apparently absent in the *Apocryphon*, for example: *Jubilees*’ account of the retooling of human nature (*Jub.* 5:12–19—though this may be alluded to in 1QapGen 7:5), the oath of Noah and his sons not to eat blood (*Jub.* 6:10) and the consequent establishment of the annual Feast of Oaths, as well as those recurrent themes characteristic of *Jubilees*, such as the connection of later laws with events in the patriarchs’ lives, laws written on the heavenly tablets, and so forth. As I have repeatedly stated, however, the presence or absence of such unparalleled material is inherently ambiguous: the author of *Jubilees* could have added it to the material he inherited from the *Apocryphon* (in keeping with his own particular concerns and program of reform), but the author of the *Apocryphon* might just as easily have eliminated it (precisely because *Jubilees*’ concerns and proposed reforms were not relevant to his purpose in writing). Thus, the only significant comparison of motifs that can be made is on the neutral territory of parallel narratives in which an exegetical motif is present in one text and absent in the other.

³⁹ Again, for the textual variants, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 76–77.

⁴⁰ Indeed, it is overwhelmed by many similar geographic details found in the *Apocryphon* but missing in *Jubilees*.

but a straightforward reading of the text leaves the impression that the whole incident took only a few days at most. Sarai is “taken” to the palace (v. 15) for which Pharaoh rewards Abram handsomely (v. 16); but then the Lord afflicts Pharaoh and his household “because of Sarai, Abram’s wife” (v. 17). Pharaoh asks Abram what the matter might be and, discovering that Sarai is Abram’s wife (v. 18), reproves Abram and gives Sarai back to him (v. 19). All this seems to have happened fairly quickly: Josephus, in recounting the incident, says that Sarai was, “after one night’s absence, sent back immaculate to her lord.”⁴¹

Jubilees’ author was, of course, obliged to fit this incident into his own, overall chronology. He had two biblical dates to contend with: the Genesis narrative says that Abram was 75 years old when he left Haran (Gen 12:4) and 86 when Ishmael was born (Gen 16:16). The incident with Sarai and Pharaoh must have taken place sometime in this eleven-year period. *Jubilees* thus relates that, after a brief stay in Canaan, Abram and Sarai went down to Egypt in *anno mundi* 1956 (*Jub.* 13:11), that is, when Abram was 80 years old.

So Abram went to Egypt in the third year of the seventh week [*anno mundi* 1956]. He lived in Egypt for five years before his wife was taken from him by force. (Egyptian Tanais was built at that time—seven years after Hebron.)⁴² When the pharaoh took Abram’s wife by force for himself, the Lord punished the pharaoh and his household very severely because of Abram’s wife Sarai. Now Abram had an extremely large amount of property: sheep, cattle, donkeys, horses, camels, male and female servants, silver, and very (much) gold. Lot, his brother’s son, also had property. The pharaoh returned Abram’s wife Sarai and expelled him from the land of Egypt. He went to the place where he had first pitched his tent—at the location of the altar, with Ai on the east and Bethel on the west. He blessed the Lord his God who had brought him back safely. During this forty-first jubilee, in the third year of the first week [*anno mundi* 1963], he returned to this place. He offered a sacrifice on it and called on the Lord’s name, “You, Lord, most high God, are my God forever and ever.” (*Jub.* 13:11–16)

The arithmetic in this passage is fairly simple: If the pair went down to Egypt in *anno mundi* 1956, and five more years elapsed before Sarai

⁴¹ *BJ* 5:381. I owe this reference to Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 206.

⁴² Num 13:22 says that “Hebron was built seven years before Zoan [in] Egypt.” *Jubilees* assumes that Hebron was built by Abram himself; it is for that reason that *Jubilees* has Abram stay two years in Hebron and then five more years in Egypt before the incident with Pharaoh: Zoan (here, “Tanais”) was built at the end of those five years, just in time for Sarai to be taken into the newly constructed royal palace.

was “taken by force” from Abram, then she must have been seized in *anno mundi* 1961; two years then elapsed before Abram, now back in Canaan, offered his sacrifice in *anno mundi* 1963.

It seems most unlikely that the author of *Jubilees* meant to imply by this that those two years were entirely taken up with Sarai being held prisoner in Pharaoh’s palace. *Jubilees* certainly does not *say* anything of the kind, nor does Genesis. More likely, *Jubilees*’ author intended readers to understand that the incident with Pharaoh was swiftly ended, and that Abram and Sarai, having left Egypt, slowly made their way back through the Negev and up to the highland country near Bethel. This would accord well with the Genesis narrative, which states that Abram and Sarai journeyed on “by stages” (למסעי) from the Negev as far as Bethel (Gen 13:3 as translated in NRSV, NJPS).⁴³ Some further time must have elapsed before Abram “returned to this place” in *anno mundi* 1963. But a reader of *Jubilees* who simply looked at the dates involved *might* conclude that Sarai was indeed held for two years. Such a reader was the author of the *Apocryphon*.⁴⁴

As many scholars have noted, the *Apocryphon* does not usually date events and has no overall chronological scheme in it. If the *Apocryphon*’s author were simply reading the biblical account, he no doubt would have asserted that the Sarai-Pharaoh incident took place over the course of a few days. That is what the biblical text *seems* to say, and this author certainly had no interest in claiming otherwise. Indeed, saying that Sarai remained in the palace for a longer time could only raise doubts about her virtue as well as undermine the credibility of the whole narrative. But the *Apocryphon*’s author was not reading the biblical account alone; he was also reading that authoritative historical source, the book of *Jubilees*, and, adding up the years in *Jubilees*’ chronology, he now found himself stuck with the disquieting historical “fact” that Sarai actually stayed in Pharaoh’s palace for *two years*. As a result, he felt compelled to introduce two new elements in his retelling of these same events:

That night [i.e., the night that Sarai was taken from Abram], God Most High sent him a pestilential spirit to afflict him [Pharaoh] and all the

⁴³ The precise sense of מסע is that of a single segment in a longer series of journeys: Exod 40:36, Num 33:1, etc.

⁴⁴ He was not alone. Ben Zion Wacholder wrote, “The chronology and sequence of events are the same in both works [i.e., *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon*],” “How Long Did Abram...” 45; likewise Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 206.

men of his house, an evil spirit, which *kept afflicting him* and all the men of his house. *He was not able to approach her; nor did he have intercourse with her, though she was with him for two years.* At the end of two years the plagues and afflictions became more severe and more intense for him and all the men of his house. So he sent for all the [wi]se [men] of Egypt, all the magicians, together with all the physicians of Egypt, to see if they would be able to cure him of this plague. (1QapGen 20:16–19)

The *Apocryphon* here asserts that, after Sarai was taken to Pharaoh's palace, Pharaoh was unable to come close to her or have relations with her, "though she was with him for two years." These are the two years whose existence this author has deduced from the dates in *Jubilees*. But for that to be true, he must also assert that the pestilential spirit "kept afflicting" Pharaoh (הוֹאֵת כְּתֹשָׁה לֶהּ) day in and day out for two years. (*Jubilees* of course did not need to say any such thing—as far as he was concerned, God "punished" Pharaoh as soon as he had taken Sarai, and that was the end of the story.) But having thus asserted that Pharaoh was afflicted for two years, the *Apocryphon's* author was led to wonder why it took so long for Pharaoh to figure out that something was wrong. He therefore invented another new element. True, Pharaoh was incapacitated by a pestilential spirit from the very first night, but it was apparently not pestilential enough to make Pharaoh want to consult his wise men and physicians. It was only *at the end* of those two years that the plague afflicting Pharaoh and his household suddenly took a sharp turn for the worse, and it was that sudden worsening of his condition that at last caused him to consult his doctors. The *Apocryphon* created this new element, the sudden worsening of the plague, to accommodate the tension between the need to have Pharaoh incapacitated right away and the "fact" that it took two years for him to investigate the cause thereof. Considering the awkwardness of this solution, as well as the whole blunder that created this problem in the first place (the *Apocryphon's* misunderstanding of the two years in *Jubilees'* chronology), one could hardly ask for a clearer demonstration that the *Apocryphon's* author was reading—or, in this case, misreading—*Jubilees* and shaping his own narrative in consequence.

THE *APOCRYPHON* EXPLAINS *JUBILEES'* CHRONOLOGY

One final note on this: Although the sequence of events recounted in *Jubilees* thus differs from that of the *Apocryphon*, neither chronology seems to square with Gen 16:3, "So, after Abram *had lived ten years in*

the land of Canaan, Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her slave-girl, and gave her to her husband Abram as a wife" (NRSV).⁴⁵ In the *Jubilees* account, Abram and Sarai spent more than five years in Egypt. According to the Apocryphon, they were there for a full seven years. By either reckoning, there is no way that Abram could have "lived ten years in the land of Canaan" in addition to such a long period spent in Egypt. The only way to make *Jubilees*' chronology fit with Gen 16:3 would be to understand that verse somewhat differently: "So, ten years after Abram had first settled in the land of Canaan, Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her slave-girl, and gave her to her husband Abram as a wife." This is indeed a possible translation of the phrase מִקֶּץ עֶשְׂרֵי שָׁנִים לְשֵׁבֶת אַבְרָם בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן—that is, it understands Abram's "settling" in Canaan as a one-time act that began the ten-year period, rather than ten years of actual dwelling there—and such an understanding would indeed fit with *Jubilees*' reckoning of the total number of years.⁴⁶

Of course, *Jubilees* does not explain that this is how it is interpreting Gen 16:3. As usual, it simply inserts its dates without saying how they fit the scattered chronological information present in Genesis. But the *Apocryphon*, quite extraordinarily, does provide its own explanation of Gen 16:3 in a somewhat later passage in its narrative:

After these things, God appeared to Abraham in a vision and said to him: "Behold, ten years have passed since the time you left Haran: two you spent here and seven in Egypt and one since you returned from Egypt." (1QapGen 22:27–29).

Here, as commentators have already observed, are the "ten years" mentioned in Gen 16:3.⁴⁷ Yet there is a slight deviation here from the wording of the Genesis verse, one that proves to be highly significant.

⁴⁵ The same basic translation appears in the NJPS: "after Abram had dwelt in the land of Canaan ten years," the NEB, "When this happened, Abram had been in Canaan ten years," and other modern versions.

⁴⁶ According to *Jubilees*, Abram left Haran in *anno mundi* 1953 (*Jub.* 12:28), journeyed to Canaan and stayed there two years, and then went down to Egypt in *anno mundi* 1956 (*Jub.* 13:11). He stayed there for five years until the incident with Pharaoh, then returned to Canaan (*Jub.* 13:15), and offered his sacrifice to God in *anno mundi* 1963 (*Jub.* 13:16). It was apparently in *anno mundi* 1964 (or perhaps 1963) that Hagar was given to Abram, since she subsequently bore him a son in *anno mundi* 1965 (*Jub.* 14:24). Thus, ten years would have elapsed between 1953 or 1954 (depending on when Abram actually arrived in Canaan) and the year that Hagar was given to him (1963 or 1964), which would accord perfectly with Gen 16:3.

⁴⁷ See the discussion in Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* 253.

The *Apocryphon* dates this ten-year period “since the time you left Haran,” whereas Gen 16:3 says nothing about the time when Abram left Haran, but when he began to settle in Canaan, מקץ עשר שנים לשבת אברם בארץ כנען. The chronological difference between these two starting points may be small, perhaps only a matter of weeks or months. But the fact that the *Apocryphon*’s author deviated from the wording of Genesis here indicates that he had his eye on some other text as well, one that dated things from the time of Abram’s departure from Haran.

That text is *Jubilees*. *Jubilees* is quite the opposite of Gen 16:3 here: it specifically mentions the date of Abram’s departure from Haran (*anno mundi* 1953, *Jub.* 12:28), but it does not date the time of his arrival in Canaan or his first “settling” there. In fact, the next date provided by *Jubilees* comes much later in the text, at the time of Abram’s building an altar near Bethel (*Jub.* 13:8). Thus, if the author of the *Apocryphon* departs from the wording of Gen 16:3 and dates those ten years as starting from “the time you left Haran,” it is obvious that he is trying to reconcile two bits of data, the “ten years” mentioned in Gen 16:3 with the actual dates provided in *Jubilees*, dates which say nothing about the time of Abram’s arrival in Canaan, but only that of his departure from Haran.

And note how awkwardly the *Apocryphon*’s author provides this information! Since he has no overall chronological framework, he has to have God, no less, supply this little chronological clarification, recounting to Abram (as if Abram had somehow forgotten!) his own recent history: “Behold, ten years have passed since the time you left Haran...” Why bother having God tell him this? There was only one reason: it was necessary for this author to clarify *Jubilees*’ puzzling chronology—the ten years referred to in Gen 16:3 were not ten years of continuous settlement, but ten years since Abram picked up stakes and moved from Haran to Canaan, with his seven-year stay in Egypt as part of the ten. But in dating things “from the time you left Haran,” the *Apocryphon* made it clear that the object of this clarification was the text that actually specifies the date of Abram’s departure, the book of *Jubilees*.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I do not wish to burden the reader with too much arithmetic, but it must be pointed out that the author of the *Apocryphon* made one little error in his calculations. Looking at *Jubilees*, he noted that Abram left Haran in *anno mundi* 1953. Adding the ten years of Gen 16:3 to this figure, he then concluded that Hagar was given to Abram

I ENOCH 106–107

In addition to all this is the related matter of the *Apocryphon's* relationship to *I Enoch* 106–107. There is no need here to review all the arguments that have been advanced on this topic, but I find persuasive the claims of Nickelsburg and others in favor of the priority of this *I Enoch* material to that of the *Apocryphon*.⁴⁹ To their arguments I wish to add only one observation of my own: it concerns the reason for which chapters 106–107 were created in the first place.

Underlying these two chapters of *I Enoch* is an earlier exegetical motif concerning Noah's miraculous birth. This motif was created to explain Lamech's strange words in naming his son, "This one shall bring us comfort from our work and from the toil of our hands, out of the very soil that the Lord placed under a curse" (Genesis 5:29). How could Lamech know such a thing—especially the part about undoing God's curse of the soil (widely taken as an allusion to Gen 3:17)—just by looking at the newborn child? The answer that interpreters came up with was that this child's birth must have been marked by supernatural events: the room in which he was born was suddenly filled with light, the infant immediately began to speak, and so forth. These elements are known to us from traditions about other biblical figures; it is hard to know whether they originated with Noah and were then applied to Cain, Moses, Jeremiah, and so forth, or vice versa.⁵⁰

In any case, the account of Noah's miraculous birth solved one problem but soon raised another, because it inevitably came to be con-

in 1963. He therefore subdivided those ten years as follows: two years in Canaan, then seven years in Egypt, and one more year in Canaan. But he failed to notice that if Abram and Sarai went down to Egypt in 1956 (*Jub.* 13:11), spent seven years there *and then one more year in Canaan*, that would mean that Abram got Hagar in 1964, eleven years, not ten, from the date of Abram's departure from Haran (1953). Of course it is possible to reconcile the dates by supposing that Abram left Haran toward the end of 1953, arriving in Canaan in early 1954; then, after two years in Canaan, he went down to Egypt in early 1956; he stayed for seven years and left in early 1963; he then spent nearly a year in Canaan, receiving Hagar toward the end of 1963. This would fit with both *Jubilees* and Gen 16:3. But my guess is that the *Apocryphon's* author took no account of fractions of years. he simply started from 1953, added ten years, and then subdivided them as 2+7+1.

⁴⁹ "Patriarchs Who Worry," 199.

⁵⁰ See the recent essay of Israel Knohl, "Cain: Son of God or Son of Satan," in Natalie B. Dohrmann and David Stern, *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), 37–50.

nected to what was originally an entirely separate matter. The Genesis narrative had reported that, at some point, the “sons of God” began choosing wives for themselves from among the “daughters of men” (Gen 6:1–2). If these angels (as the “sons of God” were construed) mated with unnamed women and, sometime later, a “special child” was born to Lamech, one whose birth filled the room with supernatural light, presaging that he would “give us comfort from our work” and so on, then it stood to reason that there was a relationship between these two events: Noah was none other than the offspring of one of these lustful angels. *The exegetical motif underlying 1 Enoch 106–107 was thus created for the sole purpose of denying this scandalous possibility.* It was necessary to have an authoritative voice—and no one was more authoritative than Enoch, the super-righteous man whom God Himself had raised up to heaven during his lifetime and who, from there, was capable of observing and reporting on all the deeds of men—to say clearly that Noah was *not* the offspring of a wicked angel but the natural child of Lamech and Bitenosh. And that is exactly what Enoch says in *1 Enoch* 106: “He is truly your child” (v. 18). Problem solved.

It should be noted that *1 Enoch* 106–107 seems to stand at some distance from the original form of the exegetical motif that it embodies. The reason is that when this text alludes to the problematic verse that started everything, Gen 5:29, it does not cite it exactly:

And now tell Lamech, “He is truly your child, and <this child will be righteous and> blameless; <and> call his name <Noah>, for he will be your remnant, from whom you will find rest.” (*1 Enoch* 106:18)

This explanation for the name has very little in it that would require the infant’s birth to have been supernatural. Lamech certainly could have known on his own that his son would be his “remnant” (though, admittedly, he might not have known that a flood would come and the child would be his *sole* remnant—but that is not what the biblical verse says in any case). As for Lamech’s “finding rest” from this child, this again could be said by any father looking forward to a happy old age in which his children support him. More to the point, it is clear that the author of *1 Enoch* 106–107 introduced these changes in order to replace Gen 5:29, whose words really did not seem to connect etymologically with the name נח. So he has Enoch instruct Lamech to name his son Noah for two entirely new reasons, each of which is designed to evoke one of two contrasting meanings of the verbal root נ-ח-נח. The first, represented by the specialized *hiph’il* form *hinni^ah* (with a *dagesh*

in the *nun*), meaning “to place, put...let remain...leave behind”,⁵¹ is evoked by Enoch’s saying, “<and > call his name <Noah>, for *he will be your remnant*.” The second, more common meaning of $\Pi\text{-}\aleph\text{-}\aleph$ is associated with rest or resting, including the contrasting *hiph’il* verb *hini^ah* (without dagesh), “to cause to rest”; this meaning is represented in the second part of Enoch’s words to Lamech, “from whom you will find rest.” If so, it seems to me unlikely that the author of *1 Enoch* 106–07 was the one who *created* the exegetical motif of Lamech’s doubts about paternity, since he seems to have lost sight of the very verse which made this motif necessary.

The version in the *Apocryphon* column 5 seems even farther removed from the original, exegetical aims of the motif underlying *1 Enoch* 106–107. There is no indication that this column even referred to the naming of Noah. Rather, what interested the *Apocryphon*’s author were the dramatic possibilities introduced by these chapters’ notion that Lamech entertained doubts about Noah’s true father. This enabled the author of the *Apocryphon* to create a totally non-exegetical (but rather funny) narrative, in which Lamech sternly cross-examines his wife about the possibility that Noah might not be his child. This creation is altogether characteristic of the author of the *Apocryphon*, who liked invented dialogue, especially of a sometimes risqué character (witness the three envoys of Pharaoh in their description of Sarai’s beauty). So it is with obvious relish that he introduces this Lamech-Bitenosh conversation, which apparently ended with her somewhat bawdy account of what went on during the night of Noah’s conception (1Qap Gen 2:9–18), an account that failed, however, to convince her husband that she was telling the truth (and thus served no exegetical purpose whatsoever), necessitating further proof. This allowed the *Apocryphon*’s author to return to the text of *1 Enoch* 106, where Lamech goes to consult his father Methuselah and Methuselah goes off to ask Enoch.

⁵¹ BDB 628–29. It is not noted there, nor in Nickelsburg’s comments (*1 Enoch* 1: *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36, 81–108* [Hermeneia] [Minneapolis: Augsburg-Fortress 2001], 546–47), but this verb always has a *dagesh* in the *nun*, which is of course not the case with that other *hiph’il* verb *hini^ah*, “to cause to rest.” It may be that these were originally a single verb whose different meanings were distinguished through the creation of an artificial phonological difference; whatever the case, the double etymology in *Enoch* 106 seems designed to cover both *hiph’ils*, “to leave behind” and “to cause to rest.”

In the light of this and earlier arguments, it would seem most reasonable to conclude that the *Apocryphon* was written after *1 Enoch* 106–107, which itself can only be dated sometime *after* the incorporation of the Enoch Epistle (chapters 92–105) into the Enoch corpus in the first half of the second century B.C.E.⁵² This dating in itself would make the notion of *Jubilees*' dependence on the *Apocryphon* almost impossible.

THE BIG PICTURE

Let us finally step back and consider the larger picture to which these observations belong. Fifteen or sixteen manuscripts of *Jubilees* were found at Qumran, the oldest of which goes back to the last quarter of the second century B.C.E.⁵³ The *Apocryphon* exists in a single manuscript, dated by paleographers to the second half of the first century B.C.E. or the first half of the first century C.E.; its Aramaic—that is, the language of its composition—has been dated by Kutscher and others to the mid-first century B.C.E.⁵⁴ Given the common scholarly dating of *Jubilees* to the early second century (and the existence of at least one *Jubilees* manuscript dated to the late second century), as well as the apparent priority of *Jubilees* to the *Aramaic Levi Document*,⁵⁵ the assertion that *Jubilees* borrowed from the *Apocryphon* becomes difficult in the extreme.

Further support for *Jubilees*' priority lies in the fact that it is mentioned by name in the *Damascus Document* (16:2–4) and is cited there, as well as in 4Q228 and later texts, as authoritative Scripture. To my knowledge, no one has ever suggested that any text at Qumran cites the *Apocryphon* as authoritative Scripture, and unless it was known by some name heretofore unconnected to it, it appears to have been

⁵² For Nickelsburg's reasoning, *1 Enoch* 1 542.

⁵³ See Harold W. Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VIII Parabiblical Texts Part 1 (DJD XIII)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994). James C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik note that "The script in which the original scribe wrote the next columns (V–VII)... is a semicursive which may be dated to c. 125–100 B.C.E.... Milik prefers to date the script nearer to the mid-second century B.C.E."

⁵⁴ E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the *Genesis Apocryphon*: A Preliminary Study," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1957): 1–35, at 22. Fitzmyer reviews this and the other linguistic arguments and supports Kutscher's conclusion, in *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 26–28.

⁵⁵ See my "How Old is the *Aramaic Levi Document*," *DSD* 14 (2007): 291–312.

quite unknown, or ignored, by later generations. While this alone does not *prove* that *Jubilees* is older, it certainly lends support to all the other relative dating criteria already mentioned. Indeed, there is every indication that *Jubilees* was already a classic in the days of the Qumran community. In addition to the items mentioned—the many copies found in the Qumran library and its citation in later works—it clearly inspired such compositions as 4Q225 *Pseudo-Jubilees*, whose main purpose was apparently to pick up on some of the questions *Jubilees* had left unanswered and, through inventive interpretation, expand on its already-classic narrative.⁵⁶ There is no indication that the *Apocryphon* ever enjoyed such status as a classic. Of course, it is theoretically possible that the *Apocryphon* was written in some garret by an unknown author and its contents kept secret, save for its being mined by that great popularizer, the author of *Jubilees*. But that is not the way things usually go. Usually, it is the great classic that gets mined by later writers, who rely on it for their own compositions or sometimes, like the author of 4Q225, actually write commentaries on it in the “Rewritten Bible” genre. Is it unreasonable to suppose that the *Apocryphon* was another such text, written by an author who knew *Jubilees* and considered it authoritative, but to whose biblical re-narration and interpretation of Genesis he sought to add his own, witty, literary expansions as well as a few exegetical clarifications?

It not only seems that the *Apocryphon* borrowed from *Jubilees*, but that it was written quite some time after *Jubilees*, probably (as others have already suggested) in the first century B.C.E. If its author borrowed much from *Jubilees*, this was precisely because *Jubilees* was, by then, widely regarded as an authoritative ancient document going back to the time of Moses, a classic at Qumran and elsewhere; he had little choice if he wished to cover much of the same material. But the author of the *Apocryphon* was of an entirely different cut from the writer of *Jubilees*. He had no use for *Jubilees*’ sermonizing or its polemical attempts to connect various Pentateuchal laws and later practices to the patriarchs; he therefore had no need to assert that such-and-such a law was inscribed in the heavenly tablets. He preferred, like the author of *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (another late text), to speak of things written “in the book[s] of Enoch.” Nor did he share

⁵⁶ See James Kugel, “Exegetical Notes on 4Q225 *Pseudo-Jubilees*,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 73–98.

Jubilees' interest in exact dating; at one point he does evoke *Jubilees*' system of dating events according to jubilees of years (1Qap Gen 6:10), but this is just for show—as others have already observed, it does not belong to any overall chronology as in *Jubilees*.⁵⁷ What did interest this author was a literary elaboration of the spare text of Genesis and, here and there, biblical interpretation. He had some great ideas—the conversion of Noah's act of physical self-revelation into God's act of spiritual revelation; Abram's dream of the cedar and the date-palm; and no doubt others now lost. There were other things which, while not strictly speaking exegetical, added color to the bare-bones biblical narrative: Lamech's fierce interrogation of Bitenosh about Noah's paternity, and her colorful, "Don't you remember that night?" reply; the description of Noah's wonderment upon seeing the earth restored after the flood; the breathless description of Sarai's beauty, recited in unison by Pharaoh's three servants. All these, and probably much more, he combined with more than a few charming exegetical motifs of his own creation to make a wonderful set of first-person narratives (again, like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) which, however, never achieved the status and renown of the tome on which he drew so heavily, the book of *Jubilees*.

⁵⁷ Wacholder came to the opposite conclusion, holding that the chronological system underlying the *Apocryphon* was more rudimentary, hence earlier; "How Long Did Abram Stay in Egypt." He does not appear to have considered the opposite possibility, that the *Apocryphon* was simply evoking the terminology of a long-established and respected work. P. Grelot made a similar argument in "Notiz über Jub/ 1QGenApokr (ohne Überschrift)," *RB* 74 (1967): 102–5, at 103.

APPENDIX: ON NOAH'S SACRIFICE

Cana Werman has offered a significantly different understanding of the relationship between *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon*, in part on the basis of the two texts' account of Noah's sacrifice after the flood (1QapGen 10:13–18 and *Jub.* 6:1–3) as well as the sacrifice Noah offered when the grapes he planted were ready for consumption (1QapGen 12:14–19 and *Jub.* 7:1–6).⁵⁸

The latter sacrifice, with which Werman deals first, is actually connected to a long-standing debate in Second Temple times about the commandment concerning fruit trees found in Lev 19:23–24.⁵⁹ Quite naturally, both sides of this debate held that, in keeping with the plain sense of this passage (“For three years [the fruit] shall be forbidden for you; it is not to be eaten”), the produce of a fruit tree could not to be consumed during its first three years. But what about the fourth year? One side of this debate held that, in keeping with a long-standing practice (see Judg 9:27 and Isa 62:8–9), the fruit in its fourth year was to be consumed by its owners in God's sanctuary. This is basically the practice in rabbinic Judaism, with some minor modifications (*y. Pe'ah* 7:6 [20 b–c]). The other side of the debate held that the fruit of the fourth year was to be given to the priests, who would offer the first fruits on the altar and then keep whatever was left over of the fourth year produce for themselves. This is the practice as stated in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q394 MMT, frag 8, col. 4:12–13; *Temple Scroll* 60:3–4), and it is also stated clearly in *Jub.* 7:35–36.

Scholars have long noted, however, that the interpretation promulgated in *Jub.* 7:35–36 is at odds with what Noah is reported to have done in *Jub.* 7:1–3, as well as in parallel passage in the *Apocryphon* column 12. These two narrative accounts of Noah's sacrifice not only contradict the sectarian halakhah, but, according to Werman, they also differ slightly from each other, and it is these slight differences, she claims, that hold a clue as to which was written first. In *Jubilees*, Werman notes, Noah first uses the wine for a libation on the altar and only later drinks it; when he drinks it, he does so along with his sons

⁵⁸ Werman, “Qumran and the Book of Noah,” in Stone and Chazon, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 171–81.

⁵⁹ Menahem Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah,” in Julio Treballe Barera and Luis Vegas Montaner, *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 2.571–88.

but apparently *not* with any of the women in the family. In the *Apocryphon*, by contrast, Noah first drinks the wine, then calls his family (females included) to drink, and only then pours the wine on the altar. Her conclusion is that the account in the *Apocryphon* is older, and that *Jubilees* modified it to make it fit better with sectarian practice.

This suggestion seems promising at first, but it founders, I am afraid, on some of the particulars. Thus, it may be that there is some significance to the fact that in the *Apocryphon* the word “they drank” (line 18)—although this restoration has recently been questioned (see below)—comes before “I poured on...and the wine” in the next line. But even if it were clear from this that Noah and his family *first* drank and only afterwards poured the wine on the altar (but in fact this is far from clear), why would the author of the *Apocryphon* have had Noah do so? Certainly it was no one’s halakhah that wine was first to be drunk by the officiant and only after that poured on the altar! What is more, the whole reading on which this reconstruction of the events is based—doubtful to begin with—has been further thrown into question by Machiela’s new edition of the text. In his careful review of the manuscript, he concludes that there is no “they drank” (שתיו) but rather “they seized” (אחדו) and no “and I poured out on” (ושפכת על) but rather “and I lay down on my couch” (ושכבת על משכבי). If so, then there is no text to support Werman’s argument.

Still more striking is the fact that, according to both the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*, all this takes place in the *fifth* year after the vine was planted. This is quite out of keeping with both sides of the halakhic debate. If, as Werman maintains, the author of *Jubilees* “altered the narrative” he had inherited from the *Apocryphon* “in order to blur the contradiction between the story and the halakha [of *Jub.* 7:35–36],” why did he not alter this most basic difference? It is not “blurred” at all: in both the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*, Noah waits until the first possible opportunity in the fifth year—the first day of the first month of the year—to consume his produce.⁶⁰ As Kister noted in his study, the

⁶⁰ Indeed, the wording of 1QapGen 12:15, “I opened this vessel and *began* drinking from it on the first day of the fifth year,” is clearly designed to stress this point. The word “began” would be altogether unnecessary unless the point were that, until that moment, such drinking was forbidden; once the fifth year had commenced, however, Noah could *begin* to drink.

contradiction is within *Jubilees* itself, between the narrative account and the statement of halakhah that follows it.⁶¹

Actually, the details cited by Werman seem to suggest exactly the opposite of what she claims. It seems that the author of the *Apocryphon*, writing long after *Jubilees* and aware of the contradiction in that text, sought subtly to change the chronology as stated in *Jubilees* by saying that Noah's sacrifice was made "in the fifth year *after the flood*." In *Jubilees* it is, as in Leviticus, the fifth year *of the tree's bearing fruit*; but if the *Apocryphon* held that some time had elapsed between the end of the flood and the sprouting of the vine, then presumably Noah-the-priest's consumption of the wine could still have taken place in the *fourth year of the vine*, even though it was the fifth year after the flood. That would bring the description into conformity with sectarian practice.

Finally, it should be noted that, according to both *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon*, Noah was a priest in every respect—he was the one who built the altar after the flood and it was he who, acting as a priest, offered a sacrifice on it. Thus, it cannot be, as Werman implies, that the author of *Jubilees* considered Noah a priest while the author of the *Apocryphon* did not; for both writers, Noah's priestly status was not in dispute.

As for the account of the earlier sacrifice, recounted in the *Apocryphon* 10:13–18 and *Jub.* 6:1–3, Werman asserts that, according to the *Apocryphon*, Noah's sacrifice is for the purpose of atoning for the whole earth, while in *Jubilees* no such purpose is mentioned. For this difference to exist, however, it is necessary to translate the Ge'ez version of *Jub.* 6:2 as if it said that Noah "appeared on the earth." This is an odd verb for any author to have used in recounting Gen 8:18–20; there the biblical text speaks only of Noah and the others "going out" of the ark and nothing about him "appearing." Even if the author of *Jubilees* were dissatisfied with the idea of Noah atoning for the earth, why would he replace the verb "atone" with "appear" rather than with something a little less spooky, like "Noah *went down* upon the earth."

⁶¹ If so, this case hardly argues that *Jubilees itself* is later than the *Apocryphon*, only that (as others have already argued) its text later had a few verses inserted here and there in order to bring it into line with some group's later halakhic practice. Thus, Liora Ravid has argued that the sabbath laws that conclude the book (*Jub.* 50:6–13) seem to supplement and correct the original Sabbath laws in *Jub.* 2:25–33. This, by the way, hardly means that the legal material found in *Jubilees* is altogether a later addition, only that certain items were revised to conform to later practice.

(It is God and His angels who “appear” in Genesis, not people.) What is more, Ge‘ez ms. 25 has a variant reading: “he atoned for the earth.” Long before the discovery of the *Apocryphon*, R. H. Charles, in his commentary on *Jubilees*, suggested that the word “appeared” in most of the Ethiopic manuscripts was a mistake, and that the correct reading was the similar-sounding “atoned.” The subsequent discovery of the *Apocryphon* only confirmed this reading. As James VanderKam has observed in his critical edition of *Jubilees*, “the text of 1QapGen 10:13 . . . increases the likelihood that this [i.e., ‘he appeared’] is a corruption of an original [‘he atoned’].”⁶² Thus, any difference between the *Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* on this point is most likely illusory. But perhaps the most devastating element for Werman’s thesis is the continuation of the very sentence in question, which, according to all editions, says that Noah “atoned for all the sins of the earth.” If “atoned” was ideologically unsuitable to the author of *Jubilees* in the first part of the sentence, why was it suddenly acceptable only a few words later?

The final matter treated by Werman in this article concerns the differences between the priestly instructions given by Abram in *Jub.* 21:7–20 and those given by Isaac in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD). The instructions are indeed somewhat different in the two texts: those in *Jubilees* contain the author’s repeated warnings against consuming blood, a favorite *Jubilees* theme, while this element is lacking in the ALD. But this in itself hardly proves that *Jubilees* is later; the opposite might equally be true. More to the point, however, Werman’s argument assumes that the ALD that we have was composed of one piece, despite all of its obvious duplications and internal contradictions. In fact, however, this text is not of one piece, but rather a compilation of two, originally separate texts; both texts had to do with the biblical figure Levi and so were stitched together and augmented, somewhat awkwardly, by a Hasmonean editor.⁶³ As I have shown, the priestly instructions in *Jubilees* come from one of these earlier texts, the one called “Levi’s Priestly Initiation,” presently represented by most of chapters 4–11 in the ALD. “Levi’s Priestly Initiation” is indeed more ancient than *Jubilees*; its combination with other material to create the ALD was, however, subsequent to the composition of *Jubilees*. In

⁶² VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 36.

⁶³ See my “How Old is the Aramaic Levi Document?” This, I should point out, is not the sort of theoretical ancient source whose existence is sometimes posited by scholars (a procedure I denounced earlier in this article)—this text is right before our eyes, one half of the text presently known as the ALD.

fact, as I have shown, when the Hasmonean editor created the ALD out of two old texts centering on Levi, he also borrowed some historical material from *Jubilees*, which was by then already regarded as an authentically Mosaic text, full of true, historical information.

PSEUDEPIGRAPHY AND FIRST PERSON DISCOURSE IN THE
DEAD SEA DOCUMENTS: FROM THE ARAMAIC TEXTS TO
WRITINGS OF THE YAḤAD*

LOREN T. STUCKENBRUCK

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. *The Problem*

The following discussion focuses on the use of the first person among the Dead Sea documents, paying special attention to earlier writings composed before the formation of the *Yaḥad* group which settled at Qumran. Past treatments of these materials, many of which are preserved in Aramaic, have concentrated on their relation to a literary convention often designated “pseudepigraphy.” This term, associated with the substantive “pseudepigraphon,” denotes the composition of a document attributed to an author who is not the real author. To be sure, the word “pseudepigrapha” was first applied to a modern collection of ancient Jewish writings by Johann Albert Fabricius, in his two-volume work entitled *Codex Pseudepigraphicus Veteri Testamenti* published in 1722–1723.¹ The word, however, does have ancient roots. We know, for example, that Serapion, bishop of Antioch (ca. turn of the third century C.E.) dismissed “pseudepigrapha” when referring to the spurious *Gospel of Peter* (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.12.2). Moreover, we know that earlier, during the Graeco-Roman period, the term could be used to denote falsely attributed or spuriously titled compositions.²

* I am grateful to my assistants, Ted Erho and Mark Mathews, for their excellent help in proofreading the present contribution.

¹ So e.g., James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 7.

² See esp. Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906), no. 37 l. 123 (an early second century B.C.E. debate concerning the validity of sources to function as witnesses to settle a boundary disputes between the cities of Priene and Samos) and Dio of Halicarnassus, *de Dem.* 57 (a reference to collections of speeches falsely attributed to the famous orator Demosthenes).

This unmistakably negative connotation thus reflects a value judgement that is not only modern, but takes us back to debates well underway in antiquity. Nevertheless, whether contemporary or ancient, the designation “pseudepigraphon” in no way reflects how Jewish—and later, Christian—authors of such writings wished to present what they were doing.³ In a sense, when it comes to the Dead Sea Scrolls, one could maintain that writers of “pseudepigraphal” literature were taking up a form that already existed in what we now call the Hebrew Bible.⁴ And yet it remains that the Dead Sea materials preserve writings of authors adopting the name of another figure in an innovative way: for example, they became more likely than before to use the first person singular in combination with a proper name (associated with an exemplary or notorious figure from the distant past).⁵ By adopting a different, ancient and well known name, the real authors of these works were assuming a fictional identity embedded in a traditional theme or storyline analogous to their own circumstances. As such, these anonymous writers understood themselves as dispensers of wisdom or instruction, choosing to “lose” anonymity by grounding their knowledge in the fictive author’s remembered experience, visionary revelation, or final instructions before death. They presented themselves, in effect, as a voice *about the readers’ remote past out of the remote past*.

While among the Dead Sea materials, first person “pseudepigrapha” characteristically come down to us in Aramaic, a handful of them are also preserved in Hebrew.⁶ At the outset, two preliminary points are

³ This is to say nothing of the problem in distinguishing a group of writings as “pseudepigrapha” as opposed to “apocrypha” and “biblical” writings (both of which contain works attributed to figures who are not the actual authors). See, e.g., Peter W. Flint, “‘Apocrypha,’ Other Previously-Known Writings, and ‘Pseudepigrapha’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2.24–66, at 24–25.

⁴ See the Mosaic attribution of Deuteronomy (third person, e.g., Deut 1:1,3,5), the Davidic authorship ascribed to a number of the Psalms (first person, e.g., Ps 7:1; 34:1; 38:1; 39:1 *passim*), the Solomonic voice behind Proverbs and Qohelet (first person), the assumption of First Isaiah’s voice in Isaiah 40–66 (first person), and the personifying speech of Jerusalem in Lamentations (first person).

⁵ Except for some traditions in the *Sibylline Oracles*, the voice of “Wisdom” in 4Q525, and the feminine voice of Jerusalem in Lamentations ch. 1, attributions to a feminine figure in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature are rare.

⁶ So e.g., 4QTNaphtali (4Q215), Jubilees (1Q17–18, 2Q19–20, 3Q5, 4Q176a,b; 4Q216, 4Q218–224, 11Q12, XQ5a), 4QpsJub^c (4Q227), 4QPs-Ezek^{a-c} (4Q385, 4Q385b, 4Q386, 4Q388, 4Q391), and Psalms A and B in 11QPsAp^a (11Q11).

appropriate to make: First, whereas none of the Hebrew compositions using the first person pseudepigraphal idiom can be confidently assigned to the pre-Maccabean period, none of the Aramaic pseudepigraphal compositions (as defined above)⁷ show signs of having been composed by members of the *Yaḥad*. Second, the composition of the Aramaic writings often predates the formation of the *Yaḥad* itself, and, in a number of cases, can be dated to during or before the Maccabean war (167–164 B.C.E.). While both these points have been recognised by a number of scholars for some time,⁸ a wider question remains how some aspects of the Aramaic documents are *formally* related to the later writings associated with the Qumran community.⁹ By focusing more narrowly on the use of the first person in the Aramaic materials, the following discussion shall briefly assess the development of this idiom among the texts from the Dead Sea. It is thus hoped that we may be able to draw sympathetic attention to what the writers were trying to achieve (i.e., among their hearers and readers) by means of their authorial “I.” Before reviewing the Dead Sea texts in question, we may reflect briefly on the larger context which framed the rapid development of Jewish pseudepigraphy from the late fourth to the second century took place.

⁷ We should not confuse this category with some of those scrolls for which designations include “Pseudo-,” yet are not authored in the first person as such; see e.g., *4QpsDan*^{a,b} (4Q243–244), *4QpsDan*^c (4Q245), and *4QpsJub*^{a–b} (4Q226–227). See, in addition, the third person texts which John Strugnell and Devorah Dimant have designated “pseudo-Moses,” which are sometimes also called Moses “apocrypha”: 4Q375, 4Q376, 4Q390, 1Q29; see Strugnell, in Magen Broshi et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV, Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 129–36 and Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2.405–47.

⁸ See, e.g., John J. Collins, “Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone; Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1999), 43–58, esp. 55–58 and Devorah Dimant, “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha at Qumran,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 3 vols.; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 2.447–67.

⁹ Most treatments of pseudepigraphy in the Dead Sea Scrolls have more broadly addressed the question of “pseudepigraphy” in all its forms or of the use of Aramaic as opposed to Hebrew; see the valuable discussion by Moshe J. Bernstein, “Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions,” in Chazon and Stone, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives*, 1–26.

1.2. *Between Classical Historiography and Anonymous Yaḥad Literature*

An evaluation of the Aramaic pseudepigraphal texts needs to be weighed in relation to two contextualizing changes which, respectively, preceded and followed them: (1) developments in literature leading up to the Hellenistic period and, on the other side, (2) the literature that subsequently took shape in sectarian texts associated with the *Yaḥad*. We note these briefly.

First, a growing historiographical consciousness among writers of the classical Greek world may have been a contributing factor to the apparent rise of pseudepigraphy in Jewish literature. Although one might initially think of the influence this development would have wielded on the Jewish historiographers who wrote in Greek, in another way the role and function of Jewish pseudepigraphy can be seen in sharper relief against this backdrop as well. Historiographical instincts began to manifest themselves in the sixth century B.C.E., establishing a base on which historiography could proliferate during the following centuries.¹⁰ This could, in particular, be detected in works composed by Hecataeus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes of Athens and Hellanicos of Lesbos (sixth century), and then of Herodotus and Thucydides (fifth century). Here we find writers who began to present themselves to readers as having achieved a certain critical distance from their sources. This formal distinction between writers and sources they had received threw the spotlight on the “author” as an influential agent in the transfer of information and ideas. This development distinguished itself from the Homeric and Hesiodic epic literature in which the writers assembled and poeticized myths and legends from which they had no autonomy. In addition, it is worth noting that Greek historiography was steering in a direction different from what was emerging from the so-called “historical” traditions in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. the “Deuteronomistic History,” the “Yahwist” and “priestly” layers of the Pentateuch, 1 and 2 Kings, and 1 and 2 Chronicles). For all the similarities which Van Seters observed as having existed between

¹⁰ The following summary is indebted to Erhard Blum, “Historiography or Poetry? The Nature of the Hebrew Bible Prose Tradition,” in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity* (ed. Stephen C. Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin G. Wold; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2007), 25–45, at 28–33.

Greek historiography and that of the Hebrew Bible,¹¹ it is precisely at the point of the growing gulf between author and subject matter where these analogies begin to break down. Though writers—for example, in the Deuteronomistic History—could inject interpretive comments into instruction or narrative for readers from the “outside,”¹² unlike in Greek historiography these remained essentially uncritical of the source material itself. The text-independence articulated among Greek historiographers was not only a matter of having a writer on the one side and sources on the other; it also opened up the possibility of a critical reception among readers and hearers as well. The authorial “I” early on may have functioned to emphasize the writer’s veracity over against his sources (so Hecataeus of Miletus).¹³ The “I,” however, could take a further step in claiming to have provided an “investigative account” (ἱστορίη) that could be relied upon more than stories that circulated either through hearsay or in the works of other authors.¹⁴ By contrast, in the Hebrew Bible—for example, some Davidic psalms, Nehemiah 11–13, and Isaiah 6–8—the “I” accounts reflect a certain embeddedness of writers who remained hidden behind their compositions. The innovation of Greek historiography not only reflected on what authors were doing, but also, and increasingly, it made readers and hearers who were receiving the authors’ critical distance formally aware (if not so already) of a distinction between views of the same subject matter taken by the writer, on the one hand, and by other writers, on the other. Though the authors naturally wished their readers to agree with their points of view, the transparency of their independence from sources led to the possibility that readers could *decide* (or not) to agree.

In addition to developments in Greek historiography, it is important to note that much of the literature among the Hebrew Dead Sea

¹¹ See John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

¹² See Josh 3:15; 4:9; 5:9; 7:26; 8:28–29; 10:27; 13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10; 22:3; Judg 1:21, 26; 6:24; 10:4; 15:19; 18:12; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18; 9:9; 27:6; 2 Sam 4:3; 6:8; 14:26; 18:18; 1 Kgs 8:8; 9:13, 21; 10:21; 12:19; 2 Kgs 2:22; 8:22; 10:27; 13:20; 14:7; 16:6; 17:23, 34, 41; 1 Chr 4:41, 43; 5:26; 13:11; 2 Chr 5:9; 10:19; 20:26; 21:20; 35:25.

¹³ So e.g., Hecataeus who opened his *Genealogies* as follows: “Hecataeus of Miletus thus speaks: I write what I deem true; for the stories of the Greeks are manifold and seem to me ridiculous”; see James T. Shotwell, *The History of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 172.

¹⁴ Herodotus, who presented his work as a product of his research (see *Histories* 1), was a major influence on subsequent historiography.

Scrolls is formally anonymous; this includes all compositions that can be confidently associated with the *Yahad*. Those who wrote works from within the *Yahad* did not, to our knowledge, formally disclose who they were as they compiled, conflated and interpreted sacred traditions for their community. This certainly holds for those who composed the *pesharim* and the earlier *Damascus Document*, works which sometimes referred to events in their community's recent past; moreover, this applies to those who assembled and edited contemporary and eschatological regulations in the *Community Rule* and *War Rule*, as well as to those who conflated and rewrote traditions to produce the *Temple Scroll* and *Reworked Pentateuch*. Of course, some of the literature did refer to contemporary or recent personages whose identities were known to the community. This was, however, a far cry from pseudepigraphy: (a) The individuals mentioned in the texts are only rarely mentioned by proper name (cf. 4Q448 2:2—"Jonathan the king"; 4QpNah=4Q169 3-4 i 2—"Deme]trios king of Greece"). Otherwise, as is well known, they are marked out by means of sobriquets, in which case the designations used yield very little (other than literary) information regarding the authors of the works that refer to them. (b) A number of documents mention a sage (*maskil*) in relation to whom a document (or part of it) has been written (e.g. *Two Spirits Treatise*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, *Songs of the Maskil*). This should not, however, be confused with authorial self-ascription. Only in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q444, 510-511) does one who calls himself *maskil* clearly refer to himself in the first person (4Q510 1.4—"and I, the Instructor," וואני משכיל). (c) Of particular interest to the present discussion, the authorial "I" which occurs throughout the *Thanksgiving Hymns*—even if in some passages it can be traced back to a remarkable individual such as the Teacher of Righteousness (as many argue)—makes no overt attempt at any formal self-disclosure.

In the following survey of the use of the pseudepigraphal first person among the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, I will attempt to discern different patterns which bear this idiom, beginning with the earlier, more influential works.

2. THE FIRST PERSON IN THE ARAMAIC DEAD SEA DOCUMENTS

2.1. *Absence of the First Person*

A number of Aramaic documents recovered from the Dead Sea offer no indication of a writer's pseudepigraphal use of the first person. In such documents, all fragmentary, a third person narrative predominates. The literature includes the *4QJews in the Persian Court* materials (4Q550 and 4Q550a–e),¹⁵ the manuscripts which may relate to Noah's birth in 4Q534–536,¹⁶ the *4QPseudo Daniel* manuscripts of 4Q243–244 and 4Q245¹⁷ and, of course, the *Book of Giants* (1Q23–24, 2Q26, 4Q203, 4Q206a, 4Q530–533, 6Q8).¹⁸ However, except for the materials from 4Q550, these works are themselves closely associated with known first person pseudepigraphal works (in these cases, with Danielic and Enochic traditions).

Perhaps in this context it is also appropriate to mention the *Book of Tobit*, which is extant to us in four Aramaic manuscripts (4Q196–199), as well as one in Hebrew (4Q200).¹⁹ Among these fragments, as well as the so-called longer recension completely preserved in the Old Latin and Codex Sinaiticus Greek versions and the shorter recension preserved in Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, the protagonist, Tobit, is made to speak about himself in the first person throughout the first three chapters (1:3–3:6). This first person discourse embarks after an initial title of the work is presented in the third person: "This is the book of the words of Tobit..." (1:1–2, so both Greek recensions). The *Book of Tobit* is not, however, a pseudepigraphon in the sense

¹⁵ Published by Émile Puech, "550. 4QJuifs à la cour perse ar," in idem, *Qumran Grôte 4, XXVII: Textes araméens deuxième partie 4Q550–4Q575a, 4Q580–4Q587 et appendices* (DJD XXXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 1–46 (Plates I–II).

¹⁶ Puech, "534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar," in idem, *Qumran Grôte 4, XXII: Textes araméens première partie 4Q529–549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 117–70 (Plates VII–X).

¹⁷ John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, "243–245. 4Qpseudo-Daniel^{a-c} ar," in George J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 95–164 (Plates VII–X).

¹⁸ *Contra* Milik's claim, the *Book of Giants* fragments from Qumran show no sign whatsoever of being an Enochic pseudepigraphon; so Devorah Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch," *VT* 33 (1983), 14–29, at 16–17 and n. 8) and Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 24–28.

¹⁹ The fragments of 4Q196–200 are edited by Joseph A. Fitzmyer in Magen Broshi et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–75 (Plates I–X).

delineated above; after Tob 3:6 the work slips from being told by Tobit about himself into an anonymous third person narrative told about him and the other characters of the story. This third person discourse is sustained until the very end. Furthermore, and significantly so, when the first person voice occurs, it does not belong to a figure who is well known through sacred tradition. The “I” of Tobit is therefore a simply literary and fictional character. It is likely, nonetheless, that the book betrays an awareness of pseudepigraphy as a literary idiom; the writer, then, has borrowed the use of the first person to make the tale more vivid for readers at the outset, to draw them into the paradigmatic features of the story and, as some Jewish pseudepigrapha, to present itself as a divinely commissioned work (12:20; cf. Dan 8:26; 12:4, 9–10; 4 Ezra 12:37–38; 14:44–47; 2 Bar. 20:3–4).²⁰

Most of the remaining works preserved in Aramaic reflect the use of the first person to varying degrees. In describing where first person discourse occurs, I shall begin with the Enochic tradition since, as a whole, it offers the broadest usage of first person singular discourse, before discussing the main early (i.e., mostly pre-Maccabean) and then some of the later pieces. After this, what we have encountered in the Aramaic Dead Sea materials will be briefly compared with the use of the first person in some of the Hebrew documents from the scrolls.

2.2. *1 Enoch*

1 Enoch (or *Ethiopic Enoch*) is a collection of traditions—one can distinguish as many as twenty discrete sources—most of which are attributed to the antediluvian patriarch.²¹ Of the 108 chapters, which are only fully preserved in Ethiopic, a number of sections are not extant among the Dead Sea Aramaic manuscripts. The sections altogether absent are the *Similitudes* (chapters 37–71), the first vision of the *Book of Dreams* (chapters 83–84), and the Eschatological Admonition at the

²⁰ See further Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 101, who notes that the first person opening of the book links Tobit with the story of Ahiqar (whose proverbs are also recounted in the first person) and concludes that “a literary device is being employed by the author of this novel, who does not guarantee what he recounts, but makes his chief character report it. It is thus a good example of an ego-narrative, a literary form used in ancient romances” (e.g. Aramaic Ahiqar from Elephantine).

²¹ A few sections are also told from the perspective of Noah (so the Noahic first person in *1 En.* 65:1–69:26; cf. also chapters 6–11 which, however, remain in the third person).

very end (ch. 108). Not all parts of the Aramaic portions of *1 Enoch*, strictly speaking, come down to us in a first person idiom. As Charles observed over a hundred years ago,²² Enoch is neither mentioned by name nor even hinted at in chapters 6–11 of the *Book of Watchers*. Instead, these chapters, which belong to some of the earliest material in *1 Enoch* (i.e., alongside the *Astronomical Book*), are written entirely as a third person narrative. In the case of chapters 6–11 of *1 Enoch*, the story has more to do with the figure of Noah (cf. 10:3).

In the remaining parts of the Enochic tradition, the first person is applied in the following seven, sometimes overlapping, literary forms: the figure of “Enoch” is invoked to divulge (1) predictions of the future (chapters 1; cf. chapters 83–84; 91:11–17; 90:15–42); (2) denunciations (and sometimes exhortations) to second person plural addressees (chapters 2–5, Exhortation at 91:1–10, 18–19 and Epistle of Enoch 92:1–5 and 93:11–105:2); (3) historical reviews of history leading to predictions of the future (so the *Animal Apocalypse* in chapters 85–90 and *Apocalypse of Weeks* at 93:1–10 and 91:11–17); (4) theophanic visions (ch. 14 as a divine commissioning to pronounce judgement on the fallen angels in chapters 15–16); (5) otherworld journeys (see chapters 17–19, 20–36 and the *Astronomical Book*, chapters 72–80); (6) testamentary communication to Methuselah (*Astronomical Book* at e.g., 79:1; 81:1–82:4; *Book of Dreams* at 83:1 and 85:1; Exhortation 91:1–3; Epistle of Enoch, Aramaic to 92:1); and (7) a narrative (Birth of Noah, chapters 106–107).

If we exclude the *Astronomical Book*, the beginning of the early Enochic tradition in its present form opens with a third person heading (1:1 “The blessing of Enoch with which he blessed...”) before the first person voice of Enoch takes over. The otherworldly journeys and revelation of ancient scientific knowledge in the *Astronomical Book* stand at an early part of the tradition, and at a much later stage this was supplemented by the insertion of a testamentary scene of Enochic communication to his children (81:1–82:4).²³ This expansion illustrates what may be surmised about the role of the testamentary instructions which are introduced in the third person at the beginning of the

²² Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 13–14.

²³ For a recent reconstruction of the growth and dating of the early traditions in *1 Enoch*, see my commentary, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 5–16.

Exhortation (91:1–3), Epistle of Enoch (92:1) and even the much later Eschatological Admonition (108:1). These testamentary scenes, which open (though do not close) the sections in which they appear, function in three ways: (1) they provide headings at the beginnings of new sections of material (so also 83:1 and 85:1); (2) they furnish a narrative rationale for the addition of yet further Enochic tradition (i.e., they presuppose that revered Enoch sources already exist); and (3) they explain how it is that the revelation disclosed during ante-diluvian times could have been transmitted through to the present. In the latter case, the connections between Enoch and his son Methuselah, on the one hand, and between Enoch and Noah who survived the Great Flood, on the other, function as crucial elements for the narrative framework. The authorial “I” of Enoch thus not only lays claim to having received divine revelation about the cosmos and the way it works, but can also, as by divine plan, speak to the socio-religious circumstances of those who have fallen heir to this tradition. However, the otherworldly journeys in the *Astronomical Book* and *Book of Watchers*, in the first instance, involve disclosures mediated through an angelic tour guide and interlocutor. This mode of revelation was, nevertheless, easily reconcilable with a testamentary medium, as already shown in those Aramaic fragments to the *Astronomical Book* in which Enoch passes to his son the scientific knowledge about the movements of the sun and moon received from the angel (79:1; cf. 4QEnastr^b 26.6).

In *1 Enoch* and its witnesses among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the first person writers find validation for their divine revelation in two main ways. First, legitimation comes from a visionary journey to the divine throne room where the Enochic author is commissioned (14:8–25). The medium of a heavenly vision is also reflected in other texts that refer to what writers have seen in “the heavenly tablets” (81:1–4; 93:1–2; 103:2). Second, in one instance an Enochic writer attributes his knowledge to the outpouring of “a spirit” (from God) upon him (91:1); he thus understands himself as a prophet.

The traditions pieced together into *1 Enoch* display a remarkable diversity, not only in form but also in content. This diversity is due in some measure to the lengthy span of time behind the early Enoch materials (i.e., late fourth/early third century until the mid-second century B.C.E.). One example of this is, of course, the apparent contradiction between the attribution of evil to the rebellious angels in the *Book of Watchers* (chapters 6–11) and the insistence in the Epistle of Enoch that sin has not been imported into the world but is,

instead, a matter of human invention (98:4–6). This tension, however, is not simply to be explained as a difference of opinion; the Epistle draws heavily throughout on the language and content of the *Book of Watchers*. Given this indebtedness, it is interesting that near the end of the Epistle the Enochic “I” betrays an awareness of other traditions circulating in Enoch’s name (104:9–13). Whereas J. T. Milik and others, following a particular construal of the Greek Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus, have often taken the writer to be complaining about others who “write in their own names” (so that we have there a conspicuous justification for the practice of pseudepigraphy),²⁴ the passage is more likely concerned with what the writer regards as illegitimate traditions attributed to Enoch. Here, at an early stage of reception of Enoch tradition, we can observe a competition between a writer’s “authentic” assumption of Enoch’s name and others who were apparently doing the same thing (though inauthentically, from the writer’s point of view).²⁵ This, in turn, betrays the possibility that Enoch tradition—perhaps even through the medium of the first person “I”—was not the domain of one group alone.

Before drawing observations on the Enoch tradition to a close, I would like to make three further points. Firstly, the first person Enochic voices are in some respects engaged in a *Kulturkampf*. There is, for example, little doubt that the fragments relating to the *Astronomical Book* present a calendrical scheme that draws on ancient Babylonian scientific knowledge based on observations of heavenly bodies (MUL.APIN)²⁶ while, at the same time, advocating a distinct scheme that contrasted with others being adopted in the Hellenistic world. Furthermore, the instructions attributed to rebellious angels in chapters 6–11 of the *Book of Watchers* reflect a series of practices and teachings that breach the cosmic order; George Nickelsburg has justifiably regarded these bad influences as manifestations of Hellenistic socio-political dominance in the wake of Alexander the Great’s military

²⁴ Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 50.

²⁵ See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 591–593.

²⁶ See Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000); for an overview, see J. Edward Wright, *The Early History of Heaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 126–27 and n. 47.

conquests and its eventual consolidation under the Diadochi.²⁷ Though chapters 6–11 do not mention Enoch at all, at a very early stage the socio-religious protest therein formed a nucleus around which traditions communicated through the Enochic “I” to articulate its implications for religious loyalty and cosmic knowledge (first in chapters 12–16,²⁸ then in the journeys of 17–19 and 20–36, and finally through a pronouncement of divine judgement and warning against the errant wicked in chapters 1–5). Finally, against the backdrop of epic presentations of mythological beginnings and ethnocentric historiographical accounts (e.g., Hesiod), the Enochic first person voices of the *Animal Apocalypse* and *Apocalypse of Weeks* framed a very different—and, I would argue, deliberately contrasting—story of religious loyalty and disloyalty from the beginning until the present (Maccabean war). The postulated antediluvian Enoch, concerned as it was about beginnings and the emergence of a faithful people of God, ran counter, not only to the substance of Hesiodic myths but also to the growing distinction between author and sources in Greek historiography. Anchored in a revered antediluvian figure, traditions in *1 Enoch* could have a certain *gravitas* that secured a place for the Enochic authors and their communities within the larger stream of ethno- and historiographical ideas circulating during the early Hellenistic period.

Second, if the early Enochic traditions, as I argue, betrayed an awareness of the wider antique interests in cultural beginnings, one may understand why writing in the name of a venerable patriarch from antediluvian times could be regarded as an effective—indeed, strategic—means of communication. In contrast to the de-anonymizing developments in classical and Hellenistic historiography, the Enochic tradition invoked a revered and ancient proper name in order to close the gap between knowledge and author. Put another way, the claim that divine revelation was disseminated at such an early stage of world history required, in a growing climate of open authorial identification, the attachment of a name. This alone may explain why not only one,

²⁷ For his initial publication to this effect, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 383–405.

²⁸ On the way the condemnation of the giants reflects a debate between the Enochic tradition and Euhemeristic presentations of the origin of culture, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Angels’ and ‘Giants’ of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century B.C.E. Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 354–77.

but a series of revelations could be attributed to and grow around the figure of Enoch.

Third, the first person Enochic tradition, once underway, did not develop within a sterile Enochic environment; the voice of Enoch was adapted and augmented under the impulse of new socio-economic and religio-political circumstances, and in a continuing awareness of contemporary historiographical and euhemeristic writing.²⁹ That these circumstances were not simply stimuli from “outside” Judaism is clear, for example, from the passionate energy with which the Enochic writer of the Epistle responds to criticisms that were being levelled against sacred Enoch traditions themselves.³⁰

2.3. *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD)

This document is preserved in 7 Aramaic Qumran mss. (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, 4Q214b), one Aramaic piece (Ms. A) from the Cairo Genizah, the Greek Koutlounousiou no. 39 and in a Syriac ms. now in the British Library.³¹ Neither the beginning nor the end of the work are preserved in any of these materials, so that we do not know the macro-literary context within which the main body of the text—which to some extent can be reconstructed—was originally encased. While the document shows some tradition-historical affinity with the form of the later *Testament of Levi* among the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, it is as a whole a different literary piece.

Throughout the extant parts of *ALD* the first person narrative dominates the communication from beginning to end. This is even more the case than in the early *1 Enoch* documents which are introduced with third person headings that anchor Enoch’s voice in a narrative setting (visions, stories, instructions, exhortations). Drawing on the

²⁹ See Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Angels’ and ‘Giants’ of Genesis 6:1–4,” 358–70.

³⁰ See my introduction to the Epistle of Enoch in *1 Enoch 91–108*, 188–216. For a sustained discussion that follows one aspect of the Epistle’s intra-Jewish debate, see Randal A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (EJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

³¹ The following observations on *ALD* are indebted to two recent studies by Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (VTP-Sup 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004) and Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004). The outline provided below is an adaptation of Drawnel’s scheme.

recent commentaries by Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, on the one hand, and by Drawnel, on the other (see bibliography in n. 31), one may distinguish the following sections in this document:

- (1) A *prayer* by Levi, which is introduced in the first person by a description of the patriarch's purificatory preparations for the prayer. Motifs in the prayer are picked up in *Jub.* 1:19–20 (cf. also 10:3–6; 12:19–20; 19:28) and the "Prayer of Deliverance" in 11Q5 19:15–16.
- (2) A heavenly *vision*, again introduced in the first person, this time bearing some affinity with the vision in the later *Testament of Levi* 2–5. Similar to the otherworldly journeys in *1 Enoch* (cf. chapters 17–36) the vision is mediated by an angelic figure. The precise content of the vision is not preserved.
- (3) A third person *narrative* which recounts the Shechem incident known through Genesis 34 and mentioned in the later *Testament of Levi* 6.
- (4) Another third person *narrative*, perhaps an extension of the Shechem account, which tells of the wrong Joseph's brothers did to him.
- (5) A partially preserved *vision*, which concludes with a first person account of the patriarch waking up from the vision and hiding it "in my heart" (a motif not found in *1 Enoch*). This concluding narrative to the vision has its closest analogy to the first person conclusion to the *Animal Apocalypse* in *1 Enoch* 90:42 (the only such narrative conclusion extant for the early Enochic works). In this vision, mediated by seven (angelic) beings, Levi is told that he will be elevated above his brothers to the priesthood; a reference to this vision may be found in *Jub.* 32:1 (cf. *T. Levi* 8).
- (6) A third person *narrative* telling of a visit by Levi to Isaac.
- (7) A third person *narrative* account of Levi's ordination at Bethel to the priesthood as "priest to God, the God Most High." Jacob recognizes Levi's status, gives tithes and arrays Levi in priestly clothing; again, this is picked up in a fuller narrative in *Jub.* 32:2–9 (cf. *T. Levi* 9).
- (8) A lengthy *instruction* by Isaac to Levi, based on his status as "priest to God the Most High." Though the predominant frame for the cultic instruction is formulated in the first person, the instruction itself does not come from Levi, but rather from Isaac. The words of Isaac play a similar role to those of divine instruction that come to the patriarch in the visions. This kind of instruction is picked up in father-son teaching found in *Jubilees*.

- (9) Another lengthy third person *narrative* in which Levi tells of the births of his children and grandchildren and gives a chronological outline of his life. This section contains accounts about his family (e.g., Qahat, Amram, Yochebed) that are picked up again in *Testament of Qahat* and *Visions of Amram* (see below).
- (10) A further series of first person instructions which open with a testamentary setting. Levi calls together his children, spurred to do this by his brother Joseph's death (though nothing explicitly states that Levi is about to die). His teaching to family includes exhortation based on the example of Joseph, a reflection on the greatness and hiddenness of wisdom, and a prediction that mentions future apostasy based on what the patriarch has read "in the books." These books refer to pre-existing tradition; though they may be fictional in the narrative itself, the reference could also refer to Noahic or even Enochic traditions.

In comparison to the early Enochic traditions, *ALD* devotes more time to patriarchal narrative and relates directly to the storylines that come down to us through biblical tradition. The pre-existence of patriarchal narrative (e.g., of tradition preserved in the Hebrew Bible) allows the expansion of the first person communication to include various events in the patriarch's life, whereas a significant feature of Enoch's narrative material relates to events that happen in the future (from his perspective). In this respect, one might speak of an expanded use of the first person in *ALD* which could be more fully integrated into pre-existing tradition which had been narrated in the third person. While this may be the product of the differences between the small amount of received tradition about Enoch (cf. Gen 5:21–24) and the vast amount of material relating to the time of Levi in Genesis and Exodus, the first person accounts in *1 Enoch* and *ALD* reflect the use of similar forms: both, as a whole, involve visions, narratives, and patriarchal prayers. In comparison to the Enochic tradition, however, *ALD* does not preserve anything from an extended otherworldly journey (though this may be implied in the first vision that has parallels with the later *Testament of Levi* 2–5). In addition, *ALD* nowhere seems to have contained a review of history as we encounter it in either the *Animal Apocalypse* or *Apocalypse of Weeks*. Furthermore, *ALD*'s prediction of future apostasy occurs within the testamentary framework, something that in the testamentary parts of Enochic tradition does not occur until the Exhortation (cf. 91:5–10) and Birth of Noah (cf. 106:18–107:1), which draw on the Flood story as a type for eschatological events. The affinities between *ALD* and the Enochic tradition,

then, have mostly to do with the early strands within the Enochic tradition (see the patriarch's elevation, divine commissioning and vision in *1 En.* 12–14) and the provision of a testamentary setting (see *1 En.* 81–82 and 91 which, however, are given in the third person). Moreover, the first person prayers in the respective works have very different functions: whereas in *ALD* the prayer (A) is one uttered by Levi in relation to himself, the prayer by Enoch in the *Book of Dreams* (chapters 83–84, which may well be a subsequent addition to the Enochic corpus) is concerned with Enoch's descendants after the Flood. Finally, whereas the *Book of Watchers* (chapters 2–5) and *Epistle of Enoch* (especially 94:6–102:3) contain a series of denunciations and exhortations not immediately indebted to the fictive testamentary setting, the instructions and exhortations in *ALD* occur almost entirely within the framework of communication between parent and progeny. This leaves us to infer that the testamentary setting in the instructions and exhortations of Enoch is a formality that introduces material that relates more directly to the time of the real authors, while in *ALD* the testamentary setting, where it occurs, remains rooted in the patriarchal storyline and, therefore, makes subtler and more remote reference to the writers' contemporary circumstances.

The early Enoch traditions and *ALD* both preserve first person communication which would proliferate in later apocalyptic visionary and testamentary literature. The formality of the Enochic testamentary framework suggests it presupposes the prior establishment of a testamentary medium as parental communication with descendants. In terms of development, the testamentary form we find in *ALD* lies somewhere between the non-testamentary *Book of Watchers* (*contra* Nickelsburg)³² and the later formal use of parental communication in *1 Enoch* 81–82 and 91 where it was used to justify the addition of further tradition under Enoch's name.

2.4. *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542)

This text, preserved in three fragments published by Puech,³³ is closely related in content to *ALD*. The preserved portions, in which the predominant discourse is in the first person, transmit blessing and instruc-

³² See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 22–26 and 335–37.

³³ “542. 4QTestament de Qahat ar,” in DJD XXXI, 257–88 (Plate XV).

tion in the name of Qahat to his children. Though the narrative frame which encased the patriarch's words is not extant, a testamentary setting for the whole document is plausible; the "I" (Qahat) appeals to Levi (and perhaps to Levi's ancestors as well) as the source for the words he is passing on. It is likely that this first person instruction has been influenced by or is based on a model found in *ALD*. Moreover, the reference to sinners and the mention of abysses and caverns in 1 ii 6–7 may be an allusion to the post-mortem chambers described in more detail in the Enochic *Book of Watchers* (22:1–14).

2.5. *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–547, 4Q548–549?)³⁴

Here we have the earliest example of a first person testament in a form that would later dominate, for example, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. It is not clear whether and, if so, to what extent, the same form characterised *ALD* (at the beginning and end) and *Testament of Qahat*. Not only the beginning but also, arguably, the end of the document is preserved (i.e., if 4Q549 may be assigned to it). After the opening which calls the document "a copy of the book 'The Words of the Vision of 'Amram son of Qahat, son of Levi,'" a third person narrative introduction presents the occasion for the patriarch's words as the time of his impending death (4Q543 1 a–c.1 + 4Q545 1a i). As with the Enochic *Book of Watchers*, *Apocalypse of Weeks* and *Astronomical Book* (see also *1QGenesis Apocryphon* v 29, *4QWords of Michael* and *4QPrayer of Nabonidus*), the title prepares the reader for a first person account to follow.

In what may belong to the conclusion, a third person narrative recounts the deaths of 'Amram and his wife Yochebed before adding additional genealogical material relating to the patriarch's children. Between the opening and conclusion, the first person discourse predominates or lies behind the instruction, which is alternately given to "my sons" (4Q543 1:2, 20:1; 4Q546 14:4; cf. also 4Q548 1 ii–2) and "my son" (4Q543 2; 4Q546 14:1). Here, the patriarch predicts future apostasy (as *ALD*) and recounts a visionary experience in which he is asked by two opposing angelic beings which one he wishes to be ruled by (4Q543 5–9, 10 and 14; 4Q544 1:10–15 and 2:11–16; 4Q547 1–2 iii 9–13). Similar to what Levi does in *ALD*, he reports on events in his

³⁴ Published by Puech, "4Q543–4Q549. 4QVisions de 'Amram^{a-s} ar," in DJD XXXI, 283–405 (Plates XVI–XXII).

life: the time of his transition from Canaan to Egypt and his relationship to Yochebed his wife. Significantly, the document, for all its focus on the priesthood and the figure of Aaron, also shows a particular interest in the figure of Moses and may even refer to the naming of Moses at his birth (4Q546 8:[4] and 9:3). In addition, the work demonstrates familiarity with the existence of a wicked angel, Malki-resha (4Q544 2:13), doing so within a dualistic context, though this does not appear to be accompanied by the kind of pre-determinism expressed in the *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS 3:13–4:26).

While *Visions of Amram*, in comparison to *1 Enoch* and *ALD*, does not preserve any innovation of form, its integration of explicit tradition about Moses into the pseudepigraphic “I” accounts is of some interest. This may simply be the expected outcome of a sequence of pseudepigraphic materials attributed to Levi, Qahat, and Amram (the father of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam). Nevertheless, it is significant that, in extending the transmission of divine revelation all the way to Amram, the work reaches into a period of sacred history that not only relates to priesthood of Aaron but also to the activities of Moses. Unfortunately, we cannot know whether or not the visions had anything to say about the Torah at Sinai. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Moses within the ambit of a larger first person discourse marks an important formal step in the direction of the *Book of Jubilees*.

2.6. *Testament of Jacob* (4Q537)

The mostly small remains of 4Q537 (25 fragments)³⁵ do not convey anything which formally relates to paternal instruction to descendants. However, the predominance of the second person plural for addressees in a prediction of future blessings and apostasy in fragments 5–9 is consistent with such a (testamentary) form. Moreover, if the reconstruction of the patriarch’s years as 147 is correct (4Q537 1+2+3.4; see *Jub.* 45:13), then it is possible that a patriarch’s impending death provides the narrative rationale for his vision and instruction. The small overlaps and the consistency of content between fragments 1+2+3 and *Jub.* 32:21–22 suggest that the composition at this point has to do with Jacob, the first person speaker. Here the authorial “I” recounts a vision of tablets which contain forthcoming events in his life. In addi-

³⁵ See Puech, “4Q537. 4QTestament de Jacob? Ar (4QTJa? ar),” in DJD XXXI, 171–90 (Plate XI).

tion—if we may take *Jub.* 32:16–26 (esp. v. 23) as a clue—a tablet instructs the patriarch that he should not build a sanctuary at Bethel (1+2+3.5–6). This instruction is complemented by a further vision that reveals how the future cult (i.e., that of Jerusalem) would operate (12.1–3). The material seems to take up the kind of cultic instruction given by Isaac to Levi in *ALD*.³⁶

Formally, then, the first person discourse in 4Q537 is used in the context of vision, on the one hand, and instruction—probably to descendants of the patriarch—on the other. We do not know how large the composition was and how it related to other traditions, whether as an account within a series of other first person accounts (as the *Genesis Apocryphon*)³⁷ or whether the tradition stood alone. The resonances between the extant fragments of 4Q537 and the narrative of *Jubilees* in any case may suggest that *Jubilees* was drawing on the traditions we find here.

2.7. Further Patriarchal Compositions: 4Q538, 4Q539, 4Q540, 4Q541 and 4Q215

Several further manuscripts relating to Jacob's sons exhibit a predominant use of the first person discourse. As these very fragmentary materials preserve very small portions of text, it suffices here to note their formal characteristics.

First, we consider 4Q538 which Starcky originally identified as "Testament of Benjamin" but which has been renamed "4QTestament of Judah" by Puech.³⁸ Following the view of Milik,³⁹ Puech justifies the new designation: while 4Q538 refers to Joseph in the third person, the narrative unfolds as a first person account. Whereas the first person in 4Q538 1–2.6 could refer to Benjamin (see Gen 45:14–15; cf. *Jub.* 43:15), the correspondences between the fragments and the later *Testament of Judah* indicate that, as a whole, the fragments may be more immediately concerned with Judah. Judah, then, is made to tell

³⁶ So Puech, "4Q537," 182.

³⁷ See Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 186 and 188, who proposed that 4Q537 be assigned to *Genesis Apocryphon*.

³⁸ "4Q538. 4QTestament de Juda ar," in DJD XXXI, 191–99 (Plate XII).

³⁹ Józef T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. Mathias Delcor; BETL 46; Paris, Gembloux: Ducolot/Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 91–106, at 97.

of Joseph's disclosure of his identity to his brothers as they return to Egypt for food. Again, such material, which relates to Gen 44:1–45:10, is reflected in *Jub.* 42:25–43:18. There is nothing explicitly testamentary among the fragments, though the notion of a patriarch telling about events is not incompatible with such a framework.

Second, 4Q539, the five fragments of which are published as a "Testament of Joseph" by Puech,⁴⁰ are dominated by the first person discourse in which a figure addresses "my sons" and speaks about events in his life. A testamentary framework is plausible but not explicit, and the events recounted link the fictive narrator to Joseph (esp. the resonances between frgs. 2–3 and the later *Test. Jos.* 15–16).⁴¹ It is instructive to compare this Aramaic text with three Hebrew manuscripts called *Apocryphon of Joseph* in 4Q371–373, 4Q373a which are likewise dominated by a first person.⁴² However, as Puech notes, nowhere among these Hebrew texts is Joseph presented as instructing his children;⁴³ instead, the Hebrew materials offer a third person narrative about events in Joseph's life and attribute to Joseph a lengthy prayer within that narrative (in the first person) in which Joseph extols God, asks for wisdom, and petitions for deliverance from the foreigners to whom he had been handed over. The dominant discourse, then, is not first person communication which is subordinated to a formally anonymous storyline about Joseph and his brothers.

Third, 4Q540 and 4Q541 have both been given by Puech the uncertain title of "4QApocryphe de Lévi^{a-b} ar (?)." ⁴⁴ The very fragmentary text of 4Q540 (13 fragments) contains a prediction for which no first person narrator is extant. Fortunately, the 25 fragments of 4Q541 have considerably more text to go on. Here a first person narrator tells what has happened to him (2 i 6, 8–9; 3.2) and introduces his own speech (2 i 9). However, a third person narrative introduces a "parable" with predictions about the wisdom and cultic activities of a priestly figure

⁴⁰ "4Q539. 4QTestament de Joseph ar," in DJD XXXI, 201–11 (Plate XII).

⁴¹ See Puech's commentary in "4Q539," 208.

⁴² Published by Eileen Schuller and Moshe J. Bernstein under the title "4Q371–373. 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition^{a-c}," in Douglas M. Gropp et al., *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaritan Papyri and Qumran Cave 4. XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 151–204 (Plates XLIV–XLIX). The editors associate these manuscripts further with 2Q22, originally published as "Un Apocryphe de David (?)," in Maurice Baillet, *Let petites grôtes de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 81–82 (Plate XV).

⁴³ Puech, "4Q539," 201 n. 1.

⁴⁴ See DJD XXXI, 213–56.

(probably Levi, understood as a corporeal figure for the priesthood cf. 24 ii 5), as well as a future slander against him. The speaker's identity is not given. The text at 24 ii 5 suggests that the speaker who is giving instructions to Levi and refers to "your father" and "your brothers" may be either an angelic figure or, as in *ALD*, Isaac who, having instructed Levi about his priestly duties, also refers to "your father" and "your brothers." The closing announcement in fragment 24 (ii 6), which refers to the addressee in relation to his enemy, may be a tradition also picked up within Isaac's blessing of Levi in *Jub.* 31:7.

Fourth, and significantly, a small Hebrew text in 4Q215 contains a pseudepigraphal first person account attributed to Naphtali. Nothing suggests a testamentary setting or instruction that often accompanies a testament, though this may have framed the original work. The uncertainty of genre explains the convincing revision by Michael Stone of the designation from 4QTestament of Naphtali to 4QNaphtali.⁴⁵

2.8. *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20)

The three patriarchal narratives preserved in this document relate to Lamech (cols. 2:1–5:27), Noah (5:29–18:19) and Abraham (cols. 19–23), who are made to tell their stories in the first person. The document's use of the first person differs from that of the other Aramaic texts discussed thus far. Unlike the patriarchal stories we have reviewed, none of the extant material contains instruction embedded in a testamentary setting; this weakens Klaus Beyer's suggestion that the first person discourse of Jacob and Joseph in 4Q537 and 4Q539, respectively, may have belonged to lost parts of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.⁴⁶ The predominance of the patriarchal first person in *Genesis Apocryphon*, however, needs to be qualified in at least two respects.

First, despite the predominance of first person discourse, the work as a whole contains some third person narrative. Like the third person headings in *4QVisions of Amram*, some of the *1 Enoch* documents, and 4Q529, the Noah narrative is introduced by the title, "a book of the words of Noah" (v 29). Also, there are other third person narrative

⁴⁵ So Michael E. Stone, "4QNaphtali," in George J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 73–82 (Plate V).

⁴⁶ Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, 70–71 (4Q537) and 186–88 (4Q539).

sections in other Lamech (cf. 5:24–25), Noah (16:14–17:19), and Abrahamic (21:23–22:34) passages. Since the beginnings of the Lamech and Abraham narratives are lost, we do not know whether either or both contained such a heading as well before the first person account took over. The extant portions, however, disclose that the three patriarchal sections shift at some stage in the direction of a third person narrative.

Though the Abraham narrative is dominated by first person discourse where it becomes extant at the beginning of column 19:7 through column 21:22, everything from column 21:23 on (through 22:34) is narrated in the third person; we do not know whether the narrative continued this way to the end or returned to the first person. A similar, though less conspicuous, shift seems to occur in the Noah narrative. While Noah is made to speak of Shem as “my son” in column 17, there is no clear evidence of any first person narrator in the preserved portions of columns 16 and 17 in which the third person predominates. If the section on Noah concludes at the bottom of column 17, then the story ends in the third person. The section presented as Lamech’s story retains the first person throughout, except for a temporary slip into the third person where the text, at column 5:24–25 states, “Now when Methuselah heard [...] and spoke in secret with Lamech his son [...]” The conclusion, however, returns to Lamech speaking about himself in the first person (v 26–27). Given the absence of the conclusions to the Noah and Abraham stories, we cannot therefore know whether or not they returned to first person discourse as in the Lamech story.

Second, there is extant text belonging to at least two columns before the Lamech narrative becomes identifiable as such at the beginning of column 2. These columns are called column “0” and “1,” respectively.⁴⁷ They will certainly have contained the beginning of the Lamech story about Noah’s birth near the bottom of column 1. Beyond this, the small portions of text suggest we may have to do with a narrative about the rebellious angels, their misdeeds, their binding, and the consequences of this for “all flesh” (1:24, 28). Here, it is difficult to determine the governing voice of discourse. Though words are attributed

⁴⁷ The present description of the contents of these columns is indebted to the editorial work in the recent Ph.D. thesis by Daniel A. Machiela, “The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): A Reevaluation of Its Text, Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2007), 76–78.

to the fallen angels who, for example, say “and now we are bound” (0:15) and refer to themselves several times (0: 8, 9, 18, 20 and 1:4?), the two instances of first person singular “I” (1:10, 13) do not belong to one of these angels but rather to a figure who is addressing them (see “your sons” in 1:8, perhaps a reference to the angels’ gargantuan offspring). Though this figure could conceivably be a divine emissary (i.e., an angel or Enoch), we have no indication that the narrative itself is governed by a first person voice similar to what we have in the Lamech, Noah and Abraham stories.

As observed above, there is no trace of a testamentary framework in the *Genesis Apocryphon*; moreover, there is no discourse of instruction in the extant parts of the work. In addition, there is no apparent interest in halakhah (unlike *ALD*). The unusual nature of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is cast into sharper relief in the way it has strung three (mostly) first person accounts by three different patriarchs. While the document, as a whole, clearly draws on a number of discrete traditions (whether Pentateuchal, Enochic, or otherwise), it is not to be assumed that the first person of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is, in the case of the patriarchal stories, an arrangement of three distinct pseudepigraphal voices. Indeed, as Moshe Bernstein in particular is demonstrating, there are sufficient thematic and terminological links between the three stories to suggest that the *different* first person voices are but the literary work of a *single* author or editor; that is, the first person voices are actually *one* voice.⁴⁸

In recognition of its distinct literary character, we may then note a significant formal trait shared by the *Genesis Apocryphon* with the other works we have covered. Similar to the Enochic tradition, *ALD*, *4QVisions of Amram* and *4Q537*, the first person voice in *Genesis Apocryphon* recounts visionary experiences (here the visions of Noah and Abraham). This is the case for Noah on two discernible occasions, in a divine epiphany of reassurance to Noah in 11:15–19 and in a more lengthy dream vision about trees and its interpretation that begins somewhere between 12:17 and 13:8 and continues until 15:20. Abraham, too, is made to recount a dream about trees and to explain its meaning in 19:14–21. This visionary material is concerned with the immediate and, in xv 8–18, with what seems to be eschatological

⁴⁸ See now Moshe Bernstein, “Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources in the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 291–310.

future (as in 4Q537), while the visions given to Enoch and Levi include a divine commissioning and otherworldly journeys (*1 En.* 14, 17–36; *Astronomical Book*; *ALD* sections B and E as above).

Significantly, a number of details in the *Genesis Apocryphon* coincide with elements of tradition found in *Jubilees*, despite the different narrative strategies they represent. Points of contact are, for example, the provision of names for the wives of Lamech and Noah. In addition, and more significantly, scholars such as Esther Eshel and Daniel Machiela have recently drawn attention to shared features in the documents' *mapa mundi* and to their use of two-ways imagery, arguing that this can be explained on the basis of dependence on the part of *Jubilees* on the *Genesis Apocryphon* or tradition contained therein.⁴⁹

Before considering *Jubilees* further, I would like to look briefly at four other documents in which the first person governs the discourse but does not purport to be words of one of the patriarchs between the antediluvian and the Mosaic period. These are the *New Jerusalem* materials, 4Q529, 4Q242, and the book of Daniel.

2.9. *New Jerusalem* (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 5Q15, 11Q18)⁵⁰

In the fragmentary remains of the document, one can discern a narrative discourse that is dominated by the first person singular. Here a visionary is led by an angelic tour guide on a journey in which he sees the measurements, architecture and city plan of the heavenly Jerusalem. The content and form of the fragments have Ezekiel 40–48 in its background. Nevertheless, Eibert Tigchelaar has recently suggested that the narrative could make sense if one presupposes that Jacob were the visionary (cf. 4Q537).⁵¹ The fragments, however, offer no indication that the vision is framed within a larger testamentary setting.

⁴⁹ See Esther Eshel, "The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Iba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 82–98; Machiela, "The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20)," 219–84 and 310–312. For a very different assessment, see Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; London: T. & T. Clark, 2007).

⁵⁰ For the edition of the 4Q materials, along with a discussion of *New Jerusalem* as a whole, see Puech, "4Q554–554a–555. 4QJérusalem Nouvelle^{a-c} ar," in idem, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXVII: Textes araméens deuxième partie* (DJD XXXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 91–152.

⁵¹ Eibert Tigchelaar, "The Imaginal Context and the Visionary of the Aramaic New Jerusalem," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour*

2.10. *Words of Michael* (4Q529)⁵²

4Q529, preserved on only two fragments, is fortunately extant at the beginning with a third person title: “the words of the book which Michael said to the angels.” Though the title could lead readers to suppose that the first person discourse in the following lines is being attributed to Michael, Puech plausibly suggests that the identification of the first person visionary with Enoch “seems reasonable,”⁵³ especially given the resonances with details found in several Enochic visions (1 En. 14:8ff.; 17:1ff.; 2 En. 20:1, 7; 21:5ff.) and the seer’s reference to his having seen Gabriel in a certain part of heaven. Even if Puech is correct, however, a certain tension between the title and the following lines would remain, and the pseudepigraphic use of the first person is complex: if in lines 2–5a the visionary character is a figure like Enoch, line 5b introduces speech by Gabriel; in the following line 6 the text reads, “in my book(s) of my Great One, the eternal Lord, it is written,” giving the impression that the book or books are those of Gabriel. The text itself fails to give any details that obviously derive from the angel Michael. After line 6 the content recounted of the revelation given to Gabriel includes the division of the earth among Noah’s sons (l.7), the construction of a city for the divine name (l.9), prediction of evil activity before God (l.10), divine mercy (l.12) and the existence of a righteous man “in distant lands” (ll.13–16). If the document were formally presented as the (pseudepigraphic) words of Michael, then it corresponds in that respect to the first person angelic discourse sustained throughout the *Book of Jubilees* (see below).

2.11. *4Q242 (4QPrayer of Nabonidus)*⁵⁴

Though preserved among only four fragments we have the third person title of this work: “the words of the p[ra]yer which Nabunay, king of [Baby]lon, [the great]king, prayed [when he was smitten] with a bad disease by the decree of G[o]d in Teima.” The following account is told in the first person from Nabonidus’ perspective. He tells of an

of Florentino García Martínez (ed. Anthony T. Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 257–70.

⁵² Edition by Puech, “4Q529. 4QParoles de Michel ar,” in DJD XXXI, 1–8.

⁵³ So Puech, “4Q529,” 1.

⁵⁴ See the edition by John J. Collins, “4Q242. Prayer of Nabonidus ar,” in DJD XXII, 83–93.

“evil skin disease” that lasted a period of seven years in Teiman (frgs. 1–2 lines 6–7). It is possible, too, that fragment 1 line 3 (now lost) originally described Nabunay’s state as comparable to that of a beast (cf. Dan 4:25b) or that he was “set apart from human beings” (Dan 4:25a). There is wide agreement that the text here antedates its counterpart in Daniel 4 where an editor of the tradition has applied the story to the better known Nebuchadnezzar who was associated with the destruction of the First Temple.⁵⁵ The form of the text is mirrored in Daniel 4:1–37 by a first person account attributed to Nebuchadnezzar who tells of his being “driven from humanity” to live among the wild animals (4:23, 25, 31, 34). The length of the title of 4Q242 suggests a writer’s assumption that Nabunay’s identity might not be readily known to readers and required some explanation. Thus the use of the first person here for such a figure is unusual; here the attribution of words to a king associated with the oppression of Jews during the exilic period is deliberate, as it underscores the effectiveness of divine power and forgiveness mediated by a pious Jew.

2.12. *The Book of Daniel*

The first six chapters of Daniel have no first person discourse except for that which was ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar in chapter 4 and has its parallel in *4QPrayer of Nabonidus*. By contrast, chapters 7 through 12 consist of five visions narrated as an account given in the first person by Daniel himself. Whereas chapters 8, 9 and 11 are visions which are introduced by the Danielic seer, the visions in chapters 7 and 10 open with brief third person narratives that set the stage for first person narrations which follow immediately:

7:1—“In the first year of King Belshazzar of Babylon, Daniel had a dream and visions of his head as he lay in bed. Then he wrote down the dream.” (NRSV)

10:1—“In the third year of King Cyrus of Persia a word was revealed to Daniel, who was named Belteshazzar. The word was true, and it con-

⁵⁵ See Ida Fröhlich, ‘*Time and Times and Half a Time*’: *Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras* (JSPSup, 19; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996), 11–48; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Formation and Re-formation of Daniel in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume One: Scripture and the Scrolls* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 101–130, at 104–106.

cerned a great conflict. He understood the word, having received understanding in the vision.” (NRSV)⁵⁶

Unlike some of the documents and sections of documents reviewed above, no part of Daniel is furnished with a title. Moreover, the narrative settings are nowhere encased or associated with the testamentary form. The closest parallel to Daniel 7:1 and 10:1 is to be found in the short narratives that introduce Enoch’s visions in the *Book of Dreams* (1 En. 83:1) and *Animal Vision* (1 En. 85:1), though the communication by Enoch is presented as visions later told to Methuselah his son.

3. JUBILEES: A PIVOTAL CASE OF PSEUDEPIGRAPHY

The above review of the Aramaic compositions preserved among the Dead Sea materials has offered an occasion to note possible instances in which traditions they contain correspond to forms taken up in the *Book of Jubilees*. The documents in question are *Book of Watchers*, *Astronomical Book*, *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Epistle of Enoch* (so I would argue), *Aramaic Levi Document*, *4QTestament of Jacob*, *4QTestament of Benjamin*, possibly *4QWords of Michael*, and *Genesis Apocryphon*. To be sure, it is very difficult to build a solid argument to demonstrate that any or all of these shared forms are due to the influence of *Jubilees* or, conversely, due to their influence on *Jubilees*. Indeed, rather than making assertions of direct borrowing in one direction or another, one might more safely refer to familiarity with traditions that have been preserved in this or that work. I would like, then, to begin with the possibility that the compiler-writer of *Jubilees*, given its more comprehensive embrace of a wider range of Bible-related traditions, was familiar with a number of forms and ideas that circulated in the Aramaic materials.⁵⁷ To the extent this view may be espoused, three reflections suggest themselves.

⁵⁶ These opening words correspond to the form adopted in Dan 1:1 (Hebrew) where, however, the remainder of the chapter remains in the third person.

⁵⁷ Despite my preference to regard *Jubilees* as a re-designer of a number of traditions known through Jewish Aramaic sources, I do not think it necessary to date the work, with others, to the second half of the second century B.C.E. On a date around the middle of the century or slightly earlier (i.e., 160–150 B.C.E.), see the still very useful discussion by James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 41; Missoula: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1977),

First, we may note that where *Jubilees* refers to pre-existing books or words of patriarchal figures, this may in effect be an acknowledgment of the pseudepigraphal (perhaps even in the first person) idiom books attributed to these patriarchs represent (see e.g., *Jub.* 21:10). In addition, like some of the patriarchal testamentary materials, *Jubilees* preserves the testamentary form in the farewell discourses of Noah (cf. 7:20–39), Abraham (cf. 19:15–29; 20:1–13; 21:1–26; 22:10–23:7)⁵⁸ and Isaac (31:26–30; 36:1–20), while a testamentary address by Jacob to his offspring gets brief mention in the third person (46:13–15). This testamentary material, however, is subordinated to a much larger narrative (as happens also in *ALD*).

Second, in *Jubilees* there is no evidence of a first person patriarchal narrative governing the discourse of the book as a whole. The pseudepigraphic first person is, instead, that of the Angel of the Presence who sometimes speaks to Moses in the first person singular or sometimes communicates in the first person plural when acting in tandem with the angels who minister in the divine presence. The document as a whole, then, presents itself as a divine disclosure through the Angel of the Presence to Moses (see 2:1) and expects, thereby, to have strengthened the authoritative claims of its interpretations.⁵⁹

Third, if it can be said at all that the compiler-writer of *Jubilees* has received and reworked some Aramaic traditions that circulated as first person discourse, then: (a) he has placed them within a more explicitly Mosaic framework as revelation given at Sinai; (b) he has reformulated, interpreted and reshaped them in Hebrew; and (c) he has relegated pseudepigraphic discourse circulating in the names of

207–285, though he revises the date to 150–140 B.C.E. in “Jubilees, Book of,” in *EDSS* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.434–38.

⁵⁸ One should remember that none of the Aramaic materials recovered from the Dead Sea preserve a testament attributed specifically to either Noah or Abraham. It is nevertheless unclear whether the author or editor of *Jubilees* is responsible for the testamentary forms associated with these patriarchs or made use of traditions in that form. For the former possibility, see Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 145–67. Of course, literature attributed to these figures is extant from the later period, including esp. *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *Testament of Abraham*, and the Noahic interpolations into the Enochic materials in the *Book of Parables* (See *1 En.* 54:7–55:2; 60:1–10, 24–25; 65:1–66:3; 67:1–68:1).

⁵⁹ For important discussions on this medium of revelation in *Jubilees*, see James C. VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 378–93 and Hindy Najman, “Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 313–33.

patriarchs to a position now subordinated to the “I” and “we” account attributed to the Angel of the Presence (chapters 2–50). This Angel of the Presence was not a character found in tradition,⁶⁰ but one created by the writer to be *a transcendent voice that retells and reinterprets the sacred past*. In this respect, it could be argued that *Jubilees*, in the way that it took up, filtered and re-presented earlier traditions, changed the literary and pseudepigraphic scenery in its interpretation of the antediluvian traditions and patriarchal narratives. Its relative popularity among the Qumran caves (in at least 14 manuscripts) attests to its avid reception there.⁶¹ In addition, there are two possible references to the work (cf. CD 16:2–4 pars. 4Q270 6 ii 17 and 4Q271 4 ii 5; 4Q216 1:11), several manuscripts which seem to adhere to and elaborate the book’s content and book (cf. 4Q224–227), and there may be evidence for its elevated status (4Q228 and 4Q265).⁶² Moreover, beyond what was already attested in *Visions of Amram* and unlike most of the Aramaic pseudepigraphal literature, *Jubilees* gives Mosaic revelation pride of place. Since very little, if any, of the kind of literature found in the Aramaic pseudepigraphal texts was composed after the mid-second century B.C.E., one might consider whether, in effect, *Jubilees*, given its comprehensive engagement with traditions arising from Genesis-Exodus and popularity, contributed to an eventual “killing off” of first person pseudepigraphal activity in the names of patriarchs without rejecting the traditions themselves.

4. NON-USE OF PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC FIRST PERSON IN THE YAḤAD DOCUMENTS

Given the widespread presence of first person pseudepigraphy among the Aramaic materials from the Qumran caves, the relative absence of

⁶⁰ So James C. VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 378–93, at 382–84.

⁶¹ For a convenient summary of this evidence, see James C. VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees,” in Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba, *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, 3–21, at 3–8.

⁶² So e.g., Aharon Shemesh, “4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of Jubilees at Qumran,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, 247–60. Cf., however, Devorah Dimant’s reservations in “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; SVT 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–249.

such among the Hebrew texts (see n. 6 for some exceptions), especially in testamentary form, is conspicuous. The retelling of patriarchal tradition in the first person is overtaken by another form of first person discourse which we may find in the *Hodayot*.

A few observations are appropriate here. First, the writers of this literature, unlike the pseudepigraphic Aramaic texts, remain *formally* anonymous. Whatever merit there might be in supposing that an individual like the Teacher of Righteousness or other community expressed themselves through some of the *Hodayot*,⁶³ the texts remain without any formal identification. The same can be said about the so-called “self-glorification hymn” (מי כמוני באלים) “who is like me among the elim?”) found in several manuscripts (1QH^a, 4Q427, 4Q431, 4Q491),⁶⁴ in which a writer, with himself in mind, is getting carried away! Second, in keeping the Aramaic materials in mind, we may differentiate as follows: whereas formal anonymity with first person is used in *Yahad* documents to say or claim something directly about oneself, the authors of the earlier, pseudepigraphic documents make sapiential claims in a first person idiom without referring directly to themselves. While it was important for the latter not to be formally anonymous, their instructions and interpretations of tradition, commended to their respective readerships, in fact derived from an anonymous source which at the same time participated in the reception of this material; the voice of wisdom is clear, but the person behind the voice is hidden behind the text. The “I” in the *Yahad* and related writings reflects a textual immanence of the real authors, however anonymous to us they continue to be. The first person writer presents himself *as a present voice about the present*. Third, while the directly self-referential

⁶³ Hartmut Stegemann, “The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot^a and Some of Their Sections,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Ruth A. Clements, and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191–234. In particular, the following texts have been assigned to the Teacher: 1QH^a 10:1–19; 12:5–19; 13:20–14:36; 15:6–25; 16:4–40. However, the present discussion does not depend on a clear-cut distinction between “Teacher” and “Community” hymns, as those hymns often assigned to the latter are also composed in the first person and may arguably also be assigned to other leaders of the Community; see esp. the important study of Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁶⁴ See the excellent discussion of these materials by Esther Eshel in “4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 173–203.

discourse does not in itself amount to an open rejection of writings we have described as “pseudepigraphy,” it does represent the virtual abandonment of such an idiom as a means of communication. Communication is relocated within the present, and there is a clearer distinction between this present and a sacred past. I would argue that a preliminary stage for such a development was set by *Jubilees*.

5. CONCLUSION

The de-anonymization among Greek historiographers, which had its roots in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., left a discernible impact on some Jewish literature composed in Greek during the third and second centuries B.C.E. (Demetrius the Chronographer, Eupolemus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Artapanus, Cleodemus Malchus, Aristeeas). Such authors were concerned with presenting Jewish traditions in relation to wider streams of thought. Knowing the (at least formal) identity of such writers, the readers would have been placed in a position to be able in principle to distinguish between the subject matter from those who were openly conveying it. In this climate, Jewish writers of apocalyptic and testamentary texts likewise adopted an “I” discourse, though under names of the ancients. In choosing to remain anonymous themselves, the actual authors of these texts eliminate a distinction between author and content in their accounts of beginnings, visions, instructions, and predictions of the future. They assumed that their readers would not only agree with the “I” voice, but also be drawn in and participate imaginatively within the ambit of that voice and its narrative world. In this respect, the first person discourse of this literature contributed to an enhancement of these authors’ authoritative claims within a socio-religious world of shared understanding. Moreover, by remaining anonymous the actual writers were not simply addressing their words to others (whether a given community or readers beyond); one could say that they themselves could participate alongside their readers in the *reception* of the very revelatory knowledge they had disclosed.

Though *Jubilees* marked a real shift—even downgrading—of an active use of such discourse, its writer or editor still displayed an awareness of the wider world in which received stories about the past were being rewritten, and also retains pseudepigraphic first person idiom, though now exalted to being the voice of the Angel of the Presence.

As the socio-religious field of vision narrowed from literature which drew widely on Ancient Near Eastern motifs and cultural developments of the Hellenistic age to literature composed by and for a separatist group, *formal* anonymity took over. In its few instances among the *Yahad* texts, the first person authorial “I” was not openly positioning Jewish self-understanding within the larger world of *Kulturkampf*, but reflected the inspired claims of prominent, yet—to us—unnamed individuals.

2d. SECTARIAN VIS À VIS RABBINIC HALAKHA

RITUAL PURITY

HANNAH K. HARRINGTON

The study of ritual purity in the texts from Qumran has proven to be central to Dead Sea Scrolls studies. The original characterization of the Scrolls as the work of pious monks awaiting the end of the world has been nuanced in various ways, including a strong emphasis on Jewish law, especially in matters of purity and the cult. The term “purity” as understood in this context refers to a certain moral rectitude which is mirrored by a ritual cleansing of the body. According to the Torah, this combination of a proper moral and ritual status separates Israel from pagan nations and allows God’s holiness to be active among his people (Lev 19:2; 20:20–24; Deut 23:13–15).

Purity has played a decisive role in shaping major theories in contemporary Scrolls scholarship. This paper focuses on three issues for which purity studies have been essential: 1) the relationship of the Scrolls to each other and to the rest of Second Temple Judaism; 2) the possible residence of some Scroll authors at Khirbet Qumran, and 3) the contribution of purity research in the Scrolls to rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity.

1. PURITY LAWS OF THE SCROLLS: SECTARIANISM OR COMMON PRACTICE?

It is clear that the Scrolls reflect different dates of origin, different communities, and even halakhic change over their 200+ years of use. Source criticism has become the order of the day in contemporary Scrolls scholarship, and, in fact, the purity data have been helpful in determining multiple dates, sources and communities behind the Scrolls.¹ But is there a certain sectarian ideology in the purity laws

¹ Some documents reveal underlying sources and different recensions while some of the texts are only fragments; some texts are sectarian, but not all. See Devorah Dimant, “The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 175; Charlotte Hempel, “Qumran Communities:

which is reflected in more than one Scroll, or does each text represent a separate group? If there is a common strain, is it sectarian or common practice in Second Temple Judaism?

Lawrence Schiffman argues from the correspondence of purity laws in several Scrolls as well as polemics against other purity practices that there was an established system of purity law both in Jerusalem as well as among the sectarians. Because of the affinity of some rabbinic positions with the unnamed opponents implied by the Scrolls, he assumes by about 150 B.C.E. the existence of a “considerably developed Pharisaic system of laws.”² While there are certainly differences of date, genre, interests, provenance and even halakhah among the Scrolls, there is still a certain religious “genus which embraced the differing subspecies” within Qumran society.³

Beyond the Fringes of Second Temple Society,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 53. Purity concerns have helped to distinguish communities behind the Scrolls. For example, the community of 4QD was family-oriented since its purity laws discuss sexual intercourse, menstruation and childbirth, in particular, while 1QS, on the other hand, gives the impression of an ascetic community. Scholars have pointed out several contradictions in different recensions of S which reflect divergent halakhic practices, including different accounts of the penal code and two different passages describing the admissions procedure (Sarianna Metso, “The Redaction of the *Community Rule*,” in Schiffman et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997*, 382–84. Friedrich Avemarie, “‘Tohorat ha-Rabbim’ and ‘Mashqeh ha-Rabbim’: Jacob Licht Reconsidered” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995* (ed. Moshe J. Bernstein et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 228 notes the lack of exclusions from pure food in 4QS^a and argues that their presence in 1QS represents an earlier period in the community than the exclusion from pure drink. The purity laws of the *Temple Scroll* seem to be in the same vein as other Qumran Scrolls, especially 4QMMT, but there is divergence, especially in vows, oaths and calendar, and genre. See Lawrence Schiffman, “The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period,” in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 242–52. The similarity of perspective with regard to sanctity and purity may be the reason the document is included in the Qumran library, Aharon Shemesh, “The Holiness According to the Temple Scroll,” *RevQ* 19.3 (2000): 381–82.

² Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Judean Scrolls and the History of Judaism,” in Schiffman et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997*, 542–57.

³ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “A Response to the Discussion of DJD XVIII,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty* (ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 200. Nevertheless, not all of this halakhah is necessarily sectarian nor is it without variation. See Martha Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512,” *DSD* 8.1 (2001): 9 n. 4; Charlotte Hempel “Qumran Communities,” 48.

What is this special ideology? I would suggest two main principles: 1) ritual purity must be observed in the ordinary, not just the priestly, realm. The stringency of this ordinary purity, apparent in several Scrolls, is unattested elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism.⁴ 2) ritual and moral impurity are two sides of the same coin to the point that even outsider Jews are considered both ritually and morally impure. These notions are not just isolated matters in one or two texts but pervade the halakhah found at Qumran.

1.1. *Ritual Purity in the Ordinary Realm*

1) The purity, *tohorah*, of the group, especially the common meal, and the *mashkeh*, the pure drink, must not be approached by any impure person (1QS 5:13; 4Q513 1–2 i 1; 4Q274 1 i 3–5; 4Q512 7–9 xi 1–4; 4Q514 1 i 3–4; 1Q28a 2:3–10; 11Q19 49:21; 63:14–15; cf. *BJ* 2:129; *Ant.* 18.21). More than one text describes stages by which the new member is accepted; each stage appears to be marked by access to pure food or drink (1QS 6:16–22; 7:20–23; cf. CD 15:15; 4Q265 1 ii 3–9). According to at least one text, the food had to be kept pure even from the time of harvesting (4Q284a 1, 2–8).

The rhetoric “*tohorah*” and “*mashkeh*” is shared by several Scrolls but these terms do not appear in the Torah.⁵ The most striking feature of the nominal form, *tohorah*, in the Scrolls is its usage to refer to pure food (39 out of 77 occurrences). *Mashkeh* occurs in the *Community Rule*, *Tohorot A* 4Q274 and 4Q284a. In three Cave Four fragments, *tohorah* is coupled with *’emet* or *ṣedeq* giving the impression that only the author’s version of purity is the correct one (4Q512; 4Q414).

⁴ Ian Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007) claims that there is “nearly as much explicit disagreement on the subject of ritual purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls as there is agreement,” but he focuses largely on minor disagreements and overlooks several agreements among the Scrolls. The latter are especially significant when they clash with halakhic practices known from other ancient Jewish texts. For example, Werrett is struck by the disagreement in distance of latrines from the camp/city between the *War Scroll* and the *Temple Scroll*. However, of greater significance is that both of these Scrolls exclude latrines from the community, an idea unattested elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism.

⁵ Neither *tohorah* nor *mashqeh* are terms from the Torah, but cf. *tohorat ha-qodesh*, 1 Chr 30:19; cf. also 23:28. See Avemarie, “*Tohorat ha-Rabbim*” and “*Mashqeh ha-Rabbim*,” 219: *mashqin* is the common tannaitic term for liquids and *tohorot* is often a label for pure food, except rabbinic literature prefers the plural *mashqin* and *tohorot* rather than Qumranic *mashqeh* and *tohorah*.

2) A person whose purification was in process could not join the others at the communal table or even touch pure food and even hopelessly impure persons were expected to avoid contact with each other and bathe before eating (4Q274 1 i 3–5; 4Q514 1 i 3–4; cf. 4Q274 2 i 1–3; 4Q512 7–9 xi 1–4).

3) Celibacy is a mark of perfect holiness; sexual intercourse is not allowed in Jerusalem on account of impurity (CD 7:4–7; 12:1–2; 11Q19 44:11–12). The *Community Rule* does not explicitly encourage celibacy but it does refer to the separation needed to sustain the category of perfect holiness mentioned in D (1QS 9:6).

4) Secondary defilement has greater potency than in other ancient Jewish texts, especially with regard to death and sexual discharges. For example, the *Damascus Document* considers the one who touches even wood, dust or stone in the house with a corpse to be impure (CD 12:15–17). Also, D requires a new mother to give her baby to a wet nurse who can nurse the child in purity (4Q266 6 ii 11). The author considers any blood discharged outside of the seven-day menstrual period as abnormal and defines the woman as a *zabah*, a much more impure person (4Q266 6 ii 2–4).⁶ The *Temple Scroll* declares even the man accompanying a woman who has a dead fetus to be unclean for seven days as if he touched a grave (11Q19 50:10–19) and quarantines menstruants even in ordinary cities (11Q19 48:16). According to 4QTohorot, the touch of a man with an emission of semen pollutes and he is possibly subject to a seven-day purification (4Q274 1 i; cf. the three-day purification required by the *Temple Scroll*, 11Q19 44:11).

5) Excrement is considered impure and latrines are located outside of the community (1Q33 7:6b–7; 4Q265 2 i 1–3; 11Q19 46:13–16). The identification of a toilet at Qumran by Roland de Vaux has been recently supported by archaeologist Jodi Magness who dates it to the early period of Qumran settlement.⁷ Its later removal may suggest correspondence with these texts.

6) Angels are believed to be present among the community and thus a heightened level of purity is required and disabled persons are not

⁶ This position contrasts with the more flexible Pharisaic law under which a woman is not a *zabah* unless she has had three consecutive days of bleeding outside of her normal period (*Sifra Metzora Zabim* 5:9).

⁷ See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 129; eadem, *Debating Qumran, Collected Essays on Its Archaeology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 112; and eadem, “Dogs and Chickens at Qumran,” in this volume 349–62.

accepted (1Q28a 2:3–7; 1QM 7:4–6; CD 15:15–16; 4QD 17 i 7–9; cf. 1QH 11:21–22; 19:10–13).

Apparently, a major debate in antiquity concerned how much ritual purity was required outside of the Temple. While the Qumran authors awaited a renewed sanctuary and purified cult with the messianic era (CD 4:15–18; 5:6–7; 6:11–13; 1QM 2:1–6), they also described their current community as a kind of sanctuary bounded by its own ritual purity regulations (4Q174 1:4–6; CD 15:14–15).⁸ This realization is important as the understanding of many Qumran authors sets a precedent for later temple-less, Jewish communities. The Pharisees, for example, set a high priority on purity observance immediately after the destruction of the temple. Early Christians, like the Qumranites, regard themselves as a holy temple, but unlike them, reduce ritual purity requirements.⁹

1.2. *Ritual and Moral Impurity: Two Sides of the Same Human Coin*

Joseph Baumgarten was one of the first to point out the blur between moral and ritual impurity at Qumran.¹⁰ He noted that, on the one hand, sinners were required to perform ritual ablutions, and on the other hand, the baggage of moral impurity was attached to simple routine impurities like corpse contamination (1QS 3:6–9; 4Q512). Below are several ways in which the texts integrate ritual and moral impurity:¹¹

- (1) Members are cleansed by their humble repentance as well as the cleansing waters (1QS 3:6–9; CD 10:2).

⁸ Certainly the very presence of so much cultic and purity law at Qumran indicates that the Temple remained significant for the sectarians, even if the matter was in abeyance. See John Kampen, “The Significance of the Temple in the Manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty* (ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 196.

⁹ For the identification of the community of believers as a temple, see: 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16; for reduction of purity laws, see Mark 7:18–19; Acts 10:12–15; 15:28–29; Gal 2:12.

¹⁰ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals of DJD 7,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 209.

¹¹ See also Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), who identifies several textual indicators for the conflation of moral and ritual impurity at Qumran and suggests a stark contrast to the compartmentalization of the two categories in Tannaitic literature.

- (2) Sinners are excluded from harvesting or eating the communal food (CD 9:21–22; 4Q284a 1:2–6; 1QS 8:16–17; cf. 11Q19 63:14–15).
- (3) Various ritual impurities require moral as well as ritual purification (scale disease: 4Q272 1 i 1–16; 4Q512); gonorrhea, corpse impurity (4Q414 2 ii 1–5; 4Q512 1–6 xii 1–4).
- (4) Lengthy stages of acceptance to the community are based on both ritual and moral purity (1QS 6:16–22; 7:20–23; cf. CD 25:15 and 4Q265 1 ii 3–9). While food and drink restrictions also mark acceptance among the Pharisees, the Qumran variety requires two years for full admission and may reflect the Essene practice described by Josephus, although his version requires three years (*BJ* 2.138).¹²
- (5) Outsiders, both Jew and Gentile, are considered impure (1QS 5:14–20; cf. 3:4–9; 1QS 6:19–20; 4QMMT B 81; 4Q266 5 ii 5–7; cf. 11Q19 63:14–15).¹³

Scholars are divided on the extent of the notion of Gentile impurity in Second Temple Judaism. Aharon Shemesh sees Gentile impurity, both ritual and moral, as the norm within Second Temple Judaism but argues that the Essenes extended this attitude to Jewish outsiders as well since they were not considered part of true Israel.¹⁴ Christine Hayes, on the other hand, argues that the ritual impurity of Gentiles is not a biblical or Second Temple notion and points to the fact that Gen-

¹² There is a general assumption in the Mishnah that ordinary food should be eaten in a state of ritual purity, *m. Hul.* 2:5; *m. Zabim* 3:2. See Gedalia Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple and the Talmud* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977), 219; Jacob Neusner, “The Fellowship (*ḥaburah*) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth,” *HTR* 53 (1960): 126–27; Hannah Harrington, “Did the Pharisees Eat Ordinary Food in a State of Purity?” *JSJ* 36 (1995): 42–54.

¹³ Following Gedalia Alon, “Levitical Uncleanness of Gentiles,” in *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World*, 146–89, Albert I. Baumgarten argues that the majority of Jews in Second Temple times attributed impurity to Gentiles (citing *Neh* 13; *Jub.* 22:14–16, the Gospels and rabbinic literature. See Baumgarten, “Finding Oneself in a Sectarian Context: A Sectarian’s Food and its Implications” in *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 125–47). Baumgarten explains that the increased purity among Jews was a weapon against hellenization during Hasmonean times (145–46), and he contrasts Greek tolerance of foreigners within temples with the warning inscription on the Jerusalem temple banning entry to non-Jews (143).

¹⁴ Shemesh emphasizes, however, that it is the wickedness of outsider Jews, not an inherent ritual impurity, which makes them impure, “The Origins of the Laws of Separatism,” 233f. Shemesh further argues, 223, that “these laws, like other halakhot practiced by the sect, are ultimately rooted in the Torah itself.”

tiles were allowed in Jerusalem and even in the outer Temple court.¹⁵ Cana Werman distinguishes three different positions and assigns the Qumran notion of Gentile impurity to the same camp as *Jubilees*.¹⁶

While different opinions apparently existed on this issue within Second Temple Judaism, the Scrolls give evidence of the extreme notion that Gentiles were impure both morally and ritually. Even in the *Temple Scroll* where moral and ritual impurity seem to fall in different categories, there is a good example of this stance. The beautiful war captive taken by an Israelite man remains impure for seven years, i.e., an impossible marriage (11Q19 63:14–15). Her moral impurity causes a ritual impurity as well. Furthermore, a text from 4QD describes Jewish priests who have been in captivity among Gentiles and have been profaned “with their impurity.” (4Q266 5 ii 5–7).¹⁷ Non-sectarian Jews are by definition ritually impure since they do not subscribe to the group’s purity system.

¹⁵ Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Inter-marriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 35, 60–62, 131, 162. Hayes points to the contact of Jews and Gentiles in Nehemiah as proof that the latter were not really considered physically contagious (Neh 10:32; 13:16), and she insists that *Jubilees* uses the term “impure” only with regard to moral not ritual defilement. Among the Scrolls, Hayes, 65, finds no “smoking gun” text that would confirm that the sectarians regarded Gentiles as inherently impure.

¹⁶ Cana Werman, “*Jubilees* 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Inter-marriage,” *HTR* 90.1 (1997): 16–17, claims that inter-marriage does, according to those in the *Jubilees* camp, “incur impurity through physical contact” from which there is no possibility of purification. Werman argues that 4QMMT bans inter-marriage because of fornication, but ultimately its “prohibition against such marriages derives from the law of hybridism,” 14. Furthermore, Werman claims that the conception of Gentile impurity could not have begun with the Rabbis because they are often the staunchest opponents against it. They do not derive Gentile impurity from the Bible, although they could have made such a case, but consider it a tool to be used as needed in extreme situations.

¹⁷ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Disqualifications of Priests in 4Q Fragments of the *Damascus Document*, a Specimen of the Recovery of Pre-Rabbinic *Halakha*,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. Julio Treballe Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11/2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2.503–13. These priests, upon return to Jerusalem, may not enter the inner sanctuary (*mibayt laparokhet*) because they have been defiled by the Gentiles. Baumgarten, 513, finds other Second Temple texts which he says reveal concern for defilement among the Gentiles (e.g., 2 Macc 5:27; Mal 2:11–12) as well as the testimony of Josephus, the Mishna, and Tosefta and concludes that the position at Qumran of 4Q266 was more stringent but “not outside the parameters of customary law”; see also Eyal Regev, “Yose ben Yoezer and the Qumran Sectarians on Purity Laws: Agreement and Controversy,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten et al.; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–107. For further discussion of relevant Qumran texts, see Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (CQS 5; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 112–27.

Thus, although the Scrolls are the products of different authors, communities and dates, they reflect a peculiar strain of religious purity. Purity and holiness are extended beyond the priesthood to include laity and beyond the Temple to include the entire city of Jerusalem. Ordinary life, including everyday meals, must be conducted in a state of purity. Ritual and moral aspects of purity are considered two sides of the coin of the human being who is inadequate in both areas, requiring constant purification.

Scholars are often reluctant to characterize the purity data of the Scrolls as sectarian.¹⁸ They point instead to purity as central already in Scripture as well as to an increased emphasis on it across Second Temple Judaism.¹⁹ Indeed, this is evidenced by textual as well as archaeological evidence.²⁰ Nevertheless, in the matter of ritual purity, the Qumran Scrolls frequently advocate greater stringency than found

¹⁸ I offer the following definition of "sectarian" based on the combined work of Mary Douglas, Philip R. Davies, Bryan Wilson and Albert Baumgarten: Jewish sectarian law will be exclusionary, mark strong boundaries, identify its adherents as the only true Israel, promote an extreme interpretation of Scripture and require stringencies in the area of food and commensality; Philip R. Davies, "Food, Drink and Sects: The Question of Ingestion in the Qumran Texts," *Semeia* 86 (1999): 156; Albert I. Baumgarten, "Finding Oneself in a Sectarian Context: A Sectarian's Food and its Implications," *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 130 n. 21; Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge, 1966), 124.

¹⁹ Poirier points to the Qumranites as an example of a Scripture-based community which insisted on perpetual purity even though it had rejected the current cult and priesthood (John C. "Purity beyond the Temple in the Second Temple Era," *JBL* 122.2 [2003]: 258). Holiness in everyday life and religious experience was the goal of many lay Jews (Hannah K. Harrington, *Holiness: Rabbinic Judaism in the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001); Jacob Naude, "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:171–99.

²⁰ Eyal Regev, "Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism," *JSJ* 31/2 (2000): 201, points to the prevalence of measuring cups and other daily cooking utensils made from stone, a substance insusceptible to impurity, not only in Jerusalem but in rural areas; see also Yitzhak Magen, *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period: Excavations at Hizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount* (ed. Levana Tsfania; Judea and Samaria Publications; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002). Regev also notes the numerous ritual baths throughout the land, some even in cemeteries, which allow for quick purification after corpse impurity. (See the textual corroboration in Jacob Milgrom, "4QTOHOROT^a: An Unpublished Qumran Text on Purities," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 59–68.

in texts of the day and even contain polemics against other viewpoints on purity.²¹

The sectarian character of the purity material in at least some scrolls is evident by their exclusionary use of purity to admit and exclude people from the community and its food.²² Access to pure food and drink was the tool by which members were both accepted and penalized in both CD and 1QS. Since the group identifies itself as a human sanctuary, it is a small step to considering its food akin to sacrifice. Thus, it was necessary to close ranks to all who did not meet its standards and endangered its purity.

To answer the question then regarding homogeneity of the Scrolls' purity laws and their sectarian quality, it is not clear how much of this purity halakhah was widespread in Second Temple Judaism and how much was sectarian, but there is a certain shared purity ideology among several Scrolls. Its stringent nature and exclusionary, even penalizing, function point to the existence of a sect, most likely a group of Essenes.²³

²¹ Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Judean Scrolls and the History of Judaism," 552. Polemics range from general accusations against "seekers of smooth things" (CD 1:18–20) to specific purity procedures (MMT B 52–82). See Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.) [Hebrew; *Megillat ha-Miqdash*, 1977], (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:277–281. Martha Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512," 28–29, notes intensification of purity in both the *Temple Scroll* and the *Damascus Document*, although in different and incompatible ways but regards neither document as sectarian. However, she regards the blend of moral and ritual purity language to be a hallmark of the sectarian 1QS and 4Q512 texts and finds polemics in MMT with regard to scale disease, 10, 24.

²² Philip Davies, "Food, Drink and Sects: The Question of Ingestion in the Qumran Texts," *Semeia* 86 (1999): 156, applies four kinds of social pollution to the laws of 1QS and CD and outlines a profile for the Qumran sect: 1) crossing social boundaries is apostasy; 2) crossing internal lines is penalized; 3) hierarchical divisions monitor the margins of the lines; 4) internal contradictions are settled by the leader's authority.

²³ This identification is supported strongly by parallels between the purity laws of the Scrolls and those of the Essenes as described by Josephus. See Magen Broshi, "Qumran and the Essenes: Six Categories of Impurity and Purity," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 9–20 (Hebrew). Most notably, both sources agree on a period of initiation within the community based on the gradual acceptance of the candidate to the sect's pure food and drink (1QS 6:2–5; *BJ* 2.129). Avoidance of oil is mentioned by both (*BJ* 2.123; CD 12:15–17; 4QMMT), the impurity of excrement and Gentiles, and the mention of the "men of perfect holiness" as opposed to the inferior holiness of those who have families (CD 7:4–9; *BJ* 2.120; *Ant.* 18.21; cf. *Hypothetica* 11.14–17; *Natural History* 5.15.73). Philo states that it is through their purity rituals that the Essenes expressed their love of God (*Every Good Man is Free* 12.84). Also, the notion that moral and ritual impurity is part of the same package is apparent in the Essene description of junior members of the Essenes touching senior ones and causing them impurity.

2. DID THE AUTHORS OF THE SCROLLS LIVE AT KHIRBET QUMRAN?

Purity matters play a large role in the debate over the connection of the site at Khirbet Qumran with the authors of the Scrolls. Since the caves housing the Scrolls are in close proximity to the ruin at Qumran, especially Cave 4 which housed 70% of the manuscripts, most archaeologists agree that the sectarian authors considered it a communal site.²⁴ In addition, the sectarian character of several scrolls fits with the isolation and nature of the site.

Debates among Qumran archaeologists have centered largely around the following purity issues:

2.1. *How Many of the Water Installations are Miqva'ot?*

Ron Reich counts 10 stepped water installations coated with watertight plaster at the site (only about one acre in size) and claims that they easily conform to the Pharisaic requirements for *miqva'ot*.²⁵ Nevertheless, the ritual character of the water installations has been challenged since the area at Qumran is a semi-desert region with no available fresh water sources for human and animal drinking and bathing.²⁶

Albert Baumgarten notes that the case of a member touching a Jewish non-member is not discussed and attributes that to Josephus' desire to avoid an unfavorable portrayal of the Essenes, who in fact would probably have considered the outsider Jew defiling, "Finding Oneself in a Sectarian Context," 133–34.

²⁴ See Hanan Eshel, "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels found at Qumran," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52; Jodi Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*; Magen Broshi "Qumran and the Essenes," 9–20; Ron Reich, "Miqva'ot at Khirbet Qumran and the Jerusalem Connection," in Schiffman et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997*, 728–31. Some archaeologists, nevertheless, consider the Scrolls irrelevant to the settlement at Qumran. Yizhar Hirschfeld, for example, argues that the Qumran residents were wealthy landowners, "Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran," *JNES* 57 (1998): 161–89. Norman Golb considers the site a military fort, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

²⁵ Ron Reich, "Miqva'ot," 728f; see also Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 145–46.

²⁶ Against the view that Qumran was a Roman villa or manor house and that the water installations were elaborate bathing facilities and swimming pools, Jodi Magness has countered that the bath houses and built up bathtubs present at contemporary villa sites are missing at Qumran. See Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 90–100; cf. Hirschfeld, 161–89. Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?*, 20, suggests that the installations are primarily reservoirs needed in the dry climate of the region and claims that even if they include ritual baths this would not be surprising since "all practicing Jews of the Roman period bathed ritually in consonance with biblical laws." Yizhar Hirschfeld, "The Architectural Context of Qumran" in Schiffman et al.,

2.2. *Abundance of Clay and Stone Vessels*

The remains of 1000 clay vessels of plain design adjacent to a large room, possibly a dining hall, seem like an inordinately large amount for such a small community, especially in an area where clay is not found.²⁷ However, for Jews focused on maintaining purity of ordinary food and vessels, the large amount of pottery is not surprising. According to Jewish law any clay vessel which has become ritually impure is unfit for further use and must be broken. Furthermore, a large number (at least 200 fragments) of the vessels found at Qumran are made of stone, a substance unsusceptible to impurity. Since stone vessels are much more difficult and expensive to make than clay pottery, their presence at Qumran supports the notion that the group made an extra effort because of its emphasis on purity.²⁸

2.3. *A Toilet at Qumran?*

Magness has argued that de Vaux's identification of a toilet with an adjacent *miqveh* on the eastern edge of the site is indeed accurate, and she suggests that the placement of the latrine at a distance from the community corroborates the connection between the Scrolls and the site. She supports her claim by the practices prescribed for elimination of waste outside of the community both in the *Temple Scroll* and in Josephus.²⁹ Albert Baumgarten argues that this identification, if correct, proves his point that the Essenes were a different group than the Qumranites because Josephus is clear that upon entry to the sect an Essene was given a personal shovel to dig holes for excrement (*BJ* 2.148–49), an unnecessary item if he could simply use a latrine.³⁰

The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997, 678, is willing to allow that some, but not all, of the pools might be ritual baths.

²⁷ Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 73–90.

²⁸ Hanan Eshel, "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels found at Qumran," 27, argues that the Qumranites would have considered even stone vessels susceptible to impurity if they were in contact with oil.

²⁹ Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 105–13; see *BJ* 2.147–49. See above on excrement. One of Magness' most innovative contributions is to align the archaeological periods at Qumran with possible changes in the purity ideology of the community. She notes, 129, the disappearance of the toilet facilities after Period 1b (either after 31 B.C.E. or 9/8 B.C.E.) suggesting that this area was co-opted as part of pure space. Also the curious animal bone deposits at Qumran disappear in this period.

³⁰ Albert I. Baumgarten, "Who Cares and Why Does it Matter? Qumran and the Essenes, Once Again!" *DSD* 11.2 (2004): 186. James Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and*

2.4. *What Does the Cemetery Reveal About Purity?*

The individual burials (approximately 1200) in the main cemetery are unusual vis-à-vis customary Jewish practice. A concern for purity may be evident in that the cemetery does meet the later rabbinic purity requirement for proper distance between a settlement and a grave site, 50 cubits (*m. B. Bat.* 2:9).³¹

One of the most significant issues with regard to the cemetery is the fact that very few women and children have been found among the burials. Were the people buried at Qumran celibate, thus avoiding the impurities of sexual intercourse and childbirth? According to Jodi Magness, only three women at most can be identified with any degree of certainty.³² Eileen Schuller, who notes that some women were resident at Qumran, thinks they were celibate and that the majority of residents were men who must have left their families.³³

Although there are many texts related to family life among the Scrolls, the large number of individual burials and the minimal number of women's bodies found at Qumran suggest a different situation there—one more like the “camp” of perfect holiness in Jerusalem described jointly by the *Damascus Document*, MMT, and the *Temple Scroll*. The cemetery excavated to date does not reflect normal family life and burial customs.

Even with the ongoing debate on the above archaeological issues, it appears that the best hypothesis at present is to connect the Scrolls and the site to some extent. In addition to the proximity of the manuscripts and the site, the argument stands that the residents of the site most likely maintained a heightened concern for ritual purity as the texts require. This is signified especially by the amount of water installations, stone vessels and non-family oriented, primarily male burials.

Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus? (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2002), 58, attributes the latrine to the Romans sometime after 68 CE.

³¹ Rachel Hachlili, “The Qumran Cemetery: A Reconsideration,” in Schiffman et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997*, 661–62. The theory of wealthy landowners at Qumran does not easily concur with the presence of 1200 bodies buried in a non-traditional fashion in close proximity.

³² Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*; Hanan Eshel et al., “New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 135–65; Susan Sheridan, “Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 199–242.

³³ Eileen Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Flint and VanderKam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2:140–41.

3. QUMRAN PURITY LAWS, RABBINIC JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

While there is a growing consensus among scholars that the Qumran community probably did not directly influence Christianity or Rabbinic Judaism, the Scrolls are helpful as a window to Jewish thinking around the turn of the era.

3.1. *Evidence of Early Practice of Rabbinic Purity Halakhah*

The Scrolls reveal a number of practices which are in accordance with rabbinic Judaism and so provide evidence of their reality hundreds of years before the compilation of rabbinic texts.³⁴ For example, the Scrolls give early evidence of the practice of eating food in a state of purity. Also, debates on details of purity halakhah recorded in the Mishnah are reflected in the data of the Scrolls. At Qumran both the cemetery and the *miqva'ot* meet rabbinic prescriptions (m. *B. Bat.* 2:9), and purification must be routed directly from its source, as the Rabbis prescribe, not drawn by human hands.³⁵

Furthermore, Qumran authors are in a similar position as the later Rabbis in that they are seeking to observe or at least understand the purity laws of the Torah without the Temple itself. Thus, the large amount of discussion in the Mishnah and Talmud devoted to ritual purity when the authors had no Temple gains credence as based in actual practice rather than simply the result of rabbinic idealism and academia.³⁶

3.2. *Ritual Purification-Baptism*

A key issue in Qumran and New Testament studies in the past has circled around the relationship between John's baptism and the purifications required in the Scrolls. In contrast to previous decades, New Testament scholars, as a whole, are rejecting the notion that John was directly influenced by the sectarians since, on the one hand, John disagreed with them ideologically, and on the other hand, the concern for

³⁴ Schiffman "The Judean Scrolls and the History of Judaism," 568.

³⁵ Hachlili "The Qumran Cemetery: A Reconsideration," 661; Reich, "*Miqwa'ot*," 729; Harrington, *The Purity Texts*.

³⁶ Jacob Neusner, *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 40.

purity was widespread in Second Temple Judaism.³⁷ Nevertheless, studies on purity at Qumran highlight the fact that many Jews of this time, even before John, held the notion that purification was not simply to wash off an invisible impurity; they also expected spiritual renewal.

In the case of ritual purification, one can be unduly influenced by the criticisms of the New Testament against empty rituals and/or the compartmentalization in rabbinic literature of halakhic and aggadic texts and gain the false impression that rituals were halakhic necessities which did not engage the spirit. The material from Qumran suggests differently. More than any other ancient Jewish text, greater spirituality is expressed in the Scrolls through increased attention to ritual.

As discussed above, the Scrolls combine and even conflate moral and ritual impurity. On a negative note, the outsider is by Qumran definition morally impure, therefore he carries a ritual impurity as well. On a positive note, the purifying individual who is a member of the sect, is not merely performing a ritual, but, according to several Qumran texts, is anticipating the work of the holy spirit. It is my claim that for many Jews in the late Second Temple era purification in water preceded and anticipated the work of the spirit in a variety of ways, including, to generate new life, provide atonement, bring divine revelation and usher in the eschaton. This concept is subtle already in the Hebrew Bible, but a study of the Scrolls on the topic brings it into sharp relief.

3.2.1. *New Life*

Both the holy spirit and purifying waters are necessary to cleanse each outsider for initiation into the new life of the community:

And it is by the holy spirit of the Community through [His] truth that he shall be purified (רִטְהַר) from all his iniquities, and by a spirit of upright-

³⁷ For example, Geza Vermes separates John and the Essenes: “Most of the similarities between Qumran and the New Testament are due to the adoption and adaptation by both communities of ideas and ideals which inspired first-century Palestinian Jews” (“The Qumran Community, the Essenes, and Nascent Christianity,” in Schiffman et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, 581–86, at 585; see also Joan Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1997), 47–49, 318; Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* (ConBNT 38; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002), 231–39. James Dunn, “Jesus and Purity: an Ongoing Debate,” *NTS* 48.4 (2002): 458–59. Ian McDonald, “What Did You Go Out to See? John the Baptist, the Scrolls and Late Second Temple Judaism” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim et al.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 59, emphasizes the divergence between John’s baptism and Qumran practice.

ness and humility his sin will be atoned, and by the humility of his soul toward all the laws of God his flesh will be purified (יטהר) by sprinkling of purgation water (במי נדה) and sanctified by purifying waters (ולהתקדש במי דוכי) (1QS 3:7–9; cf. 4Q255 2 1–4).

The synonymous interchanging of the terms “purify” (יטהר) and “sanctify” (יתקדש) reveals the interconnectedness of ritual and moral purification here; the two are inextricably linked in the repentance process.³⁸

According to the *Community Rule*, initiation into the sect begins with a series of tests of the novitiate’s character (“his spirit and deeds”), each of which are demarcated by restrictions from pure food and drink. According to the *Community Rule*:

he must not touch the pure food (טהרת הרבים) of the Many while they examine him regarding his spirit and his deeds until he has completed a full year...he must not touch the drink of the Many (משקה הרבים) until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community...they shall enter him in the Rule according to his rank...for purity (טוהרה) and for intermingling his possessions (1QS 6:16–22; cf. also CD 15:15; 4Q265 1 ii 3–9).

In Josephus’ description of Essene initiation (*BJ* 2.138), it is the “waters of purification” which mark stages in the novitiate process admitting him to the “purity,” i.e. the pure food and drink of the sect and they probably also apply in the Qumran version.³⁹ The combination of ablutions and the spirit in preparing a new life is biblical; water and spirit cooperated as early as creation (Gen 1:2). But, more specifically, ritual purification was necessary to induct priests and Levites into ministry (Lev 8; Num 8), just as the Qumran novitiates embarked on a more restricted, holier, new life.

3.2.2. *Atonement*

It is clear from the *Community Rule*, cited above, that spirit and water work together to facilitate not only initiation but atonement

³⁸ According to 1QS 5:14–20 ritual impurity adheres to a sinner’s possessions; cf. Josephus’ comment that the elders of the Essene community, i.e., those at the top of the ladder of moral integrity who touch those of lower rank become ritually impure (*BJ* 2.150). Apparently, as one matures in moral character, sensitivity to impurity increases.

³⁹ Lawrence H. Schiffman explains, “The new member gradually became less and less impure through the initiation process,” *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 216.

(1QS 3:7–9). But the same idea holds true in other Qumran texts. The *Damascus Document* regards the combined purity of body and spirit as a “primary duty,” i.e., “to separate from all impurities according to the law and to let no man defile his holy spirit” (CD 7:3–4), and, as noted earlier, a sinner’s word is only believed after ritual ablutions (CD 10:2).⁴⁰

Ablutions anticipate the work of the spirit also in several columns of text from Cave 4.⁴¹ In the following passage from 4Q414 Ritual of Purification a purifying individual expects moral purification:

For You made me [...] Your will that we purify ourselves (להטהר) befo[re...] and He established for himself a law of atonement (חוק כפור) [...] and to be in rig[hteous] purity ([צדק] בטהרת) and he shall ba[t]he in water and sprinkle up[on...] [...] And then he will return from the w[ater...] cleansing His people in the waters of bathing (במימי רוחק) [...] second time upon his station. And he shall [say] in re[sponse, ‘Blessed are You,...’] [...] You purified (טהר[ר]תה) in your glory [...] [...] eternally.’ (4Q414 13 1–10).

“Rig[hteous] purity” and “atonement” are accomplished here by the combination of ritual bathing and humility before God.

The notion that ritual purification facilitates atonement is not limited to the Qumran Scrolls. Other Second Temple texts attest to the same process.⁴² In fact, the sect had biblical precedent: Jacob, his family, and even Job purified themselves before offering atoning sacrifices

⁴⁰ The impurity of scale disease is referred to as the work of a malevolent spirit not just a condition in need of the prescribed purifications of Lev 14 (4Q272 1:1–16). The gonorrhic, like the scale-diseased person, is considered a sinner, his condition brought on by lustful thoughts. This stands in contrast to the rabbinic insistence that his condition did not result from sexual stimuli, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 88.

⁴¹ The impurities involved in 4Q512 are clearly of a ritual nature as evidenced by specific terms, including, “impure flux” (4Q512 10–11), “holy ash,” and “third day,” which were important for purification from a corpse (4Q512 1–3). Nevertheless, the purifying individual expects moral purification (4Q512 29–32 vii 18; 28 iv; 99 ii; 34 v 15. See full discussion in Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7,” 199–209, and Esther Eshel, “4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse-Contaminated Person,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues, Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995*, ed. Moshe J. Bernstein et al. (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–10.

⁴² In *Life of Adam and Eve*, Adam says to Eve, “Stand clothed in the water up to [your] neck, and let no speech come out of your mouth, because we are unworthy to entreat the Lord since our lips are unclean” (*Life of Adam and Eve* 6–7). Similarly, the Sibylline Oracle calls for immersion of the whole body in rivers followed by prayer for forgiveness (*Sib. Or.* 4:165–68; cf. *T. Levi* 2:3; 18:7).

(Gen 35:1–3; Job 1:6; cf. 2 Kgs 5:14), as did the priests of the Israelite sanctuary.⁴³

3.2.3. *Divine revelation*

Ritual purification anticipated the spirit bringing divine revelation already in Scripture. The quintessential divine revelation at Sinai was preceded by a three-day ritual purification process and this is partially mirrored in the *Temple Scroll's* requirement of a three-day quarantine and purification before entry in the Temple City. According to Josephus, the Essenes, the sect which best resembles the Qumran authors, did require ritual purification as a prerequisite for the reception of prophecy: they utilized the books of the prophets and also “various forms of purification” (*BJ* 2.159).⁴⁴ 4QAramaic Levi^b (4Q213a) corroborates the existence of the *Testament of Levi* at Qumran which gives an account of purification before divine revelation:

[Then] I [washed my clothing and purified them with pure water,] [and] I bath[ed all over in living water, so making] all [my ways correct. Then] I raised my eyes [and face] to heaven, [I opened my mouth and spoke,] and my fingers and hands [I spread out properly in front of the holy angels. So I prayed and] said: “...” (4Q213a 1 i 6–10 with the *Testament of Levi*, Mt. Athos ms in brackets)

In this passage Levi's entreaty before the holy angels is preceded by bathing. In the next column his purification and supplication are rewarded with a supernatural vision in which he is ushered into heaven. The presence of angels among the sect is often given as the reason for its focus on ritual purity (see above).

3.2.4. *Eschaton*

Some scholars have insisted that Jews did not connect ritual purification and the eschaton.⁴⁵ However, from the Scrolls it becomes clear that many Jews did require ritual purification as preparation for the eschaton. According to the *War Scroll* a great war in the messianic era

⁴³ Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16 AB* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1991). Cf. Hyam Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality: The Ritual Purity System and Its Place in Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 212.

⁴⁴ See discussion in Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Liturgies,” in Flint and VanderKam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 2:207.

⁴⁵ See Catherine Murphy, *John the Baptist: Prophet of Purity for a New Age*, (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2003), 60.

will be fought both on heaven and earth engaging both natural and supernatural forces. It is because of the presence of the angels in this battle that those impure from a sexual discharge are not allowed to participate (1QM 7:3–6; cf. Deut 23). Also, the Rule of the Congregation prohibits any impure person, i.e., anyone afflicted with ritual impurities, (טמאון [ת] האדם) (cf. Lev 5:3, 7:21, *tum'ot ha-'adam*), from serving on the eschatological council (1Q28a 2:2–4). It has been argued that the Qumranites lived in expectation of this messianic era in the present and so required the constant purification of all impurity in their ranks.⁴⁶ Indeed, the biblical prophets promised that the purification of Israel would be realized in the final age and the sect interprets this in a physical manner (Ezek 36:25; Zech 13:2).

A final passage connects purification and resurrection of the dead in the eschaton. According to the writer of *Hodayot*:

For your glory's sake You have purified (טהרתה) man from transgression, so that he can purify himself (להתקדש) for You from all impure abominations (תועבות נדה) and the guilt of unfaithfulness, so as to be joined wi[th] the children of your truth; in the lot with Your holy ones, that bodies, covered with worms of the dead, might rise up from the dust to an et[ernal] council; from a perverse spirit to Your understanding. That he might take his position before You with the eternal hosts and spirits..., to be renewed (להתחדש) with all that shall be and to rejoice together with those who know (1QH 19:10–14).

The purification involved here seems to be primarily moral, but with the strong linkage of moral and ritual impurity discussed above, maintenance of ritual purity too would logically have been assumed. One who has been forgiven by God and has been obedient in purification (להתקדש) from all impurity can be assured of renewal (להתחדש) in the final age. By divine and human purification a perverse spirit can be changed into one fit to join the “eternal hosts and spirits” granting him a place among the righteous forever. As noted earlier, ritual as well as moral purity is pre-requisite for the presence of angels among human beings. This passage foreshadows the later rabbinic dictum that purity leads to separation and then to holiness and eventually to the holy spirit and the resurrection of the dead (*m. Soṭah* 9:15).

⁴⁶ Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Purity and Perfection: Exclusion from the Council of the Community in the *Serekh ha-'Edah*,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (ed. Janet Amitai; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 374, 383–85.

Thus, we discover from the Scrolls that water ablutions were not empty rituals, at least for the Qumran authors. As Joseph Baumgarten puts it, "Far from being merely external acts... these purifications were viewed as the means by which the holy spirit restores the corporate purity of Israel."⁴⁷ Thus, the dynamic of ritual purification + spirit was not a Christian innovation but rather a common Jewish notion, based on biblical premises. Accordingly, Jesus' baptism invited the Spirit (John 1:31) to rest upon him and inaugurate his ministry. John's water baptism was intended to prepare believers for Jesus' spirit baptism (John 1:33; cf. also 3:5). And, the Baptist fully expected the eschatological Messiah to be revealed during the course of baptism. Raymond Brown considers this connection to be the unique contribution of the Fourth Gospel: "It is John who tells us that through baptismal water God begets children unto himself and pours forth upon them his Spirit (3:5; 7:37-39)."⁴⁸ But this is old news. Many Jews, like those at Qumran, were performing ablutions in anticipation of the activity of the Spirit, whether initiating a new life, bringing atonement, bestowing divine revelation, or signaling the eschaton.

4. CONCLUSION

Purity studies have become a vital area of Scrolls research. Because of the subject's central importance in the Scrolls it has been a necessary component of the major theories concerning the nature of the sect, and relationships between the texts, as well as the connection between the Community, the texts, and the site at Qumran. Purity scholarship in the Scrolls continues to contribute significantly to studies in early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism first, by providing strong evidence that purity was important in Second Temple Judaism, and secondly, by revealing that some ideas heretofore considered, on the one hand, later innovations of the Rabbis or, on the other hand, Gnostic influences from Hellenistic Christianity, are common Jewish traditions in this period.

⁴⁷ Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," 211. It is clear from the scrolls that these customs were full of religious significance and not simply mindless rituals, Schiffman, "The Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Judaism," 567.

⁴⁸ Raymond Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 234.

DOGS AND CHICKENS AT QUMRAN

JODI MAGNESS

Do not give what is holy to dogs.... (Matt 7:6)

1. THE ANIMAL BONE DEPOSITS AT QUMRAN

One of the most puzzling discoveries at Qumran are deposits of animal bones that were placed between large pots/sherds or inside jars, either flush with or on top of the ancient ground level and covered with little or no earth. The bones belonged to adult sheep and goats, lambs or kids, calves, and cows or oxen.¹ Roland de Vaux noted that the bones must be the remains of meals, since all were clean but some were charred, indicating that the meat was boiled or roasted on a spit.² The suggestion made by some scholars that the community wanted to keep scavengers away from the bones is contradicted by the fact that it would have been easier to dump the bones into Wadi Qumran and by the absence of analogous deposits at other sites; are we to assume that scavengers were a problem only at Qumran?³ Therefore de Vaux's association of the animal bone deposits with religious or ritual meals that were eaten by the community still seems most likely.⁴

¹ For a discussion see Jodi Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on Its Archaeology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 92–104. The bones were analyzed by Frederick E. Zeuner, "Notes on Qumrân," *PEQ* 92 (1960): 28–30, who examined about 500 specimens from 39 jars. Similar deposits with bones belonging to the same species were discovered in more recent excavations at Qumran; see Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research," in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates. Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (ed. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 94–96.

² Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University, 1973), 14.

³ For the suggestion that the bones were buried to keep them from scavengers see Magen and Peleg, "Back to Qumran," 96; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 338.

⁴ For a discussion see Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 92–106; also see Jodi Magness, "Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article," *RevQ* 88 (2007): 650.

It is interesting to consider the animal bone deposits at Qumran in light of sectarian purity concerns.⁵ Lawrence Schiffman notes that the author of 4QMMT was opposed to dogs scavenging the bones of sacrificed animals in Jerusalem because according to sectarian law bones are a source of impurity:⁶

And one should not let] dogs [enter the h]oly [camp] [because they might eat some of the b]ones from the te[m]ple with] the flesh o[n] them. Because Jerusalem is the] holy camp, i[t] is] [the place which He has chosen] from among all [the tribes of] Israel, since Je[rusalem] is [the head of the camps of Israel].... And concerning] [the uncleanness of a corpse] of a man we s[a]y that every [bone, whether stripped of flesh or complete is subject to the l]aw concerning a dead or murde[r]ed person.] (4Q397 frags. 6–13)⁷

Yigael Yadin remarked on the polemical nature of a passage in the *Temple Scroll* which requires that “whoever carries any part of their bones, or of their carcass, skin and flesh and nail, shall wash his clothes and bathe in water...” (11QT 51:4–5), thereby expanding on

⁵ I identify the group that settled at Qumran and the wider movement of which it was a part with Josephus’ Essenes; see for example Todd S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988); Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). Other members of the wider movement lived in Jerusalem and elsewhere around Palestine but have not left identifiable remains in the archaeological record. In my opinion it is accurate to describe the Qumran community and the larger movement of which it was a part as a sect. For a recent discussion see Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran, A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), especially 15–29, 34–93, who defines the Qumran “sects” (plural) as an example of “introversionist sectarianism.” Also see Cecilia Wassen and Jutta Jokiranta, “Groups in Tension: Sectarianism in the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*,” in *Sectarianism in Early Judaism, Sociological Advances* (ed. David J. Chalcraff; London: Equinox, 2007), 205–45, who conclude that the communities associated with the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule* were sectarian.

⁶ Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 338; also see Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 96. Elaine Adler Goodfriend, “Could *keleb* in Deuteronomy 23:19 Actually Refer to a Canine?” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. David P. Wright, David N. Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 395–96 observes, “That canines were associated in the Israelite mind with the indiscriminate consumption of blood (a forbidden substance even if its source was a permitted animal) seems to have been the main element that led to their expulsion from anything related to sacrifice and sancta.”

⁷ See Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 196–97, for a critique of Elisha Qimron’s reconstruction of this passage.

Lev 11:25 (which refers only to the carcass) to include the bones, skin, and nails.⁸

In contrast, the rabbis ruled that animal bones, skin, and nails do not cause the degree of impurity associated with a carcass.⁹

The hide, and grease, and sediment, and flayed-off meat, and bones, and sinews, and horns and hooves join together [with the meat to which they are attached to form the requisite volume] to impart food uncleanness, but [they do] not [join together to impart] uncleanness of carrion. (*m. Hul.* 9:1)

“and everything upon which any part of their carcass falls”; any part of their carcass, not any part of their bones, nor of their teeth nor of their nails nor of their hair shall be unclean. (*Sifra Sherašim* x:2 [55b])¹⁰

This debate is echoed in a Mishnaic passage in which the Sadducees criticize the Pharisees for considering human bones but not animal bones as impure:

Say Sadducees: We complain against you, Pharisees. For you say, “Holy Scriptures impart uncleanness to hands, but the books of *Hamiras* [Homer?] do not impart uncleanness to the hands.” Said Rabbi Yohanan b. Zakkai, “And do we have against the Pharisees in this matter alone? Lo, they say, ‘The bones of an ass are clean, but the bones of Yohanan, high priest, are unclean.’” They said to him, “According to their preciousness is their uncleanness. So that a man should not make the bones of his father and mother into spoons.” He said to them, “So too Holy Scriptures: According to their preciousness is their uncleanness. But the books of *Hamiras* [Homer?], which are not precious, do not impart uncleanness to hands.” (*m. Yad.* 4:6)¹¹

⁸ Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1.340–41. Also see Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqṣat Ma’āse Ha-Torah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 155; Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 128–29; Daniel R. Schwartz, “Law and Truth: On Qumran-Sadducean and Rabbinic Views of Law,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 232; Yaakov Sussman, “The History of the ‘Halakha’ and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Preliminary Talmudic Observations on *Miqṣat Ma’āse Ha-Torah* (4QMMT),” *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 31–32 (Hebrew).

⁹ See Jacob Milgrom, *The Anchor Bible, Leviticus 1–16, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 682.

¹⁰ From Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.341.

¹¹ Whatever the identity of the “Sadducees” mentioned here, the evidence from Qumran indicates that this debate goes back to the period before 70. Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts,” *JJS* 31 (1980): 162–63, assumes they are Sadducees who shared with the Qumran sectarians the same view on this point of law; also see his discussion on pp. 166–68. Also

The animal bone deposits at Qumran likely represent the remains of communal meals at which meat was consumed. I have suggested that because the sectarians considered these meals to be a substitute for participation in the temple sacrifices, they disposed of the remains of animals that they consumed in a manner analogous to those sacrificed in the temple.¹² As Edwin Firmage observes, “Indeed, it was not uncommon [in antiquity] for a single animal to provide both the sacrifice and the meal. Every use of meat thus became a sacral meal, and every act of animal slaughter a sacrifice. The [Hebrew] Bible makes this connection explicit. In Israelite priestly literature, sacrifice and slaughter were nearly synonymous.”¹³ Many of the pottery vessels found with the animal bones at Qumran appear to have been broken before they were deposited, a phenomenon that brings to mind the biblical injunction regarding the *hattat* (individual sin offering): “An earthen vessel in which it was boiled shall be broken.” (Lev 6:21)¹⁴ The distribution of the animal bone deposits at Qumran—on the fringes of the settlement and outside the main buildings—seems to reflect a sectarian hierarchy

see Eyal Regev, *The Sadducees and their Halakhah* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2005), 192–94 (Hebrew).

¹² If my proposed analogy between the animal bone deposits at Qumran and the disposal of sacrificial remains in the Jerusalem temple is correct, it is interesting to consider the observation made by David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity, Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987), 145–46, that leftover portions of sacrifices were disposed of to avoid profanation, not because they had become impure due to spoilage. It is also worth considering this phenomenon in light of an observation by Alan D. Crown, “Qumran, Samaritan Halakha and Theology and Pre-Tannaitic Judaism,” in *Boundaries of the ancient Near Eastern World: a Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (ed. Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb and Sharon Keller; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 441, that for some groups “slaughter did not necessarily involve any formal sacrifice but was done ritually on behalf of the people by a priest.” Crown is referring to the Samaritans but could it apply to the Qumran sect as well? Crown also raises the question of whether some groups understood the ban on *hullin* (eating meat that has not been sacrificed) as limited only to the desert period or as existing in perpetuity.

¹³ Edwin Firmage, “Zoology,” in *ABD* 6:1120.

¹⁴ See Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 98; perhaps this phenomenon partly accounts for the need for so many ceramic vessels at Qumran. However, I am not suggesting that the sectarians offered the *hattat* at Qumran. De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 12–13, describes as follows the pottery associated with the animal bone deposits: “In the free spaces between the buildings or round them the excavations have laid bare animal bones deposited between large sherds of pitchers or pots, or sometimes placed in jars left intact with their lids on. In one instance such bones have been found covered simply by a plate. In the majority of these cases the sherds come from several jars or pots to which fragments from one or more bowls, lids, or plates have been added.”

of sacred space, with the main parts of the settlement symbolizing the “temple” or “sanctuary” and the surrounding or adjacent areas corresponding to the “sacred camp.”¹⁵ Almost 40 years ago David Flusser noted that the sectarians conceptualized their community as structured along the lines of the eschatological city of Jerusalem, as expressed in 4QPesher Isaiah^d (4Q164, following Isa 54:11–12).¹⁶

2. DOGS AND CHICKENS IN JERUSALEM AND THE DESERT CAMP

Our understanding of the animal bone deposits at Qumran can be refined in light of David Henschke’s observations about sectarian regulations governing the slaughter of non-sacrificial animals in Jerusalem.¹⁷ Leviticus prohibits the slaughter of non-sacrificial animal victims and permits the consumption of meat only after the animal has been sacrificed as “Holy Things” (קדשים) on the altar.¹⁸

If anyone of the house of Israel slaughters an ox or a lamb or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp, and does not bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to present it as an offering to the Lord before the tabernacle of the Lord, he shall be held guilty of bloodshed; he has shed blood, and he shall be cut off from the people. (Lev 17:3–4)

Whereas the Qumran sect followed Leviticus’ legislation, the rabbis allowed the slaughter and consumption of non-sacrificial animals everywhere (including in Jerusalem), as prescribed in Deuteronomy:¹⁹

¹⁵ See Magness, *Debating Qumran*, 92–112. 4QMMT makes it clear that the sectarians considered Jerusalem the sacred camp; see Sussman, “The History of the ‘Halakha’ and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 34.

¹⁶ David Flusser, “Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes in the Peshar Nahum,” in *In Memory of Gedaliahu Alon, Essays in Jewish History and Philology* (ed. Menahem Dorman, Shmuel Safrai, and Menahem Stern; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1970), 153–57 (Hebrew).

¹⁷ See David Henschke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem: The Sages and Sectarian Halakhah,” *Tarbiz* 66 (1997): 18–27 (Hebrew).

¹⁸ Henschke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 18; also see Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter according to the *Temple Scroll*,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness, Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 74–76.

¹⁹ Henschke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 18, 23. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 713, remarks on the “far-reaching amendment introduced by Deuteronomy,” which allows Israel to slaughter meat profanely.

When the Lord your God enlarges your territory, as he has promised you, and you say, "I am going to eat some meat," because you wish to eat meat, you may eat meat whenever you have the desire. If the place where the Lord your God will choose to put his name is too far from you, and you slaughter as I have commanded any of your herd or flock that the Lord has given you, then you may eat within your towns whatever you desire. (Deut 12:20–21)

The sectarians did not reject Deuteronomy but instead understood its legislation together with Leviticus' as allowing the slaughter and consumption of non-sacrificial animals only outside Jerusalem:²⁰

And you shall not slaughter a clean ox or sheep or goat in all your towns, near to my temple (within) a distance of a three-days' journey; nay, but inside my temple you shall slaughter it, making it a burnt offering or a peace offering, and you shall eat and rejoice before me at the place on which I shall choo[se] to put my name. And every clean animal which has a blemish, you shall eat it within your towns, far from my temple, thirty stadia (סך) around it; you shall not slaughter near my temple, for it is foul flesh. (11QT 52:13–18)

Because the sectarians considered Jerusalem to be the sacred camp in the midst of which God dwells, they extended temple prohibitions to the entire city but excluded other camps or settlements.²¹ The author

²⁰ Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," 18–19; whereas 11QT mandates a minimum distance of three days' journey from Jerusalem, 4QMMT simply requires non-sacrificial slaughter outside Jerusalem (p. 24). For the suggestion that the authors of the *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT used a version of Lev 17 that omitted a permanent ban on profane slaughter (which was in effect only in the wilderness), see Esther Eshel, "4QLev^d: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah," *DSD* 2.1 (1995): 1–13. Also see Schiffman, "Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter"; Cana Werman, "The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood in Priestly and Rabbinic Law," *RevQ* 16.4 (1995): 630–31; Aharon Shemesh and Cana Werman, "Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority," *DSD* 10.1 (2003): 121–22. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 135, considers this legislation "utopian." Whether or not it was a sectarian composition (which is debated), the *Temple Scroll* seems to have been considered authoritative at Qumran; see for example Jacob Milgrom, "The Scriptural Foundations and Deviations in the Laws of Purity of the *Temple Scroll*," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls, The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 95 (who describes the *Temple Scroll* as "truly Qumranic"). For the relationship and parallels between the *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord, Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 123–47; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 78–80, who concludes that it is "extremely likely that the two compositions were written in the same milieu."

²¹ Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," 20–22. Also see Elisha Qimron, "The Controversy over the Holiness of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period," in *Judea and*

of 4QMMT reiterates the prohibition against eating non-sacrificial animals slaughtered in Jerusalem and seems to condemn those who violate this injunction:²²

[And concer]ning what is written: [...] [...] outside the camp a bull, or a sheep or a goat, for [...] in the north of the camp.] And we think that the temple [is the place of the tent of meeting, and Je]rusale[m] is the camp; and out[side] the camp [is outside of Jerusalem;] it is the camp of their cities. (4Q394 14–18)

[...] they do [no]t slaughter in the temple. (4Q396 1)

The term “outside the camp” appears to denote an area to the north of Jerusalem that was set aside for the disposal of ashes and sacrificial remains:²³

Outside the ca[mp...]...[...] removing the ashes from [the altar] and bur[ning there the sin-offering, for Jerusalem] is the place which... (4Q394 18–19)

The Tosefta also refers to this area in Jerusalem:²⁴

Where do they burn them? In the great house of ashes, outside of Jerusalem, north of Jerusalem, beyond the three camps. Rows of priests were set up around the fire, because of the crush of the crowd, so that they should not push to see and fall into the fire. (*t. Yoma* 3:17)

Having demonstrated that the sectarians identified Jerusalem as the sacred camp and prohibited the slaughter and consumption of non-sacrificial animals throughout the city, Henshke reconsiders 4QMMT’s ban against dogs:

And one should not let] dogs [enter the h]oly [camp] [because they might eat some of the b]ones from the te[m]ple with] the flesh o[n them. Because Jerusalem is the] holy camp... (4Q397 58–59)

Samaria Research Studies, Proceedings of the 6th Annual Meeting—1996 (ed. Yaakov Eshel; Kedumim-Ariel: The Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 1997), 74 (Hebrew); Sidnie White Crawford, “The Meaning of the Phrase עיר המקדש in the Temple Scroll,” *DSD* 8.3 (2001): 248.

²² Henshke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 24; Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 156; Schiffman, “Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter,” 82. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 191 notes that this passage appears to be a paraphrase of Lev 17:3.

²³ Henshke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 25.

²⁴ Henshke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 25–26.

He concludes that since the sectarians required all meat consumed in Jerusalem to be sacrificial, only sacrificial remains would be available for dogs to eat. This is why the author of 4QMMT sought to ban dogs from Jerusalem. In contrast, because the rabbis permitted the slaughter and consumption of non-sacrificial animals in Jerusalem (the scraps of which could be fed to dogs), they did not consider dogs to be a problem, as the lack of rabbinic legislation on this matter indicates.²⁵

3. DOGS AND CHICKENS AT QUMRAN

The possibility that the sectarians conceived of the settlement at Qumran along the lines of the sacred camp is supported by the composition of the animal bone deposits (but see below). The biblical legislation discussed above mentions the same species that are represented in the deposits at Qumran, specifically sheep and goats, lambs or kids, calves, and cows or oxen: "If anyone of the house of Israel slaughters an ox or a lamb or a goat in the camp..." (Lev 17:3; also see 11QT 52:13). The analogy with the sacred camp is further supported by the absence of poultry from the animal bone deposits, which makes no sense if we assume that the communal meals were considered a substitute for participation in the temple sacrifices, as the Hebrew Bible allows the consumption of many types of fowl for sacrificial offerings. The absence of fowl among the animal bone deposits cannot be the result of environmental factors (that is, an argument that chickens cannot survive at Qumran), as large numbers of poultry bones were found in the excavations at Ein Gedi and Ein Boqueq.²⁶

²⁵ Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," 27; Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 163 n. 144. Furthermore, rabbinic purity requirements sometimes are more lenient for Jerusalem than for other cities; see Qimron, "The Controversy over the Holiness of Jerusalem." Amir S. Fink, "Why Did *yrh* Play the Dog? Dogs in RS 24.258 (= KTU 1.114) and 4QMMT," *Aula Orientalis* 21 (2003): 55, suggests that a Mishnaic injunction against rearing a dog unless it is tied up by a chain originated among the Pharisees in response to the concerns raised in 4QMMT.

²⁶ For Ein Gedi see Moshe Sadeh, "Archaeozoological Finds from En-Gedi," in *En-Gedi Excavations II, Final Report (1996–2002)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2007), 604–6, where nearly all of the animal bones come from Byzantine contexts. For Ein Boqueq see Hanan Lernau, "Geflügel- und Fischknochen aus 'En Boqueq," in *En Boqueq, Excavations in an Oasis on the Dead Sea. Volume II, The Officina, An Early Roman Building on the Dead Sea Shore* (by Moshe Fischer, Mordechai Gichon, and Oren Tal; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000), 149–68, which include specimens from the *officina* (late Second Temple period) and the fort (Late Roman-Byzantine).

Two passages in the *Temple Scroll* might shed light on the absence of poultry from the animal bone deposits at Qumran. Although sectarian law does not forbid the consumption of permitted species of fowl,²⁷ the *Temple Scroll* bans all birds from the temple precincts. The first passage refers to unclean species:

(let) no[t fly [any] / unclean bird over [my] temp[le and you shall make spikes on the wall of the court and over] the roofs of the gates [of] / the outer court. And an [unclean bird shall not] be within my temple for [ev]er / and ever, all the days that [I dwe]ll among them. (11QT 46:1–4)²⁸

Yadin noted that this passage recalls Josephus' description of the "scarecrow" on the roof of Herod's temple: "From its summit protruded sharp golden spikes to prevent birds from settling upon it and polluting the roof." (*BJ* 5.224)²⁹ The concern seems to be that unclean birds flying or perching overhead would pollute the temple with their secretions and perhaps with their carcasses.³⁰

A second passage in the *Temple Scroll* might explain why even permitted species of fowl such as chickens are unrepresented among the animal bone deposits at Qumran:

[...]...[...] to enter my city [...] a cock (or chicken; תרנגול) you shall not rai[se...] (תגדלו) in the entire temple [...] the temp[le...]
(11Q21/11QT)³¹

Elisha Qimron notes that although the words תרנגול and "to raise" [animals] do not occur in the Hebrew Bible, they appear together in rabbinic literature:³²

They do not rear chickens in Jerusalem, on account of the Holy Things, nor do priests [rear chickens] anywhere in the Land of Israel, because of the [necessity to preserve] the cleanness [of heave offering and certain other foods which are handed over to the priests]. (*m. B. Qam.* 7:7)

²⁷ See for example 11QT 60:4–10, where birds are included among tithes.

²⁸ From Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.272.

²⁹ From Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.272.

³⁰ See also the discussion in Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 121–23.

³¹ Translation from DSSSE, 1307. Also see Elisha Qimron, "Chickens in the Temple Scroll (11QT^c)," *Tarbiz* 54.4 (1995): 473–76 (Hebrew), who notes that this fragment was erroneously assigned to the book of *Jubilees* but belongs to the *Temple Scroll*.

³² Qimron, "Chickens in the Temple Scroll," 473.

Although chickens are a clean (permitted) species, some groups apparently sought to ban them as well as dogs from Jerusalem due to purity concerns.³³ The polemics of 4QMMT (and the lack of rabbinic concern) suggest that dogs wandered freely around Jerusalem and perhaps even scavenged sacrificial remains. The Mishnah's reference to a ban against raising chickens in Jerusalem might reflect similar concerns about scavenging.³⁴ If such a prohibition existed, however, it does not seem to have been enforced judging from the discovery of poultry bones in contexts dating to the late Second Temple period in Jerusalem.³⁵ A bizarre incident recorded in the Mishnah also attests to the presence of chickens in Jerusalem before 70:

R. Judah b. Baba gave testimony concerning five matters:...that a chicken was stoned in Jerusalem because it had killed a human being. (*m. 'Ed. 6:1*)³⁶

Recent excavations by Randall Price in the marl terrace to the south of the Qumran settlement have brought to light additional animal bone deposits.³⁷ These deposits, which are concentrated along (and even under) the boundary wall marking the eastern edge of the settlement differ in some respects from those described by de Vaux.³⁸ First, the animal bone deposits discovered by Price had been buried (inside pottery vessels or with potsherds), not laid on top of or flush with the ancient ground level. Second, whereas de Vaux described some of the animal

³³ See Qimron, "Chickens in the Temple Scroll," 474–75, who notes that the rabbis and later commentators did not know the reasons for the ban on chickens in Jerusalem, and attributed it to a desecration of "Holy Things."

³⁴ See Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem," 27.

³⁵ See Liora Kolska Horwitz and Eitan Tchernov, "Bird Remains from Areas A, D, H and K," in *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Volume IV, Various Reports (Qedem 35)* (ed. Donald T. Ariel and Alon de Groot; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1996), 298–301; Liora Kolska Horwitz and Eitan Tchernov, "Subsistence Patterns in Ancient Jerusalem: A Study of Animal Remains," in *Excavations in the south of the Temple Mount, The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem (Qedem 29)* (by Eilat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1989), 144–54.

³⁶ See Qimron, "Chickens in the Temple Scroll," 474 n. 8.

³⁷ I am grateful to Randall Price for sharing with me this unpublished information and for his permission to cite it here. For a preliminary report on the 2002 excavation season see Randall Price, "Qumran Plateau," in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot (Excavations and Surveys in Israel)* 117 (2005), posted online at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=126&mag_id=110

³⁸ For the wall see de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 59. Price's discoveries suggest that the wall dates to the period of the sectarian settlement, not the Iron Age as de Vaux thought.

bones as charred, Price reports significant quantities of ash together with charred bones in the deposits. Third, out of approximately 2000 specimens that Price recovered, a small percentage consists of gazelle bones. Although the Hebrew Bible permits the consumption of gazelle and deer, non-domesticated species could not be offered for sacrifice.

The presence of gazelle (albeit in small quantities) among the animal bone deposits discovered by Price might invalidate my suggestion that the Qumran community conceived of the settlement along the lines of the sacred desert camp, as gazelle meat could not be sacrificial. However, there is another possibility. Price assigns the animal bone deposits that he found to the pre-31 B.C.E. phase of Period Ib. This could account for the differences between Price's deposits, which are located at the southern end of the marl terrace, and those discovered by de Vaux, most of which appear to postdate the earthquake of 31.³⁹ If this is the case, it may be that before 31 B.C.E. the Qumran community did not consider the settlement analogous to Jerusalem or the sacred desert camp, and therefore the animals they consumed included non-domesticated species. Perhaps this accounts for the presence of 2–3 poultry bones among the approximately 2000 specimens that Price reports. If the settlement was reorganized along the lines of the sacred desert camp after 31, non-sacrificial species would no longer have been consumed. The possibility that the Qumran settlement was reorganized along the lines of the ideal city of Jerusalem and the sacred desert camp is further suggested by the apparent failure to replace the destroyed toilet in L51 after the earthquake.⁴⁰

As observed above, rabbis rejected the notion that all meat consumed in Jerusalem must be sacrificial and allowed non-sacrificial meat to be eaten in the city.⁴¹ The discovery of small numbers of gazelle and deer bones in contexts dating to the late Second Temple period in Jerusalem indicates that non-sacrificial meat was consumed by some of the city's inhabitants.⁴² This evidence supports Schiffman's observation

³⁹ See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 121–26; eadem, *Debating Qumran*, 98–106.

⁴⁰ See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 129; eadem, *Debating Qumran*, 112.

⁴¹ Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.318–20; also see Werman, "The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood," 631.

⁴² No gazelle bones were found in the early Roman stratum in Shiloh's excavations in the City of David, but deer comprised 1 percent of the sample; see Liora Kolska Horwitz, "Faunal Remains from Areas A, B, D, H and K," in *Excavations at the City*

that “the Pharisees and those who followed them, including the Has-moneans in this period, did perform non-sacral slaughter in this area, and it was against this practice that the authors of both the “Halakhic Letter” [4QMMT] and the *Temple Scroll* polemicized.”⁴³

The *Temple Scroll* not only prohibits the consumption of non-sacrificial meat in Jerusalem, but bans the importation of skins of clean animals that have not been slaughtered in Jerusalem (and therefore are non-sacrificial) and their use as containers for temple offerings: “All skin of clean animals that will be slaughtered within their cities, they shall not bring into it [the temple city] . . . And they shall not defile my temple with the skins of their abominable offerings which they will sacrifice in their land . . .” (11QT 47:7–8, 13–14)⁴⁴ Yadin noted the polemical tone of the ban on animal skins, which has no direct scriptural basis and contradicts (later) rabbinic law.⁴⁵ A decree attributed to Antiochus III suggests that a ban on the consumption of non-sacrificial meat and the importation of unclean animal skins was observed in Jerusalem around 200 B.C.E.:

Nor shall anyone bring into the city the flesh of horses or of mules or of wild or tame asses, or of leopards, foxes or hares, or, in general, of any animals forbidden to the Jews. Nor is it lawful to bring in their skins or even to breed any of these animals in the city. But only the sacrificial animals known to their ancestors and necessary for the propitiation of God shall they be permitted to use. Any person who violates any of these statutes shall pay to the priests a fine of three thousand drachmas of silver. (Jos. *Ant.* 12.145–46)⁴⁶

The *Temple Scroll* thus seems to extend a pre-Hasmonean ban against importing into Jerusalem the skins of unclean animals to all animals

of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Volume IV, *Various Reports (Qedem 35)* (ed. Donald T. Ariel and Alon de Groot; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1996), 313 (Table 3). No gazelle or deer bones are represented in the relatively small sample of the late Second Temple period published from B. Mazar’s excavations south of the Temple Mount; see Horwitz and Tchernov, “Subsistence Patterns in Ancient Jerusalem,” 145. Gazelle comprises 1.1 percent of the animal bones recovered in recent excavations outside the Temple Mount (near Robinson’s Arch); I am indebted to Ronny Reich for sharing with me this unpublished information.

⁴³ Schiffman, “Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter,” 82.

⁴⁴ From Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 2.203–4.

⁴⁵ Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 3.308–11.

⁴⁶ From Albert I. Baumgarten, “Finding Oneself in a Sectarian Context: A Sectarian’s Food and Its Implications,” in *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience* (ed. Albert I. Baumgarten, Jan Assmann, Gedaliahu A. G. Stroumsa; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 142.

not sacrificed in the Jerusalem temple.⁴⁷ This extra-biblical ban originated in priestly circles.⁴⁸

4. THE BAN ON THE CONSUMPTION OF BLOOD AND THE ANIMAL BONE DEPOSITS AT QUMRAN

The Hebrew Bible allows the consumption of permitted non-domesticated species of animals and birds only after the blood has been poured out:⁴⁹

But whenever you desire, you may slaughter and eat meat in any of your settlements, according to the blessing that the Lord your God has granted you. The unclean and the clean alike may partake of it, as of the gazelle and the deer. But you must not partake of the blood; you shall pour it on the ground like water. (Deut 12:15–16)

If the place where the Lord has chosen to establish His name is too far from you, you may slaughter any of the cattle or sheep that the Lord gives you, as I have instructed you; and you may eat to your heart's content in your settlements. Eat it, however, as the gazelle and the deer are eaten: the unclean may eat it together with the clean. But make sure that you do not partake of the blood; for the blood is the life, and you must not consume the life with the flesh. You must not partake of it; you must pour it out on the ground like water... (Deut 12:21–24)

Lev 17:13 mandates that the blood drained from wild animals and birds must be covered: “And if any Israelite or any stranger who resides among them hunts down an animal or a bird that may be eaten, he shall pour out its blood and cover it with earth.”

The author of the *Temple Scroll* harmonized Deuteronomy's legislation with Lev 17:13, with the result that the blood of all animals that have not been sacrificed must be drained and covered:

⁴⁷ Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.310–11. The possibility that the *Temple Scroll* was composed at about the same time as Antiochus III's decree raises interesting questions about the author's polemical tone. Does this tone reflect the existence of internal opposition to the ban in Jerusalem or is it due to the author's extension of the ban to all non-sacrificial animals? For the date of the *Temple Scroll* see Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 24–26.

⁴⁸ Baumgarten, “Finding Oneself in a Sectarian Context,” 142–43, describes this ban as part of “an unwritten tradition imposed by priestly fiat” that is “among the oldest post-Biblical *halakhot* known.”

⁴⁹ For discussions see Werman, “The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood”; Schiffman, “Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter.”

Within your town you shall eat it; the unclean and the clean among you alike may eat it, as though it were a gazelle or a hart. Only you shall not eat its blood; you shall pour it upon the earth like water, and cover it with dust. (11QT 52:10–12; also 11QT 53:4–6)⁵⁰

Perhaps the animal bone deposits discovered by Price should be understood in light of the *Temple Scroll's* legislation mandating the burial of the blood of all non-sacrificial animals, assuming that blood was disposed of together with bones and other inedible parts of the animals. If there is indeed a chronological distinction between the animal bone deposits discovered by Price (pre-31) and by de Vaux (post-31), it could be that the earlier deposits were buried because the meat consumed was considered non-sacrificial. The exclusion of non-domesticated species from the (apparently) later deposits and their placement on top of the ground suggests an analogy with sacrificial offerings, and the absence of poultry hints at conceptual parallels with Jerusalem and the sacred desert camp.

The evidence reviewed here suggests that after 31 B.C.E. the Qumran community reorganized the settlement along the lines of the sacred desert camp. They followed the relevant biblical laws according to their understanding, which meant that all meat consumed was considered sacrificial (or as a substitute for sacrifices) and included sheep, ox, and goats. No poultry seems to have been raised or consumed at Qumran, and presumably there were no dogs in the settlement either.⁵¹ We do not know how and where the animals consumed at Qumran were slaughtered.

⁵⁰ Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.314–15; Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 2.234, 238; Shemesh and Werman, “Halakhah at Qumran,” 110; Schiffman, “Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter,” 75, 81; Werman, “The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood,” 623.

⁵¹ Fink, “Why Did *yrh* Play the Dog?” 55 n. 87 also concludes that “If indeed 4QMMT applied to Qumran, as Baumgarten and Schiffman suggest, then dogs were not allowed there...” For dog bones in late Second Temple period contexts in Jerusalem see Horwitz, “Faunal Remains,” 313.

CREATIVE INTERPRETATION AND INTEGRATIVE INTERPRETATION IN QUMRAN

VERED NOAM

Scripture teaches that a person who touches another, who has himself become impure by contact with a corpse, becomes impure until the evening: “and the person who touches him shall be unclean until evening” (Num 19:22). However, rabbinic halakhah establishes a more sophisticated approach to corpse impurity—with various stages of impurity ranging four levels beyond the dead individual himself (*m.’Ohal.* 1:1–4). Maimonides argued that this extended chain of “contagious” impurity, not referred to in the Torah itself, was the result of rabbinic legislation:

Regarding *karet* (divine punishment by untimely death or eternal excommunication) for one who enters the temple or eats sanctified foods while impure, only a person in the first two stages of impurity is liable: One—somebody who has actually touched a corpse; and two—somebody who then touched him. As the Torah prescribes: “and the person who touches him shall be unclean” (Num 19:22). However, one who touches utensils that touched someone who touched a corpse or who touched an individual who touched utensils that came into contact with a corpse is not liable... Although these stages are accepted legal tenets, they are not Torah law. Only the status of one who touches a corpse and that of one who then touches him are explicit in the Torah... (Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot tum’at met* 5:5)

R. Abraham b. David of Posquières, the 12th century commentator known as the Ra’avad, in his gloss on this section, noted with anger:

I have seen this man—all that he finds difficult in the words of our rabbis he excuses by saying: “This is rabbinic, this is not from the Torah, the rabbis said this.” Not true! All four stages of corpse impurity stem directly from biblical verses, as is evident from the *Sifre* (Ra’avad, *ad loc.*)¹

¹ For the Tannaitic homilies implied by the Ra’avad see *Sifre Num* 127; 130 (Hayim S. Horovitz, [ed.], *Sifre D’be Rab. Numbers* [Leipzig: Libraria Gustav Fock, 1917], 164, 168). The same attitude is exhibited in the Ra’avad’s gloss to *Hilkhot Ishut* 3:20.

For the Ra'avad, the very existence of legal homilies proves that the law derived from a biblical verse through homiletical means is biblical itself. Conversely, Maimonides probably would have viewed the use of such homilies as *asmakhta*, secondary biblical backing of extant rabbinic legislation.² If we apply terms of modern scholarship to this medieval debate, we can say that for the Ra'avad the relevant homilies from the *Sifre* were *מדרש יוצר*—"creative interpretation"—actually producing laws from biblical phrases, thus keeping them on a biblical level of import. For Maimonides, however, these homilies were only *מדרש מקיים*—"integrative interpretation," providing support for independent rabbinic tradition.³

This dispute reflects one of the most basic of questions concerning the formation of Jewish law—one that has been asked since the Gaonic period through the age of modern scholarship. Is rabbinic legislation an actual product of biblical interpretation, or is it part of an ancient oral tradition which was only later superimposed upon Scripture, in an attempt to lend it more legitimacy? Of course, there is no one simple answer. The picture is complicated and both models can find support in different examples. In many cases, diverse kinds of exegetical activity may be interwoven within a single hermeneutic process.⁴

² For Maimonides' general view concerning the status of precepts which were deduced from the biblical verses through midrash, see Jehoshua Blau, *R. Moses b. Maimon Responsa II* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1986), 633–32 (Hebrew). Maimonides apparently changed his mind with regard to this problem. See *ibid.*, note 21; the two versions of his commentary to the *m. Qid.* 1:1 (ed. Yosef Kappah; Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1965; 280 and note 15); and the two versions of the text of *Hilkhot Ishut* 3:20. Cf. recently David Henshke, "On Maimonides' Halakhic Thought: Inner Dynamism versus Institutional Conservatism—On the Nature of the Halakha in Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mitzvot*," in *Maimonides: Conservatism, Originality, Revolution* (ed. Aviezer Ravitzky; Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2008), 1:131–33 (Hebrew).

³ For these terms and for a review of the scholarly debate concerning this issue, see Menachem Elon, *Jewish Law: History, Sources, Principles* (trans. Bernard Auerbach and Melvin J. Sykes; 4 vols; Philadelphia and Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 1:283–90. See also the following note.

⁴ See, for example, the survey by Jacob N. Epstein, *Introduction to Tannaitic Literature: Mishna, Tosephta and Halakhic Midrashim* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1957) 501–15 (Hebrew); Chanoch Albeck, *Introduction to the Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1959), 40–62 (Hebrew); Ephraim E. Urbach, "The Derashah as a Basis of the Halakhah and the Problem of the Soferim," *Tarbiz* 27 (1958): 166–82 (Hebrew); repr. in *idem, The World of the Sages* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2002); Moshe D. Herr, "Continuum in the Chain of Torah Transmission," *Zion* 44 (1979): 43–56 (Hebrew); David Weiss Halivni, *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 18–37; Adiel Schremer, "[T]he[y] Did Not Read in the Sealed Book': Qumran Halakhic Revolution and the Emergence of Torah Study in Second

The Qumran corpus serves as a uniquely important source for the reconstruction of early Jewish biblical hermeneutics. It provides us with a historic window through which to view the substrata of legal exegesis as known to us in its late Tannaitic incarnation. These texts may help clarify some aspects of the query with which we opened.

My recent research regarding the development of conceptions of impurity from the Bible to rabbinic literature has uncovered a variety of embryonic midrashim in a number of Qumranic passages devoted to this subject. These are, in essence, mere hints at Bible exegesis, incorporated into the sectarian legal discourse.⁵

As many scholars have already shown, Qumranic homilies of this kind are not easily discerned from the surrounding material. They do not appear as explicit biblical interpretations. They do not begin with the citation of a verse; nor do they use the standard terminology we find in Tannaitic material. These latent homilies may be reconstructed from allusions to biblical words or expressions. In other cases, the intertwining of disparate biblical texts uncovers the inter-textual hermeneutic at work in the Qumranic corpus. Additionally, we sometimes find that these latent homilies parallel Tannaitic legal midrash.

Were these early homilies, representing the foundations of Qumranic law, designed to aid in the actual application of biblical law, or were they aimed at artificially connecting an independent, extant tradition to biblical “proof-texts”?

It appears that in the sectarian corpus, similar to the situation in rabbinic literature, we can discern (alongside traditions which have no biblical sources at all), laws which seem to be seeking out supporting “proof-texts”—integrative interpretation,⁶ together with those

Temple Judaism,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. David Goodblatt et al.; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 105–26 and the bibliography mentioned there.

⁵ A full survey of the comprehensive research on Bible exegesis in Qumran would be out of place here. For a general outlook on the legal interpretation of Scripture in Qumranic literature in comparison to rabbinic legal midrash and for previous scholarly literature, see Moshe J. Bernstein, and Shlomo A. Koyfman, “The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2005), 61–87; Steven 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* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 59–79.

⁶ On the existence of Qumranic interpretative traditions which do not originally stem from Scripture and the scholarly dispute in this regard see Bernstein and Koyfman, “Interpretation of Biblical Law,” 63 and note 5.

which appear to have been actually created through sectarian biblical hermeneutics—creative interpretation. The current paper will demonstrate a number of each type of homily and explicate their hermeneutic purpose and exegetical strategy.

1. QUMRANIC CREATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

1.1. *Foods and Utensils which Contract Corpse Impurity*

Scripture teaches that an open utensil within an enclosed space overlaying a corpse becomes impure (Num 19:16). The biblical text does not describe which type of utensils it means, the status of their contents, the rules concerning food and drink in this space—whether in containers or not, etc. All of these instances are described, however, in the *Temple Scroll*.⁷ Its author utilizes verses from two separate biblical pericopae to make up for these lacunae. These are the descriptions of impure “things that swarm” from Lev 11:29–38 and the tale of the war against Midian in Num 31:19–24.⁸ From Leviticus the impure status of foodstuffs is inferred, as well as the need for these items to be moistened before becoming susceptible to impurity.⁹ Additionally, “open vessels” in Num 19:16 are identified with “earthen vessels” from Leviticus 11:33.¹⁰ Finally, the *Temple Scroll* offers a list of vessels which may become impure, but can be purified.¹¹ This list was composed from items specified in both Lev 11:32 and Num 31:20, 22.¹²

This list is found not only in the *Temple Scroll*, but also in Tannaitic literature. The Tannaitic homilies manipulate these same pericopae—albeit with more sophisticated technique and terminology. They too

⁷ 11QT^a 49: 7–19; 50: 16–19; Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions*, (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press and Israel Exploration Society, 1996), 71, 73. I am relating to the *Temple Scroll* as a representative of a law system which had been either accepted, adopted or created by the Sect, and which greatly resembles other legal texts in Qumranic literature. For the purpose of the current paper there is no need to determine whether it was authored in a sectarian or a pre-sectarian context.

⁸ Num 31:51 is also alluded to in the context of corpse impurity in CD 12:18.

⁹ 11QT^a, 49:7–10, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 71.

¹⁰ 49: 8; 50: 17–19, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 71, 73.

¹¹ 49:14–19; 50:16–17, *ibid.*

¹² See the detailed discussion in Yigael Yadin, ed., *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:326–31.

come to the same legal conclusions, integrating some very similar expressions.¹³ Therefore, we can affirm that the Qumranic sources represent a primordial halakhic process that can be recognized as underlying later tannaitic halakhah and its midrashic approach.

In this case, it appears that the list relates to these biblical verses not merely as “proof-texts.” Rather, the implied hermeneutic allows us to peer into the very “factory” wherein the halakhah was formulated. That is, here we can witness how utilization of other biblical passages enabled the closing of the lacunae left open in Numbers 19. It appears that the hermeneutic logic behind combining these distinct pericopae was indeed responsible for generating the resultant laws.

1.2. *The Degree of Removal of the Corpse-Contaminated from the Camp*

The case of distancing the impure from the Israelite camp provides us with another example of an early hermeneutic process which generated a prototypical halakhic framework common to both the Qumran sect and the Sages. In Num 5:2, the Israelites are commanded to “remove from the camp anyone with an eruption or a discharge and anyone defiled by a corpse.” Here one who has been defiled by the dead is separated from the Israelite encampment. However, in the main section dealing with the impurity of the dead (Numbers 19) it appears that an impure individual need *not* leave the encampment, but only the more sacred space of the Tabernacle.¹⁴

According to Qumranic interpretation, the biblical removal from the encampment meant removal from all cities during the Second Temple era, while removal from the Tabernacle alone was read as removal from the Temple city. The *Temple Scroll* preferred the latter biblical pericope with its more limited removal of the defiled by the dead.¹⁵ In the descriptions found in the *Temple Scroll*, we discover a two-tiered system of impurity each requiring a different level of separation

¹³ *Sifre Numbers*, 126 (Horovitz, 162–63). See Yadin, *ibid*.

¹⁴ See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. (Vol. 3, 3a, 3b; AB; NY: Doubleday, 1991–2001), 3a: 276–77; *idem*, “Studies in the Temple Scroll,” *JBL* 97 (1978): 515. See also Cana Werman, “The Price of Mediation: The Role of Priests in Priestly Halakhah,” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 85–108, at 87 (Hebrew).

¹⁵ See Milgrom, “Studies,” *ibid*.

or removal from public space.¹⁶ The first level, including those with discharges—זָבִים, lepers, menstrual and post-partum women, requires removal from all cities.¹⁷ The second level, including those defiled by a corpse, by seminal emissions, or conjugal relations, are excluded only from the Temple City.¹⁸ It seems that the author of the *Temple Scroll* took the category of those defiled by a corpse out of the triumvirate of Numbers 5 (lepers, those with discharge, and those defiled by a corpse) who are to be removed from the Israelite encampment and inserted it among the “less severe” category of those made impure by seminal emissions or conjugal relations.

A similar two-tier break-down of impure categories and their repercussions is found in Josephus, though his presentation differs in its details. He too incorporated corpse impurity with the more lenient impurities. According to Josephus, those with discharges or lepers were expelled from the city. However, those defiled by a corpse and

¹⁶ For a somewhat different interpretation of the Qumranic system of impurity see Werman, “Mediation.” On the theological concept and the motivation in the background of the holiness system of the *Temple Scroll*, see Aharon Shemesh, “The Holiness According to the Temple Scroll,” *RevQ* 19/75 (2000): 369–82 and Werman, *ibid.*

¹⁷ 11QT^a, Temple Scroll 48:14–17, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 70.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45: 7–17, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 63. The term “עִיר הַמִּקְדָּשׁ”—the Temple City—was interpreted differently by different scholars. Nearly a century ago, Louis Ginzberg already wondered regarding its occurrence in CD 12:1–2, whether it meant the entire city of Jerusalem or just the Temple Mount (Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* [trans. Ralph Marcus, H. L. Ginsberg and Zvi Gotthold; repr., New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976], 73–74). Yigael Yadin believed that in the *Temple Scroll* it meant the whole of Jerusalem (Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:279–85), and this seems to be Jacob Milgrom’s opinion as well (Milgrom, “Studies,” 512–18), but Baruch A. Levine, “The Temple Scroll: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character,” *BASOR* 232 (1978): 14–17 preferred the minimizing interpretation. Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Exclusion from the Sanctuary and the City of the Sanctuary in the Temple Scroll,” *HAR* (1985): 301–20, suggested that the term Temple City denoted an expanded *temenos*. It seems that a paragraph in 4QMMT^a which explicitly identifies the biblical camp with Jerusalem is a central argument in favor of Yadin’s position, as noted by the editors (4QMMT^a B:29–31, John Strugnell and Elisha Qimron, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah [DJD X]*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 48–50. For discussion see *ibid.*, 144–45). However, this problem is not fundamental for our purpose here. Another scholarly debate concerns the meaning of the phrases “כּוֹל הַמִּקְדָּשׁ”; “הַמִּקְדָּשׁ” (11QT^a 45:7–10, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 63) with regard to the bans on a person incurring the impurity of nocturnal emission. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:285–88; Milgrom, “Studies,” 517–18; Schiffman, “Exclusion,” 306–9; Werman, “Mediation,” 93. My own working-hypothesis here is that according to the *Temple Scroll*, the one who had an emission of semen should be excluded from Jerusalem as a whole, in light of 11QT^a 46:16–18 and in accordance with Yadin and Milgrom (in spite of their different solutions to the phrase “כּוֹל הַמִּקְדָּשׁ”).

menstrual women were segregated from others, but not removed from the city.¹⁹

The ways in which biblical sacred space was understood in the rabbinic corpus differ greatly from those found in the writings of the sectarians and Josephus. For the Sages, the Temple was the equivalent of the camp of the divine presence—the biblical Tabernacle, and the Israelite encampment was translated into Jerusalem, whereas the Temple Mount was considered equal to a third, intermediate section—the Levitical camp. This meant that the city beyond the Temple Mount was equivalent to the most profane, external space in the hierarchy of holiness and exclusion of impurity, while the rest of the country was not even part of the discussion over removal of the impure.²⁰ Consequently, even the leper, whose removal from the Israelite camp is an explicit biblical precept,²¹ was allowed to remain in every regular Jewish settlement.²² Elsewhere I have described the Tannaitic tendency to reduce the biblical concept of impurity to the sacred sphere.²³ It appears that the contraction of the context of purity and impurity from its wider biblical dimensions to the boundaries of the city of Jerusalem alone is yet another example of the same orientation.

According to rabbinic legislation, only lepers are sent out of Jerusalem altogether. Those with discharges (as well as menstrual and post-partum women) may not enter only the Temple Mount.²⁴ The death

¹⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 3.261–64. For discussion and bibliography, see Steven Mason, ed., *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary* (Vol. 3: *Judean Antiquities* 1–4, translation and commentary by Louis H. Feldman, Leiden: Brill, 2000), 308–9.

²⁰ See, for example, *m. Kelim* 1:6–9; *t. Kelim-B. Qam.* 1:12; *Sifre Num* 1; *Sifre Zuta Num* 5:2; *b. Pesah.* 67a. For a comparison of the sectarian and the rabbinic halakhah in this regard, see Yadin, *Temple Scroll* 1:277–94; Milgrom, “Studies,” 512–18; Schiffman, “exclusion”; David Henshke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem: The Sages and Sectarian Halakhah,” *Tarbiz* 66 (1997) 5–28 (Hebrew); Menahem Kister, “Studies in *Miqṣat Ma’ase Ha-Torah* and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1999) 335–39 (Hebrew).

²¹ Lev 13:45–46; 14:3,8. See also 2 Kgs 7:3; 15:5.

²² According to some rabbinic sources, the leper is expelled from “walled cities” and not from Jerusalem alone. However, according to all rabbinic sources, he is not expelled from regular settlements. See *m. Kelim* 1:7; *Sifre Num* 1; *t. Kelim-B. Qam.* 1:8. For a polemical midrash which tries to refute the notion that the leper is removed from regular cities, see *Sifra Meṣora, parashah* 6, *pereq* 4:4.

²³ Vered Noam, “The Dual Strategy of Rabbinic Purity Legislation,” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 471–512.

²⁴ On the rabbinic tendency to circumscribe the scope of *zab* impurity in other respects as well, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Zab Impurity in Qumran and Rabbinic Law,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 273–77.

defiled is surprisingly considered the most lenient among all these severe impurities. He may ascend to the Temple Mount,²⁵ and in this respect his impurity becomes even milder than the one-day-impurity of a person with an issue, who is forbidden to go there.²⁶

Despite the opposite practical consequences of the different definitions given by the Qumranites and the rabbis to the realms of purity and impurity, it is important to note that at base they share the very same exegetical strategy concerning the death defiled: Both disconnect him from the other two categories of impurity mentioned together with him in Numbers 5 and integrate him into the realm of lenient impurities. Both allow his entry into the equivalent of the biblical Israelite camp. In other words, both privilege the more lenient consequences of Numbers 19, which forbade only entrance into the Tabernacle, but did not require removal from the entire camp, over the stringencies in Numbers chapter 5.

It appears here that the hermeneutical struggle to balance two conflicting biblical sections generated the resultant law and not vice versa.

1.3. *The Impurity of a Woman Carrying a Dead Fetus*

Sometimes we find a rabbinic text which points us to homiletics hidden within the Qumranic corpus. It is particularly interesting when these rabbinic parallels reflect dissenting exegetical material. For example, the *Temple Scroll* uses the term “grave” to describe a woman carrying a dead fetus.²⁷ As I have shown elsewhere, this one word is in essence a legal homily which plays off the terminology of Numbers 19:16: “And in the open, anyone who touches a person who was killed or who died naturally, or human bone, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days.” The word “grave” is used to suggest that this woman is impure because she holds within her a dead body, just as the biblical grave does. The reconstruction of this homily is made possible by studying two Tannaitic homilies. These midrashim use other phrases in the self same verse, reactively making the *opposite* case—that this woman

²⁵ *M. Kelim* 1:7–8. See also the sources mentioned in note 19 above.

²⁶ *Sifre Deut* 255; *b. Pesah* 67b.

²⁷ 11QT^a 50:11, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 73.

remains in a state of purity despite carrying a dead fetus.²⁸ While the Qumranic homily seems to be a natural extension of the associative similarity between the grave and the womb—and indeed, this metaphor is implied in the Bible itself and is quite common throughout rabbinic literature too²⁹—the Tannaitic reactive homilies are remarkably forced.³⁰ Therefore, we may assume that in this case the Qumranic homily is an initial creative interpretation which launched a halakhic position through an innocent reading of the biblical verse. The Tannaitic reaction, by contrast, is a secondary polemic attempt to anchor the opposite—lenient—stance in the biblical text.

1.4. *Liquids Capable of Causing Susceptibility to Impurity*

Several Qumran fragments point to the sect's position that all liquids may make foodstuffs susceptible to impurity. Two of these, 4Q274 frg. 3 i and 4Q284a frg. 1 deal with the defilement of fruits due to the oozing of their own juices.³¹ 4Q284a prohibits the harvesting of figs, pomegranates and possibly also olives³² by “[one] who has not been brou[ght into the co]venant,”³³ namely “an unclean person”³⁴ as the fruits will be “crushed so that their juice has oozed out,”³⁵ making them susceptible to the impurity of this person.

This halakhic stance is evidence of an exegetic analogy between two halves of a biblical verse: **מִכָּל הָאֵלֶּיךָ אֲשֶׁר יֵאָכֵל אֲשֶׁר יִבּוֹא עֲלָיו מִיַּם** **יְטַמָּא** **וְכָל מִשְׁקָה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתָּה בְּכֶל כְּלִי יְטַמָּא**. “As to any food that may be eaten, it shall become unclean if it came in contact with *water*; as to *any liquid* that may be drunk, it shall become unclean if it was inside any vessel” (Lev 11:34). The first part of this verse describes how foods may become susceptible to the impurity of the above mentioned dead “swarming things” after being moistened with water. It mentions

²⁸ See Vered Noam, “Qumran and the Rabbis on Corpse-Impurity: Common Exegesis—Tacit Polemic,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (STDJ 90; ed. Charlotte Hempel; Leiden: Brill 2010), 397–430.

²⁹ See Jer 20:17; *m. 'Ohal.* 7:4; *t. 'Ohal.* 8:8.

³⁰ Noam, “Qumran and the Rabbis on Corpse-Impurity.”

³¹ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “274. 4QTohorot A,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten et al.; DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 106–7; “284a. 4QHarvesting,” *ibid.*, 131–33.

³² Completion of the editor based on the following verbs: **יִלְאֲצוּ** (press), **לְגַלְעֵם** (opening them), and on the reconstruction of **ד[בב]** ([in the olive pr]ess).

³³ 4Q284a, frg. 1, l. 6.

³⁴ See 4Q274 frg. 3 i, l. 8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 7. See also 4Q284a frg. 1 l. 5.

water specifically as the liquid which allows this to occur. The second part of the verse describes the actual impurity of liquids themselves resultant of these swarming things falling into them. *Here* the reference is to “any liquid”. It seems clear that some early exegete expanded the reference to “כל משקה” (“any liquid”) in the second part of the verse to refer to the first half of the verse. Therefore, “any liquid” may enable the defilement of food. This led to an emphasis on the biblical word משקה in several Qumranic texts which deal with causing susceptibility.³⁶ Traces of such a היקש, analogy, between the two parts of the verse exist in rabbinic sources as well.³⁷ The Sages also maintained that liquids other than water may enable foods to become impure. But the Rabbinic law limited this broadening interpretation of the biblical “water” to seven liquids alone.³⁸ However, the common halakhic principle, as well as the common comparative strategy (היקש) both point to a common exegetical foundation of the meta-biblical stance that many liquids may cause susceptibility.

The Qumranic homilies enumerated above served us as examples of sectarian “creative interpretations”—they appear to be actually producing laws through biblical hermeneutics, uncovering before our eyes the very process by which some basic halakhic elements were initially created. Let us now turn to some “integrative interpretations,” namely supportive homilies, which seem to be secondary biblical backings of extant legislation.

2. QUMRANIC INTEGRATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

2.1. *Impurity of the Components of the House*

The Damascus Document uses the phrase: “וּבַל הַעֲצִים וְהָאֲבָנִים וְהָעֵפֶר” to teach that “wood, stones and dust,” the materials which compose the house enclosing a corpse, contract corpse-impurity.³⁹ In the fol-

³⁶ See 4Q274 3 i 6, 7; Baumgarten *ibid.*, 106; 4Q284 1 l. 5; *ibid.*, 131–32.

³⁷ The homilies in *Sifra Shemini* 8, 1 apply the words “כל משקה” to liquids which cause susceptibility to foodstuffs, rather than to liquids becoming impure themselves. See also *b. Pesah.* 16a, where this interpretation is expressed explicitly: “What does ‘it shall become unclean’ mean? [It means:] ‘It shall make [others, i.e., solid foodstuffs] susceptible [to impurity].’”

³⁸ *m. Makš.* 6:4; *m. Ter.* 11:2.

³⁹ CD 12: 15–17 in *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; PTS DSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 52.

lowing lines it goes on to mention “any vessel, nail, or peg in a wall which are with a corpse in a house”⁴⁰ as well. This precept corresponds with the *Temple Scroll’s* instruction to scrape the floor, the walls and the doors of the house of the dead, and to wash with water its locks, doorposts, thresholds and lintels.⁴¹ The impurity of the tent of the dead itself, in addition to the persons and utensils found in it, is explicit in scripture—“and sprinkle on the tent and on all the vessels and people who were there” (Num 19:18). The *Temple Scroll* and CD, like the Septuagint, Philo and Josephus, substituted “house” for the “tent” of the dead in Numbers 19.⁴²

At first glance, there is no indication of biblical exegesis in CD. However, further inspection reveals that the Damascus Document did not use the inclusive term “all” incidentally. This word is found in the biblical verse: “*all* that is in the tent shall be unclean” (Num 19:14). Moreover, Targum Pseudo Jonathan to Num 19:14 attaches these same three items: “ground, stones and wood” to the biblical word *וכל* in this verse. Additionally, we find a Tannaitic legal midrash which *rejects* this very exegesis of the word “all” in the self-same verse:

“*Whatever is in the tent*” (Num 19:14): Do I hear that even the straw and the twigs, *the wood, the stones and the soil* are included? Scripture teaches: “*on the tent and on all the vessels and people*” (Num 19:18) (*Sifre Numbers* 126).⁴³

The midrash uses a different phrase in the same biblical section to teach that only utensils and people in the house of a corpse are rendered impure—*not* the raw materials of the house itself.⁴⁴

In these three sources—CD, *Sifre Numbers*, Ps. Jon.—the voice of an ancient halakhah is heard, one that listed the three items—wood, stones and soil—as receiving impurity. Presumably this halakhah was attached to the word *כל* in the verse, “*all* that is in the tent shall be unclean” (Num 19:14). This early midrash is implied in the wording of CD as well. The existence of this kind of inclusive exegesis in the *Damascus Document* is surprising. It is a highly developed midrashic

⁴⁰ Lines 17–18, *ibid.*

⁴¹ 11QT^a 49: 11–13.

⁴² 11QT^a 49:5–50:19; Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 70–73; Philo, *Spec. Laws*, 3. 206; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.205; See discussion by Yadin, *Temple Scroll* 1:325–26.

⁴³ Horowitz, 162.

⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of all these sources see Noam, “Qumran and the Rabbis.”

strategy, reminiscent of the classic homiletic style which flourished in Rabbinic circles two or three centuries later.⁴⁵

Be that as it may, the midrash based on the word “all” is clearly a “technical” reading which does not depend upon innocent study of the plain meaning of the word. Elsewhere I have argued that at the foundation of the Qumranic stance which insists upon defilement of the components of the house lies the sect’s basic attribution of impurity to the artifacts of human culture, as opposed to the immunity of nature.⁴⁶ This homily is merely an artificial support added to one aspect of this broader attitude—an integrative interpretation.

2.2. *Distancing Burials from Cities*

Another example of this type of arbitrary homily can be seen in the *Temple Scroll’s* use of the verses from Numbers 35 and Deuteronomy 19, concerning Levite cities and cities of refuge, to develop the obligation to distance burials from all cities, despite the absence of any mention of this requirement in the verses themselves.⁴⁷ As Yadin has shown, the same verses are used as proof-texts for a similar, but reduced, obligation in late layers of rabbinic literature.⁴⁸ It appears that an early homily attached laws concerning the placement of cemeteries outside of city confines to the only biblical verses devoted to the planning of urban space and city life. This is similar to the way that these same verses were utilized to support the laws of Sabbath boundaries (תחום שבת).⁴⁹ These exegetical attempts seem artificial and do not appear to have been generative of the laws they supposedly produce. Rather, they only serve to support existing legal tenets.

⁴⁵ On the Tannaitic exegetical approach which understood inclusive biblical words like “all” as hints of multiplicity and expansion of rules, see Epstein, *Introduction*, 529–31, esp. 529.

⁴⁶ Noam, “Qumran and the Rabbis.”

⁴⁷ 11QT^a, *Temple Scroll*, 48: 10–14, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 70. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:322–23; 2:209, commentary to lines 10–11, 13.

⁴⁸ *y. Erub.* 5:3, 22d (= *y. Mak.* 2:7, 32a); Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:323. On the rabbinic reduction of the prohibition to bury the dead near settlements, see Noam, “Dual Strategy.”

⁴⁹ CD 10: 21, 11:5–6; *m. Soṭah* 5:3. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah At Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 90–98.

2.3. *Moral Rationale for Corpse Impurity*

To these examples I would add one more whose focus is moral rather than legal. Numbers 35, alluded to in the above mentioned passage in the *Temple Scroll*, deals with “cities of refuge” for unintentional murderers. The biblical words “You shall not defile the land” (35:34) are used in this pericope as a warning against harboring intentional murderers. The *Temple Scroll* uses these same words: “And you shall not defile your land” to admonish against corpse impurity, engendered by burial in inhabited areas.⁵⁰ This connection may hint at an ethical rationale for the impurity of the dead. Let us take a look at a similar moral explanation suggested in Second Temple literature:

It (the law) gives instruction that both the house and its residents are to be purified after the funerary rites, so that anyone who has committed murder might be far from seeming to be pure (Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.205).⁵¹

So careful was the lawgiver to guard against anyone helping to bring about the death of another that he considers that even those who have touched the corpse of one who has met a natural death must remain unclean until they have been purified by aspersions and ablutions... (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3: 205).⁵²

It may very well be that the *Temple Scroll's* use of the verse dealing with murderers in the context of corpse impurity was meant to imply that distancing of ritual impurity reflects the distancing of moral impurity.⁵³

⁵⁰ 11QT^a 48: 10–11, Qimron, *Temple Scroll*, 70; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:209.

⁵¹ Steven Mason, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary* (Vol. 10: *Against Apion*, translation and commentary by John M. G. Barclay, Leiden: Brill, 2007), 288. See the commentator's remark on the attempt of the common tradition of Philo and Josephus “to make *moral* impurity the primary phenomenon, and ritual, physical impurity derivative from it,” *ibid.*, note 829.

⁵² Francis H. Colson, *Philo* (Vol. 7, LCL; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann LTD, 1938), 603.

⁵³ On the relation between ritual and moral impurity in Qumran see Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 67–91. For different interpretations of this passage in the *Temple Scroll* see pages 51 and 182, notes 69, 70, where the author suggests either the ritual explanation (the land is defiled due to improper burial) or the moral one (the land is defiled because of bloodshed). In his opinion, the second possibility obligates that this warning be an independent passage, isolated from the following section, which is devoted to ritual purity. My own suggestion, however, is that this phrase deals with ritual impurity, but hints to its moral roots, by means of allusion to the biblical context of murder and its effect on the land.

If this is true, then the exegetical strategy here was designed to serve an existing moral idea, common in other sources of Second Temple era.

3. CONCLUSION

In the current paper I wished to demonstrate that the common distinction between “creative interpretation” and “integrative interpretation,” usually applied to rabbinic legal midrash, may be fruitfully implemented for Qumranic legal hermeneutic as well, in spite of the embryonic nature of the sectarian exegesis. Our survey demonstrates the existence of Qumranic rules which were an actual product of biblical interpretation, thus enabling us to peer into the very “factory” wherein the foundations of halakhah were formulated (the list of foods and utensils which contract corpse impurity; the degree of removal of the corpse-contaminated from the camp; the impurity of a woman carrying a dead fetus; liquids capable of causing susceptibility to impurity).

On the other hand, we have also presented examples of religious rules which were arbitrarily attached to biblical “prooftexts.” In these cases, an independent, extant tradition was connected artificially to a Pentateuchal verse (impurity of the components of a house; distancing burials from cities; moral rationale for corpse impurity). This phenomenon sheds light on the existence of ancient non-biblical traditions in these Jewish circles of Second Temple era. It also illuminates the sectarian quest for biblical authorization.

Above and beyond these conclusions, we may infer the following: During the time in which the *Temple Scroll* was composed, as well as in the later periods of the composition of the *Damascus Document* and 4QMMT, legal exegesis of the Bible was not considered to be an independent genre. It lacked any distinctive literary form as well as any developed terminology. However, there is no doubt that more than two centuries previous to the destruction of the Second Temple, a wide variety of exegetical strategies were already at work, serving both to bolster existing laws as well as to form new ones.

THE PRICE OF MEDIATION: THE ROLE OF PRIESTS IN THE PRIESTLY HALAKHAH

CANA WERMAN

Any discussion of facets of the Qumran writings is a risky task given the issues that are still being debated and the lack of consensus regarding numerous key questions. Nonetheless, most scholars nowadays would tend to concur that the halakhic dispute between the Qumran community members and the group(s) influenced by the Pharisaic position played a decisive role in the community members' decision to withdraw from Jerusalem and live in isolation.

Attempts to better understand the origin and specifics of this halakhic dispute must come to grips with methodological obstacles.¹ The halakhic system embedded in the Qumran writings is the one that was accepted by the Community, and was partly created within its own confines after the withdrawal and after its decision to adopt a 364-day calendar that had never been used in the Land of Israel before.² The Qumranic halakhic system needs to be teased apart to identify those elements adhered to by the community and those also accepted by the wider group from which the community detached itself, the priestly circle who controlled the Jerusalem temple during the fourth, third,

¹ Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 27–36. The term "Qumran community" is used here to denote the groups whose existence is implied by the sectarian scrolls found in the cave near Khirbet Qumran (*The Rule of the Community, Rule of the Blessings, Hodayot, Damascus Document, and the pesharim*). The characteristic features of these communities are isolation from the rest of the people due to differences in halakhic rules, and the adoption of the 364-day calendar described in the *Astronomical Book of Enoch*. I make no claim regarding a link between Khirbet Qumran and these groups, nor do I argue that its membership was restricted to a single group.

² On the 364-day calendar during the Second Temple period see the discussion in Menahem Kister, "Studies in 4QMiqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language, and Calendar," *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 360–63 (Hebrew). On the acknowledgement, found in the Community's historiography, that the 364 day calendar was never used prior to the Community's founding, see Cana Werman, "Epochs and End-time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature," *DSD* 13 (2006): 229–55.

and second centuries B.C.E. The next step is to evaluate and understand the *halakhic* outlook shared by both priestly groups and then compare it to another *halakhic* system we do not know much about, the Pharisaic system. Reconstruction of the particulars and principles of Pharisaic *halakhah* is only partially possible. It can be done by identifying early layers in the tannaitic literature and by analyzing the arguments included in the Qumranites' writings to refute their opponents' views.³

In my paper I would like to reconstruct a *halakhic* disagreement between the early priestly circle and the Pharisees. I then define the principle governing the *halakhah* presented by the priests and suggest that this principle formed the core of the dispute between the two parties. For simplicity's sake, I use the terms "priestly *halakhah*" and "Qumranic *halakhah*" interchangeably through most of the paper and only differentiate the two layers in the last section.

1. 4Q276–4Q277

The point of departure of the following analysis is two manuscripts, 4Q276 and 4Q277, published by the late Joseph Baumgarten in DJD XXV. Both manuscripts deal with the preparation of the ashes of the red cow and how they are to be used for purging defilement from a corpse.⁴ The two manuscripts appear to reflect two independent compositions; however they are very similar in aim. 4Q276 contains instructions on how to prepare the ashes. Because of its fragmentary nature it is impossible to determine what other topics, if any, were included in this manuscript. 4Q277 contains instructions on both how to prepare the ashes and how to use them. The speaker is not identified in either composition. The term "Tent of Meeting", found in 4Q276, indicates that the author did not try to adapt the biblical world to his own time.

³ For an important and pioneering effort to define the core of the dispute, see Daniel R. Schwartz, "Law and Truth: On Qumran-Sadducean and Rabbinic Views of Law," *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 229–240. For a response, see Jeffrey L. Rubinstein, "Nominalism and Realism in Qumranic and Rabbinic Law: A Reassessment," *DSD* 6 (1999): 157–83.

⁴ Joseph M. Baumgarten, "274–278. 4QTohorot A–C," in Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 111–19. Note that, following Jacob Milgrom, I use the term "red cow" to render the biblical expression *פרה אדומה* rather than the less precise, though more common, "red heifer."

Furthermore, in both compositions there is no division between the biblical quotations and their interpretation. This warrants labeling 4Q276 and 4Q277 as “rewritten Bible.”⁵ The biblical chapter that is rewritten in 4Q276–4Q277 is Numbers 19. The first part of the biblical chapter provides details on how to prepare the ashes of the red cow; the second part explains corpse defilement and the use of the ashes mixed with water, called the water of lustration, for purging.

Numbers 19 contains a few features characteristic of the priestly source of the Pentateuch,⁶ the most important of which is the severity of corpse defilement. Corpse defilement affects not only those who touch the dead but also those who are under the same roof as the corpse. Due to its severity, this impurity also affects the Tabernacle\ Tent of Meeting\temple;⁷ hence any delay in its removal is forbidden: “Whoever touches a corpse, the body of a person who has died, and does not purge himself (אִתְּחַטֵּא), defiles the Lord’s tabernacle; that person shall be cut off from Israel. Since the water of lustration was not dashed on him, he remains impure; his impurity is still upon him” (v. 13). Note that the root אִתְּחַטֵּא, found in verse 13, is abundant in our chapter. אִתְּחַטֵּא appears in verse 9, in the concluding remark “תִּחַטְּאוּ אִתְּחַטֵּא,” “it is for purging.” In v. 17, the cow is called תִּחַטְּאוּ, “purging.” The root אִתְּחַטֵּא is also found in two verbal stems. The action of sprinkling the water is in *pi’el*, for instance in verse 19: “The pure person shall sprinkle it upon the impure, on the third day and on the seventh day thus purging him (וַיִּחַטְּאוּ) by the seventh day.”⁸ The action taken by the impure person upon whom the water is sprinkled is in *hitpa’el*, אִתְּחַטְּאוּ. Thus verse 12 reads: “He shall purge himself (אִתְּחַטְּאוּ) on the third and the seventh days.” Similarly in verse 13, cited above: “Whoever touches a corpse, the body of a person who has died, and does not

⁵ On these considerations for evaluation of the literary genre, see Aharon Shemesh and Cana Werman, “Halakha at Qumran: Genre and Authority,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 104–29.

⁶ Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers* (The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1990), 438. According to Knohl, Numbers 19 originated in P but also includes a few verses from an editorial layer of H. See Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 92–94.

⁷ For clarity’s sake in what follows I will use the term “temple” to refer to God’s abode.

⁸ The translation of this verse and all other biblical citations are adapted from NJPS. The changes I made pertain specifically to terms of purity—“pure” and “impure” rather than NJPS “clean” and “unclean”; “purging” instead of “cleansing”.

purge himself (יִתְחַטֵּא), defiles the Lord's tabernacle." Removal of the impurity is purging, חִטּוּי. Purging the impurity in the sphere outside of the tabernacle also removes the stain inside the tabernacle.

The belief that impurity present in the camp affects the temple from afar shapes other laws concerning impurity in the priestly sources of the Pentateuch. A *zab* (or *zaba*), i.e. a man or a woman with an abnormal discharge; a *yoledet*, woman after childbirth; and a leper are all obligated to bring a purgation offering. Blood from the sacrificial animal is sprinkled on the altar, thus purging the holy site and removing the impurity.⁹ However, defilement from a corpse is different from the above. Its purging is an external rite, accomplished by an external sacrifice. The red cow is slaughtered outside the temple, and its ashes mixed with water are sprinkled on the impure outside the temple and not on items in the temple.¹⁰ The view that corpse defilement is less severe than that of *zav*, *yoledet* and leprosy¹¹ is reflected in its different requirements.

Thus, the law of the red cow is a special case of a purgation offering. Consequently both the preparation of the ashes and the sprinkling of the water of lustration are located on the fragile boundary between an intra-sanctuary rite and an external one. The cow has to be without blemish, and never used for labor ("never previously yoked," 19:2), a regular stipulation in sacrificial laws.¹² Furthermore, a priest must be present while the cow is burning and must throw "cedar wood, hyssop, and crimson stuff" into the fire (19:6). A priest is also responsible for dashing the blood in the direction of the temple (19:4). The requirement to dash the animal's blood is another indication of an inner-

⁹ Jacob Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary: The Priestly 'Picture of Dorian Gray,'" *RB* 83 (1976): 390–99.

¹⁰ Milgrom (*Numbers*, 442–43) mentions two biblical sources which obligate a person who was defiled by a corpse to make an ordinary purgation offering: In Ezekiel a priest who was defiled by a corpse has to make a purgation offering (44:27); a nazirite who was defiled by a corpse has to make a purgation offering (Num 6:10–12). In Milgrom's opinion, these sources reflect an earlier layer than the one in Numbers 19.

¹¹ As was noted by Milgrom (*Numbers*, 443–42), the stance in Numbers 19 contradicts Numbers 5: "Instruct the Israelites to remove from the camp anyone with an eruption or discharge and anyone *defiled by a corpse*. Remove male and female alike; put them outside the camp so that they do not defile the camp of those in whose midst I dwell" (vss. 2–3).

¹² Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 4; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 461.

temple rite. The blood of all cattle slaughtered for sacrificial purposes must be put on the altar; the dashing of the blood of the red cow symbolizes the connection of its blood to the temple. Another sign that the ritual of the red cow is an inner-temple practice is related to the biblical law which states that those who take part in purgation sacrifices are impure because of their contact with the purging substance that absorbed the impurity (Lev 6:21; 16:28). Similarly, those involved in the red cow rites, who are commanded to be pure while taking part in them, become impure until sunset and are commanded to bathe and wash their clothes at the end of the ceremony.¹³ The priest who is present while the cow is burning (19:7); the one who burns the cow (19:8); the one who gathers the ashes (19:10) as well as the one who sprinkles the water of lustration: “A pure person shall sprinkle it upon the impure person on the third day and on the seventh day, thus purging him by the seventh day. He shall then launder his clothes and bathe in water, and at nightfall he shall be pure” (19:19).

The aspect of the red cow rite that is external to the Temple is conveyed by the participation of non-priests. Neither the person who slaughters the cow nor the one who gathers the ashes has to be a priest. The only stipulation is to be pure. The person who sprinkles the ashes on the impure also must be pure. However, Numbers 19 does not stipulate that he should be a priest: “Some of the ashes from the burnt purging shall be taken for the impure person, and fresh water shall be added to them in a vessel. A person who is pure shall take hyssop, dip it in the water, and sprinkle....” (19:17–18).

With this biblical background in mind I now turn to 4Q276–4Q277. The table below compares 4Q276–4Q277 and Numbers 19:

¹³ All but the person who slaughters the cow. As Milgrom notes (*Numbers*, 439), the slaughtered cow becomes holy while its blood is dashed toward the tabernacle. The slaughterer takes part in the rite prior to the dashing and hence does not become impure.

Numbers 19 ¹⁴	4Q276–277 (J. M. Baumgarten)
<p>I.</p> <p>(2) Instruct the Israelite people to bring you a red cow without blemish, in which there is no defect and on which no yoke has been laid. (3) You shall give it to Eleazar the priest. It shall be taken outside the camp and slaughtered in his presence. (4) Eleazar the priest shall take some of its blood with his finger and sprinkle it seven times toward the front of the Tent of Meeting. (5) Then the cow shall be burned in his sight, its hide, flesh and blood shall be burned, its dung included. (6) And the priest shall take cedar wood, hyssop, and crimson stuff, and throw them into the fire consuming the cow.</p> <p>(9) A man who is pure shall gather up the ashes of the cow and deposit them outside the camp in a pure place, to be kept for water of lustration for the Israelite community. It is for <i>purging</i> (חטאת). (10) He who gathers up the ashes of the cow shall also launder his clothes and be impure until evening.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>II.</p> <p>(17) Some of the ashes of the burnt <i>purging</i> (חטאת) shall be taken for the impure person, and fresh water shall be added to them in a vessel. (18) A person who is pure shall take hyssop, dip it in the water, and sprinkle...</p>	<p>4Q276</p> <p>[Garments] in which he did not minister in the sacred (precincts) [] and he shall gird (?) the garments¹⁵ and one should slaugh[ter the cow [be]fore him. And he shall carry its blood <i>in a clay vessel which [was sancti]fied by the altar</i>. And he shall sprinkle from its blood with [his] finger seven [times to]ward the <i>T[e]nt of Meeting</i>. And he shall cast the cedar wood [and the hyssop and the cri]mson [stuff] into the midst of its burning.</p> <p>4Q277</p> <p>[And] <i>a man purified from any impurity (which lasts until) evening</i> [shall gather the ash of the cow and give it to] the priest <i>who is מכפר</i> with the blood of the cow. And anyone [who touches the ash or carries t]he clay [vessels] <i>with [whi]ch they כפרו</i> the law of [] shall bathe] in water and [be im]pure until the ev[en]ing</p> <p>-----</p> <p>[And let no] man [sprinkle] the lustration water upon those defiled by a c[orpse]. <i>Only a priest who is pure</i> shall [sprinkle upon] them, for he is <i>מכפר</i> [מ] the impu[re]. And a child shall not sprinkle upon the impure.</p>

¹⁴ The verses are re-arranged according to the order of the instructions found in the Qumran fragments.

¹⁵ The words are: וחיב את הבגדים. Baumgarten explains this as an instruction to fold the garment to prevent it from being stained by the cow's blood (Baumgarten, "4Q276," 112).

Table (cont.)

Numbers 19	4Q276–277 (J. M. Baumgarten)
<p>(11) He who touches the corpse of any human being shall be impure for seven days. (12) He shall <i>purge</i> himself (יִתְחַטֵּא) with it [= the ashes] on the third day and on the seventh day, and then be pure; if he fails to <i>purge</i> (יִתְחַטֵּא) himself on the third and seven days, he shall not be pure.</p> <p>(19) The pure person shall sprinkle it upon the impure person on the third day and on the seventh day, thus <i>purging</i> him (חִטָּא) by the seventh day. He shall then launder his clothes and bathe in water, and at nightfall he shall be pure.</p> <p>(13) Whoever touches a corpse, the body of a person who has died, and does not <i>purge</i> (יִתְחַטֵּא) himself, defiles the Lord's tabernacle; that person shall be cut off from Israel. Since the water of lustration was not dashed on him, he remains impure; his impurity is still upon him.</p>	<p>And those [who receive] th[e lustration water shall (first) immerse themselves in water and be pu[ri]fied of [human?] corpse defilement [and of every] other [defilement¹⁶ when the pri]est [spr]inkles the lustration water upon them to purify [them, <i>for they cannot be</i>¹⁷ כִּפְרָ?] <i>unless they become pure and their flesh is p[ure].</i></p>

Despite the fragmentary state of the Qumranic source, key differences between its *halakhic* portions and Numbers 19 can be seen, both regarding the preparation of the ashes and the sprinkling. In the first paragraph of 4Q276–4Q277 (henceforth 4Q277) there is a non-biblical instruction: note the specification of the type of vessel to be used for receiving the cow's blood (which is to be sprinkled toward the tabernacle); namely a clay vessel sanctified by the altar: "And he shall carry its blood in a clay vessel which [was sancti]fied by the altar." Another change with respect to the biblical passage is the use of priests in roles

¹⁶ One possible interpretation is that a person who was defiled by a corpse, before being sprinkled by the water of lustration, has to become purified himself by cleansing himself not only of corpse defilement but also from other impurities such as abnormal or semen discharge. Baumgarten suggested otherwise. He assumed that water of lustration was not only used for corpse defilement but also for other cases of corporal defilement. See Baumgarten, "4Q276," 83–87 and see below.

¹⁷ At this point Baumgarten reconstructed a verb with the root קד"ש. As will be shown below, the root כִּפְרָ fits better.

not assigned to them in Numbers. According to Numbers 19 someone who is pure gathers up the ashes. In 4Q277 as well, a pure person gathers up the ashes; however, he must hand the ashes to the priest who is with him in the field. In addition, as seen in part II of the table, a priest rather than a pure layperson performs the sprinkling. Note the admonition: “Only a priest who is pure shall sprinkle upon them.” There is another important change: whereas Numbers does not find it necessary to define the level of purity of the person who performs the sprinkling, 4Q277 (second paragraph, part I of the table) specifies the level of purity required: he has to be **איש טהור מכול טמאת ערב**. Translated literally, this phrase reads: “A man who is pure from any impurity that lasts until evening or until sunset.” Translated freely, the phrase reads: “This man must achieve a state of purity (from any kind of contamination) on the day before the sprinkling, and not on the day of the sprinkling.”

Three more alterations are present in 4Q277 although one is doubtful, because of the text’s fragmentary nature. This is the absence of a warning that those who fail to purify themselves will be punished by **כרת** as indicated by the blank cell on the Qumran side of the table. The other two alterations are quite clear.

The first alteration is the replacement of the root **חט"א**, purge, by **כפ"ר**. The root **כפ"ר** appears in the fragmentary statement regarding the ashes or the ashes mixed with water that are kept in the vessel: “[with whi]ch they **כפרו**.” In the process of sprinkling, according to 4Q277, the priest is “**כפר**[מ] on the impu[re].”¹⁸

The second change is the differentiation made in 4Q277 between the process of purification and the rite of sprinkling. To understand the

¹⁸ Another occurrence of the root **כפ"ר** in 4Q277 is not related to the water of lustration but to the dashing of the cow’s blood toward the temple. The priest who performs the sprinkling is called: “the priest who **מכפר** with the blood of the cow.” Defining dashing as **כפ"ר** might be the outcome of a close reading of Leviticus 17. According to chapter 17 all forms of slaughter are forbidden, except slaughtering sacrifices in front of the temple, and the blood of each of the cattle must be placed on the altar as an act of expiation, **כפרה** (On the interpretation of this chapter in the priestly circle see Cana Werman, “The Rules of Consuming and Covering Blood in Priestly and Rabbinic Law,” *RevQ* 16 [1995]: 621–36). The author is apparently aware of the seeming contradiction between Numbers 19 and the prohibition in Leviticus 17 against slaughtering animals outside of the temple area, and explains that the cow’s blood is nevertheless being used for expiation, however not by bringing it to the altar but by dashing it in the direction of the temple.

revolutionary nature of the distinction between purification and sprinkling we need to look at a law found in the *Temple Scroll*.¹⁹ According to the *Temple Scroll*, individuals defiled by a corpse must, in addition to being sprinkled twice, bathe, and wash their clothes three times, on the first, third, and seventh days:

...bathe in water and launder their clothes on the first day; and on the third day they shall sprinkle over them water of lustration, and they shall bathe, and launder their clothing...And on the seventh day they shall sprinkle a second time, and they shall bathe and launder their clothes... and by evening they will become pure of the dead...they should not touch pure things until they will be sprinkled the seco[nd time] on the seventh day and they will be pur[e in the eve]ning at the going down of the sun (11QT^a 49:17–50:4).

The statement in 4Q277 is a short summary of the injunction in the *Temple Scroll*. 4Q277 makes it clear that only those with pure flesh are allowed to receive the sprinkling: “And those [who receive] th[e lustration water shall (first) immerse themselves in water and be pu[ri]fied of [human] corpse defilement [and of every] other [defilement when the pri]est [spr]inkles the lustration water upon them to purify [them, for they cannot be (?) כפר] unless they become pure and their flesh is p[ure].” Note that from the author’s point of view the immersion itself causes the impure person to become pure, as suggested in the first sentence: “immerse themselves in water and be pu[ri]fied of [human] corpse defilement.” This statement plainly contradicts Numbers 19:11–12, where bathing is not required at all and the sprinkling of the water of lustration is the only way to achieve purity: “He who touches the corpse of any human being shall be impure for seven days. He shall purge himself with it [= the ashes] on the third day and on the seventh day, *and then be pure*; if he fails to purge himself on the third and seventh days, he shall not be pure.”

To better grasp the differences between 4Q277 and Numbers we need to explore the author’s intent. I begin with what appears to be a minor detail, the fact that the vessel for the cow’s blood must be sanctified at the altar. By adding this stipulation, the author may have

¹⁹ The quotations from the *Temple Scroll* are my translation of the Hebrew text as it appears in Qimron’s edition: Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1996).

been attempting to create a closer tie between the temple and the ritual that took place at a distance. In other words, the author wanted to transform an extra-temple feature into an intra-temple one. Two other alterations in 4Q277 are consistent with this goal. The first is the stipulation that priests must play an essential role in the preparation of the ashes and the rejection of all but priests for the sprinkling. The second is that the degree of purity required of the people involved is equal to the degree of purity required in the temple; i.e., not only must the person be pure but he must also have achieved a state of purity by sunset of the previous day.

At this point it is important to note that as far as we know, all sectors of Second Temple Judaism concurred that temple rituals and ceremonies required a level of purity in which the procedure of purification had been completed on the previous day. All parties forbade someone categorized as a *tebul yom*, a person who performed ritual immersion but the day of his immersion is not yet over, from entering the temple. Take for example, a tannaitic midrash which enumerates the ten degrees of holiness:

There are ten degrees of Holiness:

- (10) *The land of Israel* is holier than all lands for they bring from it the *Omer* and first fruit and the two loaves which they do not bring from all the other lands;
- (9) *The land of Canaan* is holier than the other side of the Jordan River because the land of Canaan is appropriate for the House of the Deity and the other side of the Jordan River is not appropriate for the House of the Deity;
- (8) *The cities surrounded* by a wall are holier than the land of Canaan for the lepers are sent from them...;
- (7) *Jerusalem* is holier than the cities surrounded by a wall for lesser sanctities and second tithes are eaten there and are not eaten in the cities surrounded by a wall;
- (6) *The Temple Mount* is holier than Jerusalem for *zabim* and *zabot* enter Jerusalem and do not enter the Temple Mount;
- (5) *The Rampart* is holier than the Temple Mount for gentiles and he who is made impure by a corpse enters the Temple Mount and does not enter the Rampart;
- (4) *The women's court* is holier than the Rampart for a *tebul yom* enters the Rampart and does not enter the women's court;
- (3) *The Israelite's court* is holier than the women's court for one who must seek atonement enters the women's court and does not enter the Israelites court;
- (2) Israelites on whom the sun set upon entering the *court of the priests*... (*Sifre Zuta* on 5:2, p. 228)

This list will be studied again later on. The important point here is that a *tebul yom* is allowed in Jerusalem, on the Temple Mount and on the Rampart but not in what is defined as part of the temple, the women's court: "the women's court is holier than the Rampart for a *tebul yom* enters the Rampart and does not enter the women's court."

At first glance, the concurrence between the priestly sources and the tannaitic midrash seems surprising. We know of a bitter dispute between the Pharisees and the priests (Qumranic and Sadducean alike) regarding the participation of a *tebul yom* in the red cow ritual. In MMT the writer proclaims:

ואף על טהרת פרת החטאת השוחט אותה והסורף אותה והאוסף [א]ת אפרה והמזה את [מין] החטאת לכול אלה להערי[ב]ו[ת] שמש להיות טהורים

And concerning the purity regulations of the cow of purging: he who slaughters it and he who burns it and he who gathers its ashes and he who sprinkles the water of lustration—it is at sunset (of the previous day) that all these become pure (after their immersion) (MMT B 13–16).

The Mishna, for its part, preserves traces of the struggle between the Pharisees and the priests resulting from the Pharisees' efforts to conduct the rite of burning at the purity level of *tebul yom*:

וזקני ישראל היו מקדימים ברגליהם להר המשחה ובית טבילה היה שם. ומטמאים היו את הכהן השורף את הפרה מפני הצדוקים שלא יהיו אומרים במעורבי שמש היתה נעשית

And the elders of Israel would precede [them] on foot to the Mount of Olives and a house of immersion was there. And they would render the priest who burns the cow impure, because of the Sadducees, so they should not say, "It is done by one on whom the sun has set (= on the day of their purification)" (*m. Parah* 3:7).

It seems to me that 4Q277 can shed some light on the nature of the quarrel among Second Temple Jews. In light of the new data from Qumran it can be suggested that the dispute did not involve the *concept* of *tebul yom*. Rather it revolved around the role of a *tebul yom* in the rite of the red cow, which was the pretext for a more essential question; namely whether the preparation of the red cow's ashes and its sprinkling are an integral part of temple ritual. The priests wanted both the preparation and the sprinkling parts of the rite to be temple-like; hence they demanded sanctification of the vessel, greater priestly involvement, and restriction to people whose day of purification had ended. For their part, the Pharisees wanted the rite to be extra-temple;

hence they did not require sanctification of the vessel used in the ceremony. More importantly, they insisted on a *tebul-yom* degree of purity for those officiating in this ritual and tried to prevent priests whose day of purification was over to take part in the rite.

2. *TEBUL-YOM*: ITS STATUS AND PLACE

The *halakhot* regarding impurities and purification rites found in Qumran strengthen my claim that the dispute between the priests and the Pharisees was not whether a *tebul-yom* is considered pure or not. An analysis of the data now available reveals that in Qumranic *halakhah* as well a *tebul-yom*, a man who had bathed but whose day of immersion was not yet over, was regarded as pure. The following table presents the relevant regulations.²⁰

	Outside the cities	The Cities	Jerusalem	The Temple
Normal male discharges		And if a man lies with his wife and has an emission of semen, he shall not come into any part of the city of the temple... for 3 days (11QT ^a 45:11–12)	And if a man has a nocturnal emission, he shall not enter into any part of the temple until [he will com]plete 3 days. And he shall launder his clothes and bathe on the first day, and on the third day he shall launder his clothes and bathe	And when the sun is down he may come within the temple (11QT ^a 45:7–9)

²⁰ As noted above, quotations of the *Temple Scroll* are from Qimron's edition (see above, n. 19). The quotations from MMT are taken from Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqṣat Ma'āšē ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 54. 4Q514 was first published by Baillet: Maurice Baillet, "514. Ordinances," *Qumrân grotte 4. III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 296. 4Q266 is one of the manuscripts of the Damascus Document found in Cave 4 and published by Joseph M. Baumgarten: Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q266," *Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 55. For a different discussion but the same conclusion see Hannan Birenboim, "Observance of the Laws of Bodily Purity in Jewish Society in the Land of Israel During the Second Temple Period" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University, 2006), 249–59 (Hebrew).

Table (cont.)

	Outside the cities	The Cities	Jerusalem	The Temple
<i>Zaba</i> for seven days (a menstruant)	And in every city you shall allot places for those afflicted with leprosy or with plagues or with scab, who may not enter your cities and defile them, and also for those who have a discharge, and for women during their menstrual uncleanness and after giving birth, so that they may not defile in their midst with their menstrual uncleanness (11QT ^a 48:14–17).			
Woman after childbirth	"			
<i>Zab/Zaba</i>	" A man who did not start purifying himself from his impurity, who is still in his first stage of impurity, shall not eat (4Q514)	And those whose impurity extends over d[ays], on the day of their purification they shall bathe and launder in water and be purified. Then they shall eat according to the ordinance of purification (4Q514)		She shall not eat anything hallowed, nor co[me] into the sanctuary until sunset on the eighth day (4Q266)

Table (cont.)

	Outside the cities	The Cities	Jerusalem	The Temple
Leprosy	And in every city you shall allot places for those afflicted with leprosy or with plagues or with scab, who may not enter your cities and defile them, and also for those who have a discharge, and for women during their menstrual uncleanness and after giving birth, so that they may not defile in their midst with their menstrual uncleanness (11QT ^a 48:14–17).		None afflicted with leprosy shall enter it until they are purified. And when he is purified he shall bring his purgation-offering. He may have access to the purity within the city of the temple on the eighth day. But he shall not enter the sanctuary, nor eat of the sacrifices (11QT ^a 45:17–46:10); But now while their impurity is still with them le[pers enter] into a house containing sacred food (MMT B 67–68)	And when the sun sets on the eighth day he may eat of the sacrifices and enter the sanctuary (11QT ^a 45:17–46:10) Moreover, when they have the] impurity of leprosy, one should not let them eat of the sacred food until sunset on the eighth day (MMT B 71–72)

Each row in the table represents one kind of corporal impurity; the topics are self-explanatory. The geographical division in the four columns reflects the worldview expressed in the Qumran *halakhic* literature. Three spheres of holiness are present in Qumran thought, each with its own level. The inner sphere, the temple, is the holiest. The sphere around it is Jerusalem, the “city of the temple” (as in the *Temple Scroll*), the “Holy Camp,” “Head of the camps of the Israelites” (as in MMT B 59–62). This sphere is holy, but to a lesser degree than the temple. The third sphere is the cities of the Israelites, the “Gates,” the “Camps.” Its degree of holiness is below that of the two other spheres. Yet, it has a holiness of its own. The people of Israel, the holy nation, reside in their cities while God resides with them: “Because I God reside among the people of Israel and I will sanctify them and they

will be holy" (11QT^a 51:7–8). Aside from these three spheres, there is no holiness at all.

This Qumranic notion of spheres and their degrees of holiness is not biblical: the Pentateuchal impurity laws, stemming from P, assume the existence of three geographical spheres. What we find in Qumran, however, represents a calculated attempt to unify the contradictory, mainly Pentateuchal schemes of spheres found in P, H, and D.

In P, as mentioned, there are three spheres: outside the camp, the camp, and the tabernacle. Outside the camp is the sphere of evil and impure forces. The tabernacle is the divine abode, the holy place. For P, the camp, the place of the Israelites' dwelling, is not innately holy. However, based on the belief that impurities in the camp affect and defile the sancta from afar, P demands a constant effort to keep the camp pure. H takes a different stance. Its legislation relates not to camp versus tabernacle, but to the land of Israel as a whole and the tabernacle in its midst. God is present not only in the tabernacle but also in the land of Israel; hence the Israelites must avoid defiling the land. Furthermore, as God's nation they are called upon not only to be pure but also to strive for holiness. Deuteronomy holds a contradictory view. At the center of the Deuteronomic picture is the chosen place, a city. The temple is also present but its importance derives from being within the chosen place. In D, holiness is ascribed neither to the city nor to the temple, or to any other geographical location, but to the Israelites. Having been chosen by God they are holy; therefore, they must avoid pollution and abomination.

The four-sphere depiction from Qumran is the result of integration and reformulation of these conflicting biblical views. In the Qumran scheme, the temple, as in P, is at the center and is declared the most holy.²¹ Unlike P, but similar to H, at Qumran not only is the temple holy. Jerusalem, missing from P and H, and not holy in D, is declared the head of the camps (a unique concept) and holy. Holiness is also ascribed, but to a lesser extent, to the cities of Israel, another concept not found in the Bible but reminiscent of P's camp.

The Qumranic purity laws are consistent with this geographical escalation of holiness. Since the Israelites and God are not present outside

²¹ This paragraph draws extensively on the studies of Aharon Shemesh and David Henshke. See Aharon Shemesh, "The Holiness According to the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 19 (2000): 369–82; David Henshke, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem: The Sages and Sectarian *Halakhah*," *Tarbiz* 67 (1998): 5–28 (Hebrew).

the cities, it is possible to set aside places there for those who bear impurity.²² The biblical law requires sending from the camp: “anyone with an eruption or discharge and anyone defiled by a corpse. Remove male and female alike; put them outside the camp so that they do not defile the camp of those in whose midst I dwell” (Num 5:2–3). The *Temple Scroll* ignores individuals defiled by corpse and adds the menstruant and woman after childbirth: “And in every city you shall allot places for those afflicted with leprosy or with plagues or with scab, who may not enter your cities and defile them, and also for those who have a discharge, and for women during their menstrual uncleanness and after giving birth, so that they may not defile in their midst with their menstrual uncleanness” (11QT^a 48:14–17). A fragment found in Qumran, 4Q274 (4QTohorot A), provides a glimpse into the juxtaposition of various impurities created by the injunction in the *Temple Scroll*. 4Q274 presents instructions regarding contact of one kind of impurity with another kind: a *zab* who touches another impure person, a *zaba* who touches a *zab*, a menstruant (labeled in 4Q274 as “a *zaba* for seven days”) who touches a *zaba* (labeled “a *zaba* for many days”). 4Q274 is also enlightening regarding the priestly perception of impurity. Impurity is made up of layers.²³ Each layer is removed by time and/or by a purification rite. Thus, by touching a *zab*, the impure person acquires an additional layer. To remove this layer and return to the original defilement the person must bathe and wash his clothes. In an effort to guarantee rapid execution 4Q274 prohibits the impure from eating before removing the additional layer: “An impure person w[ho touches] him,²⁴ he should bathe and launder his clothes and then he should eat” (4Q274 1 l. 3).

The view that impurity consists of layers and the perception that these layers can be removed gradually enable the priestly legislator to construct a complex procedure of purification corresponding to the

²² Milgrom’s assertion (Jacob Milgrom, “Studies in the *Temple Scroll*,” *JBL* 97 [1978]: 516) that all of those with corporal impurities, beside the leper, were confined to allotted areas in the cities themselves does not appear to be supported by the wording in the *Temple Scroll*. The leper is on the same list as the *zab* and women: “...for those afflicted with leprosy or with plagues or with scab, who may not enter your cities and defile them, and also for those who have a discharge, and for women...”.

²³ Jacob Milgrom, “4QTohora(a): An Unpublished Qumran Text on Purities (4Q274),” in *Time to Prepare the way in the Wilderness; Papers on the Qumran Scrolls* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 59–68.

²⁴ Milgrom (“4QTohora[a],” 59–68) assumes that the leper is the one who is touched. I follow Baumgarten (“274–278. 4QTohorot A–C,” 100) who assumes it is the *zab*.

various spheres of holiness mentioned above. The table clearly shows the effort made by the priests to align their spheres of holiness with the biblical purification laws.

The first row in the table refers to minor impurities, those who have sexual intercourse and a person with a normal discharge called *baal-keri*. In the Bible, "...if a man has carnal relations with a woman, they shall bathe in water and remain impure until evening" (Lev 15:18). The *Temple Scroll* makes the biblical law more restrictive: it only applies to the "cities of Israel" sphere. The Scroll adds another stratum, forbidding an impure couple from entering the city of the temple for three days: "And if a man lies with his wife and has an emission of semen, he shall not come into any part of the city of the temple...for three days" (11QT^a 45:11-12). In the previous line, the scroll decrees that for a *baal-keri*, who in biblical law is impure only for one day ("When a man has an emission of semen, he shall bathe his whole body in water and remain impure until evening," Lev 15:16) there are three days of impurity with two immersions, one on the first day and one on the third: "And if a man has a nocturnal emission, he shall not enter into any part of the temple until [he will com]plete 3 days. And he shall launder his clothes and bathe on the first day, and on the third day he shall launder his clothes and bathe" (11QT^a 48:8-10). Although not stipulating this explicitly, the *Temple Scroll* apparently requires a twofold rite for a couple who has sexual intercourse, one on the first day and one on the third day. The first rite, which involves bathing and laundering, reduces the impurity to the level permissible within the city. The second immersion, on the third day, permits him or her to enter the city of the temple at sunset.

The next rows in the table, which deal with more severe impurities, are crucial to understanding the status of the *tebul-yom*. The halakhot regarding the menstruant and woman after childbirth have not been preserved. We have information, however, regarding lepers and *zab*, both male and female.

In the column pertaining to "outside the cities" we find the section of the *Temple Scroll* requiring expulsion of the *zab* and *zaba* from the cities, like others with severe impurities. The *Temple Scroll* instructs the *zab* and *zaba* to stay outside the holiness circles as long as the disease is present in their body, in accordance with the law in Numbers 5:2-3. In the same cell of the table there is another *halakhah*, 4Q514, relating to a *zab* who is in the process of healing. The biblical law regarding the *zab*'s healing is found in Leviticus where the healed *zab*

is instructed to count seven days without any discharge: “when one with a discharge healed from his discharge, he shall count off seven days for his purification, launder his clothes and bathe his body in fresh water; then he shall be pure” (Lev 15:13). On the eighth day he is to bring a purgation offering: “On the eighth day he shall take two turtledoves or two pigeons and come before the Lord at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting and give them to the priest. The priest shall offer them, one as a purgation offering and the other as a burnt offering. The priest shall effect purgation on his behalf, for his discharge, before the Lord” (Lev 15:14–15). The table shows that the *halakhah* in Qumran was more complex.

4Q514 1 sheds light on the first purification steps to be taken by the *zab* upon his healing. Two instructions in this passage are important for our current discussion:

- (1) אל יאכל [איש] אשר לא החל לטהור ממקרו [אשר הוא]
בטומאתו הראשונה
(2) וכל טמאי הימים ביום [ט]הרתם ירחצו וכבסו במים וטהרו ואחר
יאכלו את לחמם כמשפט ה[ט]הרה.

- (A)[4] who[ever] has not begun to purify himself of his occurrence is not to eat [while still being] [5] in his original impurity.
(B) And all those who are impure for more than one day, in the day of their purification they should bathe [6] and launder in water and then become pure. *vacat* Afterwards they shall eat their bread according to the purity rule.²⁵

²⁵ The paragraph is far from being sound; the unnecessary repetitions point to scribal mistakes:

- ואל []
(4) יאכל [איש] אשר לא החל לטהור ממקרו []
(5) בטמאתו הרישונה וכול טמאי הימים ביום [ט]הרתם ירחצו
(6) וכבסו במים וטהרו ואחר יאכלו את לחמם כמשפט ה[ט]הרה
(7) ואל יאכל ח[עו]ד בטמאתו הרישונה אשר לא החל לטהור ממקרו
(8) וגם אל יאכל עד בטמאתו הרישונה וכל [ט]מאי הימים ביום
(9) ט[הרת]ם ירחצו וכבסו במים וטהרו ואחר יאכלו את לחמם
(10) כמ[שפט]

- (4) who[ever] has not begun to purify himself of his occurrence is not to eat []
(5) in his original impurity. And all those who are impure for more than one day, in the day of their purification they should bathe
(6) and launder and then become pure. *vacat* Afterwards they shall eat their bread according to the purity rule.
(7) He is not to eat in his original impurity while he has not begun to purify himself from his occurrence

The author of 4Q514 does not directly say what purification rites the *zab* should undergo; his intention is to stipulate when he is allowed to eat. However in doing so he hints at two stages, on two different days.

The first instruction forbids a healed *zab*, on the day of his recovery, to eat unless he has gone through his purification procedure. The *halakhah* underlying this stipulation requires the *zab*, on his first day of recovery, to perform a purification rite to remove his “original impurity.”²⁶ A comparison with the second instruction shows that this initial purification does not enable the impure person any mobility in the sphere of holiness. Purification is only mentioned in the second instruction: ‘וְטָהַר’, as is the permission to eat food “according to the purity rule.” Thus, complete purity is achieved only “on the day of their purification,” in the case of *zab* on the seventh day, and the condition for full purification is bathing and laundering of clothes for the second time. Note that there is no requirement to wait until sunset for complete purity; having attained the status of *tebul-yom*, the *zab* is considered pure and can join the community of those who are pure inside the cities of Israel. Thus according to Qumran *halakhah* in the realm of the cities of Israel, there can be a pure *tebul-yom*.

The next *halakhah* in the *zab* row confirms what was found in the first row of the table: a *tebul-yom* is not to enter the temple. Surprisingly he is forbidden in the temple not only on the seventh day but

(8) nor shall he eat as long as he in his original impurity. And all those who are impure for more than one day, in the day of their healing they should bathe and launder and become pure; afterwards they shall eat their bread

At the end of line 4 the editor reconstructed: “[and he should not eat more]” thus creating a new sentence and a new rule. My reconstruction relies on the statement found in line 7. A three-part instruction is found in line 7: (a) he who is still in his original impurity (b) who did not start to purify himself (c) should not eat. These three elements were included, in my mind, in lines 4–5, however in a different order: (a) is not to eat (b) who[ever] has not begun to purify himself of his occurrence (c) [while still being] in his original impurity. Accordingly I restored: “while still being” at the end of line 4.

²⁶ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, Leiden: Brill, 1992), 199–209. In Milgrom’s view (“Studies,” 512–18) already after the first bathing the impure is considered *tebul-yom* (Birenboim, *Observance of the Laws*, 249–59, relies on Milgrom in his evaluation of *tebul-yom*). However the *halakhah* at Qumran does not consider the one who immersed on his first day of healing to be pure in any way and as we will see, the epithet *tebul-yom* applies more satisfactorily to someone who bathes and launders his clothes on the seventh day.

also on the eighth day, when he has already acquired the status of one “on whom the sun has set.” 4Q266, a manuscript from the Damascus Document, contains the following statement regarding a *zaba*:²⁷ “She shall not eat anything hallowed, nor co[me] into the sanctuary *until sunset on the eighth day*” (6 ii 3–4).²⁸ Despite being at the end of the seventh day of purification, the *zaba* is not pure enough to enter the most holy sphere; she (as well as the *zab*) must wait until the ninth day. The *zab* row reveals a gradual purification process in full harmony with the holiness sphere: a *zab* on the seventh day, with the status of *tebul-yom*, is pure for the cities of Israel, and on the ninth day is allowed in the temple. It is reasonable to assume that on the eighth day, the day on which he enters into the status of “on whom the sun has set,” he can enter Jerusalem.

An examination of the leper row confirms these conclusions regarding the *zab*. The “Jerusalem” column contains a statement found in the *Temple Scroll*, as reconstructed by Qimron: “None afflicted with leprosy shall enter it until they are purified. And when he is purified he shall [bring his purgation-offering. He may have access to the purity within the city of the temple on the eighth day. Bu]t he shall not enter the sanctuary, [nor eat of the sacrifices].” The end of the sentence is found in the next cell, under “the temple”: “[And when the sun sets on the eighth day] he may eat [of the sacrifices and may enter] the sanctuary” (11QT^a 45:17–46:10). Qimron’s reconstruction, although speculative, is warranted. The pronominal suffix in “None . . . shall enter it” is feminine and must refer to the city. However, the author also deals with another subject, the entry to the temple, as seen in the words: “he shall not enter the sanctuary”; “[] the sanctuary.” The difference between the requirements for entering the city and the requirements for entering the temple indicates that the two precincts are not identical. Consequently, the reconstruction indicating a stipulation to wait seven full days before entering the city and a stipulation to wait eight full days before entering the temple is not farfetched.

The assumption that the *Temple Scroll* depicts the healed leper’s gradual entry to the inner spheres of holiness is sustained by the *halakhah* of the leper found in MMT. The author of MMT has two

²⁷ The preceding words “And if she saw more and she is not in [her menstrual period]” show that in the current paragraph *zaba* is the subject.

²⁸ Baumgarten, “4Q266,” 55.

caveats regarding the leper.²⁹ The first is worded as follows: “but now while their impurity is (still) with them le[ppers enter] into a house in a state of purity for the sacred” (B 67–68). Since a dwelling place (a “house” in the text) in which the degree of holiness is the one appropriate for the temple or for food from the temple is mentioned, Jerusalem must be the point of reference as it is the only place where a residential area can be ascribed this degree of holiness. The Pharisaic *halakhah* permitted the leper to enter Jerusalem during the second week of his purification process; hence it is more than probable that the caveat in MMT refers to that week. The Priestly *halakhah* obligated the leper to wait until the week comes to a complete end, until sunset of the seventh day. Only then, in the priestly *halakhah*, can he enter Jerusalem. Note that this conclusion is consistent with the reconstructed law of the *Temple Scroll*. From the wording of the second caveat in MMT, it emerges clearly that the subject is the leper’s entry

²⁹ Below is the full MMT paragraph regarding the leper:

- ואף על הצורעים אנחנו (64)
 א[ומרים שלוא י]בואו עם טהרת הקוד[ש] כי בדד (65)
 [יהיו מחוץ למחנה ו]אף כתוב שמעת שיגלה וכבס [י]שב מחוץ (66)
 [לאוהלו שבעת י]מים ועתה בהיות טמאתם עמהם (67)
 [הצורעים באים ע]ם טהרת הקודש לבית ואתם יודעים (68)
 [שעל השוגג שלוא יעשה את המצוה] ונעלה ממנו להביא (69)
 [חטאת ועל העושה ביד רמה כת]וב שהואה בווה ומג[ד]ף (70)
 [ואף בהיות להמה טמאות נגע] אין להאכילם מהקו[ד]שים (71)
 עד בוא השמש ביום השמיני (72)

- (64) And concerning (healed) lepers we
 (65) are [of the opinion that they may not] enter (any place) of purity for the sacred but should be isolated
 (66) (and) outside any camp]. And it is (indeed) written that after he (i.e., the leper) shaves and washes he should dwell outside
 (67) [his tent for seven] days; but now while their impurity is (still) with them
 (68) le[ppers enter] into a house containing sacred food. And you know
 (69) [that if someone violates a prohibitive commandment unintentionally], and the fact escapes him, he should bring
 (70) a purgation offering; [and concerning him who purposely transgresses the precepts it is writ[en] that he “despises and blasphemes.”
 (71) [Moreover, since they have the] impurity of leprosy, one should not let them (i.e., the lepers) eat of the sacred food until sunset on the eighth day (Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah*, 55).

On line 66 the editor reconstructed: “[and] outside any house.” It seems to me however that the reconstruction should be: “[and] outside any camp.” In my opinion lines 64–67 are the background on which the case, starting in the middle of line 67, is constructed. On lines 64–67 the author tries to explain to his addressees that there are two periods of defilement, and both should be observed fully. The first one is that of outside the camp (line 65b–66a); the second, outside the tent (66b–67a).

into the temple: “[Moreover, since they have the] impurity of leprosy, one should not let them (i.e. the lepers) eat of the sacred food until sunset on the eighth day” (B 71–72). This is additional evidence that in the priestly *halakhah* lepers are not allowed in the temple before the ninth day, two days after the second week is over.

It is now time to return to the question of *tebul-yom*. If the construction of the purity laws and the geographical spheres as outlined above is correct, the priestly *halakhah* accepts the concept of *tebul-yom*; hence it does not require the *zab* to wait outside the cities until sunset of the seventh day. The claim that the dispute regarding *tebul-yom* in the red cow rites reflects a deeper and more essential disagreement is thus confirmed. The priests perceived the red cow rites as part of the temple rites. Consequently they demanded greater priestly involvement in the rites and excluded a *tebul-yom* from them. The Pharisees insisted that both the preparation of the ashes and the sprinkling have no ties to the temple. To make their point that the red cow rite was independent, they insisted on making the priest who took part in preparing ashes (and probably also the person who sprinkled) a *tebul-yom*.

3. 4Q277: A FURTHER EXAMINATION

At this stage it is possible to reconstruct the *zab* purification procedures according to Qumranic *halakhah*. On the first day of his recovery the *zab* must go through initial purification; i.e., bathe and wash his clothes; on the seventh day he has to immerse himself and wash his clothes again; then he is allowed into the cities of Israel. On the eighth day, he is allowed to enter Jerusalem. Only on sunset of the eighth day, i.e. on the ninth day, is the *zab* given access to the holiest sphere and can make his obligatory sacrifices. Time and purification rites bring the *zab* gradually into the inner sphere.

This outline may hint at the role assigned in Qumran *halakhah* to the purgation offering the *zab* and *zaba* are required to make. Its postponement from the eighth day (as in the biblical injunction) to the ninth is a clear sign that the Qumranites did not perceive the offering as a way of purging the holy of the impurity attached to it from afar; if its task were to purge, the delay would be unexplainable. Apparently in Qumran thought, the defilement was removed and was wiped out while the *zab* immersed and had washed his clothes. His obligatory sacrifices were not viewed as part of the purification process.

The rules of the *zab* shed light on the halakhot of corpse defilement discussed above. The fact that the *zab* purgation offering is not for purging since immersion is the tool for purification is consistent with the changes 4Q277 made in the biblical law. The difference in 4Q227 between purification through immersion and the water of lustration is the crucial point. In 4Q277 the sprinkling does not purify the impure; an ablution on the first, third and seventh day does.³⁰

The halakhot of *zab* and corpse defilement found in Qumran justify the conclusion that the biblical conception of dynamic impurity, the view that impurity affects the sancta from afar and should be purged by the blood of the purgation offering, was rejected in Qumran.³¹ This conclusion clarifies another difference between 4Q277 and Numbers 19; namely the avoidance of the root $\aleph^{\prime}\text{טן}$.³² The author chose to

³⁰ The requirement for triple bathing and washing of clothes demonstrates that corpse impurity was considered more severe in Qumran than *zab* impurity (where only double bathing and clothes washing were obligatory). The view that corpse impurity is more severe can further be seen by the fact that there is no *tebul-yom* in the Qumran halakhot of corpse defilement. A person who was defiled by corpse has to wait until sunset before touching pure things: "And they should no[t touch their pure thi]ngs until they sprinkle on the second time on the seventh day and become pure in the evening, on sunset" (11QT^a 50:3–4). It might be argued, however, that the requirement to wait until sunset resulted from a specific interpretation of a biblical verse. In Num 19:19 we find: "A pure person shall sprinkle it upon the impure person on the third day and on the seventh day, thus purging him by the seventh day. He shall then launder his clothes and bathe in water, and at nightfall he shall be pure." The instruction: "He shall then launder his clothes and bathe in water, and at nightfall he shall be pure" refers to the one who sprinkles. He becomes impure like the other people who take part in the red cow rite. However, it is possible that the Qumranites perceived the person who was defiled by a corpse as the subject of this law. Consequently, the requirement for bathing and laundering on the seventh day as well as the requirement to wait until sunset were viewed as a biblical injunction.

³¹ At this point it should be mentioned that in 4Q277 there is no statement that one who avoids the sprinkling defiles the temple and is to be punished by *karet*. If the author chose not to include this warning (note that we have no way to determine whether it was included or not) he would have done so because he did not view corpse defilement as affecting the sancta from afar.

³² At first sight Baumgarten's suggestion that the waters of lustration were sprinkled upon those with corporal defilements sustains this conclusion: since the purgation offering does not purge the sancta it can be replaced by the water. However, there is no indication in Qumran literature of any authorization to use the waters of lustration for defilement other than corpse defilement. Contrary to Baumgarten's claim, the water of lustration is not mentioned in 4Q514 where corporal defilement is discussed. 4Q274 2 in 1–2 is another source cited by Baumgarten ("4Q276," 103). In his opinion, it is probable that these lines, which mentioned sprinkling in addition to bathing and laundering, refer to *zab*. A closer look reveals, however, that 4Q274 should be interpreted as an instruction regarding corpse defilement: "whe]n they will sprinkle on him [for the] fi[r]st time he shall bathe and launder before [eating. and if] the seventh day wi[ll fa]ll on Sabbath he should not sprinkle on Sabbath because [it is

avoid this root because he did not perceive the water of lustration as a tool of purgation.

While the waters of lustration were not given the same role in Qumranic thought as in the Bible, the Qumran fragments indicate that they were considered obligatory. Their role in the Qumranic perception thus needs to be analyzed. One key point is the evaluation of the root chosen to replace כפ"ר חט"א.³³

At first glance, a search for the meaning of כפ"ר in 4Q277 seems unnecessary.³⁴ כפ"ר in biblical Hebrew means to purge or to decontaminate. However, as we saw, 4Q277 does not accept the view that impurities affect the sancta from afar, and hence does not assume a need for purging. Accordingly the root כפ"ר in 4Q277 cannot be interpreted as "purgation."

Two other meanings are assigned to כפ"ר in the Bible. The first is that of ransom, a payment in return for human life. כפ"ר in Leviticus 17 holds this meaning: The blood of an animal slaughtered for consumption is brought to the altar in exchange for human blood. Ransom, however, does not fit the use of כפ"ר in 4Q277. There is no echo in 4Q277 of the idea that corpse defilement, impurity caused by involvement in activities related to daily life, would lead to the need for ransom. The same reasoning brings me to reject the other biblical meaning of כפ"ר, to atone, to ask for forgiveness for one's sins, as compatible with the act of sprinkling on a person who was defiled by corpse. Does involvement in activities related to daily life need forgiveness? The conclusion that there was a development in the semantic field of כפ"ר during the Second Temple period and that the term כפ"ר in Qumran has a new meaning is thus warranted.

said: 'you should keep] the Sabbath.' He should not touch pure things until he does it a second time." Two sprinklings are mentioned here. We do not know when the first one that is accompanied the bathing and laundering, takes place. There is no need to assume that the first day of purification is referred to; the third day, when a person who was defiled by corpse is sprinkled for the first time might be the subject. There is no question that the second sprinkling, which is performed on the seventh day, is in line with the corpse impurity law.

³³ The editors of Qumran fragments containing halakhot of purification assumed that the כפ"ר mentioned in them should be interpreted as atonement for sin. See, for example, Esther Eshel, "4Q414: 4QRitual of Purification A," *DJD* XXXV, 141, 144, 147.

³⁴ In the following analysis of the biblical meaning of כפ"ר, I draw extensively on Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1991–2001), 1079–80.

A search of Qumran writings reveals two other fields of *halakhah* where the root כפ"ר appears. One is the case of purgation offerings from those who had committed a sin; the other relates to the first fruit festivals.

Previous research on Qumran halakhot regarding purgation offerings for sins indicated that in the priestly thinking of the Second Temple period the meaning of כפ"ר as atonement and forgiveness was preserved whereas the meaning of purgation disappeared. In biblical law, כפ"ר as mentioned in the laws dealing with purgation offerings made after committing a sin can denote either purging the stains in the sancta caused by sins or being granted forgiveness/atonement. In Qumran, on the other hand, כפ"ר when mentioned in halakhot of purgation offering for sins only denotes forgiveness and atonement.³⁵

At the same time there are instances of the root כפ"ר in *halakhic* texts which cannot be associated with sinners. The halakhot of the first fruit festivals in the *Temple Scroll*, the festival of wine and the festival of oil, show that in Qumran terminology כפ"ר meant חל"ל, de-sanctification. Examining the *halakhic* specifics of these festivals shows that they are meant to transfer fruit from God to men.³⁶ The fruit were put first on the altar as a libation for the sacrifices made to God. Then

The priest shall drink (the wine) first, and the Levites [second. And after them the Israel]ites. The chiefs of the "standards" first [and all the commanders of the thousand]s. And then all the people both great and small shall begin to drink new wine and to eat any grapes and sour grapes from the vines [for on] this [da]y they יכפרו on the wine (11QT^a 21:4–8).

Clearly, "de-sanctify" is not the appropriate definition for כפ"ר in 4Q277. However, as already said, "to atone, to be granted forgiveness" does not seem quite right either: As was mentioned before, there is no reason to believe that someone who came in contact with a corpse was perceived as a sinner in need of forgiveness. However, the two known denotations in Qumran should be examined. Consideration of כפ"ר in the context of the first fruits festivals reveals that 4Q277's

³⁵ Cana Werman, "The Atonement Festivals in the *Temple Scroll*," *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 89–119.

³⁶ Cana Werman, "The First-Fruit Festivals according to the *Temple Scroll*," in *Zaphenath-Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron On the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Daniel Sivan, David Talshir, and Chaim Cohen; Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2009), 177–95.

כפ"ר is its exact opposite. The fruits are first of all God's possession and are indeed given to him. The priests then have their share, followed by the ordinary people. At this point the fruit no longer has any sanctity. 4Q277, and the other laws concerning severe impurities, start where the fruit-festival laws end. Those with severe contamination must be outside any sphere of holiness. Purification rites and the passage of time open the door for their gradual return to the holy spheres. Corpse contamination is gradually eradicated by bathing and laundering of clothes. The sprinkling of the water of lustration by the priests (and the purgation sacrifices made by the *zab*, the leper, and a woman after childbirth) is the final stage of a gradual inner process. Thus the כפרה given by the priest to the impure may indicate the creation of a new bond after his relationship with God was cut off due to his defilement; it announces the return of the impure to God's presence. In short, כפ"ר in the context of the first fruit festivals means to de-sanctify; כפ"ר in the context of 4Q277 means to sanctify. כפ"ר of 4Q277 is consistent with the third meaning of כפ"ר at Qumran, that of "to atone" which is found in laws of purgation offerings for sins. This meaning of כפ"ר in the context of sins also denotes a restoration of the relationship between man and God. The common ground of "to atone," "to restore" and "to de-sanctify" is that in all these usages, כפ"ר connotes the creation of the appropriate link between man and God.

The use of כפ"ר in Qumran indicates that the priests interpreted, and modified, the biblical laws in a way that granted them, the priests, a full role as mediators between God and the people. Mediation was necessary not only in cases of sin but also in everyday instances of impurities and field crops.³⁷

³⁷ Previous scholarship may not have paid enough attention to the differentiation in Qumran between the כפרה needed for the sinner and the כפרה needed by the impure. Consequently, the common assumption in scholarship is that in Qumran the impure person was considered to be a sinner. For a compelling argument refuting the idea that impurity is viewed as a sin, see Martha Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS and 4Q512," *DSD* 8 (2001): 9–37 and further bibliography there. For another thoughtful evaluation, see Hannan Birenboim, "For He is Impure Among All Those Who Transgress His Words': Sin and Ritual Defilement in the Qumran Scrolls," *Zion* 68 (2003): 359–66 (Hebrew).

4. PRIESTS AND PHARISEES: THE REASON FOR THE DISPUTE

It seems, however, that the Pharisees refused to accept the need for intercession and mediators. They struggled to create greater opportunities for man to stand face to face with his God without priestly assistance. However, as stated in the introduction, any attempt to draw conclusions on the sociological and religious situation outside the Qumran community should be made with caution.

As was mentioned, we do not know which Qumran *halakhic* writings reflect the view of the Jerusalemite priests held when the Pharisees came to power in the middle of the second century B.C.E. We thus cannot be certain that the Qumranic division into three spheres of holiness was accepted by the entire priestly movement. Furthermore, there is no way to prove that the view of impurity as layers and the instructions for gradual removal of these layers were part of the priestly *halakhah* before the split. It is hard to believe, for example, that the priestly group in entirety agreed to expel menstruants and women after childbirth from the cities of Israel as is ruled in the *Temple Scroll*. It is probable that the ideal picture found in the Qumran *halakhic* literature that the unclean return gradually to the holy spheres is a creation of an isolated community and not of the broader priestly group.

With more certainty we can state that the first fruit festivals that give *כפרה* for the wine and oil were not celebrated among the Sadducees or their predecessors who lived before the split. These festivals can only be held under a 364 day calendar, and the 364 day calendar was only operational in the Qumran Community. The *כפרה* achieved by bringing the wine and the oil is promised only in Qumran *halakhic* writings and is not in the worldview of the other groups, either priestly or Pharisaic.

However, even if the ideal *halakhah* is only the product of an isolated community, it is plausible that by its creation the community brought ideas and theology to an end that were present in the priestly circles but were never crystallized into a full *halakhic* system. In other words, the Qumran community, due to its position as an isolated group which did not have to cope with the difficulties of enforcing *halakhah* on diverse communities and people, could construct and develop *halakhic* details reflecting fully the ideas and theology of the third and second century B.C.E. priestly circles. Thus arguably, the priestly circle prior to the founding of the community saw itself as an intermediary

between God and the people and interpreted biblical law in a way that strengthened their status as intermediaries.

The dispute between the priests and the Pharisees regarding the level of purity needed for the red cow rite furthers this claim that “intercession” was a pan-priestly idea. The Sadducees’ position expressed in the Mishna has no sectarian features; 4Q277 as well does not express ideas that could not be shared by the priests outside the community. The priests wanted a central role in a rite that was perceived as unifying man and God; the Pharisees refused to allot them a central role. They held that laymen as well could take part.³⁸

Tannaitic literature also captures an enmity resulting from the Pharisees’ insistence on taking part in removing sins. This is the background to the following mishna: “All may drive the scapegoat into the wilderness (= on Yom Kippur). But the high priests made it a practice of *not letting Israelites drive it out*. R. Yose said: Once Arsala drove it out and he was an Israelite” (*m. Yoma* 6:3). Driving the scapegoat away was viewed as part of the *כפרה* attained on Yom Kippur both in the priestly *halakhah* and in the Pharisaic *halakhah*. The Mishna expresses a firm opinion. Removing sins and achieving *כפרה* are not solely the role of the priests.

The struggle for and against priestly mediation also had repercussions on the classifications of, and criteria for, the spheres of holiness. As we saw earlier, the four degrees of holiness in Qumran *halakhah* are in full accord with purity regulations, whereas the Sages refer to ten degrees of holiness with no accompanying purification laws. For the current discussion, the status of Jerusalem as a site for religious ritual is important. At Qumran Jerusalem was considered holier than other cities with respect to impurities, hence those who were impure were only allowed to enter Jerusalem on the 8th day of their purification. However, as was shown by Henshke, in the priestly *halakhah* the holier status of Jerusalem in comparison to the other cities meant only “extending the restrictions from the temple to the city while not every activity belonged in the temple could be transferred to the city.”³⁹ The priestly *halakhah* contains no mention of religious rituals a per-

³⁸ For a full discussion and evaluation of the tannaitic sources dealing with the red cow rites, see Meir Bar-Ilan, “Polemics Between Sages and Priests Towards the End of the Days of the Second Temple” (Ph.D. diss. Bar-Ilan University, 1982), 129–44 (Hebrew).

³⁹ Henshke, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem,” 21.

son can perform in Jerusalem. All the priestly gifts are brought to the temple: first fruits (which are the *terumah*),⁴⁰ fourth year fruit, first born and cattle tithe. Furthermore, a sacrifice and a product brought by the owner and meant to be eaten by the owner (such as second tithe and peace offering) are to be consumed, in the priestly *halakhah*, only within the confines of the temple. The same was true regarding the Passover sacrifice: it is only eaten in the temple (*Jubilees* 49 16; 11QT^a 17:8–9).

The link established in the priestly circle between the degree of holiness and impurity restrictions was apparently not accepted by the Pharisees. A second look at the list of ten degrees of holiness in tannaitic literature would clarify this point. The list is very schematic: it enumerates more than ten spheres and it includes the term “Temple Mount” which was not in use during the Second Temple period.⁴¹ Nevertheless, a few criteria might reflect a Pharisaic worldview. The key point is that there are spheres which are defined by accessibility of the impure; in direct contrast to the priestly *halakhah*, Jerusalem is not one of them. According to the list, lepers are not allowed in cities surrounded by a wall; *zab* and *zaba* are prohibited from in the Temple Mount; a person who was defiled by a corpse as well as gentiles may not enter the Rampart; a *tebul-yom* may not be in the women’s court; and “The Israelite’s court is holier than the women’s court for one who must seek atonement enters the women court and does not enter the Israelites court.” Since the term “Temple Mount” was coined after the destruction of the temple, it is likely that the *zab*, the gentile and a person defiled by a corpse were part of the same group during the Second Temple period. This group was restricted from the temple enclosure but was allowed in Jerusalem.

At the same time, as was noted by Henshke, the Pharisaic view adopts the Deuteronomistic picture. Jerusalem is “the place God will chose” while the temple derives its sanctity from the city. Jerusalem is thus the right place for the worship of God; its sanctity is expressed by the existence of sacred rituals. The definition of Jerusalem as “the chosen place” frees the people from the priests’ burden. Rites which in the Deuteronomistic legislation take place at the “chosen place” are

⁴⁰ Aharon Shemesh, “The Law of First Fruits in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 155–64 (Hebrew).

⁴¹ Yaron Z. Eliav, *God’s Mount: The Temple Mount in Time Place and Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 198.

located according to Pharisaic *halakhah* in Jerusalem, without priestly intervention. The Passover sacrifices and second tithes are eaten in Jerusalem. Fourth year fruit, despite its status as a “holy portion jubilation for the Lord” (Lev 19:24), are eaten by the owner, in Jerusalem. The cattle tithe is for the owner to eat in Jerusalem. The Pharisees wanted and succeeded in creating religious rites in which non-priests could worship God on their own, with no mediation.

5. CONCLUSION

My paper began with the question: what was the core of the dispute between the Pharisees and the priests in the second century B.C.E. Close examination of the law of the red cow at Qumran reveals that the dispute was rooted in the question of whether rituals could be performed outside the temple, without priests. The priestly faction rejected this possibility. The Pharisees heartily embraced it. Analysis of additional laws in the Qumran corpus strengthened our conclusion regarding the opposing views. The Qumran Community extended the use of the root כפ"ר—which in the Bible connotes the erasure of the stains of impurity and sin in the temple—to denote mediation and priestly intercession. Moreover, the root כפ"ר with its extended meaning appears in Qumran literature not only in the sphere of purity but also in the field of sin and de-sanctification of fruit. The Pharisees, in contrast, struggled to increase the number of rituals to take place in Jerusalem, not in the temple, in order to enable the individual to stand face to face with God.

APPENDIX

Table 3: Synoptic Text, Hebrew: 4Q276–4Q277 and Numbers 19

4Q276-7	במדבר יט
<p>4Q276 [בגדים] אשר לא שרת בס בקודש [] וחיב את הבגדים ושח [ט את ה] פרה [ל]פניו ונשא את דמה בכלי חרש אשר [קד]ש במזבח והזה מדמה באצבע[ו] שבע [פעמים א]ל נוכח א[ו]הל מועד</p> <p>4Q277 והשליך את הארז [ואת האזוב ואת שני ה]תולע אל תוך שרפתה [ואסף] איש טהור מכול טמאת ערב [את אפר הפרה ונתן אותו ביד] הכוהן המכפר בדם הפרה</p> <p>וכול [הנוגע באפר והנושא א]ת [כלי] החלמה [אש]ר כפרו בס את משפט ה[] ורחץ[] במים [ויט]מא עד ה[ער]ב ואל יז[] איש א[ת] מי הנדה על טמאי ג [פש] כיא איש כוהן טהור [יזה על] יהן כי[א מ]כפר הוא על הטמ[א] ועלול אל יז על הטמא</p>	<p>(ב) ויקחו אליך פרה אדמה תמימה אשר אין בה מום אשר לא עלה עליה על. (ג) ונתתם אתה אל אלעזר הכהן והוציא אתה אל מחוץ למחנה ושחט אתה לפניו. (ד) ולקח אלעזר הכהן מדמה באצבעו והזה אל נכח פני אהל מועד מדמה שבע פעמים. (ה) ושרף את הפרה לעיניו את ערה ואת בשרה ואת דמה על פרשה ישרף. (ו) ולקח הכהן עץ ארז ואזוב ושני תולעת והשליך אל תוך שרפת הפרה... (ט) ואסף איש טהור את אפר הפרה והניח מחוץ למחנה במקום טהור והיתה לעדת בני ישראל למשמרת למי נדה חטאת הוא: (י) וכבס האסף את אפר הפרה את בגדיו וטמא עד הערב</p> <p>(יז) ולקחו לטמא מעפר שרפת החטאת ונתן עליו מים חיים אל כלי. (יח) ולקח אזוב וטבל במים איש טהור והזה....</p>
<p>וה[מקבלים א]ת מי [הנ]דה יאבואו במים ויט[ה]רו מטמאת הנפש ב[אדם] ומכל טמאה[] אחרת [בז]רוק עליהם [הכו]הן את מי הנדה לטהר[ם] כי לוא יכופרו [?] כי אם [י]טהרו וט[הור] בשרהם.</p>	<p>(יא) הנגע במת לכל נפש אדם וטמא שבעת ימים. (יב) הוא יתחטא בו ביום השלישי וביום השביעי יטהר ואם לא יתחטא ביום השלישי וביום השביעי לא יטהר (יט) והזה הטהר על הטמא ביום השלישי וביום השביעי ויחטאו ביום השביעי וכבס בגדיו ורחץ במים ויטהר בערב</p>

Table 4: Purity Laws in the Bible

Leviticus and Numbers			
	Outside the camp	In the camp	The Tent of Meeting
Normal Male Discharges		When a man has an emission of semen, he shall bathe his whole body in water and remain impure until evening (Lev 15:16). And if a man has carnal relations with a woman, they shall bathe in water and remain impure until evening (Lev 15:18).	
Menstruate		When a woman has a discharge, her discharge being blood from her body, she shall remain in her impurity seven days (Lev 15:19).	
Woman after childbirth		When a woman at childbirth bears a male, she shall be impure seven days; she shall be impure as at the time of her menstrual infirmity; if she bears a female, she shall be impure two weeks as during her menstruation (Lev 12:2,5) She shall remain in a state of blood purification for thirty-three days... If she bears a female... she shall remain in a state of purification for sixty six days (Lev 12:4-5).	On the completion of her period of purification, for either son or daughter, she shall bring to the priest, at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, a lamb in its first year for a burnt offering and a pigeon or turtledove for a purgation offering... (Lev 12:6).

Table 4 (cont.)

Leviticus and Numbers			
	Outside the camp	In the camp	The Tent of Meeting
<i>Zav/Zava</i> (abnormal discharge)	Instruct the Israelites to remove from camp anyone with an eruption or discharge and anyone defiled by corpse. Remove male and female alike; put them outside the camp so that they do not defile the camp of those in whose midst I dwell (Num 5:2-3)	When a man has discharge issuing from his member, he is impure (Lev 15:2); When one with a discharge healed from his discharge, he shall count off seven days for his purification, launder his clothes and bathe his body in fresh water; then he shall be pure (Lev 15:13)	On the eighth day he shall take two turtledoves or two pigeons and come before the Lord at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting and give them to the priest. The priest shall offer them, the one as a purgation offering and the other as a burnt offering. The priest shall effect purgation on his behalf, for his discharge, before the Lord (Lev 15:14-15)
Leprosy	Instruct the Israelites to remove from camp anyone with eruption or discharge and anyone defile by corpse. Remove male and female alike; put them outside the camp so that they do not defile the camp of those in whose midst I dwell (Num 5:2-3).	..at the time that he is to be purified....the priest shall go outside the camp. If the priest sees the leper has been healed of his scaly affection, the priest shall order two live pure birds, cedar wood, crimson stuff and hyssop to be brought for him who is to be purified [purification rite] After that he may enter the camp, but he must remain outside his tent seven days. On the seventh day he shall shave off all his hair—of head, beard and eyebrows... he shall launder his clothes and bathe his body in water; then he shall be pure (Lev 14:3-9)	On the eighth day he shall take two male lambs without blemish, one ewe lamb in its first year without blemish, three-tenths of a measure of choice flour with oil mixed in for a meal offering, and one <i>log</i> of oil. These shall be presented before the Lord, with the men to be purified, at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, by the priest who performs the purification (Lev 14:10-11).
Corpse Defilement	"		

3. CHRISTIANITY IN LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

FROM JESUS TO THE EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES:
MODES OF SECTARIANISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE
DEAD SEA SCROLLS

GEORGE J. BROOKE

1. EARLIER APPROACHES

For sixty years scholars have been engaged in trying to determine the appropriate way to describe the relationship between the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially those found in the eleven caves at or near Qumran, and the writings of the New Testament.¹ For the first fifty years or more, the principal basis of the comparison between the two literary corpora was a juxtaposition of the New Testament writings almost exclusively with the sectarian compositions found in the Qumran caves.² Furthermore those sectarian compositions were construed in the light of two emerging consensuses, namely, firstly that the sectarian compositions reflected what could be known at first hand about the Essenes and secondly that the principal location of the Essenes was at Qumran from the middle of the second century B.C.E. or slightly earlier until the second year of the Jewish revolt (68 C.E.). We may group the attempts at such description crudely under three headings, the historical, the literary and the thematic.

¹ I have summarized some of this in George J. Brooke, "The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller; SBLEJL 15; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 61–76; reprinted in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: Essays in Mutual Illumination* (London: SPCK; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005), 3–18. See also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years," *Theology Digest* 29 (1981): 351–67; idem, "The Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament after Forty Years," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 609–20; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1–40; Geza Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the Study of the New Testament," *JJS* 27 (1976): 107–16; reprinted in idem, *Jesus and the World of Judaism* (London: SCM, 1983), 115–25, 182.

² An exception might be seen in Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (London: Collins, 1973), 65–69, who uses 4Q242 to support some aspect of his views on Jewish mantic or exorcistic practices in antiquity.

1.1. *Historical Approaches*

To my mind the historical approach has often been based, at least in part, on a false modelling of Jewish groups in the late Second Temple period. Largely under the influence of the historiographical descriptions of Josephus (*B.J.* 119–66; *Ant.* 18.12–25), who to make his point emphasized the differences, it has commonly been assumed that Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes occupied entirely discrete places within Jewish elite society, even though Josephus himself is a classic example of how someone with a priestly pedigree, who might be assumed to be a Sadducee by sympathy, could apparently experiment with Essenism and other ways of life, before settling down with a Pharisaic view of the world.

Some have sought to exploit the likely identification of Josephus' description of the Essenes and the sectarian group behind the scrolls in order to argue that in effect the Essenes and the early Christians are in some way continuous with one another. At its most extreme this approach has forced the dating of several key sectarian texts, such as *Peshet Habakkuk*, into the first century CE, and identified some key figures in the story of the early Christian churches with figures in the sectarian scrolls.³ Though such theories have been widely and wisely refuted,⁴ even described as “grotesque,”⁵ they persist in remarkable ways for reasons that seem to have more to do with the modern contexts of their proponents than with an accurate portrayal of people and

³ E.g., Robert H. Eisenman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the First Christians: Essays and Translations* (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1996) and idem, *James the Brother of Jesus: Recovering the True History of Early Christianity* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997).

⁴ Note especially Otto Betz and Rainer Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran und der Vatikan: Klarstellungen* (Gießen: Brunnen Verlag; Freiburg: Herder, 1993); idem, *Jesus, Qumran and the Vatican* (London: SCM, 1994); and Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Spektrum 4249; Freiburg: Herder, 1993); idem, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

⁵ Geza Vermes, “The Qumran Community, the Essenes, and Nascent Christianity,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 581–86, at 586; repr. in Geza Vermes, *Scrolls, Scriptures and Early Christianity* (LSTS 56; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 39–43, 43.

events in the late Second Temple period.⁶ One further kind of refutation of these approaches will be found in what follows where there is an emphasis on the reading of the parallel data in the two corpora, the scrolls and the New Testament writings, from a phenomenological perspective which allows for both the similarities and the differences of two similar phenomena to be described without any insistence on direct dependence.

Over against such misconstruals, the historical debate has been concerned with how much particular influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls might be detectable in the New Testament. On the basis of what was available before the general release of the unpublished scrolls in 1991, a consensus emerged amongst those who were motivated theologically and those concerned historically that the scrolls told us little or nothing that could improve our understanding of the person and work of the historical Jesus. To some extent this consensus has persisted,⁷ although there have been some notable attempts with which I am very sympathetic to use the complete scrolls corpus to indicate how some features of the Jewishness of Jesus might be better understood.⁸ But this consensus about the limited usefulness of the scrolls for appreciating Jesus has usually been tied to the view that the scrolls illuminate in various ways the writings found in the New Testament,⁹ even to the extent that it seems that perhaps some Essenes found their way into the early church communities as sympathizers or even as full members.¹⁰ For example, for the pre-70 CE Palestinian period it has been proposed that a system of Essene camps throughout the region might have been known to the Jesus movement. It has been argued that such

⁶ A recent example of such persistence is Marvin Vining, *Jesus the Wicked Priest: How Christianity was Born of an Essene Schism* (Rochester, VT: Bear & Co., 2008).

⁷ E.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

⁸ E.g., Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* (ConBNT 38; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002).

⁹ A helpful attempt at showing how the relationship might work is provided by Jörg Frey, "Zur Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis des Neuen Testaments," in *Qumran-Bibelwissenschaften-Antike Judaistik* (ed. Ulrich Dahmen, Hartmut Stegemann, and Günter Stemberger; Einblicke 9; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2006), 33-65.

¹⁰ Note the representative comment of James H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to John," in *Exploring the Gospel of John: In Honor of D. Moody Smith* (ed. R. Alan Culpepper and C. Clifton Black; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 89: "It seems widely, and wisely, acknowledged that some Essenes became Christians."

camps could well have influenced the developing institutions of the early Christian churches, whether in terms of the ideal of poverty and the sharing of goods¹¹ or the corresponding appointments in office of מְבַקֵּר and *episkopos*.¹² For the post-70 CE period a wide range of scholars has seen the influence of Essene points of view in possible interactions between early Christian groups in Damascus, Antioch, Ephesus and elsewhere and some of their Jewish counterparts.¹³

1.2. *Literary Approaches*

Literary comparisons were often associated with the use of scripture in both corpora. While the significance of the New Testament for the transmission history of the Jewish scriptures has been carefully noted,¹⁴ there is more to be said in this direction in relation to how the wider variety of authoritative compositions amongst the Qumran corpus might be reflected in early Christian tradition.¹⁵ More often the focus of attention has been on the actual interpretation of scripture. Influential in this respect amongst studies concerning the Gospels was Krister Stendahl's work on the so-called *School of St Matthew*¹⁶ and a set of studies by Joseph Fitzmyer, notably an oft-cited essay on "The

¹¹ See Brian Capper, "The Palestinian Cultural Context of the Earliest Christian Community of Goods," in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. Richard J. Bauckham; The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting 4; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 323–56; idem, "With the Oldest monks...? Light from Essene History on the Career of the Beloved Disciple," *JTS* 49 (1998), 1–55; also see the section entitled "The Essene 'House of the Poor' (Bethany) Near Jerusalem" in Brian Capper, "The New Covenant in Southern Palestine at the Arrest of Jesus," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 108–11.

¹² Reiterated by Vermes, "The Qumran Community, the Essenes, and Nascent Christianity," 585.

¹³ See, e.g., Raymond E. Brown, *New Testament Essays* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), 130–31; idem, "John, Gospel and Letters of," in *EDSS 1:417: Ephesus through disciples of John the Baptist*.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1965); Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 7.

¹⁵ See, e.g., George J. Brooke, "Torah, Rewritten Torah and Jude," in *Torah and the New Testament* (ed. Michael Tait and Peter S. Oakes; LNTS 401; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 180–93.

¹⁶ Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 20; Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954).

Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament.”¹⁷

More wide-ranging in acute observation, but often intriguingly imprecise in terms of overall significance, were multiple studies by David Flusser.¹⁸ The overarching purpose of Flusser and other scholars was to investigate and assess the character of the similarities to be found at least on the surface of the texts. Sometimes direct or indirect literary dependency of the New Testament on the scrolls has been proposed, but more generally scholars have subscribed to the view that the similarities in exegetical approach and in interpretative content arise from the co-existence of two groups and their several subgroups in a more general cultural milieu in first century Palestine.

Such a general approach for the explanation of apparent similarities influenced some of my own work on the use of scripture in the scrolls and the New Testament in which I have commonly tried to highlight how one can best express the differences between the two literary corpora. Thus in a paper presented at the first Orion Symposium in Jerusalem, I argued that where a combination of the same scriptural passages is to be found in both the scrolls and the New Testament, attention should be paid to how the exegetical juxtaposition of texts is merely the reflection of widespread intertextual activity, rather than the necessary result of a single trajectory of interpretation and literary transmission.¹⁹ The study of differences and similarities within a much broader frame of reference also lies at the heart of some recent work

¹⁷ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” *NTS* 7 (1960–61): 297–333; reprinted most recently in idem, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 3–58.

¹⁸ Many of these were collected together: David Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988); see also, idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Vol. 1 Qumran and Apocalypticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007 [Hebrew orig., 2002]) and *Vol. 2 The Jewish Sages and Their Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009 [Hebrew orig., 2002]).

¹⁹ George J. Brooke, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” 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. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 35–57; revised in French as idem, “Interprétations intertextuelles communes dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et le Nouveau Testament,” in *Intertextualités: La Bible en échos* (ed. Adrian H. W. Curtis and Daniel Marguerat; Le Monde de la Bible 40; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2000), 97–120; repr. in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, 70–94.

in this area of comparative literary analysis.²⁰ Such comparative work needs to be set in a suitable socio-historical context and it is part of the purpose of this paper to suggest something of what that might be.

1.3. *Thematic Approaches*

Thematic approaches to the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament writings generally fall into one of two categories. On the one hand there are multiple studies on the echoes of the sectarian scrolls in such areas as the attitude to the Law or meal practice or the ritual use of water. Rather than focussing on one single point of comparison, these analyses tend towards the use of multiple examples and the kind of overarching synthesis that commonly articulates difference over similarity.

On the other hand there are more precise theological thematic comparisons. The most obvious thematic comparisons made in the first fifty years of the scholarly juxtaposition of the two corpora concerned their shared eschatological outlook and in particular the explicit messianism of the two groups, the Essenes of the scrolls and the early Christians. Most of this analysis was undertaken by Christian scholars with a view to grounding the early Christian message in a historical context that could take account of its Jewish roots. In some sense all this was part of the post-holocaust legacy in which there was a larger historical concern to show that the ways parted very late and that in the pre-70 period anti-Jewishness was an anachronistic distortion of what could be read in the New Testament. The scrolls provided a series of windows on to the diversity of Judaism in antiquity, parts of which were seen to be variously echoed in the writings of the New Testament.

In my opinion the developments of the recent decades in terms of the application of the social sciences to religious groups in antiquity have opened up ways for a better and more subtle appreciation of these shared themes, whether they have been expressed in terms of ethical teaching and behavioural norms,²¹ founding stories, rituals, or

²⁰ See, especially the essays collected by Serge Ruzer, *Mapping the New Testament: Early Christian Writings as a Witness for Jewish Biblical Exegesis* (JCP 13; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

²¹ Eyal Regev, "Wealth and Sectarianism: Comparing Qumranic and Early Christian Social Approaches," in *Echoes from the Caves: the Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 85; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 211–29, has drawn

more precisely in terms of belief. Collective memory, social cognition, cultural contexts, gender roles, and so on, all these are powerful tools for creating a reading strategy that is fully aware both of what might be common in broader contexts and what might be particular in terms of local identity.

2. A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH IN LIGHT OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF SECTARIANISM

2.1. *Preliminary Comments*

The completion of the publication of the entire scrolls corpus, nearly all of which is now available in detailed principal editions, has encouraged a number of new research initiatives, such as the study of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, the analysis of liturgy and prayer, the reassessment of non-canonical Jewish writings, the categorization of so-called biblical interpretation, and the description of continuities and discontinuities between the contents of the scrolls and rabbinic traditions, to cite just a few examples. To my mind as yet there has not been a great resurgence of interest in the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament, though there have been a few notable steps forward. Perhaps this is because the newly released texts have not disclosed a wealth of obvious new parallels, but one suspects that it is also because most New Testament scholars have gone off in different directions.

I am concerned that there should be a fresh paradigm introduced for the better handling of the discourse on the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament. Most of the ingredients of this new paradigm are already part of discrete discussions in various forms of sociological, historiographical and textual studies. For example, in the latter half of the twentieth century the sociological analysis of sects was brought into sharp focus in the work of Bryan Wilson.²² Wilson's insights into ideal sect types have been applied and adapted for the

attention to the differences as well as the similarities between the Qumran and Early Christian approaches to the issue of wealth.

²² Wilson's early work, "An Analysis of Sect Development," *American Sociological Review* 24 (1959): 3–15, was refined in his many subsequent publications, notably in idem, *The Social Dimensions of Sectarianism: Sects and New Religious Movements in Contemporary Society* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

understanding of Jewish groups in antiquity, not least the groups and movements behind the scrolls; this work has been gathering momentum in recent years²³ (and can be seen quite explicitly in other papers in this volume). The same has been happening with regard to the New Testament and early Christianity.²⁴ Several key issues have come to light on the basis of the application of the social sciences to both literary corpora, but little work has yet been done on how such applications might be mutually illuminating.

This new paradigm for one way of discussing the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament should have a phenomenological basis to it. The historical approach outlined briefly above is especially in need of revision phenomenologically. The work of Eyal Regev has made the most impression in this direction because of its useful heuristic juxtaposition of Qumran sectarianism with other sects far away in time and place.²⁵ For the understanding of the phenomena of both sets of literature, historical common sense in relation to the particular together with the social scientific analysis of how authors work and how texts represent individual and community identities and purposes needs to be taken into account.²⁶ Put crudely, it is probably no longer entirely suitable to try to trace how some few members of the Essene Qumran community might have brought their exegetical interpretations and their concomitant eschatological aspirations into some of the early Christian groups, either directly or indirectly. The whole matter is now recognized to be more complex and yet complexity should not inhibit the attempt at constructing some framework for comparison.

²³ See, e.g., Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances* (ed. David J. Chalcraft; London: Equinox, 2007); Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Religion and Society 45; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007). All those works interact, often in great detail, with Wilson's ideas. See also, *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

²⁴ See, e.g., *Identity Formation in the New Testament* (ed. Bengt Holmberg and Mikael Winninge; WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); *Exploring Early Christian Identity* (ed. Bengt Holmberg; WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

²⁵ See Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*; his own studies over the last decade are listed in his bibliography. See also his contribution to this volume, "What Kind of Sect was the *Yahad*? A Comparative Approach," 41–58.

²⁶ A double act recommended by Philip R. Davies, "Sect Formation in Early Judaism," in Chalcraft, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, 133–55.

2.2. *A Phenomenological Comparison*

2.2.1. *Qumran evidence*

To consider how the body of texts from the eleven caves at and near Qumran might be appreciated as a guide to sectarianism within Judaism over a period of one hundred and fifty years or more, I consider that a picture of at least four modes can be discerned.²⁷ These four modes might be conceived as stages in a process of sectarian development, but they should not be understood primarily in historical terms; rather various features of sectarian development could occur contemporaneously in different subgroups of the same movement. Furthermore, these four modes are not entirely discrete, as if one cannot proceed to the second until the first is complete; there needs to be some recognition that elements of all four stages may coexist at the same time within the complex and transformative dynamic of a single community. Thus, for example, the process of a conversion to a particular sectarian worldview can be mapped on to these modes of sectarianism.²⁸

(i.) Pre-sectarian incipient sectarianism. The first mode is reflected in those literary compositions that are widely considered to be pre-sectarian.²⁹ Often that is all that is indicated by their modern interpreters, but occasionally within the context of the collection from the caves as a whole it is noted that there is little or nothing in such compositions that undermines the sectarian point of view as that was to emerge in later or other texts. Here there is an issue as to whether or not the collection found in the eleven caves can be considered to have been a library. This question is often confused with the issue of whether or not the collection has some kind of ideological consistency, which of course a library need not have, even in antiquity. So it is the case that

²⁷ These modes of sectarianism differ from the historical stages proposed by James H. Charlesworth, "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases among the Qumran Essenes," *RevQ* 10 (1979–81): 167–202, 213–33.

²⁸ For the stages of conversion in relation to the Qumran texts see George J. Brooke, "Justifying Deviance: The Place of Scripture in Converting to a Qumran Self-Understanding," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretation* (ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange; SBL Symposium Series 30; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2005), 73–87.

²⁹ The term "pre-sectarianism" is applied to the *Temple Scroll* and *MMT* by Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 133–61.

for this stage in the phenomenon of sectarianism, there is still plenty of room for the toleration of other views and for heteropraxis.³⁰

For our immediate purposes it is more important to notice that some of these pre-sectarian compositions are indeed just that. Not only does the date of their composition predate the formation of the sectarian community proper, but also they may carry signs of *incipient sectarianism*. They are thus pre-sectarian inasmuch as they represent a tendency within a possibly much wider spectrum of options. The classic example of this is now to be found in *Instruction*: its language of mystery (רז נהיה) has sufficient esotericism to resonate with the subsequent sectarian use of the same idiom (1QS 11:3) and the more common use of רז in the plural. Something of the transition from use in the singular to the dominance of idiomatic phrases in the plural is probably represented by the way the term is used variously in the singular and the plural in the *Hodayot*.

(ii.) Nascent sectarianism. The second mode is one in which the transition to a sectarian view of the world is increasingly apparent. It is here that scholars may particularly wish to argue about the definition of the term “sectarian,” whether for example this mode as expressed in a text demands total commitment of a reader in a community. This may be found in a range of compositions in various ways. For example this stage of *nascent sectarianism* can be seen in attention to a particular calendar that is going to exclude some if put into practice: perhaps the *Book of Jubilees* might be considered to represent such a perspective. Or it can be seen in the favouring of one group or subset of the population over others: perhaps the Levitical disposition of the *Temple Scroll* is a case in point.³¹ Or it can be seen in the increasing tendency for the labelling of groups and subgroups: perhaps that attention to “teachers of falsehood” in the *Hodayot* represents such a tendency as in various ways the poems of the overall composition are

³⁰ See the comments on heteropraxis by David J. Chalcraft, “Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances? Some Critical Sociological Reflections,” in *idem*, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, 10.

³¹ Cf., e.g., the comments of Jacob Milgrom, “The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles,” in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989), 176–78, who argues, against his own earlier writings, that the *Temple Scroll* constructs its Levites ahistorically.

phrased so as to construct the identity of the in-group.³² Or it can be seen in attempts at trying to convince others of the rightness of one's own point of view, as might be supposed in the dialogical discourse of *MMT*. Or it can be seen in the attention given to a particular and particularist interpretation of tradition either in terms of the narration of history or in terms of what might be applied on the basis of exclusive halakhah: perhaps some aspects of the attitude to the Sabbath in the *Damascus Document* could be perceived to fall in this category. Sociologists of religion have commonly associated sectarianism such as this with charismatic leadership of a particularist kind.

(iii.) Full-blown Sectarianism. A third mode might be recognized as one in which a community develops fully articulated sectarian views of the world and of others, who are now usually thought of as outsiders whose views are beyond toleration. This *full-blown sectarianism* can be characterized in one or more typological ways, as has been attempted especially since the landmark work of Bryan Wilson,³³ work which has been variously applied to the Qumran and other groups.³⁴ Indeed it is the Qumran residents who seem to represent this mode of sectarianism most explicitly. The very move to Qumran, if that is to be dated to the end of the second century B.C.E. or even later, may be part of a sectarian strategy towards increased exclusive behaviours, though not all these should be imagined as world-denying. Any number of other reasons can be offered for the way communities, and individuals within them, move from nascent to full-blown sectarianism. However, it is clear from the explicitly sectarian compositions found in the Qumran caves, such as the *Rule of the Community*, that full-blown sectarianism includes some of such items as a special joining ritual, a second birth of some sort, total commitment, exclusive meal practice, claims to be the sole authentic representative of traditional identities, and so on; the sect claims the master status of its members. Within this mode of sectarian practice there is commonly identified an enhanced sense of institutionalisation through which various rites, practices and doctrines can be administered with authority and security. Furthermore,

³² See, e.g., Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), chapters 4–6.

³³ See n. 22 above.

³⁴ As by Pierluigi Piovaneli, "Was There Sectarian Behaviour before the Flourishing of Jewish Sects? A Long-Term Approach to the History and Sociology of Second Temple Sectarianism," in *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, 157–59.

pre-sectarian and incipiently sectarian literary compositions are probably read as fully endorsing the full-blown sectarian view of the world.

(iv.) Rejuvenated Sectarianism. The move from the charismatic to the institutional has been classically described by the first generation of sociologists of religion. Apart from the analysis of millenarian movements, it is not so common to come across those who have perceived that sectarian groups and their institutions commonly seem to fragment when highly precise and well-defined expectations are not fulfilled from one generation to another; sectarianism seems to breed further sectarianism. One way in which this tendency is sometimes addressed concerns what might be called a systematic rejuvenation process in which the founding principles of the sect are recalled or its earliest mission statements promulgated afresh. To my mind there are several indications in the sectarian compositions from the Qumran caves of this kind of strategy. In a straightforward way reassertion of the authority of the founding figure is evident in the mid to late first century B.C.E. *Pesharim* that appeal to the insights and stance of the Teacher of Righteousness as they set about their particular interpretation of prophetic texts. Furthermore, from a sociological perspective an egalitarian stance is commonly supposed to characterize the earliest stages of a sectarian movement. Such a stance is possibly apparent in 4QS^d, a form of the *Rule of the Community* that does not contain mention of the privileged position of the Sons of Zadok; this manuscript was copied out in the late first century B.C.E.³⁵ and so might reflect a rediscovery of egalitarianism. In addition, the approximately contemporary *Eschatological Commentary A* (4Q174) offers in its principal fragment two examples of inclusive democratisation. First, the use of the polyvalent phrase *mqdš 'dm* could imply that not the priests alone but all humanity, or at least all sectarian men (which might be thought of by some as the same thing!), constitutes proleptically the eschatological sanctuary.³⁶ Second, despite the presence of an individual Davidic

³⁵ Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–56, is correct in insisting on taking the dates of the manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community* into account in any understanding of them, but it is also necessary to keep in mind that the later manuscripts might be copies of earlier forms of the composition, rather than entirely new editions.

³⁶ See George J. Brooke, "Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel—Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kultes im Alten Testament, antiken*

Messiah in the previous section of the commentary,³⁷ the likely identification of the משיחו of Ps 2:2 with the בְּחִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, “the chosen ones of Israel,” might indicate a messianic role for the whole community, not just for the Davidic Messiah alone.³⁸ These examples of democratisation can be viewed as indicative of sectarian rejuvenation in the way in which they apply an egalitarian reading to the tradition.

2.2.2. *New Testament evidence*

It is now time to turn to the New Testament and to apply this set of phenomenological models to some of the data there. Again, it is important to appreciate that this model has historical implications but is not to be straightforwardly imposed on the data as if it were a verification of historical or sequential reconstructions.

(i.) *Pre-sectarian incipient sectarianism* As I have argued elsewhere and already indicated above, it seems to me that one explanation for the reluctance of mainstream scholarship to associate Jesus with the Qumran texts is a collection of significant differences between him and what is expressed most obviously in the compositions that reflect the stage of full-blown sectarianism.³⁹ But two developments have been taking place contemporaneously. On the one hand the majority of New Testament scholars have for some time been rediscovering a Jewish Jesus interested in the renewal or restoration of Israel, a Jesus who has few if any sectarian concerns because in certain respects his

Judentum und frühen Christentum (ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange and Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1999), 285–301.

³⁷ The problems of Psalm 2 in the scrolls more broadly and in 4Q174 in particular are addressed by John J. Collins, “The Interpretation of Psalm 2,” in García Martínez, ed., *Echoes from the Caves: the Scrolls and the New Testament*, 49–66; and by Eric F. Mason, “Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlorilegium and in the New Testament,” in *Echoes from the Caves*, 67–82. Collins has outlined the tension between the individualistic messianic interpretation of “son” in 2 Samuel 7 and the collective understanding of “his anointed” in Ps 2:2; Mason has argued that the collective understanding of Ps 2:2 should not be qualified.

³⁸ See George J. Brooke, “From ‘Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron’ to ‘Sanctuary of Adam’: the Laicization of Temple Ideology in the Qumran Scrolls and its Wider Implications,” *JSem* 8/2 (1996): 119–45. A similar point is made by Serge Ruzer, “Who Was Unhappy with the Davidic Messiah?” and “The New Covenant, the Reinterpretation of Scripture and Collective Messiahship,” in idem, *Mapping the New Testament*, 101–29, 215–37; see also the study by Eric Mason referred to in n. 37 above.

³⁹ George J. Brooke, “The Pre-Sectarian Jesus,” in García Martínez, ed., *Echoes from the Caves: the Scrolls and the New Testament*, 33–48.

levels of tolerance seem to be high. On the other hand, it has become increasingly obvious from a phenomenological point of view that the kind of Jewish texts in the Qumran collection that might be of most relevance for the better understanding of Jesus are those that belong to the pre-sectarian mode or period.

From the point of view of Jesus' exorcistic and healing work, this seems to be best illustrated through juxtaposition with a text like the so-called *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242) which speaks of the activities of a Jewish גזר (4Q242 1–3, 4; "diviner," "exorcist"). In addition to the exorcistic practices of that Jew, the other compositions in which such activities are discernible are overwhelmingly pre-sectarian or quasi-sectarian compositions that also happen to be found in the Qumran library. The apotropaic or quasi-exorcistic activities of Tobias in *Tobit* are pre-sectarian or incipiently sectarian,⁴⁰ inasmuch as they do not seem to reflect widespread Jewish practice. The depiction of Abraham as healer and exorcist in the *Genesis Apocryphon* 20:21–30 belongs to a quasi-sectarian composition.⁴¹ Furthermore the list of eschatological activities referred to in the quasi-sectarian 4Q521 includes healing the wounded and making the dead live.

From the perspective of Jesus' teaching much could be made of juxtaposing it both empathetically and antipathetically with a pre-sectarian or quasi-sectarian composition like *Instruction*. For example, positive comparison might rest in the way in which the attention to poverty in *Instruction* forms a basis for the discourse,⁴² whether as an attitude or as the reflection of a social group or behavioural expectation.⁴³ A neat example of differentiating contrast might rest in the way

⁴⁰ For the burning of the fish's heart and liver (Tob 8:2–3) as apotropaic see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 242.

⁴¹ The quasi-sectarian status of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is well put in relation to these activities of Abraham by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (BibOr 18B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 3rd ed., 2004), 213. Fitzmyer wonders whether there is here a reference to an esoteric Essene practice, but also notes that "there does not seem to be anything else in this text that is specifically sectarian." 11Q11 contains another quasi-sectarian composition that refers to apotropaic practices.

⁴² Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 335–50, sees poverty as a strong indicator of an introversionist sect.

⁴³ See the debates about this as presented in Eibert 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, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 62–75. For exposition

in which *Instruction* recommends that those who are entrusted with the property of others should keep it securely until it is reclaimed, whereas Jesus appears to recommend that such deposits should be used to the full to maximize their benefits. In 4Q416 2 III, 3–5 and 4Q418 9 the passage reads: “[you shall not stretch out] your hand to [it {the deposit}], lest you be scorched and your body be burned by its fire. As] you have received it, th[us give it back, and you will have joy if you are innocent from it].”⁴⁴ Whatever is deposited or loaned should be returned as it was deposited and should not become a source of temptation.⁴⁵ In the so-called parable of the talents (Matt 25:14–30; Luke 19:11–27) Jesus seems to preach just the opposite, namely that anything deposited should be put to use so that when the owner returns to collect what is his, there is suitable profit or interest all round. Though not often assigned to Q,⁴⁶ the motif of impending judgement seems to suggest that here is a parable whose kernel goes back to such a source or even to Jesus himself.⁴⁷ When set against a Jewish Palestinian tradition such as that now found in *Instruction*, part of the story can be seen as a typical eschatological reversal of a previously known wisdom tradition.⁴⁸

Thus in intriguing ways and for phenomenological reasons the sectarian compositions found in the Qumran caves could yet prove to be a rich source of materials for the better understanding of the

on poverty in *Instruction* see also Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 175–88.

⁴⁴ Cited from the restored version in 4Q418 translated by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 2:865.

⁴⁵ Strugnell and Harrington align the instruction with wisdom tradition on pledges and loans more generally: “These *stichs* contain the frequent sapiential topic of pledges or loans and how they should be given back to the original owner (cf. Sir 8:12; 45:16; and Prov 22:7) rather than left unpaid;” see John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts: Part 2* (DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 114.

⁴⁶ Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21–28* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 248, states that the overlaps between Matthew and Luke make it clear that “the wording of the story was already relatively stable in the oral tradition.”

⁴⁷ James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 421 n. 210, indicates how this might be an independent piece of Jesus tradition whose differences in its two canonical forms are explicable in terms of performance variation.

⁴⁸ I have made similar suggestions about how an apparently non-sectarian text can enable the rediscovery of the teaching of Jesus or at least the earliest layers of how it was recollected: see George J. Brooke, “4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 268–94; reprinted in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, 235–60.

teaching of the non-sectarian Jesus or they might even offer a further criterion for how a written saying might be assigned to a source such as Q.

(ii.) *Nascent sectarianism* It is in the earliest layers of the New Testament that one can find elements that correspond with the stage of nascent sectarianism as I have identified that for the compositions from Qumran such as the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Hodayot*, *MMT*, the *Damascus Document*, and the *Temple Scroll*. For the New Testament early sources such as the reconstructed Q, the sources for the Markan passion narrative, the special Lukan materials including the Lukan infancy narrative, and Paul when he is writing to mixed communities of Jewish and Gentile Christians—all these can form a basis for putting together the elements that will eventually lead to sectarianism.

What textual comparisons that are nascently sectarian might be suitable in relation to these two sets of texts? Two examples must suffice.⁴⁹ To begin with for Q comparison can be made between 4Q521 and Q 7:22–23. In this Q passage there are six elements in what Jesus is supposed to have said to John the Baptist's disciples concerning how they and their master should be able to recognize the significance of who he is, four of which are commonly assumed to have been derived from various passages in the LXX directly or indirectly. There seems to be no parallel in the LXX for the lepers being cleansed nor for the dead being raised. The former does recur in Matt 10:8, an independent version of the saying which makes the picture even more complex as it lists healing the sick, raising the dead, cleansing lepers and casting out demons. The latter, giving life to the dead, is common to Luke 7:22 (// Matt. 11:5) and 4Q521, and indeed in 4Q521 in collocation with the poor having good news preached to them.

Since its preliminary edition by Émile Puech in 1992,⁵⁰ 4Q521 has attracted very wide attention.⁵¹ Such interest has been focused around

⁴⁹ Both these examples are discussed more fully in George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, 79–82 and 263–64 respectively.

⁵⁰ Émile Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1990–1992): 475–519; reprinted in an adjusted form in Émile Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, 627–92. See now Émile Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1–38.

⁵¹ See especially Michael Wise and James Tabor, "The Messiah at Qumran," *BAR* 18/6 (1992): 60–65; James D. Tabor and Michael O. Wise, "4Q251 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition: A Preliminary Study," *JSP* 10 (1992): 149–62; John J.

the identity of the messiah and whether it is he or God himself who “makes the dead live” (ומתים יחיה) (4Q521 2 II + 4, 12). There are two lists in 4Q521 2 II and 4 in close proximity to one another, one based largely on Ps 146:7–8,⁵² though giving sight to the blind is also in Isa 35:5 and 61:1 (LXX). The second list in 4Q521 is in lines 12–13: “heal the wounded (ירפא חללים)” (cf. Matt 10:8, “heal the sick”), “give life to the dead (ומתים יחיה)” (cf. Luke 7:22 // Matt 11:5; Matt 10:8), “preach good news to the poor (ענוים יבשר)” (cf. Isa 61:1; Luke 7:22 // Matt 11:5), “satisfy the weak ([שב]יע),” “lead the outcast (נתושים ינהל)” and “enrich the hungry (רעבים יעשר)” (cf. Ps 146:7). Only two elements are common to the second list in 4Q521 and Luke 7:22 // Matt 11:5 (Q), “giving life/raising the dead,” and “preaching good news to the poor.” The first of these elements is unique to these two lists, and the order of the two elements is the same in both. Beyond that the parallels end.⁵³

What might be made of these parallels? Overall, strings of scriptural passages, mostly from Isaiah and the Psalms, lie behind the two developments in 4Q521 and Luke 7:22 // Matt 11:5. Here is a collection of scriptural passages to be associated with the activity of God (and his anointed agent) in the last days. The point of this comparison is to indicate that neither text contains anything that is explicitly sectarian, but both have elements of nascent sectarianism in the way the tradition is contextualized in relation to the Messiah (4Q521) or the identity of Jesus (Q), issues which could and would resonate with later concerns of the respective explicitly sectarian communities.

A second example can be cited equally succinctly. 4Q246 is officially labelled an Aramaic *Apocryphon of Daniel*.⁵⁴ From the broken context of the first column it seems as if an interpreter, possibly Daniel, comes

Collins, “The Works of the Messiah,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 98–112; idem, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 117–22; George J. Brooke, “Luke-Acts and the Qumran Scrolls: the Case of MMT,” in *Luke’s Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 75–76.

⁵² The influence of Psalm 146 is visible elsewhere in the fragment too: e.g., with lines 1–2 compare Ps 146:6.

⁵³ So Michael Becker, “Die ‘messianische Apokalypse’ 4Q521 und der Interpretationsrahmen der Taten Jesu,” in *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (ed. Jörg Frey and Michael Becker; Einblicke 10; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2007), 271.

⁵⁴ 4Q246 has been published in its official edition by Émile Puech, “4QApocryphe de Daniel ar,” in George J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 165–84; it is a first century B.C.E. manuscript copy [of an earlier composition].

before a king to explain a vision that the king has seen. In addition to the kings of Assyria and Egypt, the interpreter describes another royal person who clearly belongs to the future. The line is broken but the surviving words can be translated as "...great he will be called and by his name will he be surnamed." At the top of the second column the interpreter declares: "He will be called the Son of God and the Son of the Most High they will name him." The text continues by describing the rule of the kings as a time of great turmoil when peoples and provinces destroy one another. This violence is followed by an epoch when the people of God will arise and there will be peace. The eternal kingdom that ensues is characterized by truth and righteousness. It is difficult to determine whether or not the last king of the three mentioned, the Son of God and the Son of the Most High, is the king of God's people during this time.

The difficulties in making sense of the text have provoked a wide range of scholarly interpretations.⁵⁵ Whatever the case with the correct understanding of 4Q246, four striking parallels with Luke 1:32–35 emerge. In Luke Gabriel's message to Mary is divided into two parts. Together with other details, in Luke 1:30–33 he describes the one who will be named Jesus, who will be great, called Son of the Most High, whose kingdom will have no end. In the second part of the message (Luke 1:35–37), in answer to Mary's question "How can this be?" Gabriel states that the Holy Spirit will come upon her and the power of the Most High will overshadow her so that the child will be holy and called Son of God. According to Luke (1) Jesus will be great, (2) he is to be Son of the Most High, (3) he will have an eternal kingdom, and (4) he is to be called Son of God.

All this seems to call for some kind of explanation. While it is possible that both 4Q246 and Luke 1 are independent meditations on Danielic promises (Dan 2:44 and 7:27), it seems preferable to consider seriously that Luke 1 was dependent on some such tradition as is found in 4Q246 and that whoever compiled Gabriel's message to Mary understood the third king mentioned in 4Q246 in a positive way as the individual personification of the eschatological rule of the people of God. The parallel with 4Q246, a non-sectarian composition that addresses topics that would appeal to later sectarians, helps modern interpreters to see that there is not necessarily anything explicitly

⁵⁵ A summary of the various views can be found in Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 154–72.

sectarian in the Lukan narrative or the Christological titles assigned to Jesus there.⁵⁶

(iii.) *Full-blown sectarianism* Within the New Testament documents the parallels with the full-blown sectarian scrolls have often been cited, though it has not often been appreciated that the comparison being made is most often with those sectarian texts that most clearly demonstrate that the group has broken away from its parent movement. The parallels need not be discussed in detail here because they are well known: they cover such items as the sharing of goods, the use of the term “the Way” to describe the early Christian movement, various facets of institutionalisation and community organisation, the use of Israel as an identity tag, the substitution of the community for the Temple and its practices.⁵⁷ Several of these parallels are to be found in the description of the early Jerusalem church in the Acts of the Apostles, but the phenomenological approach I am adopting here indicates that in the light of the full-blown sectarian compositions where the parallels are to be found, these markers are not reflective primarily of a nascent or incipient sectarianism, as might be read off the surface of the text of the Acts of the Apostles by virtue of its subject matter, but belong predominantly to the view of the early Christian community taken by the author of Acts in the post-70 CE period. If there is any incipient sectarianism in the terminology as narrated, it is being used as part of the strategy of full-blown sectarians to show that they are the true heirs of the parent movement from which they have broken.

Some of the most explicit institutional markers of the full-blown sectarian texts from Qumran are to be found in the so-called Pastoral Epistles. It is widely acknowledged that those epistles represent the increasing tendencies towards hierarchy and controlled membership that belong in those early Christian communities that are most at pains to dissociate themselves from both their Jewish roots and their Greco-Roman cultural contexts.

⁵⁶ A suitable non-sectarian way of appreciating the parallel is described by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 31–33.

⁵⁷ Most of these parallels are discussed in the essays in Johannes van der Ploeg et al., *La secte de Qumrân et les origines du Christianisme* (RechBib 4; Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1959); and in *The Scrolls and Christianity* (ed. Matthew Black; SPCK Theological Collections 11; London: SPCK, 1969).

Awareness of the sectarian status of a community as that is reflected in its literary compositions does not necessarily provide direct access to a better understanding of that sectarianism through comparison with other sects. As Wilson and others have demonstrated, it is clear that sectarianism can take several different forms, although it may be that all forms share certain common features. Thus the phenomenological approach here should not be understood as a straightforward comparison of like with like, but rather as a comparison of sects in similar stages of development, even if of different types, with different motivations.

(iv.) *Rejuvenated sectarianism* While full-blown sectarianism can continue in some places in an ever-increasing system of institutionalisation, as might be implied by the tendencies of works such as the Pastoral Epistles, I have suggested above that the ongoing fragmentation of sectarian groups sometimes eventually leads to their rejuvenation through appeal to earlier traditions. For the group represented by the full-blown sectarian texts from Qumran, as indicated above, this could have happened in the late first century B.C.E., if the reading of certain texts is appropriate. It might have happened at other times too, since there is no automatic sectarian development through the modes of sectarianism that are outlined in this phenomenological analysis.

For the early Christians, it is sometimes asserted that it is the Johannine writings that might reflect such rejuvenation most explicitly. While the community of readers or the movement implied by the text of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles of John is clearly concerned with sectarian boundary marking, not least through the labelling of its enemies, it also presents a form of community life that does not seem to depend on any human intermediary. According to John 17 prayer is to be directed directly to the Father and the Spirit is each community member's advocate. Thus we find a sense of the egalitarian character of charismatic quasi-sectarian or nascently sectarian groups. While such rejuvenated communities might protect key elements of their previous identity, they can also innovate through recollection of first principals. It might well be, for instance, that studies that investigate the parallels between the final form of the Fourth Gospel and the scrolls should start by taking into account the character of the sectarianism that is developed in this mode. It is perhaps not surprising that some scholars have perceived that the world view of the Fourth Gospel may be better explained by comparing some of its principal motifs with the

Hebrew Bible rather than with the Qumran sectarian texts:⁵⁸ here is precisely the evidence of how a rejuvenated sectarianism returns to first principles.

3. CONCLUSIONS

In this short study I have argued that for sixty years attempts at describing and assessing the relationship between the Dead Sea scrolls and the New Testament have been primarily operating in historical, literary, or thematic ways. In the light of increasing numbers of sociological studies, it is also important to approach the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament writings with the sociology of sectarianism in mind from a phenomenological point of view. The resulting comparison has depended upon seeing the development of sectarianism somewhat arbitrarily as occurring in four modes. Sometimes these might occur in a four-stage process of development: pre-sectarianism, nascent sectarianism, full-blown sectarianism, and rejuvenated sectarianism. But these modes do not have to occur in a particular order, and in the kinds of networks that characterize many sectarian movements⁵⁹ it could well be that some parts of the network operate in a different mode from others. The proposal here has been that when the two literary corpora are put alongside one another with such a model of sectarianism in mind, then because all kinds of parallels have already been observed, we should expect to find the most appropriate kinds of illumination when texts from corresponding modes of sectarian formation are compared with one another.

In the first place, the relative scholarly silence on how the scrolls might illuminate our understanding of Jesus might be about to change significantly with the availability of the pre-sectarian compositions from Qumran, not just because they reflect Judaism more generally, but because they are the first stage in a sectarian trajectory. Second, a range of compositions from the Qumran caves that reflect nascent

⁵⁸ See especially Richard J. Bauckham, "Qumran and the Fourth Gospel: Is There a Connection?" in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 267–79; idem, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," in Schiffman, Tov, and VanderKam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, 105–15.

⁵⁹ See the contribution to this volume by Eyal Regev.

sectarianism might best illuminate the contents of what can be reconstructed of first and second generation Christianity, especially in largely Jewish contexts before 70 C.E. Third, the comparisons between the two corpora have been most obvious and most profoundly discussed so far with respect to the mode of full-blown sectarianism; the reasons for this need to be properly contextualized phenomenologically within the sociology of religion. Fourth, if and when sects fragment further or rejuvenate once again there are possible parallels that can also be explained through the phenomenology of sectarianism. In all this there are fresh opportunities for understanding the data and comprehending some significant aspects of its complexity.

THE GABRIEL REVELATION

ISRAEL KNOHL

1. INTRODUCTION

Ada Yardeni and Binyamin Elizur recently published a fascinating text that they have dubbed the “Gabriel Revelation.” The text, which is inscribed in stone, is an apocalyptic vision transmitted by the angel Gabriel. In view of its linguistic style, the editors fixed the date of the composition of the text as the end of the first century B.C.E. Due to the form of the script they believe that the inscription was made during roughly the same period.¹

The text of the “Gabriel Revelation” is written in two columns, which have been partially preserved. According to the symbols at the end of the second column, this is where the composition ends. The editors speculated that perhaps the stone was affixed to a wall, and that there was another stone or stones that contained the beginning of the text. But there are no clear signs of plaster on the stone, while it is clear that the bottom section of the stone was sunk into the earth for a long time, which is why it is darker in color. The use of ink on stone is reminiscent of the Zoar tombstones, although the latter were written several hundred years later. Another similarity to the Zoar tombstones is the geographical region in which the “Gabriel Revelation” was found: the stone was evidently found in Transjordan, close to the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It may be, then, that the stone reflects a type of writing common in this region.² The editors commented on the resemblance between the demarcation of the columns and the ruling of the lines

¹ Ada Yardeni and Binyamin Elizur, “Document: First Century B.C.E.: Prophetic Text Written on a Stone: First Publication,” *Cathedra* 123 (2007): 155–66 (Hebrew). Prof. Yuval Goren of Tel Aviv University examined the stone and found no evidence of forgery; see Yuval Goren, “Micromorphologic Examination of the *Gabriel Revelation* Stone,” *IEJ* 58 (2008): 220–29.

² Another example of writing on stone from this period and from the same geographical area is that found at Khirbet Qumran. See *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg; *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus*, Series Archaeologica 3. Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 360–62.

on the stone and similar scribal features in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The script also resembles the late Herodian script with which we are familiar from the Dead Sea Scrolls. But the “Gabriel Revelation” lacks any distinctive Qumranic terminology; unlike the sectarian writings it uses the Tetragrammaton freely; and, as explained below, the mention of Ephraim as a messianic figure in this text does not fit the conceptual world of the Qumran scrolls.

This article attempts to elaborate upon the ideological and literary aspects of the “Gabriel Revelation.” Despite the fragmentary nature of the text, I believe that there is an inner connection between its contents as well as an overall framework whose assorted parts fit together into a coherent whole.

The editors wrote that “There is no known text that resembles the text on the stone.”³ In my opinion, however, there are several apocalyptic works that are very similar to “the Gabriel Revelation,” and these can make a significant contribution both to our overall understanding of the text on the stone and to interpreting its details. I will point here to some of the parallels between the “Gabriel Revelation” and these other texts. The importance of the discovery of the “Gabriel Revelation” lies in the fact that the other works reached us in later translations and adaptations of the original, while here for the first time we have a text of this type in its original form. To my mind, the “Gabriel Revelation” contains components that are highly significant for understanding the messianic and apocalyptic developments in the Jewish and Christian worlds.⁴

The first section of the inscription contains many statements to the effect that the content of the text is a message from God. At first these are fairly short statements, such as “so said the God of Hosts” (line 11), “[Thus] said the Lord, God of Israel” (line 13). Later on there appear more complex combinations: “thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel” (lines 19–20, and a similar version in lines 57–58); “So said the Lord God of Hosts, the God of Israel” (lines 29–30, and a similar ver-

³ Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 162.

⁴ The stone on which the text is inscribed is in the possession of Dr. David Jeselsohn in Zurich. I am grateful to Dr. Jeselsohn for allowing me to read and examine the inscription in his home as well as to photograph it. This examination helped me appreciate the editors’ excellent work in copying and reading the text. I nevertheless want to suggest a few corrections to their readings. For the convenience of readers I have inserted in the Appendix those parts of the inscription that I address in this article, with my corrections inserted into the text.

sion in lines 58–59); “Thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel” (line 69). By way of contrast, the end of the inscription (lines 77–87) does not contain any expressions of this sort, although the phrase “I am Gabriel” appears three times (lines 77, 80, 83).

It may be, then, that the speaker in the first section is God, who communicates through his angel or a human messenger, while in the final part the speaker is the angel Gabriel himself. The phrase “Who am I? I am Gabriel” at the beginning of line 77 may be the point of transition between the two sections of the composition. The angel Gabriel introduces himself, and from then on he speaks in the first person.

2. SIMILARITIES TO DANIEL

The editors cite Richard Steiner’s opinion that the “Gabriel Revelation” is an apocalyptic text based on the visions in the biblical books of Daniel and Zechariah.⁵ Steiner even suggested that the Gabriel who speaks in the first person in the text⁶ is the angel Gabriel who speaks to Daniel. I believe that Steiner is correct and would like to back up his argument. The angel Gabriel first appears to Daniel in Daniel 8. Gabriel describes the king of fierce countenance: “He will be extraordinarily destructive; he will prosper in what he does, and destroy the mighty and the people of holy ones...he uses deceit. He will make great plans and he shall even rise up against the prince of princes; but, by no human hand, he shall be broken... Now seal up the vision, for it pertains to far-off days” (Dan 8:24–26). These verses are reflected in three places in the “Gabriel Revelation”: the promise that “evil has been broken before righteousness” (lines 20–21) is based on the prediction concerning the evil king, “he shall be broken”; the command “Seal up the blood of the slaughtered of Jerusalem” (line 57) resembles Gabriel’s command to Daniel “seal up the vision”; and the expression “prince of the princes” (line 81) parallels “prince of princes” in Daniel.

Another link between the inscription and Gabriel’s revelation to Daniel is discernible, in my view, in line 22. The editors read here: *אתה עומד המלאך הוא כסמך אל תורה* (“You are standing, the angel

⁵ Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 162.

⁶ See lines 77, 80, 83.

is he who is as supporting you on the Torah”). In this form the sentence makes no sense. I believe that a revised reading of two letters will clarify matters. Instead of **בסמכך**, “is as supporting you,” read **בִּסְמַכְךָ**,⁷ and instead of **תורה** read **תִּירָה**.⁸ The sentence thus reads **אתה עומד, המלאך הוא בסמכך, אל תירה**, “You are standing, the angel is supporting you. Do not fear.” Gabriel turns to the person receiving the vision, who has almost been knocked over by the force of the revelation, and says to him **אל תירה**, namely, **אל תירא**, “do not fear,” **המלאך הוא בסמכך**—the angel is supporting you so that you won’t fall (cf. **אדני בסמכי נפשי**, “the Lord is my support” [Ps 54:6]).

This is reminiscent of the verses in Daniel regarding Daniel’s reaction to the appearance of the angel Gabriel:

He came near to where I was standing, and as he came I was terrified, and fell prostrate. He said to me, “Understand, O man, that the vision refers to the time of the end.” When he spoke with me, I was overcome by a deep sleep as I lay prostrate on the ground. Then he touched me and made me stand up. (Dan. 8:17–18)

As in the book of Daniel, the recipient of the vision of Gabriel needs the support of an angel in order to stand on his feet: “You are standing, the angel is supporting you, do not fear.

The author of the “Gabriel Revelation” seems to have understood the angel Gabriel’s words as follows: the “insolent” king, who “uses deceit,” is the “wicked branch” (lines 21–22). This king will destroy “the people of holy ones,” the people of Israel, and he will rise up against the “prince of princes,” i.e., he will harm the leader of Israel, who is the “prince of princes” (line 81). After the damage is done to the “holy people” and the “prince of princes,” the “insolent” king will himself be destroyed. This destruction is described in the verses as “by no human hand, he shall be broken,” which the author of the “Gabriel Revelation” interprets as follows: “the evil has been broken before righteousness” (lines 20–21).

⁷ With a *qamatz qatan* under the **ס**.

⁸ The leg of the letter in question is not as long as that of regular *waws* in this inscription.

3. THE MESSIAH SON OF JOSEPH

As noted, only some of the text that was inscribed on the stone has been preserved. The top lines of the first column are almost illegible. In lines 11–12 God announces his intention to speak of “the greatness of Jerusalem,” namely, to sing the city’s praises.⁹ This seems to be a kind of preamble to a portrayal of the eschatological redemption that is to take place in Jerusalem, which is explained later in the text. Lines 13–14 say “now all the nations...on Jerusalem.” The editors correctly noted the resemblance to the verse “For I will gather all the nations against Jerusalem to battle” (Zech 14:2). Further on, in line 14, after the words “on Jerusalem,” we find the word **ומתוכ**,¹⁰ which should surely be completed to read **ומתוכ[ה]** “and out from it.” Lines 15–16 mention “forty Prophets and the elders [and] the Hasidim.” It seems that the prophets, the elders, and the Hasidim are those who came “out from it”; in other words, they left Jerusalem when the nations laid siege to it. This picture fits the continuation of the verse in Zechariah: “half of the city shall go into exile.” A similar picture of a siege of Jerusalem and the departure of some of its residents is described in the Apocalypse known as “The Book of Zerubbabel”, which recounts the death and resurrection of the Messiah son of Joseph.¹¹

Line 16 says **עבדי דוד בקש מן לפני אפרים**. There are two ways to read these words: as a request, meaning that God approaches David and asks him to ask Ephraim for something; or as a description: God relates that His servant David asked something of Ephraim. According to the continuation it appears that the phrase should be taken as a request, for the editors read the following line as follows: **[] שים האות** “place the sign; (this) I ask of you.” The first word should evidently be completed thusly: **[וי] שים**. The line accordingly reads as follows:

עבדי דוד בקש מן לפני אפרים [וי] שים האות אני מבקש מן לפניך

My servant David, ask of Ephraim [that he] place the sign; (this) I ask of you (lines 16–17).

⁹ Cf. 1 Chr 17:19, 21.

¹⁰ The editors read **שמתוכ**, but in my opinion the first letter is a **ו** rather than a **ש**. The next word may be **מוגלים**, “are exiled”; see n. 80 below.

¹¹ Yehuda Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Ge'ulah (Midrashim of Redemption)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1954), 81 (Hebrew).

It is not clear what the content is of the sign that God asks David to ask Ephraim to place. In the Bible the expression עבדי דוד (my servant David) is also used to designate the eschatological leader.¹² On the other hand, the biblical Ephraim is the son of Joseph, and accordingly in the “Gabriel Revelation” “my servant David” and Ephraim could refer to the Messiah son of David and the Messiah son of Joseph. As the editors pointed out, Ephraim is the name of the Messiah in *Pesiqta Rabbati*; he is described there as someone who takes suffering upon himself in order to atone for Israel.¹³ Ephraim is described in the book of Jeremiah as the first born son of God but he is also a suffering Son of God who says to his father “you have chastised me, and I was chastised” (Jer 31:9, 18, 20). While in the book of Jeremiah Ephraim is a title of the northern kingdom, Israel, and thus can be paired with Israel,¹⁴ here he is paired with David. Thus, we can infer that “Ephraim” here is like “my servant David,” a personal messianic title.

The tradition about the Messiah son of Joseph and his death is first mentioned in a *baraita* and at length in the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel.¹⁵ About ten years ago I suggested that the tradition concerning the Messiah son of Joseph and his death arose at the end of the first century B.C.E., following the suppression of a revolt that broke out in the land of Israel after Herod’s death.¹⁶ The “Gabriel Revelation” confirms that the tradition concerning the messianic figure of Ephraim son of Joseph was indeed already known during this period.

Moreover, it seems that there is also linguistic evidence for the link between the “Gabriel Revelation” and the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel: lines 10–11 of the “Gabriel Revelation” contain the verbs שאלת, “you asked,” and שאלני, “you have asked me.” And in line 21 God turns to the person receiving the vision and tells him: שאלני ואגיד לכה, “Ask me, and I shall tell you.” To the best of my knowledge the only

¹² Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25.

¹³ Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 157, n. 4. See *Pesiqta Rabbati* 36 (ed. Meir Friedman Ish-Shalom, 162–63) (Hebrew). In the *piyyut* קנה חית גער the Messiah who is killed is referred to as מעוז ראש the “chief stronghold.” As Fleischer noted, this derives from “Ephraim my chief stronghold” (Ps 60:9, 108:19). See Ezra Fleischer, “Solving the Qiliri Riddle,” *Tarbiz* 54 (1984/85): 414 (Hebrew).

¹⁴ See Jer 31:8.

¹⁵ *b. Sukkah* 52a. For the literature on the Messiah son of Joseph, see my “On the ‘Son of God,’ Armilus and Messiah Son of Joseph,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1998/99): 30, n. 80 (Hebrew).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 31–36.

place in ancient Jewish literature where terms of this sort appear is in the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel. The beginning of the book relates how God is revealed to Zerubbabel and tells him **שאל ואגיד לך**,¹⁷ “ask and I will tell you”—almost the exact language of the “Gabriel Revelation”: **שאלני ואגיד לכה**, “ask me and I will tell you.” And similar expressions are used later in the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel.¹⁸ These singular expressions appear in both texts, evidence of the strong connection between them.

This suggests that the prevailing view among scholars that the Jewish myth of the Messiah son of Joseph, the Messiah who is killed and comes back to life, was influenced by Christianity is incorrect. I believe that the opposite is true: the Christian myth of a Messiah who dies and is resurrected was shaped by a preexisting Jewish myth. From the “Gabriel Revelation” we learn that the motif of the leader’s resurrection on the third day existed in Judaism prior to the birth of Christianity. In my opinion this reversal is the most important new datum we learn from the “Gabriel Revelation.”

4. COVENANT STELAE

After Ephraim is asked to place the sign and before the declaration that wickedness has been broken by righteousness, the editors reconstructed the Hebrew as follows:

כי אמר ה' צבאות אלהי ישראל גנימ וכרים קדשה לישראל

For thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, GNIM VKRIM holy for Israel (lines 17–19).

Alexey Yuditsky and Elisha Qimron recently published an article with new suggested readings of the text.¹⁹ With the aid of new photographs, Yuditsky and Qimron suggest the following reading for the end of line 17 to the beginning of line 19:

¹⁷ See the text of the Constantinople edition and the version of the manuscript of Israel Levi in Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Ge'ulah*, 379, 385.

¹⁸ “שאל לי ואגיד לך” (ibid., 386, 388).

¹⁹ Alexey Yuditsky and Elisha Qimron, “Notes on the So-called ‘Vision of Gabriel’ Inscription,” *Cathedra* 133 (2009): 133–44 (Hebrew).

כּוֹאמֵר [י] הוּהוּ צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
בְּנֵי ב[י] דִּי בְרִית קְדֻשָּׁה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, “My son! I have a new covenant for Israel.”

Generally speaking this reading is persuasive,²¹ but I am not sure about their reading of the first word of line 19. Yardeni and Elizur understand this word as קְדֻשָּׁה, “holy,” while Yuditsky and Qimron suggest reading it as חֲדָשָׁה, “new.” Even after studying the new photographs of the stone it is difficult, in my opinion, to determine whether the first letter of this word is a ח or a ק, and both readings are possible. If we accept Yuditsky and Qimron’s reading of בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁה, “new covenant,” then it would be clear that the Gabriel Revelation would be drawing on Jer 31:31 “Behold, a time is coming—declares the Lord—when I will make a new covenant with the House of Israel and the House of Judah.” But even if we prefer the reading “holy,” I believe that the verse from Jeremiah could still be sensed to reverberate in Gabriel Revelation. We have already noted that the author of the Gabriel Revelation frequently changes and adapts the language of the biblical verses on which he bases his text. Thus we can understand the expression בְּרִית קְדֻשָּׁה to mean “holy covenant,” and treat it as a conflation of the “new covenant” in Jeremiah with the “holy covenant” in Dan 11:28, 30.

Let us go back and consider God’s statement according to the new reading: “My son! I have a holy/new covenant for Israel.” What is this holy/new covenant that God wants to give his son for Israel? I suggest that the content of the holy/new covenant is the text of the Gabriel Revelation. This could explain the manner in which the Gabriel Revelation is written: just as the Ten Commandments of the Sinai cov-

²⁰ Yardeni and Elizur read this as כּי, which also means “thus.” Regarding the word כּוֹ, a byform of כּה, see the discussion in Yuditsky and Qimron, “Notes,” 137.

²¹ The word Yuditsky and Qimron read as בְּנֵי, “my son,” is read by Yardeni and Elizur as גְּנֵי, “my gardens” (and I followed them in my book). However, the first letter of this word is not consistent with the usual form of the letter נ in this inscription. As Yardeni and Elizur noted in their article (“Document,” 164), the נ has two legs; the right leg is almost upright, while the left leg is rounded inward. The letter in question, however, lacks two distinct legs in its bottom section; instead, it has in its bottom, an almost horizontal line. Admittedly, the upper horizontal line of the letter is very short relative to the way the letter נ is normally written, but note that it resembles the נ in צְבָאוֹת on line 94, whose upper horizontal line is also very short. In view of these considerations I believe that Yuditsky and Qimron’s reading of בְּנֵי is preferable to Yardeni and Elizur’s reading of גְּנֵי.

enant were written on two stone tablets, the holy/new covenant of the Gabriel Revelation is written on a stone tablet.²² The tablets of the Sinai covenant are said to have been “tablets that were inscribed on both sides: they were inscribed on the one side and on the other” (Exod 32:15). The Gabriel Revelation was written in two columns. The right column begins at the right edge of the stone tablet and the left column ends at its left edge. Perhaps the author of Gabriel Revelation sought in this way to apply the words of the verse in Exodus “they were inscribed on the one side and on the other.”²³

Whoever inscribed The Gabriel Revelation on the stone tablet left the bottom part of the tablet empty. As stated above, this part is colored dark brown, and it is darker than the upper, inscribed section of the stone. It would seem, then, that the lower part of the stone was left empty because the author from the outset intended to insert the bottom part of the stone into the earth. The fact that the stone was sunk into the ground could explain the dark brown color of its lower section. The Bible contains many instances of stones that are erected to mark covenants,²⁴ and the texts of covenants were often written on stone steles in the ancient Near East. Our hypothesis that the Gabriel Revelation stone served as the tablet of a covenant can therefore explain why the stone was stationed in a vertical position with its lower section sunk into the earth.

There may even be an explicit reference to the erection of the stone on the ground in the text of the Gabriel Revelation. We have read above lines 16–17 of The Gabriel Revelation as follows:

עבדי דוד בקש מן לפני אפרים [וי] שים האות אני מבקש מן לפניך

My servant David, ask of Ephraim [that he] place the sign; (this) I ask of you.

God asks his servant David to ask “Ephraim” to place the sign. This request of Ephraim appears in The Gabriel Revelation immediately before God says: “My son, I have a holy/new covenant for Israel.” As

²² As the beginning of the text inscribed on the stone has not been preserved, it may be that there was a second tablet that contained the beginning of the work.

²³ Ibn Ezra may refer to the possibility that the tablets were written in two columns in his short commentary on Exodus: “And others say that the words of God were split up on the tablet.” But as Weiser notes, “split up” is not found in several manuscripts of the commentary. See Asher Weiser, *Perushei ha-Torah le-Rabeinu Avraham Ibn Ezra*, (Jerusalem: Mossad HaRav Kook Institute, 1976/7), 348 n. 83.

²⁴ See Gen 31:41–52; Exod 24:4–7; Deut 27:1–26; Josh 24:25–27.

was stated above, Ephraim is twice described as the son of God in chapter 31 of Jeremiah.²⁵ Thus God's declaration, "My son, I have a holy/new covenant for Israel" is probably addressed to "Ephraim". Hence, the "son of God" to whom the holy/new covenant is given is "Ephraim," who was just asked to "place" the sign. In light of the documented link between "sign" and "covenant" in the Bible,²⁶ and between "sign" אֹת and "pillar" מַצְבָּה²⁷ it may be that the request made of Ephraim "[that he] place the sign" refers to the erection of the stone on which the covenant was inscribed and its stationing as a stele that is a sign of the covenant.

5. DEFEAT OF EVIL

The text continues: "By three days you shall know, for thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, the evil has been broken before righteousness" (lines 19–21). As noted, the expression "the evil has been broken before righteousness" is based on Gabriel's prophecy about the wicked king "by no human hand, he shall be broken" (Dan 8:25).

The speaker in the text continues as follows: "Ask me, and I shall tell you, what is this wicked branch" (lines 21–22). As the editors noted, צֶמַח "branch" is an explicitly messianic name.²⁸ A prophecy from the book of Jeremiah reads as follows: "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. ...And this is the name by which he will be called: 'The Lord is our righteousness'" (Jer. 23:5–6). Jeremiah's righteous branch is a king of distinguished character who bears a Divine name, "The Lord is our righteousness." The "wicked branch,"²⁹ then, is a wicked king-Messiah, the opposite of the "righteous branch"—or, to anticipate the later term, the Antichrist.

²⁵ See Jer 31:9, 20.

²⁶ See Gen 9:11–17, 17:4–11; Exod 31:13–17.

²⁷ See Isa 19:19–20.

²⁸ Yardeni and Elizur, "Document," 157.

²⁹ Compare the expression "the tree of wickedness" in a Qumran text that also mentions one who is "anointed with the oil of royalty." See Erik Larson, "458. 4QNarrative A," *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea*, Part 1 (DJD XXXVI; Oxford: 2000), 355–58.

One of the Antichrist's prominent characteristics is that he is not what he appears to be. He presents himself as a saving Messiah, but in fact he is the son of the destructive and subversive Satan. This figure is familiar to us from other apocalyptic texts similar to the "Gabriel Revelation."³⁰ In view of this fact I want to venture a suggestion regarding the interpretation of a difficult word in the text. Immediately after the mention of the wicked branch in line 22 there is a word for which the editors proposed various possible readings: לובנסד, ליבנסד, לובנסר, ליבנסר, לובנסך, ליבנסך, and ליבנסך. After examining the original inscription I think the first possibility is the correct one. The word is לובנסד, and it can be understood in the sense of "white plaster" or something plastered white (לובן־סוד "plastered white" like בור סוד a "plastered cistern"). This unique term describes the wicked branch, the false Messiah: he presents himself as pure and clean, as plastered white, but on the inside he is wicked and false. The New Testament employs similar expressions to describe the hypocrisy of the wicked. Thus Paul compares the High Priest Hananiah to a wall that is plastered white because he pretends to judge Paul according to the Torah, but orders that he be flogged in contravention of the Torah (Acts 23:3). Jesus compares the hypocritical Pharisees, who appear to be righteous but are impious on the inside, to graves that are plastered white while their contents are polluted (Matthew 23:27). The problematic nature of my suggestion is clear: the closed-up form לובנסד is unusual, and the word does not appear in this form in any other source. But it may reflect a common expression of the time.³¹ This word is similar in sense to the Greek word *κακομιμένος* which appears in the two New Testament verses just mentioned. There, too, the author seems to be employing a popular idiom.³² As noted, this is only a conjecture, which involves a linguistic difficulty; but whether or not it is accepted does not detract from the idea that the wicked branch is the Antichrist.

³⁰ David Flusser, "The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran," in idem, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: 1988), 207–13; idem, "Hystaspes and John of Patmos," *ibid.*, 433–53.

³¹ At the beginning of line 8 the editors read [ב.נ.ד.] but in my opinion it can be read as [ב.נ.ד.ד.]. If this reading is correct, this is another example in the inscription of how a common expression made up of two words is written as a single word, with the final *nun* written as a regular *nun*.

³² Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: 1971), 638.

The mention of the “wicked branch, plastered white” is followed by words of encouragement to the recipient of the vision. “You are standing, the angel is supporting you. Do not fear.” As noted above, this line is based on the book of Daniel. The recipient of the vision is strengthened in anticipation of the appearance of God, which is accompanied by a loud noise: “Blessed is the glory of the Lord God from his seat. In a little while, I will shake... the heavens and the earth. Here is the glory of the Lord God of Hosts, the God of Israel” (lines 23–26). As the editors noted, this conflates verses from Ezek 3:12 and Hag 2:6, with some linguistic changes.³³

The editors read the rest of line 26 and lines 27–28 as follows:

אלה המרכבות שבע	26
[על] שער ירושלם ושערי יהודה ינ... למען	27
מלאכה מיכאל ולכול האחרין בקשו	28

These are the seven chariots at the gate of Jerusalem and the gates of Judea ינ...for... מלאכה Michael and all the others, look for.

First I want to suggest a correction to the editors’ reading. At the beginning of line 28 the editors read fragments of two words. In my opinion there is only one word here, and it can be read as שלושה “three.” The end of line 27 and line 28 therefore read as follows: למען שלושה (“for three מלאכה, Michael and all the others”). I suggest reading מלאכה, which the editors had difficulty with, as an alternate spelling of מלאכי; similar orthographies are known from this period.³⁴ According to this reading, the seven chariots at the gates of Jerusalem and the gates of Judea are for my three angels, in other words, for the use of three angels—“Michael and all the others,” namely, the angel Michael and two other angels. This recurs in lines 29–31:

כן אמר ה' אלהים צבאות אלהי ישראל אחד שנין שלושה ארבעה חמשה
ששה [שב]עה אל מלאכה

³³ Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 156, 159.

³⁴ In the Şe’elim Papyrus 13, lines 9–10, we find שלמעין אנה עליה וקים עלי “I, Shlomzion, take it upon myself” (Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material*, I. *The Documents* (Jerusalem: 2000) 134 [Hebrew].) From the context it is clear that עליה means עלי. See Hannah M. Cotton and Elisha Qimron, “Xḥev/Se ar of 134 or 135 C.E.: A Wife’s Renunciation Claims,” *JJS* 49 (1998): 110; also, Adiel Schremer, “Papyrus Se’elim 13 and the Question of Divorce Initiated by Women in Ancient Jewish Halakhah,” *Zion* 63 (1997/98): 384–85 and n. 21 (Hebrew).

So said the Lord God of Hosts, the God of Israel. One two three four five six [se]ven for my angels.

Here also we must understand מלאכה as מלאכי. The chariots used by Michael and the other angels are mentioned after the description of the appearance of the glory of God, which shakes heaven and earth. In other words, the glory of God appears after the promise is given that evil will be broken before righteousness. In my opinion the appearance of the glory of God and the descent in chariots of the angels led by Michael to the gates of Judea and Jerusalem is connected with the breaking of evil and the wicked branch. The backdrop to the appearance of the chariots is evidently the following verses from Isaiah: “See, the Lord is coming with fire—His chariots are like a whirlwind—To vent his anger in fury, his rebuke in flaming fire. For with fire will the Lord execute judgment, with His sword, against all flesh; and many shall be the slain of the Lord” (Isa 66:15–16). The image of the Deity coming with his angels to do battle with his enemies is surely based on the following verses from Zechariah: “Then the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations as when he fights on a day of battle. On that day his feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives...and the Mount of Olives shall be split in two.... And you shall flee as you fled from the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah. Then the Lord my God will come, with all the holy beings” (Zech 14:3–5). The Deity that ventures out to do battle with his enemies alights on the Mount of Olives, shakes the earth, and “all the holy beings”—all the angels—descend with Him. There are several parallels in apocalyptic texts to the link between the appearance of God and the angels and war on the forces of evil. The *paytan* R. Eleazar Kallir was familiar with many traditions connected with the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel and similar texts.

Kallir’s *piyyut* “In Those Days At That Time” reads as follows:

טְהוֹר יַעַט בְּגָדֵי נִקְמָתוֹ
וְהָר הַזֵּיתִים יִבְקַע מִגְעָרָתוֹ
יֵצֵא מְשִׁיחַ בְּגִדְלוֹ
כְּצֵאת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בְּגִבּוֹרָתוֹ...
כְּשֶׁרוֹ יִכְרִיז בֶּן שְׁאֵלֵתֵי אֵל
וְיָרְדוּ מִיִּכְבָּאֵל וְגַבְרִיאֵל
לְעֵרֶךְ מַלְחָמַת נִקְמַת אֵל
וְלֹא יִשְׁאִירוּ אֶחָד מֵאַיְבֵי אֵל

The Pure One will wrap Himself in His clothes of vengeance
And the Mount of Olives will split from His rebuke
The Messiah will emerge in all his glory

As the sun comes out in all its valor [...]

The son of Shealtiel will announce as he sees him (The Messiah)

And Michael and Gabriel will descend

To wage the war of the vengeance of God

And not one of the enemies of God will remain.³⁵

The pure Deity will wrap himself in the clothes of vengeance and split the Mount of Olives with His rebuke, and then the Messiah will appear in all his glory. At the same time Michael and Gabriel will descend from the heavens to wage a war of vengeance against the enemies of God. There is a similar passage in the midrashic “Letters of Rabbi Akiva”: “And when the Messiah comes to Israel, Michael and Gabriel descend with him...and wage war on the wicked.”³⁶

As David Flusser has shown, there is a similar motif in the “Oracle of Hystaspes,” an apocalyptic text that has reached us mainly as adapted by the Church Father Lactantius. Flusser argues that the work was written by a Jew who evidently lived in Asia Minor. He fixes the date of its composition in the first half of the first century B.C.E., in other words, at about the same time as the conjectured date of the “Gabriel Revelation.”³⁷ The “Oracle of Hystaspes” tells of a great king who descends from the heavens to do battle with the forces of evil, accompanied by a group of angels.³⁸

Lines 13–31 of the “Gabriel Revelation” open with a passage based on Zech 14:2. It describes how the nations ascend to Jerusalem and how some of the people flee the city (lines 13–15). The conclusion of this section portrays the chariots in which the angels descend, based on the end of Zech 14:5, “Then the Lord my God will come, with all the holy beings” (lines 26–31). In the interim God appears and shakes heaven and earth (lines 23–25), parallel to Zech 14:4–5. The structure of this section is consequently based on Zech 14:2–5 and also includes material taken from the verses in Daniel 8—the promise concerning the breaking of evil before righteousness and the words of encouragement addressed to the recipient of the vision.

³⁵ Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Ge’ulah*, 114.

³⁶ *Beit Hamidrash 3* (ed. Jellinek; Jerusalem: 1966–1967 [Leipzig 1854–1855]), 48 (Hebrew).

³⁷ Flusser, “Hystaspes,” 393–446.

³⁸ Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* VII, 19, 5 (ed. Samuel Brandt; L. *Caeli Firmiani Lactanti opera omnia* [CSEL, 19, I, ii] (New York: 1965 [Prague, Vienna and Leipzig 1890]), 645.

A close parallel to this passage is found in *The Assumption of Moses*, which was evidently composed shortly after the “Gabriel Revelation.” The last events mentioned in the *Assumption* are the suppression of the revolt in the year 4 B.C.E. and Herod’s sons’ accession to power.³⁹ Scholars are divided as to whether the entire book was written during this period, or whether the main part of the book was written during the period of Antiochus’ decrees and the mention of later events is an interpolation.⁴⁰ In any event, the book in its present form was evidently composed not long afterwards, between 7 and 30 C.E.⁴¹ *The Assumption of Moses* gives the following description of the kingdom of God, the destruction of Satan, and the day of vengeance:

And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation, and then Satan will be no more, and sorrow will depart with him. Then the hands of the angel will be filled and he will be appointed chief, and he will forthwith avenge them of their enemies. For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne, and He will go forth from His holy habitation and His wrath will burn on account of His sons. And the earth will tremble: to its confines will it be shaken: and the high mountains will be made low and the hills will be shaken and fall.⁴²

The advent of the kingdom of God and the downfall of the forces of evil are connected, as in “the Gabriel Revelation,” with the appearance of God, who causes the earth to tremble. Here, too, there is a reference to the “chief angel,” Michael. In *The Assumption of Moses*, Michael, the chief of the angels, is the explicit avenger of the enemies of Israel.

Line 31 of the “Gabriel Revelation” ends with the words *מה זו אמר הצי* (“what is this? He said, הצי”). Elizur and Yardeni suggest that *הצי* be read as *הצי* and be understood as an allusion to the High Priest.⁴³ I believe they are correct. In my opinion the allusion is to Michael, the avenging angel, who is the High Priest in the heavenly

³⁹ *Assumption of Moses* 6:7–9.

⁴⁰ For the approach that dates the book to the Antiochan decrees, with later additions, see Jacob Licht, “Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance,” *JJS* 12 (1961): 101–3; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “An Antiochan Date for the Testament of Moses,” in *Studies on the Testament of Moses* (ed. George W. E. Nickelsburg; SCS, 4; Cambridge: 1973), 33–37.

⁴¹ Robert H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), 2:411.

⁴² *The Assumption of Moses* 10:1–4 (trans. Charles, *APOT*).

⁴³ Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 160.

Temple.⁴⁴ Compare this with the passage about the avenging angel in *The Assumption of Moses*: “Then the hands of the angel will be filled and he will be appointed chief, and he will forthwith avenge them of their enemies.” As scholars have noted, the filling of the hands means consecration to priesthood.⁴⁵ If so, the avenging angel is also a priest.⁴⁶ As these same scholars pointed out, there is also a parallel here to the figure of the avenging priest Melchizedek in the *Melchizedek Peshar* from Qumran (11Q13 Melchizedek).

To summarize, lines 13–31 of the “Gabriel Revelation” depict the process of the appearance of the kingdom of God and the extermination of the forces of evil. The process begins with the nations laying siege to Jerusalem and the departure from the city of some of the people (lines 13–16). In order to save the besieged city, God turns to David and asks him to ask Ephraim to place the sign. The sign is evidently the sign heralding the redemption (lines 16–17). Immediately afterwards God announces that “My gardens have ripened,” meaning that the kingdom of God is ready, and “My holy thing for Israel,” meaning that His holy portion will be given to Israel (lines 18–19). This is followed by the declaration that evil has been broken before righteousness (lines 19–21). Since the author has mentioned the breaking of evil, he also singles out the leader of the forces of evil, the “wicked branch, plastered white” (lines 21–22). The breaking of the forces of evil is tied to God’s appearance. To prepare the recipient of the vision for this traumatic event, he is offered support and encouragement: “You are standing, the angel is supporting you. Do not fear” (lines 22–23). The next few lines are devoted to a description of the Divine epiphany, in which the Deity shakes heaven and earth (lines 23–26). The unit concludes with the chariots “at the gate of Jerusalem and the gates of Judea” to be used by Michael and the other angels (lines 26–31). On the basis of the parallels to other sources I understand the descent of the angels to be associated with their war against the forces of evil.

⁴⁴ Regarding the identification of Michael as the High Priest, see Saul Lieberman, *Shkiin* (Jerusalem: 1969–1970), 99 (Hebrew).

⁴⁵ See Exod 29:9; 32:29; Lev 8:33; Judg 17:12.

⁴⁶ See Adela Yarbro-Collins, “The Composition and Redaction of the Testament of Moses,” *HTR* 69 (1976): 179–86; John F. Priest, “Testament of Moses,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: 1983), 1:932.

6. SIGN AND PLAGUE

The text in the bottom part of the first column (lines 32–44) is fragmentary and often illegible, making it difficult to determine the meaning and context of all the words that survive. Two main motifs can nevertheless be singled out: the sign or signal and the plague or disease. Line 36 concludes *שסמן מירושלם*. This seems to refer to a sign that will be seen from Jerusalem. The editors read line 37 as *אבר*. *אותגלות* but in my opinion it should be *אפר ואות גלות*, “ashes and a sign of exile.”⁴⁷ The editors read the beginning of line 38 as *אתגלות* but in my opinion the correct reading is *א[א]ות גלות*, “a sign of exile.” I do not know what the sign of exile is or whether there is a link between it and the “sign from Jerusalem.” This context of signs and signals may also be connected with the second half of line 40 (see Appendix).

The editors read line 41 as *....[ד]ם שירם*. In my opinion, the word at the end of the line that the editors could not make out is *הצפוני*, “the northerner.”⁴⁸ The phrase *שירם הצפוני* can be understood as denoting either the elevation of the “northerner” or his infestation with maggots and worms, as in *וירם תולעים ויבאש* (“and it became infested with maggots and stank”) (Ex 16:20). On the basis of Jer 1:14, Joel 2:20, and Ezek 38:6, 15, the “northerner” refers to the eschatological enemy, who comes from the north. The verse in Joel reports that *הצפוני*, the “northerner,” will be killed, *ועלה באש*, “and the stench of him shall go up.” Our author seems to have conflated the verses from Joel and Exodus to produce *שירם הצפוני* “the northerner will become maggoty.” The enemy from the north will be killed and his body will become infested with maggots and worms. As we have seen, the “Gabriel Revelation” often relies on the account of the eschatological war in Zechariah 14, in which the nations that lay siege to Jerusalem will meet their end in a plague that will rot their flesh: “And this shall be the plague with

⁴⁷ The *פ* in *אפר* is similar in form to the *פ* in *מלפני* (line 21).

⁴⁸ The form of the *פ* in this word is similar to the *פ* in *לפני* (line 16). The *צ* is broken; what survives of it is mainly the lower part of the letter, with traces of the right head typical to this letter (see, for instance, the *צ* in *צדק* [line 21]). In line 56 the editors read: *...הצ.נא* [?] *ראו נא* In my opinion it is possible to read here *הצפ[וני] חו[ן]ג[ה] נא* [?] *ראו נא*, “Behold, see the north[er]n encamp[ment]”). Perhaps this is a reference to the encampment around Jerusalem of the enemy who comes from the north. As will be clarified further on, I believe that the “Gabriel Revelation” was composed against the backdrop of the suppression of the revolt that broke out in Eretz Israel in 4 B.C.E. by the troops of Varus, the governor of Syria. This army came from the north.

which the Lord will smite all the peoples that wage war against Jerusalem: their flesh shall rot while they are still on their feet, their eyes shall rot in their sockets, and their tongues shall rot in their mouths” (Zech 14:12). This plague, which rots the flesh, seems to be the key to understanding the expression “the northerner will become maggoty”: the northern enemy will die in a plague, his flesh will rot, and his corpse will become infested with maggots and worms.

Line 42 can also be understood in light of the above. The editors read here א [הנגי.בכול], but in my opinion one should read בכול [דראון הנגע. .בכול], “abhorrence the diseased spot. in all.”⁴⁹ The word דראון, “abhorrence,” provides a link to the end of Isaiah: “And they shall go forth and look on the dead bodies of the men that have rebelled against me; for their worms shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh” (Isa 66:24).

The “Gabriel Revelation” combines all of these verses into a single picture: The enemy from the north who lays siege to Jerusalem will be struck with plague and disease. The disease will cause the flesh to rot and to become infested with maggots and worms. The maggots and worms will not die, and thus the attackers of Jerusalem will become abhorrent to all flesh.

7. ASCENT OF SLAIN TO HEAVEN

The text at the top of the second column is almost illegible. The first line that can be read clearly is line 57: “Seal up the blood of the slaughtered of Jerusalem.” As noted above, these words are reminiscent of Gabriel’s injunction to Daniel, “Now you seal up the vision” (Dan. 8:26). The recipient of the vision is commanded to seal up the blood of the people who have been slaughtered in Jerusalem.⁵⁰ The meaning of the blood is not explained here. By comparison, line 67 reads: “Announce him about blood this is their chariot.” Here the recipient of the vision is asked to announce and explain that the blood of the people who have been killed will become “their chariot.” The back-

⁴⁹ The reading of the two letters at the beginning of דראון is not certain. There is more space than usual between the letters א, ו, and ך. As for my reading of הנגע instead of הנגי, in my opinion the curved right line of the letter ץ is clearly visible.

⁵⁰ The editors debated whether to understand “טבח” as an allusion to sacrifices. See Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 157. In my opinion the broader context of the text argues against this possibility.

drop to this is evidently Elijah's ascent to heaven in a whirlwind in "a chariot of fire and horses of fire" (2 Kgs 2:11). The people who were killed are told that their blood that was spilled has become a chariot in which they ascend to heaven.

The ascent to heaven of people who were killed is mentioned in two works that were evidently composed at about the same time as the "Gabriel Revelation." The "Oracle of Hystaspes" tells of someone who was killed and ascended to heaven after the third day. He is called the "prophet of God" and is said to have been killed by the evil king who was worshiped as the son of God:

hic pugnabit aduersus prophetam dei et uincet et interficiet eum et insepultum iacere patietur, sed post diem tertium reuiuiscet atque inspectantibus et mirantibus cunctis rapietur in caelum.⁵¹

(He will fight the prophet of God, and will overcome him and kill him. He will leave his corpse unburied. Yet after the third day [the prophet] will be resurrected, and he will be snatched up to heaven while all look on in wonder.)

The other work that tells of a posthumous ascent to heaven is the book of Revelation, which seems to have been composed towards the end of the first century C.E. Its author embedded passages from an earlier apocalyptic work, evidently written during the first half of the first century C.E. A passage from the earlier work is the basis for Revelation 11: 1–13.⁵² This chapter relates the death of the two witnesses, who are also called "the two olives" (v. 4), namely, "the two sons of oil" (Zech 4:14).⁵³

And when they have finished their testimony, the beast that ascends from the bottomless pit will make war upon them and conquer them and kill them, and their dead bodies will lie in the street of the great city. . . . For three days and a half men from the peoples and tribes and tongues and nations gaze at their dead bodies and refuse to let them be placed in a tomb. . . . But after the three and a half days a breath of life from God entered them, and they stood up on their feet, and great fear fell on those who saw them. Then they heard a loud voice from heaven

⁵¹ Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* VII, 7, 17, 3 (Brandt edition, p. 638).

⁵² Knohl, "On the 'Son of God,'" 28 n. 68.

⁵³ William H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. Krister Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957), 47.

saying to them, "Come up hither!" And in the sight of their foes they went up to heaven in a cloud. (Rev 11:7-9, 11-12)

The witnesses in John's vision are caught up to heaven in a cloud; in the "Oracle of Hystaspes" the prophet of God is snatched up to heaven; and in the "Gabriel Revelation" a chariot is used. The common thread among these three is the ascent to heaven of those who have been slain.

8. MARTYR'S BLOOD

The Assumption of Moses tells of a man named Taxo who persuades his sons to die rather than to violate the Divine commandments. He concludes his appeal by saying "for if we do this and die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord."⁵⁴ Jacob Licht has discussed at length the special idea expressed here regarding the power of blood to arouse God's vengeance.⁵⁵ Immediately after Taxo finishes speaking, *The Assumption of Moses* proceeds to describe the appearance of the kingdom of God, the destruction of Satan, and the day of vengeance, a description that bears a strong resemblance to the contents of the "Gabriel Revelation." Regarding the proximity in *The Assumption of Moses* of the Taxo episode and the account of the appearance of the kingdom of God and the day of vengeance, Flusser writes that "according to *The Assumption of Moses*, the kingdom of God will be revealed as a result of the wish to die a martyr's death or, more precisely, as a result of the martyrdom of Taxo and his sons."⁵⁶ The blood of the martyrs is what evokes Divine vengeance and the appearance of the kingdom of God.

Above I quoted the four verses in *The Assumption of Moses* that describe the appearance of the kingdom of God and the actions of God on the day of vengeance. The next verse reads as follows: "and the horns of the sun will be turned into darkness; and the moon will not give her light and be turned wholly into blood" (10:5).⁵⁷ Clearly this is a reworking of "the sun shall turn into darkness and the moon into

⁵⁴ *The Assumption of Moses* 9:6 (trans. Charles).

⁵⁵ Licht, "Taxo," 96-100.

⁵⁶ David Flusser, "The Jewish Sources of Christian Martyrdom and Their Influence on the Basic Concepts of Christianity," in idem, *Holy War and Martyrdom in Jewish and Non-Jewish History* (Jerusalem: 1967-1968), 62 (Hebrew).

⁵⁷ *The Assumption of Moses* 10:5. For a discussion of the textual state of this verse see Charles, *APOT*, 422.

blood” (Joel 3:4). The use of the verse from Joel seems designed to link the blood of Taxo and his sons with the day of vengeance symbolized by the transformation of the light of the moon into blood.⁵⁸ We find something similar in Revelation:

When he opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain...; they cried out with a loud voice, “O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before thou wilt judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth?”... When he opened the sixth seal, I looked, and behold, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth, the full moon became like blood... Then the kings of the earth and the great men... hid in the caves and among the rocks of the mountains. For the great day of His wrath has come, and who can stand before it? (Rev 6:9–17)

Here too there is a close link between the blood of the slaughtered and the transformation of the moon into blood, as Joel prophesied. The transformation of the moon into blood heralds the day of wrath and vengeance.

The phrase “Announce him about blood, this is their chariot” may contain a midrashic element. In rabbinic literature the midrashic pattern “X, which is Y” is familiar, and “blood, this is their chariot” fits right into this pattern.⁵⁹ Perhaps this is a gloss on the use of the word “blood” in a biblical verse, explaining that it means “their chariot.” Since both *The Assumption of Moses* and Revelation make use of Joel 3:4, I would like to suggest that the line “blood, this is their chariot” is an interpretation of the previous verse from the book of Joel: “I will set portents in heaven and earth: Blood and fire and pillars of smoke.” In this verse blood is listed among the signs that will be given in heaven and earth. The “Gabriel Revelation” explains that the blood mentioned here refers to the blood of the martyrs who ascend in their chariot to heaven. Since their blood was first spilled on earth, but after they ascend to heaven it is also in heaven, this blood is “in heaven and earth.” Recall that the passage in Joel continues: “The sun shall

⁵⁸ For different interpretations of the verse from Joel in Judaism and Christianity see Israel Jacob Yovel, “The Haggadah of Passover and Easter,” *Tarbiz* 65 (1995–1996): 19–20 (Hebrew). Regarding the idea that God wraps Himself in a purple cloth painted with the blood of the slaughtered, see Yehuda Liebes, “The Purple Cloth of Helen of Troy and Martyrdom,” *Da’at* 57–59 (2005–2006): 83–119 (Hebrew).

⁵⁹ See also line 54, which the editors read as follows: “...שְׁלֵשֶׁת יָמִין זֶה שְׂאֵמָּה...” It may be that here too there is a midrashic context, but it is impossible to know for sure because the sentence is broken off.

turn into darkness and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes." If indeed the phrase "blood, this is their chariot" is a midrash on Joel 3:3, then the ascent of the slain to heaven in the chariot, together with their blood, is the portent of the coming of "the great and terrible day of the Lord." According to this hypothesis, in "the Gabriel Revelation," as in *The Assumption of Moses*, the blood of the slaughtered that ascends to heaven is the catalyst for the redemptive process of the breaking of evil before righteousness and the appearance of the kingdom of God.

The blood of the slaughtered, which is their chariot to heaven, may have a historical back-story.

Not long before Herod's death, two sages, Judas and Matthias, encouraged their disciples to pull down the golden eagle which was fixed by King Herod above the Temple gate. Judas, Matthias and their disciples were captured after removing the eagle. They were brought before Herod, who sentenced some forty of them to death.⁶⁰ Josephus further remarks: "And on that same night there was an eclipse of the moon".⁶¹ Most scholars agree that the reference is to the lunar eclipse that occurred on the 13th March, 4 B.C.E.⁶² A few weeks later Herod died; the revolt that subsequently broke out that was ultimately put down by Varus, the Roman governor of Syria.

During a lunar eclipse, the moon turns red. Thus I want to suggest that the narrative of the "Gabriel Revelation" is connected to this event: the fact that the moon turned red the night after the execution of those involved in the destruction of the golden eagle was viewed as proof that these martyrs, along with others who were killed during the revolt, had ascended to heaven: "Announce him about blood, this is their chariot."

⁶⁰ See Josephus, *B.J.* 1.648–55; *Ant.* 17.151–67.

⁶¹ *Ant.* 17.167.

⁶² See the discussion and literature in Daniel R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1992), 157–58. I cannot accept his suggestion (*ibid.*, 161) that the lunar eclipse mentioned by Josephus occurred not on the night of the execution, but rather, "on the night Matthias ben Theophilus dreamed his fateful dream." The syntax and the structure of Josephus' story clearly point to the fact that the notion of the lunar eclipse is connected to the burning of the "other Matthias" which is mentioned in the previous sentence, and not to the story about the dream of Matthias ben Theophilus which was told earlier.

9. DIVINE VENGEANCE AND REDEMPTION

In lines 65–75 of the second column the word “three” appears three times. Line 65 reads: “Three holy ones of the world.” The editors understood line 70 as “prophets I sent to my people three and I say” and suggested that the reference is to three prophets who have been sent to Israel.⁶³ I believe that this reading should be corrected. The word “and I” that the editors read is not in the text. What is actually written is “my shepherds.”⁶⁴ The correct reading is thus “I sent to my people my three shepherds.” The word “prophets” at the beginning of the line ends a sentence that begins in the previous line, line 69. Because the end of the line is cut off it is difficult to decipher it. My reconstruction, “I sent to my people my three shepherds,” parallels what is written below in line 75: “Three shepherds went out for Israel,” שלושה רועין יצאו לישראל.⁶⁵ In both places, then, the text speaks of three shepherds whom God has sent to His people, who are going to guide Israel.⁶⁵

In light of this corrected reading I would like to suggest an interpretation of lines 65–75. This suggestion is predicated on the hermeneutical assumption that the “Gabriel Revelation” is not composed of isolated statements that lack continuity, but that there is a logical connection between its parts. This assumption is based on the findings about lines 13–31, a unit that is situated in a section of the text which is the best-preserved of the entire composition and many of whose lines have been preserved in full. The analysis of this unit reveals a narrative continuity in which each component is related to the previous one. The analysis also indicates that the text of the “Gabriel Revelation” relies to a large extent on verses from the book of Zechariah. This insight will also assist us in explaining this section. The condition of the text in lines 65–75 is very different from that of lines 13–31. None of the lines has been fully preserved, and due to the fragmentary nature of the text the interpretation suggested below remains a matter of guesswork.

⁶³ Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 157 and n. 3.

⁶⁴ The bottom of the letter ך in רועין, “my shepherds,” slants backward. There is a similar slant to this letter in the preceding word, שלושה, and in the word “שלום” in line 66.

⁶⁵ This resolves the editors’ difficulty in understanding the meaning of יצאו לישראל, “went out for Israel.” See Yardeni and Elizur, “Document,” 161.

This section begins with “Three holy ones of the world” (line 65) and ends with the statement “Three shepherds went out for Israel” (line 75). As the editors noted, “three shepherds” echoes “I lost the three shepherds in one month” (Zech 11:8). It may be that in “the Gabriel Revelation,” too, the reference is to three shepherds who were sent or who went out to lead the Jewish people and were killed. If so, the shepherds who were killed may be the “three holy ones of the world” mentioned in line 65. Line 66 says “he said, in you we trust.” Due to the fragmentary nature of the text we cannot identify the speaker. Line 67 says “Announce him of blood, this is their chariot.” The recipient of the vision is asked to give “him,” meaning to the one who said “in you we trust,” a message. The message is that the blood of the slaughtered will become a chariot in which they will ascend to heaven. As we saw, this message is evidently also a message of vengeance and redemption, because the blood of the slain will arouse God to take vengeance on the forces of evil and annihilate them.

The next line, line 68, reads as follows: “Many are those who love the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel.” In my opinion this line should be understood in connection with line 74: “Showing steadfast love to thousands.” These words are a quotation from the Ten Commandments, in which God describes Himself as “showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love Me and keep My commandments” (Exod 20:6). According to this verse, God shows love to thousands of those who love Him. These lovers are those mentioned in line 68: “Many are those who love the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel.” But who are these lovers to whom God shows steadfast love, and what is the character of the love he shows them? These lovers may be the martyrs who destroyed the eagle as well as the three shepherds who were killed. The love God showed them was to turn their blood into a chariot, which brought them up to heaven.

It may be that underlying this is a midrash that understands the verse “showing steadfast love to thousands (לאלפים) of those who love me” to mean “showing steadfast love to the chiefs (לאלופים) of those who love me.” The chiefs who love God to whom He is benevolent are the three shepherds who went out to lead Israel and were killed. Lines 32–33 are worth noting in this context: “and the second chief (ואלון) watches over . . . Jerusalem.” Due to the fragmentary nature of the text it is difficult to understand the precise meaning of this statement, but it clearly echoes the following: “Then the chiefs of Judah shall say to themselves, ‘The inhabitants of Jerusalem have strength through the

Lord of hosts, their God.’ On that day I will make the chiefs of Judah like a blazing pot in the midst of wood, like a flaming torch among sheaves; and they shall devour to the right and to the left all the peoples round about, while Jerusalem shall continue on its site, in Jerusalem” (Zech 12:5–6). The defective spelling in these verses—אלפי יהודה—instead of the plene יהודייה—אלופי—supports the assumption that עשה חסד לאלפים, “shows steadfast love to thousands,” could be understood as עשה חסד לאלופים, “shows steadfast love to the chiefs.”

Another passage in Zechariah that is relevant to this section text is, “And if one asks him, ‘What are these wounds on your back?’ he will say, ‘The wounds I received in the house of those who love me.’ ‘Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who stands next to me,’ says the Lord of hosts. ‘Strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered’” (Zech 13:6–7). In our context these verses may be understood as follows: The lovers who were beaten are those who love God, about whom Exodus says God “show[s] steadfast love to thousands of those who love me.” The talmudic sages make a similar connection in the *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael*, where these verses are understood to refer to the martyrs who sanctify God’s name.⁶⁶ These lovers of God may be “my shepherds”, רועי, as in line 70, “I sent to my people three shepherds,” שלחתי אל עמי שלושה רועי. Because of the defective spelling in Zech 13:7 we can read רעי “my shepherd” as רעי “my shepherds” in the plural. In this manner these verses can be understood to refer to the three shepherds who were killed.

To conclude this proposed reading I want to reiterate the amount of conjecture it involves, due to the poor condition of this section of the text. Two of the components of the interpretation seem certain to me: (1) The connection I see between the statement in line 68 “Many are those who love the Lord” and that in line 74, “Showing steadfast love to thousands.” This connection is based on the language of Exodus, “show steadfast love to thousands of those who love me.” (2) The clear link between the text of line 70, “I sent to my people my three shepherds,” and the statement in line 75, “Three shepherds went out for Israel.”

Despite the problematic condition of this section, it is possible to see clearly the difference between it and the section in the first column. The focus of the first column is the account of the eschatological

⁶⁶ *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, Yitro 6* (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, 227).

redemption that God will bring to His city and His people by destroying the forces of evil; the avenging war will be carried out by angels who descend from heaven in chariots. By contrast, the section in the second column tells of the blood of the slaughtered lovers of God and of their ascent to heaven in a chariot made of their blood. From a literary standpoint the relation between the two units is characterized by the difference in the direction in which the chariots travel and in their use. In the first column the chariots move from heaven to earth and serve the angels in the war of vengeance, while in the second column the chariot moves from earth to heaven and carries the blood of the slain to heaven. As noted, in light of the scriptures of the book of Joel and *The Assumption of Moses*, there may be a causal connection between the journeys of the chariots: the ascent of the blood of the slaughtered to heaven in a chariot rouses God to descend with his angels in chariots for the avenging war.

10. RESURRECTION AFTER THREE DAYS

According to the Oracle of Hystaspes, the “prophet of God” is resurrected after the third day. The motif of the resurrection after the third day may be connected to the verse in Hosea: “On the third day He will raise us up, that we may live before Him” (Hos. 6:2). The book of Revelation relates that the messianic witnesses were revived after three and a half days; as many have noted, this number is based on Daniel 7:25: “a time, two times, and half a time.”

Line 80 of the “Gabriel Revelation” begins with the words “By three days” לשלושת ימים. After this the editors read the letter ה and noted that there were three other letters that were illegible, followed by “I Gabriel.” In my opinion the word that the editors could decipher only partially is חאיה.⁶⁷ From the context it would seem that the angel Gabriel turns to someone and commands him: לשלושת ימים חאיה

⁶⁷ The letter א is absolutely clear. The letter ך appears in various forms in this text. Regarding the shape of the ה here see appendix 2. Prof. Torleif Elgvin suggested that the third letter in this word is ך; if so the whole word is חאזה, namely, “חזה” (“fore-saw”). In my opinion this reading is not possible: the letter ך appears clearly in the inscription five times (in lines 22, 31, 54, 67, and 85), and in each of these its length is standard and similar to the length of the nearby letters. The letter at issue here, however, is short, about half as long as the adjacent letters. This is compatible with the shape of the letter ך, which usually appears in the inscription as a short letter. See Elizur and Yardeni, “Document,” 165. See further Appendix 2.

“by three days, live,” meaning “be resurrected.” (Cf. בַּדְּמִיד חִי, “in your blood, live” [Ezek 16:6].) This plene orthography is very common in the Dead Sea Scrolls⁶⁸ and it exists even in texts that do not usually employ plene spelling.⁶⁹

Elsewhere I discuss the identity of the man Gabriel resurrects.⁷⁰ For our present purposes it is enough to note that here too there are parallels between the Gabriel Revelation, the Oracle of Hystaspes, and Revelation.⁷¹ It may be that the man whom Gabriel decreed would be resurrected in three days was also lying on the ground, wallowing in his blood, and accordingly it was appropriate to use language similar to that of Ezekiel, “in your blood, live.”

The editors read lines 83–84 as follows: לִי מִן שְׁלוֹשָׁה הַקָּטָן שֶׁלִּקְחָתִי, “to me, from the three, the small one that I took, I Gabriel, Lord of Hosts G<o>d of.” The text before and after this is fragmentary. From the flow of the text it seems that the angel Gabriel is speaking here about someone he took. The figure Gabriel took is portrayed here in the words “from the three the small one,” meaning the smallest of the three. In view of the discussion above we can assume that the three individuals mentioned here are the three shepherds who were killed and that the smallest among them is the

⁶⁸ Regarding the use of א as a mater lectionis in the Isaiah scroll in particular and the Dead Sea scrolls in general, see E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^a) (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 160–85; Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 21–23.

⁶⁹ This phenomenon is also familiar from the Masoretic text of the Bible. See, for example, כֹּאבִיר (Isa 10:13), וְקִאֵם (Hos 10:15), דֹּאג (Neh 13:16). Other examples of such plene spelling can be found in manuscripts of the Mishnah. See Jacob N. Epstein, *An Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1963–1964), 1234–35 (Hebrew). For an extensive discussion of this phenomenon, see Elisha Qimron, “Medial Aleph as a Mater Lectionis in Hebrew and Aramaic Documents from Qumran, compared with other Hebrew and Aramaic Sources,” *Leshonenu* 39 (1974–1975): 133–46 (Hebrew). (I am grateful to my colleague Prof. Emanuel Tov, who called this article to my attention.) Qimron showed that this medial aleph is found mainly with the letters *yod* and *waw*; he believes that it is intended to indicate the consonantal quality of the latter. Moshe Bar-Asher would explain the spelling הַאִיהַ as a result of the weakening of the initial *het*. See Moshe Bar Asher, “On the Language of the Vision of Gabriel,” *RevQ* 23/4 (2008): 491–524.

⁷⁰ See Israel Knohl, “By Three Days, Live’: Messiahs, Resurrection and Ascent in Hazon Gabriel,” *JR* 88 (2008): 155–58.

⁷¹ As is known, the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel deviates from this model, stating that the Messiah son of Joseph will be buried after 41 days, and only at some later point will be resurrected. See Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Ge’ulah*, 81. For the position that the Messiah son of Ephraim will be resurrected on the third day, see Knohl, “On the ‘Son of God,’” 36 n. 123.

one who was taken by Gabriel. Given the current condition of the text it is difficult to discern whether the smallest of the three who was taken is the same person whom Gabriel resurrected after three days. What it means to “be taken” is also not explained here. It may be understood in the same sense in which Enoch was taken: “then [Enoch] was no more, for God took him” (Gen 5:24). According to 2 *Enoch*, Enoch was raised to the first firmament by two angels.⁷² It may be, then, that Gabriel is also relating how the smallest of the three was taken to heaven.

At the beginning of line 85 the words “then you will stand” appear. The speaker here, as in the entire concluding passage of the inscription, is evidently Gabriel. In view of the statement “by three days, live,” it would seem that the statement “then you will stand” should also be understood in the context of the resurrection of the dead. This conjecture is supported by several biblical verses: “and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, a vast multitude” (Ezek 37:10); “and [you] shall stand in you allotted place at the end of days” (Dan 12:13).

11. THE JEWISH REVOLT OF 4 B.C.E.

The text of the “Gabriel Revelation” has been preserved in a fragmentary state and we cannot know how it began. The length of the text is unclear, because, as the editors pointed out, there may have been additional stones with text preceding the stone that has survived. In the sections that have been preserved, however, there are numerous elements that are familiar to us from similar apocalyptic works: *The Assumption of Moses*, the “Oracle of Hystaspes,” the early layer of Revelation, the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel, and the *piyyutim* and midrashim influenced by the last-named. These elements include the siege of Jerusalem by the nations; the abandonment of the city by some of the people; the figure of the evil king (the Antichrist); the death, resurrection after three days, and ascent to heaven of messianic or prophetic figures; the appearance of God, accompanied by angels, who shakes the world on His way to take vengeance on his enemies; and the blood of the slaughtered that provokes God’s vengeance.

⁷² 2 *Enoch* 1:4–3:2.

The similarity between the Gabriel Revelation and some of these other works is also recognizable in the pattern that contrasts the Antichrist with two positive figures. The resemblance between the Gabriel Revelation and the Apocalypse of Zerubbabel is striking in this respect. In both works there are two true Messiahs: “my servant David,” the Messiah son of David, and Ephraim, the Messiah son of Joseph, who are juxtaposed to the Antichrist—the wicked branch in the Gabriel Revelation and Armilus in Zerubbabel. According to Zerubbabel, Armilus kills the Messiah son of Joseph but is then himself killed by the Messiah son of David. There is a similar pattern in the “Oracle of Hystaspes.” In this work the wicked king who is worshiped as the son of God kills the prophet of God but is subsequently defeated by the great king who descends from heaven in the company of angels. In the early stratum of Revelation there are also two messianic witnesses who confront the figure of the second beast, which is the figure of the Antichrist.⁷³

The “Oracle of Hystaspes,” the early layer of Revelation, and the ancient core of Zerubbabel have reached us only in modified form, as part of compositions of later authors. The discovery of the Gabriel Revelation provides us for the first time with the original version of an apocalyptic work from this “family,” hence the singular importance of this discovery. It also backs up the argument for an early date for the original layers of these works.

The backdrop to these works’ account of the death and resurrection of a messianic or prophetic figure is in my opinion the historical reality of the execution of the messianic leaders of the revolt that broke out in the land of Israel in 4 B.C.E.⁷⁴ The Gabriel Revelation may also reflect the suppression of this revolt. According to my reading, in line 70 God says: “I sent to my people my three shepherds”; and in line 75, we read that “Three shepherds went out for Israel.” The three shepherds who were sent or went out for Israel may be the three leaders of the revolt in 4 B.C.E., known to us from the works of Josephus Flavius.⁷⁵ While at the time of the revolt itself each leader headed a different faction, it

⁷³ Knohl, “On the ‘Son of God,’” 22–27.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 36–37.

⁷⁵ *B.J.* 2.56–65; *Ant* 17.271–284. Regarding the leaders of the revolt, see William R. Farmer, “Judas, Simon and Athronges,” *NTS* 4 (1958): 147–155; Menahem Stern, “The Reign of Herod and the Herodian Dynasty,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (ed. Shmuel Safrai and Menahem Stern; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 1.280; Richard H. Horsley, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of*

may be that in retrospect, after the suppression of the revolt, the three came to be considered together. Josephus describes in great detail the death of one of them, Simon, who operated in Transjordan, but does not explicitly report the fate of the two others, the shepherd Athrongas and Judah ben Hezekiah the Galilean. The spirit of his account, however, would seem to suggest that Athrongas, too, was killed, and perhaps also Judah the Galilean.⁷⁶ According to Josephus, Simon and Athrongas crowned themselves king and Judah the Galilean was said to aspire to the throne. These were therefore popular leaders with messianic pretensions. The author of the Gabriel Revelation may have chosen to call them shepherds due to the messianic connotations of the word “shepherd” in the Bible.⁷⁷ The possibility that the suppression of this revolt and the execution of its messianic leaders are the backdrop to the Gabriel Revelation also emerges in my opinion from the identity of the man who was resurrected by Gabriel. He was possibly Simon, one of the three leaders of the revolt.⁷⁸ It is plausible that the Gabriel Revelation was composed by the loyal followers of one of these messianic leaders and reflects their struggle with the failure of the revolt and the execution of the messianic leader. The three leaders of the revolt were the first messianic leaders in Jewish history. The failure of the revolt, its brutal suppression, and the execution of its leaders lent Jewish messianism a catastrophic cast already at its inception. The eschatological expectations after the failure of the revolt are already apparent in *The Assumption of Moses*. After the description of the suppression of the revolt (*The Assumption of Moses* 6:8–9), the author writes: “and when this is done the times will be ended” (ibid., 7:1).

Jesus (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 1999), 11–117; Nikos Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty* (JSPSup 30; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 227 n. 79.

⁷⁶ For a description of Simon’s death, see *B.J.* 2.57–59. According to the end of §§64–65 there, Athrongas, too, was killed; but see the parallel narrative in *Ant.* 17.284. The question of the fate of the third leader, Judah ben Hezekiah the Galilean, turns on whether those scholars are correct who identify him with Judah the Galilean, the founder of the “fourth philosophy” (the creed of the zealots), who inspired the Jewish people to revolt in 6 C.E. (*B.J.* 2.118; *Ant.* 18.23). See Menahem Stern, *Studies in the History of Israel During the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990–1991), 279–80 (Hebrew). Obviously, if we accept this identification, Judah was not killed during the suppression of the revolt in 4 B.C.E.; but some scholars reject this identification. See *ibid.*, n. 4.

⁷⁷ See, for instance, Ezek 34: 23, 37: 24.

⁷⁸ See Knohl, “On the ‘Son of God’.”

12. THE MESSIAH SON OF JOSEPH AND THE SON OF MAN

I believe that, in light of the Gabriel Revelation, we can now discern a link between the figure of Ephraim or the Messiah son of Joseph and the Son of man in the Gospel of Matthew. Matthew 24 quotes an apocalyptic vision that Jesus relates to his disciples: “Immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken; then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and then all the families of the earth will mourn, and they will see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory” (Matt 24:29–30). The motif of the darkening of the sun and the eclipse of the sun and moon is familiar from Joel and other biblical passages.⁷⁹ The description of the Son of Man who comes on the clouds of heaven is based on Daniel 7:13. Particularly significant for our purposes is v. 30a: “then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and then all the families of the earth will mourn.” The latter echoes Zech 12:12: “The land shall mourn, each family by itself.” Talmudic sources understood this to refer to the mourning for the slain Messiah son of Joseph.⁸⁰

The statement concerning the sign of the Son of man that will appear in heaven before the redemption⁸¹ is reminiscent of what the Gabriel Revelation has to say about Ephraim. According to my reconstruction of lines 16–17, God addresses David and asks him to ask Ephraim to place the sign. After the sign is placed, evil is broken and God and the angels appear. The Gabriel Revelation is the only known work in which the Messiah son of Joseph is depicted as the person who places the sign heralding the coming of the redemption. It would seem, then, that the tradition concerning the sign of the Son of man in Matthew is based on what the Gabriel Revelation has to say about the sign of

⁷⁹ See especially Isa 13:10–11, 34:4.

⁸⁰ *b. Sukkah* 52a; *y. Sukkah* 5:2 (55b; Hebrew Language Academy edition, p. 654, lines 30–31).

⁸¹ For a survey of scholarly interpretations of the character of this sign, see David C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 104–5; William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *Matthew, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997), 3:359–60. Flusser’s study of “the sign of the Son of man” addresses Luke 11:30, which is a different matter. See Flusser, “Jesus and the Sign of the Son of Man,” 526–34.

Ephraim. What is the character of this sign? In view of the strong link between the blood of the murdered people that rises to heaven and the day of vengeance, a link I pointed out above, I want to suggest that the sign that Ephraim is asked to place is the spilled blood, which is fixed in the heavens.⁸² The portrayal of the blood as a sign may be based on “the blood shall be a sign for you” (Exod 12:13). If so, the sign of the Son of man that appears in the heavens is the sign of the spilled blood of the Son of man. Accordingly, when the sign of the Son of man appears in the heavens, all the families of the earth mourn the Messiah, the slain Son of man.

13. CONCLUSION

As noted, the editors of the “Gabriel Revelation” argued that “on the basis of its language the text was composed approximately at the end of the first century B.C.E.; on the basis of the script it was copied, evidently from a scroll, at around the same time.”⁸³ This means that Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph, was born at around the time of the composition of the “Gabriel Revelation.” It has now emerged that at this period the figure of Ephraim, the Messiah son of Joseph, was already familiar. It has also emerged that the belief concerning the resurrection of a messianic or prophetic figure three days after he was killed was already prevalent at the time, along with a belief in the ascent of those who had been executed to heaven. These beliefs should in my opinion influence the study of the messianic awareness of Jesus of Nazareth. The description of the appearance of the sign of the Son of man, followed by mourning by the families of the earth, indicates that the author of the Gospel of Matthew and perhaps even Jesus himself understood the death of the Son of man in the context

⁸² According to the “Oracle of Hystaspes,” the sign that the great king gives prior to his descent from the heavens is the sword that falls from heaven. See Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*. As Flusser has noted, this sword is also mentioned in Kallir’s piyyut “In Those Days At That Time.” See Flusser, “Hystaspes,” 432. As explained in *Pereq Eliyahu*, this sword is the sword Isaiah prophesied about: “The Lord has a sword; it is sated with blood” (Isa 34:6). See Even-Shmuel, *Midrashei Ge’ulah*, 52. But it is hard to believe that the sign placed by Ephraim is the heavenly sword. The heavenly sword is suited to the great king in Hystaspes, who is the commander of the forces that battle and vanquish the evil king, the Antichrist. Ephraim, in contrast, or the Messiah son of Joseph, represents specifically the Messiah who is defeated and killed.

⁸³ Elizur and Yardeni, “Document,” 156.

of the traditions of Ephraim and the Messiah son of Joseph. The idea that the Son of man is the Messiah son of Joseph does not imply that the appearance of the Son of man is a precursor to the appearance of the Messiah son of David. At this early stage the Messiah son of Joseph, or Ephraim, seem to have been perceived as the person whose spilled blood brings on the full redemption. In this scenario, the Messiah son of David or “my servant David” is shunted aside. Finally, the mention of Ephraim as a positive figure alongside “my servant David” demonstrates clearly that the Gabriel Revelation was not composed by the Qumran sect, in whose literature the name Ephraim served as an epithet for the Pharisees.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Yoram Erder has noted correctly that the figure of the Messiah son of Joseph or the Messiah son of Ephraim does not fit into the Qumran worldview or those influenced by it. See Yoram Erder, “The Motif of the Desert and the Motif of the Righteous Teacher in the Messianic Vision of the Karaite Mourners of Zion,” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007–2008): 44–45 (Hebrew). The direct revelation in the Gabriel Revelation and the frequent use of the Tetragrammaton are not compatible with the Qumran corpus.

APPENDIX 1

New Proposed Reading of the Inscription

What follows is my proposed reading of the passages from the inscription that I have discussed in this article. As noted, the reading is based on an examination of the inscription itself and photographs of it. I found that in most cases the transcription and reading of Elizur and Yardeni are accurate. The places where I suggest a different reading are indicated by notes. Letters that are illegible are indicated by a dot; broken or doubtful letters are underlined>.

[?] יהוה אתה שאלני כן אמר אלהים צבאות	11
[] ..ני מביתי ישראל ואגדה בגדלות ירושלם	12
[] אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל הנה כול הגאים	13
... ית[נו] על ירושלם ר[] ומתוכ[ה] מוג[לים]	14
אחת שתין שלוש ארבעין נביאין והשבין	15
[ו] החסידין עבדי דוד בקש מן לפני אפרים	16
[וי] שים האות אני מבקש מן לפניך כי אמר	17
יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל בני ב[י]די ברית	18
ח[ק]דשה לישראל לשלשת ימין תדע כי אמר	19
יהוה אלהים צבאות אלהי ישראל נשבר הרע	20
מלפני הצדק שאלני ואגיד לכה מה הצמח	21
הרע הזה לובנסד אתה עומד המלאך הוא	22
בסמכך אל תירה ברוך כבוד יהוה אלהים מן	23
מושבו עוד מעט קיטוט היא ואני מרעיש את	24
... השמים ואת הארץ הנה כבוד יהוה אלהים	25
צבאות אלהי ישראל אלה המרכבות שבע	26
[ע]ל שעב ירושלם ושערי יהודה ינתו למען	27
שלושה מלאכה מיכאל ולכול האחרין בקשו	28
אילכם כן אמר יהוה אלהים צבאות אלהי	29
ישראל אחד שנין שלושה ארבעה חמשה ששה	30
[שב]עה אל מלאכה מה זו אמר הצץ	31
.... [] ..ל.ד.פכ.....ואלופ השני	32
שמר על ירשלם.... שלושה בגדלות	33
[] והו.ד. שלושה [] ..והו [?] .ד.ד.	34
[] ...ן . שראה איש... עובד וי [] ...	35
שהוא שבו. [] שסמן מירושלם	36
..אני על.אי.. [?] אפר ואות גלות..	37
[א]ות גלות. צל. י.ל. אלהים עון אן. וראו	38
ג.....א..... [] ירושלם אמר יהוה	39
.....א.ל.....למלא טחבו רוב ירת..	40
[] דם שירים הצפוני	41
[] דראון הנגע . בכול	42

Col. 2

]	
	[ל] שלשת ימין זה שאמר [רתי] הוא	54
	אלה [] .. [] של .. [] .. []	55
	[] ראו נא הצפ [וני] חנ[נה]	56
	[] סתום דם טבחי ירושלים כי אמר יהוה צבא [ות]	57
	אלהי ישראל כן אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי	58
	ישראל מא.. ל... אל... [] .. [] ד.. [?]	59
	[] הלניך יחמול .. רחמו קרב [יז] .. []	60
	[] ל אשריא .. תץ ש [?]	61
	[] בת.ל. א. .. ע.ג. []	62
	[] א. [] אב. [?] א. [] .. [] []	63
	[] [] ה / חביב .. ל. []	64
	[] שלושה קדושי העולם מן מק. []	65
	[] 1. שלום אמר עליך אנחנו בטוחין []	66
	[] בשר לו על דם זו המרכבה שלהן .. ל.	67
	אוהבין רבים ליהוה צבאת אל <ה> ישראל	68
	כה אמר יהוה צבאת אלהי ישראל מ.	69
	נביאים שלחתי אל עמי שלושה רועי אומר	70
	שראיתי ברכ. ל.. לך דבר. בר [] .. ב. [?]	71
	המקום למען דוד עבד יהוה [] א. [] .. []	72
	[] את השמים ואת הארץ בכוחך [הגדול ובזרועך]	73
	[] הנטוה עושה חסד לאלפים מ... חסד. []	74
	[] שלושה רועין יצאו לישראל ל. [] .. []	75
	[] אם יש כהן אם יש בני קדושים... ה. [] .. []	76
	[] מי אנכי אני גבריאל המל. כי לי .. מל []	77
	[] תצילם נבי. גרים לשתין [] ב. []	78
	[] מלפניך שלושה הא [ת] ות שלושה... אק []	79
	[] לשלושת ימין חאיה אני גבריאל גח [ר] עלי [ך]	80
	[] שר השרין דומן ארובות צרים א [] א. [] .. [?]	81
	[] למראות ה... לשנס מ [] ... ואהבי גמ. [?]	82
	[] לי מן שלושה הקטן שלקחתי אני גבריאל	83
	[] יהוה צבאת אלה [י] יש [ראל]	84
	[] אז תעמדו א. [] ל [] .. [] א..... [?]	85
	[] יול א. \	86
	[] ב... עלם \	87

Col. 1, lines 11–42

- 11 [?] Lord you have asked me, so said the God of Hosts
 12 [] .. from my house Israel and I will talk about the greatness of Jerusalem
 13 [Thus] said the Lord, God of Israel, now all the nations
 14 ... enc on Jerusalem and from it are exi [led]
 15 one two three forty Prophets and the elders
 16 and the Hasidim. My servant David, ask of Ephraim⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Elizur and Yardeni marked the letters פ, י, and ס in the word “אפרים,” “Ephraim,” as dubious. In my opinion the reading of the פ is certain. See, for instance, the form

17 [that he] place the sign; (this) I ask of you. For thus said
 18 the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, My son! I have a new/holy
 covenant for Israel⁸⁶
 19 By three days you shall know, for thus said
 20 the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, the evil has been broken
 21 before righteousness. Ask me, and I shall tell you, what is this
 22 wicked branch, plastered white.⁸⁷ You are standing, the angel
 23 is supporting you. Do not fear.⁸⁸ Blessed is the glory of the Lord
 God from
 24 his seat. In a little while, I will shake
 25 .. the heavens and the earth. Here is the glory of the Lord God
 26 of Hosts, the God of Israel. These are the seven chariots
 27 at the gate of Jerusalem and the gates of Judea they will re[st]⁸⁹ for
 28 my three⁹⁰ angels, Michael and all the others, look for
 29 your power.⁹¹ So said of the Lord God of Hosts, the God
 30 of Israel. One two three four five six
 31 [se]ven for my angels..... what is this? He said, the frontlet
 32[].....and the second chief

of the letter פ in the word מלפני in line 21. The letters ך and ם are broken, but in my view they can be read clearly. Yuditsky and Qimron (“Notes,” 137) suggest that instead of שים האות [] אפרים, “Ephraim [] place the sign,” we should read אמרים [הש]יבני “give a reply,” in keeping with Prov 22:21. But this reading is impossible: I just examined a special new photograph of the right section of lines 15–18 in which the remnants of the letters at the beginning of line 17 are sharply defined. The remnants are definitely consistent with Yardeni and Elizur’s reading of שים, but not with Yuditsky’s and Qimron’s reading יבני. One can clearly see that the last marks before the next word in the line, האות, may be the remnants of a ם, while under no circumstances could they be ני (there is a vertical line at whose base a horizontal line goes out to the right). See also below n. 108.

⁸⁶ See the discussion above, pp. 442–44.

⁸⁷ As noted, Elizur and Yardeni suggested a number of alternative readings for this word, but in my opinion the word לובנסד “plastered white,” can be read clearly.

⁸⁸ Elizur and Yardeni read this as אל תורה “is supporting you. Do not fear”; and see n. 8 above.

⁸⁹ Elizur and Yardeni read here: ...ינ; I read ינחו, “rest.”

⁹⁰ Elizur and Yardeni did not read this word at all.

⁹¹ At the beginning of line 29 Elizur and Yardeni read the letters ך, ל, and כ. Before these letters they marked another letter that they could not make out, which in my opinion is an א. After the letters that Elizur and Yardeni read there are two lines that slant downward, and I believe that these are the remnants of a ם. The word in its entirety is therefore אילכם, “your might.” The word before it in is בקשו, “look for” (at the end of line 28); the combination of the two words yields אילכם בקשו, “look for your might.” In view of the context, this phrase can be understood as a request that God makes of the angels. The descent of the angels in chariots to the gates of Judea and Jerusalem was portrayed prior to this; it is a descent that should be understood as a preparation for war against the eschatological enemy. It therefore seems that in the context of the preparations for war God turns to the angels and says אילכם בקשו, namely, find and prepare your forces.

- 33 watches over.. Jerusalem.....three in the greatness
 34three⁹² [].....
 35 [].... . that he saw a man...works⁹³ [
 36 that he.... [] that a sign from Jerusalem⁹⁴
 37 I on... [] ashes⁹⁵
 38 [s]ign of exile..... God sin... and see⁹⁶
 39 [] Jerusalem said the Lord
 40 That his mist will fill most of the moon⁹⁷

⁹² Elizur and Yardeni read only...לו here, but in my opinion the word שלושה, “three,” is discernible.

⁹³ Concerning the words עובד...איש, “a man... works,” in this line, compare Zech 13:5 איש עבד אדמה, “a tiller [worker] of the soil.” Elizur and Yardeni read here עובד, “works.”

⁹⁴ Elizur and Yardeni marked the whole word מירושלם, “from Jerusalem,” as dubious, but in my opinion the first few letters are clearly legible.

⁹⁵ See n. 40 above.

⁹⁶ Elizur and Yardeni read this line as א.א.ן.ואראה ע.אלהים.ע.צל. .[?]. אתגלות.צל. while I read: וראו.וראו.אלהים.עון.או.וראו.צל. י.אלהים.עון.או.וראו.

⁹⁷ Elizur and Yardeni read the second half of this line as ל.חנארו.ורח.[?]. In my opinion, the ל, which the editors read, is followed by the letters מ, ל, א, and ט. Subsequently the editors read the letter ח, and I agree with them. Next the editors read the א, ג, ר, and ו. I agree with them regarding the last two, but in my opinion the first letters are not ג and א but ב and ו. Following them there is a letter that the editors did not read, which in my opinion is a ב. Finally, the editors read ו, ר, and ח, a reading that I would like to correct slightly to ו, ר, and ח. According to my revisions, the line reads as follows: למלאטחבורובירח. I suggest this be read as the phrase “למלא טחבו ירח רוב ירח”. Obviously, due to the difficulty in reading the letters this is only guesswork. Can this sentence be understood? The key word here is the word טחב. This word appears in talmudic literature only once, in a parable that explains the first verses of Lev 16: “When a sick person goes to the doctor he tells him, ‘Do not drink cold [liquids] and do not lie בטחב” (*Sifra*, beginning of *Aharei Mot* [ed. Weiss, p. 79b]). From the context we can deduce that בטחב indicates a moist, damp place. Another occurrence is in several manuscripts of the Targum of Job 37:11: אף ברי יטריח עב = “He also loads the clouds with moisture” = ברם בטחבות מטרה עייבא. See David M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job, an Introduction and Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 259. In view of this occurrence and in view of the existence of a similar word in Arabic that means a light cloud, Kohut concluded that טחב is likely to mean a mist or a light cloud. See Alexander Kohut, *Arukh Hashalem 4* (Tel Aviv: 1969–1970 [Vienna: 1881–1882]), 21. See also Jastrow’s explanation, s.v. טחבות. Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* (New York: Judaica, 1975), 527. The phrase למלא טחבו ירח can therefore be understood as follows: טחבו, namely his light cloud, will cover most of the moon. There may be a parallel to this in מואחו פני כסה פרשו עליו עננו, “He covers the face of the moon, and spreads over it his cloud” (Job 26:9). Some have understood the word כסה in this verse as denoting the full moon, on the basis of Ps 81:4 and Prov. 7:20 and the Ugaritic. See the list in David J. A. Clines, *Job 21–37* (WBC; Nashville, 2006), 622–23. Consequently, it may be that the verse in Job and the phrase in the Gabriel Revelation describe the same phenomenon: The Deity covers the face of the full moon with His cloud or His mist. Both sources would be speaking of a lunar eclipse, which can take place only at mid-month on הכסה, the day of the full moon. Recall that I suggested above that the phrase “Announce him about blood, this

- 41 [] blood that the northerner would become maggoty⁹⁸
 42. [] abhorrence the diseased spot . in all⁹⁹
- Col. 2
- 54 [by] three days this is what [I have] said He
 55 these are [
 56 please see the north[erner] enca[mps]¹⁰⁰ [
 57 Seal up the blood¹⁰¹ of the slaughtered of Jerusalem. For thus said
 the Lord of Hos[ts]
 58 the God of Israel, So said the Lord of Hosts the God of
 59 Israel [
 60 ...He will have pity .. His mercy are ne[ar]¹⁰²
 61 [] blessed ?...
 62 daughter ?...¹⁰³
 63 ...
 64 []... [] beloved ?
 65 Three holy ones of the world from.... []
 66 [] *shalom* he said, in you we trust... [?]
 67 Announce him about blood, this is their chariot.
 68 Many are those who love the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel

is their chariot” refers to the lunar eclipse that took place shortly before the death of Herod. It may be that the phrase טחבו רוב ירח is also connected to this event. The words ירח רוב refer to a partial eclipse, and the eclipse in question issue was indeed a partial eclipse (but in fact the occultation was less than 50%). In any event, the problematic state of this line of the inscription does not permit us to say anything for certain. Dr. Michael Segal suggested that טחבו may be a case of metathesis and that we should read ירח טבחו רוב, namely, that the blood of the *slaughtered* will cover most of the moon.

⁹⁸ See n. 41 above.

⁹⁹ See n. 42 above.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 41 above.

¹⁰¹ Elizur and Yardeni marked the words דם סתום as doubtful (except for the ס at the beginning of the line), but in my opinion the reading is certain.

¹⁰² Elizur and Yardeni read this line as [?].. ל. שק. ל. [] הלני רוח הנרא. תן. ש.ק. ל. [] but I find their transcription and reading problematic. The letter they called a ר at the beginning of the word רוח is not a ר but a ך—its leg clearly stretches below the line. After a short space the letters י, ח, and מ are clearly legible. The subsequent letters י and ל are questionable. After this there appear two letters that are illegible. Following them the letters ר and ח are clearly visible. The letters מ and ו that come next are less clear. Next comes a clearly legible ק, followed by what may be a ר and a ב. I suggest completing the word קרבי[ין], “near,” here. The phrase therefore reads רחמו קרב[ין] = “He will have pity .. His mercy is near.” From the context it emerges that the subject is the Deity who will show compassion in the future because His mercy is near. Regarding the spelling רחמו rather than רחמיו, compare רחמו רחמים (2 Sam 24:14). With the reconstructed collocation רחמו קרבין compare רחמיו קרביין (y. *Ta’aniyyot* 2:1 [65a; Hebrew Language Academy edition, p. 713, line 20]; *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahane, Va-tomer ziiyyon* [ed. Mandelbaum, p. 283]).

¹⁰³ Elizur and Yardeni read this line as []..[?]. ד. ב. [] בה א..

- 69 Thus said the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel... [?]
 70 prophets. I sent to my people my three shepherds. I will say¹⁰⁴ (?)
 71 that I have seen bless[ing]... Go say(?)
 72 The place for David the servant of the Lord []... [] .. []
 73 The heaven and the earth, [with Your great] might [and]
 74 outstretched [arm].¹⁰⁵ Showing steadfast love to thousands.... steadfast
 love. []
 75 Three shepherds went out for Israel... []...
 76 If there is a priest, if there are sons of holy ones... []
 77 Who am I? I am Gabriel..... []
 78 You will rescue them..... for two¹⁰⁶ []... []
 79 from before of you the three si[gn]s three .. []
 80 By three days, live,¹⁰⁷ I Gabriel com[mand] yo[u],¹⁰⁸
 81 prince of the princes, the dung¹⁰⁹ of the rocky crevices []... .. []
 82 to the visions (?)... their tongue (?) []... those who love me
 83 to me, from the three, the small one that I took, I Gabriel
 84 Lord of Hosts G<o>d of Is[rael] []
 85 then you will stand ...
 86 .../¹¹⁰
 87 ... world ? /

¹⁰⁴ I read these two words as רועי אומר, “my shepherds. I will say”; Elizur and Yardeni read them as ואני אומר, “And I will say.” See n. 59 above.

¹⁰⁵ Following Yuditsky and Qimron who have noted that we have here a reference to Jer 32:17–18. Now we can see that both the mention of “Ephraim” and the expression שים האות, “place the sign,” in lines 16–17 of the Gabriel Revelation, are probably taken from the above-mentioned chapters of Jeremiah. “Ephraim” is mentioned four times in chapter 31 of Jeremiah, and chapter 32 contains the expression אשר שמת אתות, “who hast shown signs.” The expression appears in v. 20 of Jeremiah 32, very close to the Gabriel Revelation explicit citations of vv. 17–18 of this chapter. These findings reinforces the plausibility of the reading that Yardeni and Elizur propose for the lines 16–17.

¹⁰⁶ Yardeni and Elizur read לישותן.

¹⁰⁷ Yardeni and Elizur read here ח... , while I read חאיה. For an explanation of my reading see nn. 62–64 above and appendix 2.

¹⁰⁸ Elizur and Yardeni read [?]....ל... , while I read גו[ור] [עליך] [ר], “command you.” In my opinion, after the ל of “Gabriel” the letters ג and י are legible, followed by the head of a ז. After the space the curving right line of the ץ is visible. Subsequently the letter ל is clearly visible, as noted by Elizur and Yardeni. After that it is possible to make out the letter ך, though it is less clear.

¹⁰⁹ Elizur and Yardeni read here: ך...ד. In my opinion the remnants of the left part of the letter נ are recognizable, as well as the head of the letter נ. The biblical word דומן or דומן always refers to an unburied corpse. In this context I believe that the word refers to the “prince of the princes,” who was killed and left unburied, and whose corpse was left like dung in the rocky crevices where he met his death. See Knohl (n. 63 above).

¹¹⁰ Elizur and Yardeni read in this line: \ ל... .

APPENDIX 2

Further support for the reading: “In three days, live”

Prof. Ronald Hendel published a letter in *BAR* (Vol. 35 no. 1 [January/February 2009], 8), in which he suggested reading the third word in line 80 of the “Gabriel Revelation” as **האֹות** (the sign), instead of my reading **חאיה** (live). I can not accept this suggestion for two reasons:

1. The last letter of this word can not be **ת**. This letter has a diagonal left leg that starts to descend before the left end of the upper horizontal line of the letter. Nowhere in this inscription is there a **ת** written in this way (see the shapes of **ת** in the table in Yardeni and Elizur’s article [*Cathedra* 123, p. 164]). Thus, the reading **האֹות** can be ruled out on a paleographic basis.
2. The syntax of the sentence formed on the basis of Hendel’s suggestion, **לשלושת ימין האֹות**, is problematic, as we expect to find a verb before the word **האֹות**. On the other hand, the sentence that I read **חאיה לשלושת ימין חאיה** is fluent and very similar in form and syntax to the sentence **לשלושת ימין תדע** in line 19.

The reading suggested by Prof. Hendel, **האֹות** is thus unacceptable.

Let us now inspect all the possible readings of this word. The first letter was read **ח** by Yardeni and Elizur but, since the letters **ח** and **ה** are sometimes written in a very similar way in this inscription, it might be also read as **ה**. The second letter is clearly **א**. The third letter can be either **י** or **ו** since these two letters are often undistinguishable in this inscription. As for the last letter, we earlier rejected the suggestion to read it as **ת**. On the other hand, we can point to two cases where the letter **ה** is written in a similar form, i.e. with a diagonal left leg that starts to descend before the left end of the upper horizontal line of the letter. The first example is the letter **ה** in the word **לכה** in line 21, and the second is the letter **ה** in the word **הצץ** in line 31. In no case is the letter **ח** written in this form in this inscription. Hence, the last letter of this word can be read only as **ה**.

In conclusion, on a paleographic basis there are four possibilities for the reading of this word: **האֹוה**, **חאֹוה**, **האיה**, and **חאיה**. The first three alternatives make no sense within the context of the previous and following words of this line. It is only the last possibility **חאיה** (live) that can be read together with the other words of this line in a meaningful

way. Thus, this reading, **חאיה**, seems to be the only plausible reading of that word. The first words of this line should therefore be translated as following: “In three days live.”

Further support for the reading: **לשלושת ימין חאיה** “In three days live” can be gained from a close look at the following lines of the “Gabriel Revelation” (lines 81–85):

1. The third word of line 81 was read by Yardeni and Elizur as **ד. ן**, yet, I maintain, as stated in chapter one, that one can distinguish the top of a **ו** in the second letter, and the left part of a **מ** in the third,¹¹¹ thereby constructing the word **דומן** (dung). All the mentions of **דמן** in the Hebrew Bible are connected with people who were killed but not buried, whose bodies became “as dung upon the earth.”¹¹²
2. In line 83 we read **מן שלושה הקטן שלקחתי אני גבריאל** “from the three, the small one that I took, I Gabriel,” where Gabriel speaks of his taking “the small one” of the three. The verb **לקח** “take” is used in Genesis 5:24 to describe the ascension of Enoch: **ואיננו כי לקח אתו אלהים** “and he was not, for God took him.” The same verb **לקח** “take” is also used four times regarding the ascent of Elijah (2 Kgs 2:3, 5, 9, 10). Finally, we see this verb in Ps 49:16 (ET 15) **כי יקחני סלה** in a statement about a divine rescue from Sheol and death, probably by resurrection.¹¹³
3. In line 85 we find the words **אז תעמדו** “then you will stand.” As stated above, the same verb **עמד** “stand” is used twice in the Hebrew Bible as a reference to resurrection (Ezek 37:10; Dan 12:13).

We may thus conclude by stating that lines 81–85 of the Gabriel Revelation contain various elements and expressions that have a clear connection to the realm of death, resurrection and ascension. Hence, my reading and interpretation of the previous line, line 80, as a reference to resurrection in three days is very well suited to the atmosphere and context of this part of the “Gabriel Revelation.”

¹¹¹ See, for instance, the shape of the **מ** in **מן**, line 83.

¹¹² See 2Kgs 9:37; Jer 8:2; 9:21; 16:4; 25:33; Ps 83:11.

¹¹³ See John Day, “The Development of Belief in Life after Death in Ancient Israel,” in *After the Exile, Essays in Honor of Rex Mason* (ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 254.

NASCENT CHRISTIANITY BETWEEN SECTARIAN AND BROADER JUDAISM: LESSONS FROM THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

SERGE RUZER

1. INTRODUCTION

Various aspects of Dead Sea Scrolls study may inform our attempts to better understand nascent Christianity. In this paper, however, I will focus upon one particular aspect—the relation between the patterns of belief peculiar to a specific sect and those reflecting broader contemporaneous trends. In Qumran scholarship, this general issue has been addressed on a number of levels. First, in discussions pertaining to the nature of the collection of the scrolls as a whole, the question arises whether it represents the worldview and religious concerns of only one specific close-knit community or is, in fact, a library of broader appeal.¹ Second, researchers have been seeking reasonable criteria to distinguish—at the level of the individual scrolls—between sectarian compositions and those reflecting an outside Jewish input.² And third, scholars have aspired to develop methods and insights that would make it possible to distinguish—even *within* an individual scroll—between beliefs and practices exclusive to the group that supposedly produced the text (among ideas of a sectarian character, the belief in double predestination holds pride of place)³ and those shared with “wider Judaism.”⁴ Patterns of the latter kind may be addressed by

¹ For recent assessments, see in this volume, Florentino García Martínez, “The Groningen Hypothesis Revisited,” 17–39; and James VanderKam, “The Pre-History of the Qumran Community with a Reassessment of CD 1:5–11,” 59–76. See also Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

² See, for example, in this volume, Devorah Dimant, “Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Beliaal and Mastema,” 235–56; and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Pseudepigraphy and First Person Discourse in the Dead Sea Documents: From the Aramaic Texts to the Writings of the *Yahad*,” 295–326.

³ See, for example, David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism* (ed. Serge Ruzer; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2002), 1–23 (Hebrew).

⁴ See, for example, in this volume, Charlotte Hempel, “1QS 6:2c–4a—Satellites or Precursors of the *Yahad*?”, 31–40; and Vered Noam, “Creative Interpretation and Integrative Interpretation in Qumran,” 363–76.

Qumran authors either polemically or approvingly, or simply invoked in an apropos manner. It goes without saying that the scrolls remain the most important source for the study of the illuminating—and peculiar—phenomenon of Second Temple Jewry they seem to represent. However, in light of the above mentioned developments in research, the Dead Sea Scrolls must also be recognized as a crucial resource for achieving better understanding of some characteristic Jewish trends of broader circulation.

According to a widely accepted scholarly notion, the first generations of Jesus' followers should be viewed as one more eschatologically minded Jewish group from the period preceding the destruction of the Temple. If one takes this assertion seriously, the insights concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls invite a parallel critical reassessment of the "witness value" of the traditions formed within the nascent Jesus movement. Some of the motifs found in the texts produced within this movement—particularly those centered on the salvific function of Jesus as a messianic figure—clearly represent its peculiar outlook, whereas others may possibly reflect religious patterns of broader circulation.

I will discuss two test cases with the objective of probing this general assumption. I will suggest that the Dead Sea Scrolls not only provide an important impetus for such an investigation but may also help in the practical task of distinguishing between sectarian and broader Jewish elements in early Christian sources.

2. THE DOUBLE LOVE COMMAND⁵

Alongside sayings that encapsulate the importance of the ever-expanding system of commandments as a whole,⁶ early Jewish sources also exemplify the opposite or complementary trend discerned in attempts at formulating a concise set of principles that would represent the whole Torah. This tendency, of which statements defining the second half of Lev 19:18, "you shall love your neighbor as yourself," as the core precept of the Torah are excellent examples,⁷ might have well been

⁵ For a detailed discussion, see Serge Ruzer, "The Double Love Precept: Between Pharisees, Jesus and Qumran Covenanters," in idem, *Mapping the New Testament: Early Christian Writings as a Witness for Jewish Biblical Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 71–100.

⁶ See *m. 'Abot* 2:1; *m. Mak.* 3:15.

⁷ *Sifra Qedoshim* 2.4 (on Aqiva, cf. *Gen. Rab.* 24); *b. Sabb.* 31a (on Hillel).

influenced by certain Roman-Hellenistic philosophical trends of the period.⁸ Nevertheless, it would seem that this trend had already taken root and been internalized in Jewish religious discourse by late Second Temple times, as evidenced by the fact that principles of behavior and faith were propagated there as being exegetically derived from Israel's canonical texts.

The debate on the question: "What is the core commandment in the Torah?"⁹ related with certain variations in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 22:34–40, Mark 12:28–31, Luke 10:25–28),¹⁰ has been examined in research in this context. The Gospels provide a double answer to this question: The love of God with all one's heart and with all one's soul and with all one's mind (and/or strength) (Deut 6:5) and the love of one's neighbor (Lev 19:18) are the two precepts upon which the entire system of religious conduct should be based. The coupling of these two core precepts obviously constitutes the identifying feature of the tradition attested here in the Gospels. Also significant are the textual variants in the first half of the answer referring to Deut 6:5. These variants oscillate between the three-part formulation found in most manuscripts of Matthew and several manuscripts of Mark (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ/ ἰσχύι σου = with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your mind/strength), and the four-part formulation (ἐξ ὅλης [τῆς] καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου = with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength, and with all your mind), which occurs in several manuscripts of Matthew, in most manuscripts of Mark, and in all manuscripts of

⁸ On such patterns of thought in the Hellenistic-philosophic culture, including those internalized by Philo, see *Hellenistic Commentary on the New Testament* (ed. Eugene M. Boring, Klaus Berger, and Carsten Colpe; Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1995), 128–29.

⁹ Both the RSV and NRSV consistently use *law* for νόμος (Torah).

¹⁰ For discussion of the relationship between the three synoptic versions and of the process of their crystallization, see Victor P. Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1972), 30 n. 18, 34–45, 59–60 and 70–90; Arland J. Hultgren, "The Double Commandment of Love in Mt 22:34–40: Its Sources and Composition," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 373–78; Frans Neiryck, "Luke 10:25–28: A Foreign Body in Luke?" in *Crossing the Boundaries; Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of M. D. Goulder* (ed. Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce, and David E. Orton; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 149–65; Maarten J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible; The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 215–18. One of the instructive distinctions Hultgren makes is between the "conflict story" of Matthew and the "didactic-dialogue" story of Mark.

Luke.¹¹ Textual variation also exists in the definition of the third component of the Deut 6:5 commandment (διάνοια = mind or ισχύς = strength) as well as in the order of the components.

The four-part formulation of Deut 6:5 presents a clear deviation from the biblical version of the verse as well as from its targumic paraphrases. And with regard to the coupling of the two love commands as the foundational principles of the Torah, only partial parallels, possibly dating back to the Second Temple period, have been produced by previous research. Moreover, serious doubts have been expressed concerning the pre-Christian Jewish provenance of the parallels in question, and sometimes a Christian interpolation is posited.¹² Yet in the Gospels themselves, the inquiry about the great(est) Torah precept seems to be perceived as representing a point of agreement, or overlap, between Jesus and his Jewish (Pharisaic?) interlocutors. This observation is supported by the following evidence:

- (1) Whereas in Matthew the question is put to Jesus, who then delivers the answer, in Luke it is Jesus who asks the question while the reply, consisting of the four-part expansion of Deut 6:5, is given by a Torah expert (νομικός τις). Against this backdrop, Mark's rendition should be viewed as a mixed one: Here the question is put to Jesus, who answers it using the four-part expansion of Deut 6:5, and the scribe (ὁ γραμματεὺς), in agreement, then repeats Jesus' answer.¹³ The use of the term "law" (Torah) in this context (Torah and the prophets in Matthew) seems to convey the Gospel writers' desire to imbue the conversation with the sense of a discussion among Jewish sages and emphasize Jesus' expertise in such Torah-centered discourse.¹⁴

¹¹ *Synopsis of the Four Gospels* (ed. Kurt Aland; 7th ed.; Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1984), 248–49.

¹² See *Jub.* 20:7, 36:4–8; *T. Dan* 5:3; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.63; *Sib. Or.* 8.480–82; *Didache* 1.2.

¹³ The scribe omits the fourth component containing διάνοια (knowledge, recognition).

¹⁴ See Oscar S. Brooks, "The Function of the Double Command in Matthew 22:34–40," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 36 (1998), 7–22, esp. 8, 15–17; Jay B. Stern, "Jesus' Citation of Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18 in the Light of Jewish Tradition," *CBQ* 28 (1966): 312–16. Jesus' faithfulness to the Torah and his expertise in rabbinic debate will be greatly emphasized further on, in a different socio-cultural context in Judeo-Christian circles. See Shlomo Pines, "The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity according to a New Source," in *The Collected Works of Shlomo Pines*, vol. 4 (ed. Guy G. Stroumsa; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996), 4:211–84.

- (2) In Matthew and Mark, the passage is inserted in the Gospel narrative immediately following the disputation between Jesus and the Sadducees on the resurrection of the dead. There Jesus argues a position presented as identical to that of the Pharisees. Moreover, it is Jesus' successful arguing of a Pharisaic cause that prompts the Pharisees to ask his opinion on the "greatest commandment/core principle of the Torah."¹⁵

Thus an implicit claim is made in the Gospels that Jesus represents here a broader Jewish exegetical trend. What should be our appraisal of this claim? In my opinion, the opening passage of the *Community Rule* may help to clarify the issue. The *Rule*, intended for the *משכיל* (enlightened one)—that is, for the leaders of the community or possibly for all its members¹⁶—outlines the rules of conduct for the community as well as the procedures for entering the covenant¹⁷ and/or for its yearly renewal.¹⁸ Hence the importance of the opening paragraphs of the scroll, with their programmatic character of a declaration of intentions:¹⁹

¹⁵ For a reading of the term in Matt 22:36 as "[core] precept/principle" (כלל) instead of "commandment" (מצוה), see David Flusser, "The Ten Commandments and the 'New Covenant,'" in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Its Sages and Literature* (ed. Serge Ruzer; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2002), 169.

¹⁶ The ambiguity of the term *משכיל* was pointed out by Sarianna Metso in "In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Community Rule," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 312 and n. 15 there.

¹⁷ See, for example, John J. Collins, "Construction of Israel in the Sectarian Rule Books," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, vol. 1 (ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 31.

¹⁸ See Bilhah Nitzan, "The Benedictions from Qumran for the Annual Covenantal Ceremony," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: 1947-1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 263-264; Menahem Kister, "5Q13 and the *Avodah*: A Historical Survey and Its Significance," *DSD* 8.2 (2001): 136-48. On a possible connection to Hellenistic socio-cultural norms, see above, n. 8, and the discussion there.

¹⁹ The issue of the different stages in the compilation of the scroll that supposedly reflect different concepts and positions remains beyond our discussion here. For a review of the *status quaestionis*, see, for instance, Markus Blockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the 'Rule of the Community,'" *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541-60; Émile Puech, "On S. Metso, 'The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule,'" *RevQ* 18 (1998): 448-53. English translation of the Qumran material is indebted to Wilfred G. E. Watson in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: Electronic Version* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

1 For [the Instructor (למשכיל)] [book of the Rule] of the Community (סרך היחד): in order to 2 seek God [with all (one's) heart and with all (one's) soul (בכול לב ובכול נפש); in order] to do what is good and just in his presence, as 3 commanded by means of the hand of Moses and his servants the Prophets (כאשר צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים); in order to love everything 4 which he selects and to hate everything that he rejects (ולאהוב כול אשר בחר ולשנוא את כול אשר מאס); in order to keep oneself at a distance from all evil, 5 and to become attached to all good works; to bring about truth, justice and uprightness (ולרחוק ומכול רע ולדבוק בכול מעשי טוב ולעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט 6 on earth and not to walk in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and of lecherous eyes 7 performing every evil; in order to welcome into the covenant of kindness (בברית חסד) all those who freely volunteer to carry out God's decrees, 8 so as to be united in the counsel of God and walk in perfection in his sight, complying with all 9 revealed things concerning the regulated times of their stipulations; in order to love all the sons of light, each one 10 according to his lot in God's plan, and to detest all the sons of darkness, each one in accordance with his blame 11 in God's vindication. (ולאהוב כול בני אור איש כגורלו בעצת אל ולשנוא כול בני חושך איש כאשמתו בנקמת אל) All those who submit freely to his truth will convey all their knowledge, their strength, 12 and their riches to the Community of God (וכול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם והונם) (ביחד אל) in order to refine their knowledge in the truth of God's decrees and marshal their energies 13 in accordance with his perfect paths and all their riches in accordance with his just counsel...

It is instructive that the opening paragraph, or the *Rule* as a whole, is claimed here to stand for the sum total of what God has commanded through "Moses and the prophets" (1QS 1:2–3)—a formula that is clearly parallel to the one invoked in the Gospel discussion (Matt 22:40). Moreover, according to my reading, the *Community Rule* version of the sum total of God's commandments is, in fact, presented here as an idiosyncratic interpretation of the two love precepts from Deut 6:5 (1QS 1:2–4) and Lev 19:18 (1QS 1:9–11)—with love, first to God and then to one's neighbor, being defined as intrinsically connected to hatred of "outsiders" and anticipation of God's revenge. I also suggest that the appearance in this context of *כול דעתם וכוחם והונם* (lines 11–12: "all their knowledge, their strength, and their riches") is nothing but a multiple interpretation of the same problematic *בכל מאדך*²⁰ from Deut 6:5. It may thus provide

²⁰ See the appearance side by side of two alternative interpretations of this difficult expression in *Sifre Deut.* 32 and *m. Ber.* 9:5. Cf. Moshe Weinfeld, who argued that only *כוחם* and *הונם* here referred to *מאדך* from Deut 6:5, whereas *דעתם* was an

an instructive parallel both for “enlarging” the last component of the Gospel quotation of the verse (the four-part formula) and for the use of *διάνοια* (= *דעתם*)—two peculiarities characterizing, as noted, the Gospel version of the “greatest commandment” discourse.²¹

If my analysis is correct, the Qumran evidence not only provides a clearly pre-Christian precedent for the exegetical coupling of Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18, presented as the concise summary of the Torah and the prophets, but also makes it possible to conjecture concerning the nature—sectarian or non-sectarian—of that coupling. It should be noted that the interpretation given to the two love commands in the *Rule* differs in significant details from that advocated by the Gospels. One such detail is the absence in the Gospels of a reference to possessions, *הון* as an interpretation of *מאד*—a difference in exegesis plausibly connected to differences in social circumstances. Another, even more substantial difference is related to the prescribed attitude to the “other.” It seems that various sects of the Second Temple period, like philosophical schools in the broader Hellenistic world, were characterized by a wide spectrum of attitudes here; in the Jewish milieu, this variety of approaches plausibly found expression, inter alia, in the interpretation of Lev 19:18.²² Based upon the content of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:43–48; cf. Luke 6:27–36) and the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29–37) presented in the

interpretation of *לבבך*. See Moshe Weinfeld, “‘And Let All Those Who Freely Volunteer to Be in His Truth Bring All Their Knowledge, Strength, and Goods into the Community of God,’” in *Studies in the Bible: In Memoriam Joshua Meir Grintz* (ed. Benjamin Oppenheimer; Tel Aviv, 1982), 37–41 (Hebrew); idem, “The Covenant in Qumran,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2006), 59–69. Cf. Matthew Black (*The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* [Brown Judaica Series 48; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1961/1983], 122–23, who already recognized that the *Shema* is in the background of the passage, but saw the link as limited to the third component, *והוונם*, only). See also Carol A. Newsom, “Knowing as Doing: The Social Symbolics of Knowledge of Qumran,” *Semeia* 59 (1992): 139–53. Weinfeld’s suggestion seems problematic since in that case IQS 1 is found to skip the intermediate component of Deut 6:5 love command, *בכל נפשך* (“with all your soul”)—an omission for which, in my opinion, Weinfeld does not offer a satisfactory explanation.

²¹ Cf. Weinfeld (“And Let All Those,” 37–41), who in this context perceives the *διάνοια* not as a parallel of *דעת* but rather that of the rabbinic notion of “evil inclination” (*יצר הרע*).

²² See David Flusser, “Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes in *Peshet Nahum*,” in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran*, 201; idem, “The Pharisees and Stoics according to Josephus,” in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Sages*, 210–21, esp. 216.

Gospel as a clarification on the question of the greatest Torah commandment, one can conclude that, unlike the outlook expressed in 1QS, hatred toward enemies did not characterize the exegesis of Lev 19:18 attributed to Jesus.²³

One may say that the substantial dissimilarities in outlook among various groups and individuals found expression in the varying directions in which they developed their exegesis of Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18. Despite the undeniably sharp differences in exegesis and ruling, however, both the Qumranic *Community Rule* and the Gospels rely on the coupling of the two love precepts, which constitutes the shared basic exegetical core of their reasoning. Moreover, in both traditions, the double love command is presented as a summation of the Law of Moses (“Law [Torah] and the Prophets” in Matthew and 1QS).

Owing to the differing interpretations attested in 1QS and the Gospels, there is no basis for speaking about a direct influence.²⁴ It is more likely that the two traditions simply utilized the same existing hermeneutical pattern, which comprised the pairing of the two love commands as a sum of the covenant stipulations. This basic pattern seems to signify a point of overlap between the approaches of different groups: the texts discussed above present Jesus, the early sages and the members of the Qumran community as sharing the tendency for hermeneutical coupling of Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18. The influential status of that pattern and its broad circulation are evidenced by the fact that even Qumran covenanters when striving to emphasize hatred of the sons of darkness as the true religious *desideratum* had to present the idea as an interpretation of the two love precepts. Granted that pre-rabbinic circles of the sages and Jesus, on the one hand, and Qumran covenanters, on the other, belonged to different strata of late Second Temple Jewry, the adoption of this shared hermeneutic pattern in both the *Community Rule* and the Gospels testifies to its wide acceptance. And it is the analysis of the New Testament evidence—

²³ The two traditions are further at variance concerning the anticipated goal/ reward for the right religious stance; contrary to the Gospels, which advocate the Pharisaic emphasis on עולמים (“eternal life”—however understood), the *Community Rule* (2:1–8) separates חיים (“life”) from עולמים (“eternity”), blessing all those who walk blamelessly in the way of the double love command with שלום עולמים (“eternal peace”) and דעת עולמים (“eternal wisdom”).

²⁴ I thank Daniel Schwartz for his important comments, which were helpful in clarifying this point.

together with the Qumranic one—that makes it possible to reach such a conclusion, discerning in the ostensibly “sectarian” Gospel material a Jewish tradition of broader circulation.

3. GOD’S VENGEANCE AGAINST THE SONS OF DARKNESS

We now address a second case in which comparison with Qumran writings highlights how a New Testament text can inform our understanding of the patterns of Jewish religious discourse beyond the immediate “sectarian” milieu of its author. 1 Thessalonians is arguably the earliest of Paul’s authentic epistles (around 50 C.E.) and possibly the earliest surviving Christian composition.²⁵ In this epistle Paul tries to boost the spirit of the young community of Jesus’ followers in Thessaloniki, which is experiencing difficult, even tragic times—deaths from illness of an epidemic kind or from persecution, as well as other kinds of suffering have been considered as probably underlying the situation.²⁶ Moreover, the death of some of the community’s members seems to have been perceived as contradicting the promise of Jesus’ speedy return and salvation linked to the general resurrection.²⁷ Paul argues against such a perception, claiming that the deceased will be the first to join the Christ upon his glorious return (1 Thess 4:13–18).²⁸

The point of departure here will be 1 Thess 2:14–16—a passage that has been at the heart of much scholarly contention:²⁹

²⁵ See, for instance, Werner G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. Howard Clark Kee; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1973), 257–60. See also, Karl P. Donfried, “1 Thessalonians, Acts and the Early Paul,” in *The Thessalonian Correspondence* (ed. Raymond F. Collins; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 3–26; Delbert Burkett, *An Introduction to the New Testament and the Origins of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 345.

²⁶ For a survey of the various scholarly suggestions for the precise circumstances of the writing of the letter, see, for example, Kümmel, *Introduction*, 259. See also, Karl P. Donfried, “The Epistolary and Rhetorical Context of 1 Thessalonians 2:1–12,” in *The Thessalonians Debate: Methodological Discord or Methodological Synthesis* (ed. Karl P. Donfried and Johannes Beutler; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 31–38.

²⁷ See discussion in Joseph Plevnik, “Pauline Presuppositions,” *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 56–59.

²⁸ See Joël Delobel, “The Fate of the Dead According to 1 Thes 4 and 1 Cor 15,” *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 340–47.

²⁹ Where not stated otherwise, biblical and New Testament quotations are given according to the Revised Standard Version.

14 For you, brethren, became imitators of the churches of God in Christ Jesus which are in Judea; for you suffered the same things from your own countrymen as they did from the Jews (Judeans?), 15 who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out, and displease God and oppose all men 16 by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles so that they may be saved—so as always to fill up (NRSV: *Thus they have constantly been filling up*) the measure of their sins (κωλύοντων ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν λαλῆσαι ἵνα σωθῶσιν, εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας πάντοτε). But God's wrath has (will?) come upon them at last (or *completely* or *forever*) (ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ [τοῦ θεοῦ] εἰς τέλος).

Doubts concerning the authenticity of this passage have been raised on both linguistic and theological grounds. Linguistic arguments both for and against non-Pauline (post-Pauline) interpolation have been put forward, based on an analysis of Paul's vocabulary and language; however, no definitive solution has been reached.³⁰ As for the theological problems 1 Thess 2:14–16 raises, one may note that the speaker adopts here the language close to that of contemporaneous anti-Semitic pamphlets—Jews portrayed as “the race of enemies of humanity”—and seems to be happy about the doom of Israel.³¹ This stands in sharp contrast to Paul's care for Israel and deep sorrow about Israel's present condition, as well as his extremely positive assessment of the prospects for its eventual salvation attested, e.g., in the Epistle to the Romans.³² The authenticity of the passage has been questioned also on historical grounds, since no “great punishment” for the Jews, hinted at in 1 Thess 2:16, is recorded in Paul's time.³³

One proposed solution to the conundrum was to see in the passage under discussion a later interpolation reflecting anti-Jewish sentiments among gentile Christians after the destruction of the Temple in the year 70. Another was to see 1 Thess 2:15–16 as authentically

³⁰ See Daryl Schmidt, “1 Thess 2:13–16: Linguistic Evidence for an Interpretation,” *JBL* 102.2 (1983): 269–79. See also Otto Merk, “1 Thessalonians 2:1–12: An Exegetical-Theological Study,” in *The Thessalonians Debate*, 89–91 and n. 4 there.

³¹ This trait of the passage was already seen by Baur as indicating a post-Pauline interpolation; see Ferdinand Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ: His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine*, 2 vols. (trans. Allan Menzies; 2d ed.; London: Williams and Norgate, 1873–1875), 84–97, esp. 88. See also Birger A. Pearson, “1 Thess 2:13–16: A Deutero-Pauline Interpolation,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 79–94; George E. Okeke, “1 Thessalonians 2. 13–16: The Fate of the Unbelieving Jews,” *NTS* 27 (1981): 127–36.

³² See Romans 11–13, esp. Romans 11:25–27.

³³ See discussion in Pearson, “1 Thess 2:13–16,” 82–83 and nn. 20–22 there.

Pauline but reflecting an early stage in the apostle's thinking, when he was full of eschatological zeal and anticipation of the imminent Day of Judgment, which explains his uncompromising stance: There is no further time for delaying the fateful decision; those who do not embrace salvation now are doomed forever.³⁴ According to this explanation, later, when Paul became fully aware that the end was being indefinitely postponed, his fervent zeal was replaced by a quite different appreciation of the fate of "unbelieving Jews"; this time it was centered on their inevitable future repentance and salvation.³⁵

In general, an argument based on the supposition of eschatological zeal seems particularly plausible in light of 1 Thessalonians' being the only Pauline epistle that put such an emphasis on the issue of the imminent end, which, as exemplified by the following passage, is expected within the life span of the author (1 Thess 4:13–17):

But we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope. 14 For since we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so, through Jesus, God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep. 15 For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. 16 For the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God. And the dead in Christ will rise first; 17 then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so we shall always be with the Lord.

Moreover, the epistle employs the Qumran-like apocalyptically flavored language of the sons of light versus sons of darkness, the latter being destined for God's wrath (1 Thess 5:1–10):³⁶

1 But as to the times and the seasons, brethren,... 2... you yourselves know well that the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night...

³⁴ See, for example, Karl P. Donfried, "Paul and Judaism: 1 Thessalonians 2:13–16 as a Test Case," *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology* (July 1984), 242–53; John C. Hurd, "Paul Ahead of His Time: 1 Thess. 2:13–16," in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity* (ed. Peter Richardson et al.; Montreal: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), 21–35, esp. 33–35. See also the discussion in Okeke, "1 Thessalonians 2. 13–16," 130–31.

³⁵ See, for example, Traugott Holtz, "The Judgment on the Jews and the Salvation of All Israel: 1 Thes 2,15–16 and Rom 11,25–26," *Thessalonian Correspondence*, 284–94; Simon Légasse, "Paul et les juifs d'après 1 Thessaloniens 2, 13–16," *RB* 104.4 (1997): 572–91.

³⁶ Cf. Rom 13:12; 2 Cor 4:6, 6:14, 11:14; Eph 5:8, 9, 13; Col 1:12; 1 Ti 6:16.

4 But you are not in darkness (ἐν σκότει), brethren, for that day to surprise you like a thief. 5 For you are all sons of light (υἱοὶ φωτός) and sons of the day (υἱοὶ ἡμέρας); we are not of the night or of darkness (οὐκ... νυκτὸς οὐδὲ σκότους)... 9 For God has destined us not for wrath (εἰς ὀργήν), but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, 10 who died for us....

Even if the exact phrase “sons of darkness” is missing, the context and the parallelism/opposition to the sons of light leave no doubt that this is the meaning when Paul speaks of those “of the night and of darkness.”³⁷ It should be noted that unlike other instances—e.g. Rom 2:19, where those belonging to the light are supposed to share their knowledge with those who are in darkness—the perception underlying this passage is quite different: Whereas sons of light are destined for redemption (through Jesus’ salvific death), the sons of darkness are *doomed* to perdition. Such willingness to see the doom of the sons of darkness, nourished by the notion of the double predestination, is characteristic of the Qumran covenanters. In this connection, a Qumran influence on Paul and on his predecessors in the Jesus movement has also been posited.³⁸

Whatever links and influences Paul’s wording here may indicate, the passage from 1 Thessalonians 5 seems to reflect also the stance of the apostle’s opponents. Paul’s rhetoric suggests that the polemic is directed against those viewing his addressees in Thessalonians as, actually, sons of darkness and thus destined for God’s wrath (ἡ ὀργή). Passionately rejecting this claim, Paul argues that they are now—having “turned to God from idols” (1 Thess 1:9)—the exact opposite, the true sons of light.

1 Thess 5:1–10 may thus be viewed as one more example of a well-documented strategy in Paul’s reasoning—namely, his attempts to placate the qualms of the predominantly gentile followers of Jesus from the Hellenistic diaspora, whose feelings of inferiority are enhanced by what they hear from some Jewish members of the Jesus movement (mostly *Ioudaioi*, agitators coming from Judea), e.g., calls for conversion to Judaism. The famous example of this tendency

³⁷ Cf. the Qumranic usage of such substitutes for “sons of darkness” (בני חושך) as “[those of the] lot of darkness” (גורל חושך) (1QM 13:5; 4Q286 Frag. 7a,b,c,d, 4; 4Q287, Frag. 6, 4), “servants of darkness” (עבדי חושך) (4Q471, Frag. 2, 5), and “those walking in darkness” (הולכי חושך) (1QS 11:10).

³⁸ See David Flusser, “The DSS and Pre-Pauline Christianity,” in idem, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 25–30.

is, of course, Galatians 3, where Paul attempts to convince the gentile members of the community in Galatia—against the claims by people sent by James from Jerusalem—that although remaining uncircumcised they are in fact sons of Abraham and thus worthy of salvation (3:29): “And if you are Christ’s, then you are Abraham’s offspring, heirs according to promise.”³⁹

The interpretation of 1 Thess 5:1–10 as a *polemic* against those foretelling doom to Paul’s gentile audience suggests an alternative reading of 1 Thess 2:16, where, too, the notion of God’s anger (ἡ ὀργή) features prominently. According to this reading, completely plausible as far as the Greek of 1 Thess 2:16 is concerned, the apostle there does not *call down doom* on the heads of the Jews (“Judeans”),⁴⁰ but rather continues to attack their indifference to the fate of the Gentiles, whom they perceive as *doomed* to perdition (sons of darkness):

...by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles so that (least) they may be saved (ἵνα σωθῶσιν)—so that they (the Gentiles!) would fill the measure of their sins (εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας πάντοτε) and God’s wrath would come upon them (the Gentiles!) at last (or *completely* or *forever*, ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργή [τοῦ θεοῦ] εἰς τέλος).⁴¹

Such anticipation of God’s wrath (ἡ ὀργή, נַחַם) being visited on the Gentiles who do not recognize the God of Israel (and his laws?) is, of course, attested in both biblical and Second Temple Jewish sources. Moreover, in some cases, the very redemption of Israel is perceived as intrinsically connected with God’s vengeance against the Gentiles. One may see it as an alternative or complementing tendency to the one emphasizing God’s care for the Gentiles and Israel’s vocation to bring a “light to the nations” who are in darkness. The latter tendency may be discerned in the famous passage from Isa 42:6–7: “I am the LORD, I have called you in righteousness, I have taken you by the hand and kept you; I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners

³⁹ See Acts 15:1.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the meaning of Ἰουδαῖοι here, see Malcolm Lowe, “Who Were the Ioudaioi?” *NovT* 18.2 (1976): 101–30.

⁴¹ See Jeffrey S. Lamp, “Is Paul Anti-Jewish? Testament of Levi 6 in the Interpretation of 1 Thessalonians 2:13–16,” *CBQ* 65.3 (2003): 408–10.

from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness.”⁴² The former tendency was exemplified e.g. in Ps 79:6–10, a passage of which the first part would later feature prominently in the Passover liturgy:

6 *Pour out thy anger on the nations that do not know thee, and on the kingdoms that do not call on thy name!* 7 For they have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his habitation. 8 Do not remember against us the iniquities of our forefathers; let thy compassion come speedily to meet us, for we are brought very low. 9 Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name; deliver us, and forgive our sins, for thy name’s sake! 10 Why should the nations say, “Where is their God?” Let the avenging of the outpoured blood of thy servants be known among the nations before our eyes!⁴³

This early biblical sentiment was further elaborated in Second Temple sources; I will quote two of them, both enjoying a significant standing in, inter alia, Hellenistic Jewry. First, a passage from Ben Sira (36:1–17):

Have mercy upon us, O Lord, the God of all, and look upon us, 2 and cause the fear of thee to fall upon all the nations. 3 Lift up thy hand against foreign nations and let them see thy might. 4 As in us thou hast been sanctified before them, so in them be thou magnified before us; 5 and let them know thee, as we have known that there is not God but thee, O Lord. 6 Show signs anew, and work further wonders; make thy hand and thy right arm glorious. 7 *Rouse thy anger and pour out thy wrath;* destroy the adversary and wipe out the enemy. 8 Hasten the day, and remember the appointed time, and let people recount thy mighty

⁴² Whether the passage in Isaiah 42—as well as the “four songs” of the Lord’s Prophetic Servant (Isa 42:1–4, 49:1–6, 50:4–11, 52:13–53:12)—refers to the people of Israel or to a charismatic individual of prophetic stature has been a much debated issue. For a discussion and a survey of the variety of scholarly suggestions, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; NY: Doubleday, 2002) 2:76–81, 209–11, 355–57. I am grateful to Elitzur Bar-Asher, who drew my attention to the relevance of Isaiah 42 to my topic.

⁴³ See Ps 69:20–28:

20 Insults have broken my heart, so that I am in despair. I looked for pity, but there was none; and for comforters, but I found none. 21 They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink. 22 Let their own table before them become a snare; let their sacrificial feasts be a trap. 23 Let their eyes be darkened, so that they cannot see; and make their loins tremble continually. 24 *Pour out thy indignation upon them, and let thy burning anger overtake them.* 25 May their camp be a desolation, let no one dwell in their tents. 26 For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten, and him whom thou hast wounded, they afflict still more. 27 Add to them punishment upon punishment; may they have no acquittal from thee. 28 Let them be blotted out of the book of the living; let them not be enrolled among the righteous.

deeds. 9 Let him who survives be consumed in the *fiery wrath*, and may those who harm thy people meet destruction...

And second, an instructive statement from 2 Maccabees, elaborating on the difference in God's attitude towards Jews and Gentiles (2 Macc 6:14–15):

For in the case of the other nations the Lord waits patiently to punish them until they have reached the full measure of their sins; but he does not deal in this way with us, in order that he may not take vengeance on us afterwards when our sins have reached their height. (οὐ γὰρ καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν... πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν κολάσαι οὐτόως καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔκρινεν εἶναι)

The notion that God postpones punishment of the Gentiles until they “have reached the full measure of their sins” (πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν) not only clearly anticipates 1 Thess 2:16 but constitutes an explicit parallel to the wording there (εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας)—a fact that gives additional support to the interpretation of the verse suggested above. We may safely postulate the existence of a background non-sectarian Jewish expectation of the eventual destruction of the non-believing (and non-observant) Gentiles at the time when their sinful deeds have reached their full measure.⁴⁴ But the evidence of 1 Thessalonians amounts to something more specific: If my understanding of the sons-of-light—sons-of-darkness passage in 1 Thessalonians 5 as a logical continuation of the polemic started in 1 Thessalonians 2 is accepted, the epistle provides an indication that in the apocalyptic context the Gentiles were also routinely branded by Paul's Jewish adversaries—some of them probably from within the Jesus movement⁴⁵—as sons of darkness.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ According to Paula Fredriksen (“Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self,” *JTS* 37.1 [1986]: 3–34, esp. p. 30), it is in response to this problem that Paul announces God's surprising plan to save the Gentiles. See also Krister Stendahl, *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴⁵ While the wording of the beginning of 1Thess 2:15 (“who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out”) seems to presuppose opposition coming from outside the movement, what follows: “and displease God and oppose all men by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles” may also indicate opposition to Paul's enterprise from within. See, for example, Acts 15:1–5, 21:17–21; Gal 1–3.

⁴⁶ Let me reiterate that the perception of the demarcation line between the two groups reflected in the polemic of 1 Thessalonians seems to presuppose double

Now, despite the similarity, the sons-of-light—sons-of-darkness anti-Gentile polemical usage reflected in 1 Thessalonians differs substantially from the clearly sectarian one at Qumran, where it denotes the fateful distinction *within* the people of Israel. What is the relation between the two usages? In principle, two alternative conjectures are possible here: (a) the former usage had been in existence before it was modified in Qumran in accordance with the group's sectarian stance; or (b) it represents a non-sectarian transformation of initially sectarian Qumran terminology. Whatever the case, however, one may venture to suggest that 1 Thessalonians bears witness to the existence—in the first century of the common era—of a non-sectarian Jewish usage of the apocalyptic sons-of-light/darkness terminology applied to the traditional borderline between Jews and Gentiles.

4. CONCLUSION

The two test cases discussed in this paper differ greatly in their setting and belong to different strata of the early Christian literature. However, they both exemplify the line of investigation I am suggesting—namely, mapping the New Testament as potentially bearing witness to broader Jewish or, alternatively, sectarian patterns of religious discourse.

The importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls here is twofold. First, the intensive scholarly discussion of the sectarian/non-sectarian division of the Qumranic texts and/or motifs provides crucial impetus for conducting an analogous search with regard to early Christian written documents, a search that promises to contribute both to a better understanding of the interaction between the “sectarian” and “common” Jewish elements in earliest Christianity and—through unearthing the latter—to a fuller picture of what is sometimes called “Formative Judaism.” Second, this paper suggests that it is the comparative study of the New Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls (together with other relevant Jewish writings)—two “sectarian corpora” presumably containing non-sectarian elements—that often helps the discernment of patterns of a broader Jewish circulation in the nascent Christian tradition.

Scholars of Qumran have developed important methods and insights that make it possible to learn from the scrolls not only about

predestination: Paul's adversaries *do not* expect him to “bring the light to the Gentiles” (which Isaiah 42 advocates).

the particular group that supposedly produced them but also about rival groups as well as “wider Judaism.” It may be hoped that similar systematic effort will be invested into critical reassessment of the “witness value” of the earliest Christian writings. This study is but a preliminary inroad in that direction.

4. GENDER AT QUMRAN

RETHINKING GENDER IN THE *COMMUNITY RULE*:
AN EXPERIMENT IN SOCIOLOGY*

MAXINE L. GROSSMAN

1. METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

For scholars with an interest in the history of religious movements, the sectarian rule texts from Qumran represent a significant challenge. At times these texts line up neatly with one another, but at other times, they overlap or contradict one another in complicated ways. At times the relationship between these texts and historical events seems clear, but at others, much less so. In light of these complexities, it is useful to think in explicitly methodological terms: How might we go about the process of moving from available textual evidence to hypothetical historical reconstructions? What tools are available to us, and how best can we take advantage of them?

The tools that I have chosen to work with in this paper are drawn from the fields of gender studies and sociology. Each represents a very narrow slice taken from a much broader academic discipline, and each consequently aids us by creating single prisms through which we can focus and re-channel our initial questions. Together, these approaches provide an opportunity for thinking historically about the scrolls, while focusing on that challenging gap between our textual evidence and the imagined social world in which it originated.

On the question of gender, the *Community Rule* may seem like an odd place to begin. After all, this text has long been treated as the representation of an all-male sectarian collective, whose primary concerns have little to do with the things we often associate with gender: marriage, sexuality, reproduction, and their attendant challenges to ritual purity. Nor does this text seem to pay a great deal of attention to what feminist critical scholars would call the *construction* of gender: the use of particular themes, imagery, or social claims in the process of distinguishing men from women or masculinity from femininity. As we will

* I would like to thank Joan E. Taylor for her helpful comments on this paper and Rachel Baltuch for the assistance that allowed me to complete my revisions.

see, however, even a text that seems not to pay much explicit attention to gender is always, from its inception, in the process of constructing the gender of its subjects.

The choice to work sociologically, in contrast, may seem more immediately obvious to some readers. Sociological approaches to the Dead Sea Scrolls are well established in the field; for decades they have provided scholars with tools for rethinking basic historical questions about the social structure and ideology of the communities associated with the scrolls.¹ One advantage of a sociological perspective is its explicit introduction of tools from an outside field. The definitions, comparative exercises, and analytical models provided by sociology effectively serve as levers, allowing us to pry up long-standing assumptions and consider apparently familiar evidence from thought-provoking new angles.²

Two working tools will be of particular use in this project. The first, drawn from the field of gender studies, might be summed up at its most concrete as *the disjunction of textual and social androcentrism*. Androcentrism refers to the worldview that assumes men to be the “normal” or “neutral” actors in society and treats women as excep-

¹ The publications of Shemaryahu Talmon, Albert I. Baumgarten, and most recently Eyal Regev have been central for discussions of sociology and scrolls scholarship. See, for example, Talmon, “The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 3–24; Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); and Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007). For an approach to the scrolls that incorporates both sociological and economic considerations, see Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). Specifically on the subject of sects and sectarianism, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 33–93; Anthony J. Saldarini, “Sectarianism,” in *EDSS* 2:853–57. The range of current scrolls scholarship in a sociological mode is reflected by the essays in the second half of *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances* (ed. David J. Chalcraff; London: Equinox, 2007).

² On the use of eclectic approaches from the social sciences (and the acknowledgment that the results of such attempts are unpredictable and at times disappointing), see Albert I. Baumgarten, “Information Processing in Ancient Jewish Groups,” in Chalcraff, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, 246–55. Baumgarten and Regev both work in a comparative mode; see also Jean Duhaime, “Relative Deprivation in New Religious Movements and the Qumran Community,” *RevQ* 16 (1993): 265–76. For further discussion of methodology, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 10–25.

tions to the general rule in the male-defined sphere.³ Androcentrism is, for the most part, a given in the evidence that has been preserved from the ancient world, but social androcentrism and literary or textual androcentrism are not identical phenomena. The first may be understood as an ideological perspective, one that has the potential to shade off into misogyny, but that even at its most matter-of-fact assumes that men are supposed to be public actors and speakers, that women are adjuncts of their male relatives, and that gender roles are and should be visibly distinct, with men's at the center and women's at the periphery.⁴

Literary or textual androcentrism *may* incorporate these social assumptions, but it is characterized by an even more fundamental element: that of grammar. Textual androcentrism, after all, provides a response to the problem of how to write about single-gender and multi-gender subjects in the context of an explicitly gendered language. Within the pragmatics of language, the masculine becomes the general mode, and the feminine stands out as the exception. Thus, biblical Hebrew speaks collectively of *b'nei yisrael*, "sons of Israel," to refer to Israelites of any gender, and it can use the term *ish*, "a man," as a legal designation for "each one" or "each person," regardless of gender. But the result of this establishment of "norm" and "exception" is a curious doubling: while "man" can refer to people in general (that

³ On the Bible as an androcentric textual source, see the essays in *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader* (ed. Alice Bach; London: Routledge, 1999), especially Bach's introduction, "Man's World, Women's Place: Sexual Politics in the Hebrew Bible," xiii–xxvi. On this concept in ancient Mediterranean culture, including Judaism in the Greco-Roman period, see Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford, 1992).

⁴ The last decade has seen a welcome increase in attention to the topic of women and gender in scrolls scholarship, as this volume demonstrates. A key starting point for a discussion of androcentrism in the scrolls is Eileen Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:117–44. Other important discussions of the subject are found in Philip Davies and Joan Taylor, "On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 223–35; Joan E. Taylor, "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *DSD* 6 (1999): 285–323, esp. 295; Sidnie White Crawford, "Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127–50; and Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). For a sociologically-contextualized treatment of the subject, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 301–33.

is, Mankind), it also—logic would argue, usually—implies a reference to *male* persons in particular.⁵ The gap between the words of a text and the things they attempt to represent is, I believe, a useful one, deserving of further attention.⁶

The second working tool comes out of recent sociological scholarship on the scrolls, especially that of Jutta Jokiranta. In considering the treatment of sociological theory by scrolls scholars, Jokiranta addresses the importance of thinking about the context in which texts and ideological formations developed. She notes in particular that certain classical definitions of sectarianism (e.g., those of Ernst Troeltsch) assume the presence of a state church, with respect to which a sectarian movement is most visibly sectarian.⁷ But for ancient Judaism, as Jokiranta and others have noted, such an assumption is not appropriate.⁸ Different perspectives are needed, then, for thinking about a sect in the context of a more diverse mainstream religious culture. Jokiranta argues, successfully I think, for the productive use of “tension with respect to the mainstream” (as introduced by Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge) as a tool for analysis.⁹

⁵ Nor is such pragmatic androcentrism unfamiliar in modern academic circles; it was only in the mid 1990s that the venerable British *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* dropped its overttitle: *Man*.

⁶ It may be useful to think of this tool as a kind of sociologically-located version of the standard feminist critical approach commonly identified as “reading against the grain.” See the sources in n. 4 above; see also, from a somewhat different vantage point, Eryl W. Davies, *The Dissenting Reader: Feminist Approaches to the Hebrew Bible* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2003).

⁷ See Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (orig. publ. 1912; trans. Olive Wyons; New York: Harper, 1960). For Max Weber’s formative definitions of sect and sectarianism, see Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (orig. publ. 1904–1905; trans. Talcott Parsons; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1958). An extensive reconsideration of Weber’s significance for the contemporary study of ancient Judaism can be found in the essays that make up the first half of Chalcraft, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*.

⁸ See Cecilia Wassen and Jutta Jokiranta, “Groups in Tension: Sectarianism in the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*,” in Chalcraft, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism*, 205–45; Jokiranta, *Identity on a Continuum: Constructing and Expressing Sectarian Social Identity in Qumran Serakhim and Pesharim* (STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); and “Social-Scientific Approaches to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 246–63. Jokiranta is not the first to make this observation; see, for example, Albert I. Baumgarten, “He Knew that He Knew that He Knew that He was an Essene,” *JJS* 48.1 (1997): 53–61; Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 34–42; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 198–99.

⁹ See Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985);

For consideration of sectarian movements not with respect to an authorized church but rather with respect to a more eclectic mainstream, this notion of degrees of tension seems particularly appropriate. It reminds us that individual sectarian groups—and individual sectarian compositions—can vary in ways large and small. In like fashion, levels of tension with respect to the mainstream too may vary, even among related groups, and certainly with respect to different issues. A dynamic sense of these differences is thus crucial. While we may not always know which differences mattered (that is, what distinguishes a schism-worthy conflict from an agree-to-disagree point of distinction), we can identify differences in texts and use them to build up a nuanced picture of sectarian variety that pays attention to both shared and distinct group norms, at least in their literary representation. This latter approach, which really amounts to a kind of comparative close reading of texts, in terms of key wording, concepts, and framing, generates a working tool that we might describe as the *examination of small differences*.

Taken together, the disjunction of textual and social androcentrism and the examination of small differences are working tools that may be helpful for several reasons. First, each provides us with specific textual elements upon which to focus, permitting us to narrow down the discussion to a handful of relevant examples, key passages, or particular textual provocations. In addition, both of these tools foreground our key agenda, in that they offer new avenues for making the problematic move from the world imagined in our texts to a social world in which that imagination took place.¹⁰

A consideration of textual examples will allow us to put these two working tools to the test. We will begin and end with the *Community Rule*, paying particular attention to its constructions of gender and its treatment of the “men” of the community. Examples from the *Rule of the Congregation* and the *Damascus Document* will provide foils

and Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

¹⁰ One backdrop for this discussion of text and world is Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); his conception of “textual communities” has had significant impact on the study of religious movements in Mediterranean antiquity and medieval Europe. See also Maxine L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

for our reading, and in turn they will allow us to rethink the initial presentation of gender as it appears in our base text.¹¹

2. THE *COMMUNITY RULE*

Readers of the *Community Rule* recognize it as a text that appears utterly androcentric. In it, we find no mention of women, barring the poetic description of men as “son of [God’s] handmaid,” “one born of woman” in the concluding hymn of the text’s most extensive witness (1QS 11:16, 21).¹² Nor does the text incorporate any reference to ordinary family relationships, or language of clan or tribe; the only reference to reproduction is found in stylized language of “fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings” (1QS 4:7). In place of family commitments, the sect’s “volunteers” commit to “the community” and “its council,” endeavoring to seek God and to follow the commandments of Moses and the prophets (1QS 1:1–3), and especially to “love all the sons of light, each man according to his lot,” and “to hate all the sons of darkness, each man according to his guilt” (1QS 1:9–11).

The atmosphere here is one of intense scrutiny and collective discipline: members are judged for their behavior and learning and are ranked hierarchically; rankings fluctuate year by year, so that members are constantly at pains to retain or improve their standing with respect to their own progress and that of their fellow sectarians. The public structures of scrutiny and evaluation include a penal code that quantifies a range of major and minor punishments, designed to discipline the bodies and spirits of community members. Severe punishments address transgressions that threaten the group’s stability (lying about possessions, 6:24–25; defying the authority of a more-highly-ranked member, 6:25–27), while lesser but still substantial penalties attempt to constrain disruptive behavior at its outset (interrupting other members when they are speaking, 7:9–10; lying down or falling asleep

¹¹ For a more extensive discussion of some of these issues, see Maxine L. Grossman, “Gendered Sectarians: Envisioning Women (and Men) at Qumran,” in *Celebrate Her for the Fruit of Her Hands: Studies in Honor of Carol L. Meyers* (ed. Charles C. Carter and Karla G. Bohmbach; Grand Rapids: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

¹² Text and translation of 1QS follow James H. Charlesworth, “The Rule of the Community,” in *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 1; *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1994), 7–51.

during a group meeting, or leaving a meeting without permission, 7:10–11). Unnecessary public nakedness is punished, as is the lesser crime of exposing the genitals; even frivolous laughter is a punishable offense (7:12–14). The most significant transgressions, punishable by exclusion from the community without the option of return, include defaming the group (7:16–17) and, interestingly, speaking the name of God (7:1–2); disobedience with respect to the laws of the community is a banishing offense, but only for those who have been in the community for ten years or longer (7:22–24).

As envisioned in the *Community Rule*, these sectarians are “men” of a striking and specific sort. Their masculinity is structured by social constraints that promote obedience, respect, and self-control, assuming that idealized group members will avoid anger, aggression, and even stubbornness in their relationships with one another (1QS 5:25–26).¹³ A guarded attitude toward sexuality in the text similarly balances the expectation of sexual restraint with the assumption that members of the group will be capable of the self-control it requires.¹⁴ Identity as “men” at each point in the text is thus equated with self-mastery and discipline within a context of intense hierarchical relationships with others.¹⁵ The *askesis* of these voluntary community members

¹³ For further discussion of collective identity formation in this context, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 129–32.

¹⁴ A discussion in terms of sexual restraint and the range of possible behaviors associated with it (including the possibility of temporary or permanent celibacy, but also limits on types and timing of sexual behavior among those who are permitted to be sexually active) allows, in my opinion, for a more nuanced understanding of sexuality among the sectarians than does a standard binary opposing marriage and celibacy. On the current state of the question, see esp. Crawford, “Not According to Rule.” For challenges to the dominant view that the *Community Rule* is connected with a celibate group, see most recently Eyal Regev, “Cherchez les femmes: Were the *yahad* Celibates?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 1–32. See also Joan E. Taylor, “Women, Children and Celibate Men in the *Serekh* Texts,” forthcoming.

¹⁵ Mastery of self and other is a common core in constructions of masculinity throughout the ancient Mediterranean. For constraints on sexual desire in the scrolls, see Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 174–79. On constructions of masculinity in a larger ancient Jewish context, see Stephen D. Moore and Janice Capel Anderson, “Taking it Like a Man: Masculinity in 4 Maccabees,” *JBL* 117.2 (1998): 249–73; Michael L. Satlow, “‘Try to Be a Man’: The Rabbinic Construction of Masculinity,” *HTR* 89.1 (1996): 19–40. For a discussion of identity formation within the category of philosophy, see Joan E. Taylor, *Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria: Philo’s ‘Therapeutae’ Reconsidered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 106–11. On masculinity in Josephus’s descriptions of the Essenes, see Steve Mason, “Essenes and Lurking Spartans in Josephus’ Judean War: From Story to History,” in *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method* (ed. Zuleika Rodgers; JSJSup

underscores their most basic self-constructions: to be a man is to be in control of oneself and to give oneself over to controlled relationships with other sectarians, with the larger community order, and indeed especially, with God. Notably lacking in this construction of masculinity, of course, is any direct attention to interactions with women, wives, or non-metaphorical children.¹⁶

Given this construction of masculine identity, we may turn to our first comparative endeavor at “examination of small details.” How does the construction of gender in the *Community Rule* fare when compared with the treatment of gender in the *Rule of the Congregation*, and in particular, with the sectarian life-cycle passage found in 1QS*a* 1:6–19?¹⁷ Here, in place of the undifferentiated masculinity of the *Community Rule*, we find a text that explicitly assumes the presence of a mixed-gender population and a social structure that revolves around families, including husbands, wives, and children. The children this text imagines are raised, educated, and brought into the congregation, and in adulthood they are expected to marry and take on positions of responsibility and authority within the group. Androcentric language dominates the treatment here, and with it we find our first clear example of a disjunction between text and world: although the text initially makes the presence of female participants explicit, and thus most likely assumes their presence through the course of its discussions, all such discussions of sectarian participation (with the marked exception of rules around marriage) are framed in masculine terms. A child is educated according to “his age,” and “he” comes into

110; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 219–61, esp. 225–26 and following. I thank Joan Taylor for this latter reference.

¹⁶ In part, this construction of sectarian identity may be shaped by the aspiration to become more like the angels. I thank Ross Kraemer for reminding me of this point. On sectarian self-identity as angels, see Devorah Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Adele Berlin; Bethesda: University of Maryland Press, 1996), 93–103; for a more expansive argument on angelic priestly identity in Second Temple period literature, see Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). On relationships of angels and humans in explicitly gendered perspective, see also Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

¹⁷ Text and English translations here follow the text and French translations of Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, “28a. Règle de la congrégation (1QS*a*),” *Qumran Cave I* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 108–18.

adulthood at the age of 20, just as “he” takes on other responsibilities at five- and ten-year increments thereafter.

The one notable exception to this rule is, of course, the much-discussed reference to women’s responsibility as witnesses, presumably with respect to their husbands’ private marital behavior (“she shall be received to give witness against him (about) the ordinances of the law and to take a [p]lace in the hearing of judgments,” 1QS_a 1:11).¹⁸ Incredulity with respect to such a possibility led some scholars early in the history of scrolls research to emend the text, to refer to the husband’s role as a witness in the congregation, although the more recent publication of the 4QDamasus material has demonstrated that at least some women in that context were understood to be trustworthy witnesses.¹⁹ Discussions of this passage, since the time of Joseph Baumgarten’s initial argument for emendation in 1957, have generally focused on its many interruptive and surprising elements. In a text that refers to men, here is a sudden reference to women’s behavior; in a text that structures itself around carefully-delineated age ranges, this passage makes no reference to age as an identifying quality. And in a text that appears to represent a conservative religious congregation, here appear anomalous opportunities for women’s participation in public ritual.

What often has been missed in this discussion is the fact that the description of the wife’s behavior (and I do think this passage refers to the wife and not the husband) is not the only anomalously gendered reference in the text. Rather, it is part of a paired set of references, which together represent the only explicitly gendered passage,

¹⁸ See Barthélemy and Milik, “Règle de la Congrégation,” 108–109.

¹⁹ At least in matters related to sexuality. While the text here apparently concerns the sexual behavior of husbands, the 4QD material concerns the sexual behavior of women with questionable reputations, and their status as potential spouses for male covenanters. See further discussion of these parallels below. For the original emendation, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, “On the Testimony of Women in 1QS_a,” *JBL* 76.4 (1957): 266–69. This treatment has been influential in later scholarship on the scrolls; see, for example, Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 18–19; idem, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 134–35. For additional sources and the history of scholarship on this issue, see Davies and Taylor, “On the Testimony of Women”; Grossman, “Women and Men in the Rule of the Congregation: A Feminist Critical Assessment,” in idem, ed., *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, 229–45. See also Aharon Shemesh, “Marriage and Marital Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls” in this volume, 589–600.

to men as male persons *and* women as female.²⁰ That is, if we were to lift out the twinned statements about when men can become sexually active (presumably through heterosexual marriage) and how women are responsible for scrutiny of their male partners' behavior, then what remains is a text whose androcentric language *never* explicitly distinguishes male from female persons. And if we were to read that androcentric text in light of Eileen Schuller's argument that the gender of the referents in a text should not be redefined until such time as the text calls for such redefinition,²¹ then what appears is a text that begins with reference to men, women, and their children, and then proceeds to talk about their—*all of their*—life-journeys, from childhood, through participation in the congregation, and into old age. The result of this sort of reading, in other words, is a text that is entirely androcentric in its literary form but in fact reflects a gender-inclusive social setting.

But of course the paired references to marriage *are* present in the text, and they provide precisely the sort of textual moments within which the gender of the text's actors may appear to be redefined. For this reason, these passages are best understood as a kind of pivot, around which a picture of the society behind the text may be upended and reconsidered. Of particular interest in this sort of reading is the varying referent attached to the term "he." Although the terminology remains consistent through the text, the masculine pronoun has different meanings at distinct points along the way.²² Introductory references to children's education use the masculine singular even as they assume the presence of a mixed-gender group of children; the text leaves ambiguous the matter of how—and whether—the education of girls will differ from that of boys.²³ Our pivotal references to marriage and sexuality then shift the gender of the terminology, so that "he" becomes an explicitly-male sectarian, while his foil—the wife of unspecified age—stands out as a newly-identified and thus appar-

²⁰ On this point, see Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 132; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 140–43.

²¹ She makes the claim with regard to this text in particular; see Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 131–32.

²² A helpful parallel is the use of "adam" in the opening chapters of Genesis; the grammatically masculine term there refers initially to a gender-undifferentiated creature but later to a figure who is explicitly male. See n. 29 below.

²³ On education of boys and girls, see Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 164–67.

ently interruptive figure.²⁴ Her presence in the text is a product of her relationship to her husband, while his is a product of his relationship to the congregation; at the same time, her role (as a witness to his behavior) implies particular knowledge, judgment, and responsibility on her part.

The next cluster of “he” statements is a bit trickier. The context is one delineating the leadership and authority structures of the congregation and the role of our congregant in this context. On the one hand, the structure of the text seems to incorporate the male sectarian while holding out the female as an exceptional (again, interruptive) figure. From this vantage point, it would follow that the congregation’s leaders would necessarily be men. But again, it may not be that simple. Eileen Schuller makes another important observation when she notes that nowhere in the text do we find the assertion that women are *disqualified* from participation and leadership.²⁵ In fact the image of women as witnesses—and the explicit permission of their presence when justice is rendered—suggests something to the contrary. Additionally, the term “to take their place” is one that appears both with respect to the wifely witnesses and—in two other passages—with respect to ostensibly male participants who take on leadership roles in the group.²⁶ When the same verb is used in reference to actions by both men and women, this is a point worth noting. It is, in some ways, a challenge to the apparent androcentrism of the text.

I suspect that some of what drives this text is the product of a clash between the androcentric social agenda of its framers and the limits of the androcentric language that was available to them. Most likely, the chief priority of the framers of this text was to implement structures that would control the morality and purity of the group and its individual participants, by making public and explicit the rules for sexual behavior and the mechanisms for enforcing them. Resonance with the structures of public control in the *Community Rule* seems likely here, as does resonance with the larger notion of sectarian identity as something that relies upon both individual and reciprocal disciplinary

²⁴ Again, consider the creation of woman in the Garden story; it is her “removal” from the primal androgyne that explicitly makes evident the presence of male and female entities.

²⁵ Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 133–34; see also Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Qumran,” 295; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 144–56.

²⁶ Barthélemy and Milik, “28a. Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa),” 114–15.

strategies. But this ideological endeavor brings with it certain (perhaps unintended) social implications. It raises the status of women actors, by making necessary their participation in the institutional structures of scrutiny and discipline. It may even grant them “official” (or near-official) standing in the group. As a consequence, it may also grant them more significant roles in the congregation than women generally have in groups that do not share this institutional need.²⁷ What is not clear is whether the (most likely male) framers of the text would have appreciated or disparaged such a situation.

3. THE *DAMASCUS DOCUMENT*

This intersecting dynamic of social realities, textual representations, and authoritative agendas is similarly evident in the *Damascus Document*, which shares much in wording and framing with the *Rule of the Congregation*.²⁸ This text, too, is thoroughly androcentric. The Admonition, with its series of sermon-like narratives, frames the history of Israel and the history of the covenant community in masculine terms throughout, and the Laws that make up the larger second portion of the text appear generally in masculine terms. The text is capable of framing laws in more gender-neutral ways (thus, one cannot break Shabbat to give aid to “any living person,” *kol nefesh adam*, who is drowning; CD 11.16), but the common term is *ish*, “a man,” “anyone,” in rules that clearly apply to both men and women.²⁹ Compared to the other two texts, though, the *Damascus Document* contains more

²⁷ Sects by their nature tend toward patterns of gender-hierarchy that differ from those of their surrounding culture. For more on this, see Regev, *Sectarianism at Qumran*, 301–33.

²⁸ Texts and translations of *Damascus Document* material follow Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP 2; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 4–57; Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

²⁹ Of course, even this phrasing is not gender-neutral, since *adam* can mean “human being” but can also refer to “a man” or the biblical figure Adam; see nn. 22 and 24 above. Compared with the more general term *ish*, however, this expression appears to reflect an explicit attempt at maximal inclusivity. That even such an attempt at inclusivity requires the use of some androcentric language should further confirm the need for a working tool that distinguishes between textual representations and social realities.

references to women and women's actions, as well as several striking references to gender formation that are worth our attention.

Two such passages will be familiar here. The first is the reference to uncle-niece marriages in CD 5:7–11, which notes that the language of scripture is “written with respect to males, but (applies to) women in like fashion” (CD 5:9–10). The second concerns a discussion of oaths, and the possibility of their nullification. Women's oaths are the responsibility of their husbands or fathers, but the text notes that a man can only nullify an oath of his wife's or daughter's if he knows that it transgresses the Torah (CD 16:10–12). Women's oaths whose Torah-implications are unclear *cannot* be nullified by their male relatives.³⁰ These two passages are striking, in that they show that the framers of this text were thinking about the implications of gender as such. However, they also support an argument that gender is not their first priority. Rather, the importance of maintaining proper sectarian practice (for example, by not transgressing marriage standards as the sect understands them) and the importance of maintaining the absolute authority of Torah (again, as the sect imagines it) require addressing basic structural issues that happen to include those of men's and women's roles in the sectarian group.³¹

A further example of the ambivalence that arises in this context can be found in the now-famous passage concerning the authority of the “mothers” in the Damascus covenant community. According to a Cave 4 penal code document, those who murmur against “the fathers” are to be banished permanently from the sectarian group, while those who murmur against “the mothers” are penalized for only ten days, since the mothers have no *roqmah*.³² Leaving aside the specific meaning of *roqmah* (it is enough to think of it as “visible, public status in the group,” whether the marker of this status is material or not),³³ what

³⁰ See Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 90–93.

³¹ Wassen offers a somewhat different take on this point. See Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 11–13, 106, 121, 128.

³² 4Q270 7 i 13–15; see Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 163–66.

³³ For two extensive discussions of this term, see George J. Brooke, “Between Qumran and Corinth: Embroidered Allusions to Women's Authority,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 157–76; Sidnie White Crawford, “Mothers, Sisters, and Elders: Titles for Women in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities,” in Davila, *Dead Sea Scrolls as Background*, 177–91; see also, Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 189–97.

we have here is a wonderfully explicit example of overlays of ideological norms, social expectations, and the limits of language available for conveying them.

The power dynamic here is, yet again, multilayered. Taken at face value, the words of the text argue that women lack some significant marker of authority in the sectarian group, and that they are not to be respected in the way that men are. But the fact that the text must *argue* this point is a striking one. The moment we read the word “because” (as in, “because they have no *roqmah*”), we know that the arguers are on shakier ground than they would like to claim; their need to justify their argument demonstrates, at minimum, that it is neither a foregone conclusion nor a universal assumption among the people for whom they are writing.³⁴ Furthermore, the mere presence of the parallel between the categories of “mothers” and “fathers” lends an aura of balance to the treatment of women’s public role. There is no getting around the parallel, even if the text works hard to limit, neutralize, and in fact delegitimize it.³⁵

4. CONCLUSIONS

The specific relationship of the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Congregation* is not immediately obvious, nor is the relationship of either to the *Community Rule*, but the fact that there is *some* connection is indeed clear. In reading these texts in light of each other, we consequently need to be careful not to treat evidence from one text as “the solution” to a question raised by another. Instead, ideally, we should try to pay attention to distinctions in the subtle points of overlap, intersection, and contiguity. Thus, for example, the “trustworthy women” who serve as witnesses to other women’s sexual suitability for marriage in the 4QDamascus material do *not* imply a one-to-one correspondence with the women who witness against their husbands in 1QSa, but both passages support the view that women might be able to serve as reliable witnesses, particularly in the context of matters of sexual propriety.³⁶ Notably, though, 1QSa seems to assume that all

³⁴ See Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 197; for another view, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 322.

³⁵ See Taylor, *Women Philosophers*, 246–48.

³⁶ See Davies and Taylor, “On the Testimony of Women,” 233.

women can serve as witnesses in this way, while the *Damascus Document* indicates the need to select “trustworthy” women as witnesses, specifically in cases in which the normal system of oversight and discipline is inadequate.³⁷

This small distinction has significant implications for our larger discussion, and they concern the matter of textual *tone*, which is again a potential aid for getting at the social world beyond the text. While the *Rule of the Congregation*, with its terse and stylized presentation, expresses no explicit ambivalence about the roles that women might play in the congregation it imagines, the text of the *Damascus Document* includes multiple notes of discomfort with respect to women’s public presence and (perhaps) social authority. Should we read this potentially misogynist tone back from the *Damascus Document* onto our understanding of the *Rule of the Congregation*? Doing so would surely color our understanding of the intentions of the *Rule*’s framers with regard to their inclusion of women in the text. Alternatively, and perhaps more productively, we may choose to recognize the possibility of such a reading but acknowledge that this is but one in a range of possible readings of the evidence.

Given this attention to the small differences in these texts, and given the apparent disjunction between what the texts claim and what evidence they appear to provide, we can now turn back to our original reading of the *Community Rule*. How do these discussions help us to rethink the androcentric language of that text and its construction of a masculine sectarian who is notable for his self-discipline, his integration into a shared community, and his willingness to undergo—and cause others to undergo—scrutiny and judgment in the course of maintaining his relationship with God and the covenant?

The social situation implied in the *Community Rule* clearly differs from that of our other two texts. Here we have no wives and offspring; we have no family structures at all. To say that the text refers to men alone, in isolation from marriage, families, and reproduction is not at all an inappropriate assertion. But, as we saw in our reading of

³⁷ See Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 201–5. Alternatively, given the use of “trustworthy” as a common term of reference with regard to witnesses, it is possible that the two texts share the view that any woman who is acceptable as a wife will also be acceptable (i.e., “trustworthy”) as a witness. On this term as a technical reference to acceptable witnesses, see Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 87–88.

marriage-language in 1QSa, such a statement does not give the full picture. Just as there are no mothers, wives, or sexually-active women in this text, so too is the text lacking in fathers, husbands, and sexually-active men.

In this sense, the *Community Rule* is something like our imagined *Rule of the Congregation* once stripped of its references to marriage. Both texts are absolutely, undeniably androcentric. But neither explicitly makes reference to men *as male persons* in any identifiable way. In place of a masculinity attached to kinship structures, family commitments, and sexual tensions, the language of the *Community Rule* emphasizes a sectarian gendering grounded in the self-discipline, self-control, and mental seriousness of its “volunteers.” This unusual construction of masculinity—combined with the text’s absolute silence on the subject of women—creates a structure whereby the “men” that it imagines are, effectively, neither husbands nor wives, neither male nor female. Rather, they are simply “men.” And, as we have seen already, the “men” of textual androcentrism may, on occasion, include “female men” as well as male ones.

My language in this context may be radical, but my conclusions are probably not. In fact, a number of other recent studies have explored the possibility that the *Community Rule* may have reflected a group that included female sectarians.³⁸ What makes this approach novel, I think, and consequently what makes it useful, is its introduction of working tools that provide alternate vantage points for considering familiar evidence. A reading that uses a text’s own androcentrism to highlight its ambiguities and doublings of language and referentiality can go a long way toward opening our eyes to unexpected possibilities in familiar textual evidence. Similarly, the strategic attention to small differences can provide us with new lenses for analyzing that evidence. These are but two of the many possible tools that approaches like sociology and feminist criticism offer scholars today, and I hope that they serve as an argument in favor of explicitly methodological work that takes seriously the challenges of our texts, in all their material and literary specificity.

³⁸ See Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 131; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 8–9; Crawford, “Not According to Rule,” and now Taylor, “Women, Children, and Celibate Men.” For the idea that female sectarians were perceived as having transcended their gender, see Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran*, 329–30.

CANONIZATION AND GENDER IN QUMRAN:
4Q179, 4Q184, 2Q18 AND 11QPSALMS^A

TAL ILAN

What is a biblical text in Qumran? In *Miqṣat Ma'āse Ha-Torah* C 10 we are informed that the Dead Sea sect¹ believed in the sanctity of a tripartite corpus: Moses, the Prophets and David.² While the first two categories seem to coincide more or less with the Hebrew Bible's Torah and Prophets, the third category—David—is obviously defined differently from our *Ketuvim*. In fact we can assume that it entails first-and-foremost (and perhaps exclusively) the Psalms assigned to David. In Qumran, more scrolls of Psalms were found than of any other composition.³ Yet we may justifiably inquire whether the term “David” included any other composition. We know that the canonicity of the various components of the *Ketuvim* was debated in rabbinic literature and that, at least according to tannaitic sources, some rabbis thought Song of Songs and Qohelet should not be canonized (see *m. Yad.* 5:5). Similarly we know that in Qumran, fragments of all the biblical books were found except the book of Esther.⁴ Is this intentional? We do not know.⁵ We do know that other books were

¹ I use this term in the conventional sense of the word. For discussions of this term and its historical meaning, see now the first section of this volume.

² See Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V. Miqṣat Ma'āse Ha-Torah*. (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 58–59. For a discussion of this passage, see Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Crystallization of the ‘Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures’ in Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library, 2002), 11–12. For dissenting opinions about this interpretation see, inter alia, Jonathan G. Campbell, “4QMMT⁴ and the Tripartite Canon,” *JJS* 51 (2000): 181–90; Timothy H. Lim, “The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible,” *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 23–37; Eugene Ulrich, “The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14.

³ Emanuel Tov, “The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts,” in Herbert and Tov, eds., *Bible as Book*, 141.

⁴ Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d rev. ed.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001), 103.

⁵ On this issue, see e.g., Shemaryahu Talmon, “Was the Book of Esther Known at Qumran?” *DSD* 2 (1995): 249–67; Sidnie White Crawford, “Has Esther been found at Qumran? 4Qproto-Esther and the Esther Corpus,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 307–25. For my take on this issue, and on gender as an important aspect of the absence of this book

found in Qumran, which did not become part of the Hebrew Bible, but were canonized by various Christian churches (such as Tobit, in the Catholic Apocrypha; *Jubilees* and *Enoch*, in the Ethiopian church; apocryphal psalms in the Syriac Psalter etc). Is this an indication that they were also canonized in Qumran? We do not know.

It has been suggested that the quotation of a certain book in other (especially sectarian) writings in Qumran points to the authority these books held in the eyes of Qumranites.⁶ This is an interesting tool for assessing canonicity, because it indicates, for example, that the book of Daniel (twice quoted by name in Qumran sectarian scrolls—4Q174 Florilegium and 11Q13 Melchizedek) was considered canonical by the authors of these texts, even though it is probably contemporary with some of them. Yet we can compare this again to the question of canonicity as discussed by the rabbis, and see that this tool too can be problematic. Thus, we find that, even though Ben Sira was eventually rejected in the final version of the *Ketuvim*, the rabbis had a soft spot for it—they quoted it as they did Scripture throughout their compositions, and it was copied and preserved by Jews in Hebrew down to the days of the Cairo Genizah.⁷ I shall return to this issue below. The cumulative force of this information indicates, I suspect, that in Qumran, aside from (a/the) Psalter, we cannot definitely identify any book as belonging to a canonical set of *Ketuvim*.

What does this mean about the possible canonicity/authority of a large group of non-sectarian texts, unknown from elsewhere or previously, that was found in Qumran? This is a very thorny topic, any conclusion that may be suggested about how authoritative or not they were must remain tentative, and one should not be surprised to discover that scholars may use the same evidence to argue for authority or its absence just as effectively. What I want to suggest here is a model to be applied to three compositions from the *Ketuvim* and Pseudepigrapha, traces of which were found in Qumran, and for which the issue of gender, and gender presentation may have played a role in the interest they held for the Qumranites and in their final canoniza-

from Qumran, see Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 140–44.

⁶ Armin Lange, “The Status of the Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process,” in Herbert and Tov, eds., *Bible as Book*, 23–24.

⁷ See Moshe Z. Segal, *The Complete Book of Ben Sira* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), 37–42 (Hebrew).

tion/non-canonization in the Hebrew Bible we use today. The texts are Lamentations, Proverbs, and Ben Sira.

1. LAMENTATIONS

Remains of a text closely associated with the biblical Lamentations, were discovered in Cave 4 in Qumran. The text, known as 4Q179, runs as follows:⁸

Frg. 1 col. i

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| ... | כל עוונותינו ואין לאלידינו כי לא שמענו] | .1 |
| | [יהודה לקרותנו כל אלה ברוע] | .2 |
| | [את בריתו אוי לנו] | .3 |
| כי | [היה לשרפת אש והפכה] | .4 |
| | [יקר תפאר]תנו וניחוח אין בו בבית | .5 |
| | [חצרות קודשנו היו | .6 |
| | [כנ] [יתום ירושלים עיר | .7 |
| | [ץ לחיה ואין] [ורחובותיה | .8 |
| | [ן היו כל ארמונותיה שממו | .9 |
| | [ובאי מועד אין בס כל ערי | .10 |
| | [נחלתנו היתה כמדבר בארץ לוא | .11 |
| | [ל שמח]ה לוא נשמ}שעה בה ודורש | .12 |
| | [כל אנוש למכאזב"נו] [כול חובינו | .13 |
| | [פשעינו ינ] [חטאותינו | .14 |

Frg. 1 col. ii

- | | | |
|--|--|-----|
| | אוי לנו כי אף אל עלה] | .1 |
| | ונגוללה עם המתים] | .2 |
| | <u>כמשונאה יש</u> ראל | .3 |
| | לעוליהן <u>ובת עמי אכזריה</u>] | .4 |
| | <u>עלומיה</u> שוממו בני] | .5 |
| | מלפני חורף בדל ידיהן] | .6 |
| | אשפתות מדור ביתו] | .7 |
| | שאלו מים ואין] מגינר | .8 |
| | המסלאים [בפ]ז תו] | .9 |
| | וחפץ אין בו ⁷ אמונים עלי תולע] | .10 |
| | וכתם טוב עדים נושאים הלבון]שים | .11 |
| | ומשי תכלת וריקמה מו] | .12 |
| | <u>בנו</u> ⁷ ציון היקרים הרכות בס | .13 |

⁸ The text is cited according to Moshe J. Bernstein's edition in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader. Part 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov; Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2005), 148–51. In some instances, however, I have preferred to follow the readings of John Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 75–7. Similarly, the translation follows Bernstein, with some minor modification. In such cases I note this.

Frg. 2

- .1
 .2
 .3] ם בכ [ע באהלד]
 .4 איכה ישבה [בודד העיר] י [] לים []
 .5 בגוים שרתי כל לאומים [שוממה כעזובה וכל [בג]ותיה עזובו]ת⁹
 .6 כ[אשה ערמה¹⁰ כעזובה וכעזובת [בע]ל[ה]¹¹ כל ארמונתיה]
 .7 [כ]עקרה וכמסככה כול אורחו[תיה] ה [אשת מרורים
 .8 [וכל בנותיה כאבלות על בע[ליהן]]יה כמשכלות
 .9 [ליחדיהן בכו תבכה ירון]שלים¹²]ו על לחיה
 על בניה

Translation:

Frg. 1

Col. i

1.] r all our sins and we have no strength because [we] did not listen
2.]Judah that all these things befell us. Through the evil [
3.] His covenant. Woe for us [
4.]has become burnt by fire, and has turned [
5.] our [magnific]ent glory, and there is no sweet aroma in the Hou[se
6.]our holy courtyards have become
7.] kn[] orphan. Jerusalem the city of
8.]s for beasts and there is no one to [righten]. And her alleys
9.]n all her palaces have become. Desolate are
10.] and there are no festival visitors in them. All the cities of
11.]our heritage has become like a desert, a land not
12. E]very j[o]y is unheard in it and [there is none who] seeks
13. all] sore are our injuries[]all our sins
14.] our [re]bellions will[]our transgressions

Col. ii

1. Woe for us for God's anger has arisen [
2. and let us role about with the dead [
3. like a despised woman. Is[rael
4. to their infants, and my people's daughter is cruel[
5. her youths have been devastated, the sons of
6. before a curser when their hands were weak[

⁹ This line follows Allegro's restoration of עֲזוּבֹת]וֹת and כְּעֲזוּבָה. Bernstein does not offer any reconstruction for the final word; he transcribes כְּעֲזוּבָה]ה for the former, perhaps because either a *zayin* or *šade* would be suitable, on the basis of כְּעֲזוּבָה וכְּעֲזוּבָת in the subsequent line of the text.

¹⁰ Here I specifically follow Bernstein's reading, rather than Allegro's בְּהַ]וֹ.

¹¹ Reading according to Allegro. Bernstein suggested reconstructing אישה, which is essentially the same.

¹² Reading according to Allegro.

7. garbage piles are his home dwelling[
8. They asked for water and non[e] pou[red
9. Who are valued [as] gold *tw*[
10. and he is undesirable; those nurtured on scarl[et
11. and fine gold is their adornment, bearers of clo[things]
12. and silk, blue wool and embroidery *mw* [
13. The *noble-sons* delicate daughters of Zion among them [

Frg. 2

- 1.
- 2.
3.]in your tent[
4.]alone the city[]
5. among the nation]s, *princess* of all real[ms]is desolate like a one deserted, and all her daughters are deserted
6. like a w]oman naked , like one suffering, and like one abandoned [by her husband] All her palaces [
7. like] a barren and impoverished woman. All [her] ro[ads]*h* ^{like} a woman of bitterness
8.] and all her daughters are like mourners over [their] hu[sbands] ; her [] are like those bereaved
9.]of their only ones. Weeping constantly Jeru[salem]*w* on her cheek over her *sons*

This text was designated by John Allegro “Lamentations.”¹³ Only a few scholars have ever discussed it in any depth, and one of the issues they raised was this name.¹⁴ Maurya Horgan had rightly claimed that this was a misleading title, because the text is not a version of the biblical Lamentations, but rather a text of a similar genre. Therefore, scholars are now calling it 4QApocryphal Lamentations.¹⁵ Yet Allegro was right too in calling it Lamentations. The similarity to the biblical text is striking.

All scholars who have discussed this text have commented that it is very close to the biblical Lamentations. All also concluded, with no further discussion, that since 4Q179, like the biblical Lamentations, is a dirge over the destruction of Jerusalem, it must have been influenced by the biblical text.¹⁶ With this conviction in mind, they assume that

¹³ Allegro, *ibid.*

¹⁴ See Maurya P. Horgan, “A Lament over Jerusalem (4Q179),” *JSS* 18 (1973): 223.

¹⁵ See Parry and Tov, *DSSR*. 5.148–51.

¹⁶ Horgan, “A Lament over Jerusalem,” 223: “The work clearly belongs to the literary genre of the lament;...images are drawn...from the biblical book of Lamentations...” and also Adele Berlin, “Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*

its author's concern was not really to lament the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E., which was an event of the distant past, but rather to use the metaphorical language of the destruction to lament something else.¹⁷ This assumption is based, I suppose, on the principle employed often in the study of ancient Jewish literature, that the authors of the text had a political or theological agenda (or both) and that it was contemporary rather than historical. Thus, for example, the rabbinic *Lamentations Rabbah*, while using the biblical lament over the destruction of the First Temple, is actually interested in the destruction of the Second Temple.¹⁸ Up to this point the scholars are in agreement, but this is where they part company. Because if it is not clear who wrote this short lament, it is also impossible to know what s/he is actually lamenting. If this is a sectarian text, as some would have it, perhaps s/he is lamenting the state of Jerusalem and the Temple in the days of the Dead Sea sect.¹⁹ But scholars are extremely careful about naming a Qumran text sectarian.²⁰ Thus, if it is not sectarian, the chances

(ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–17 (p. 1: “It is obvious that this composition has drawn heavily on the book of Lamentations...”); Jesper Høgenhaven, “Biblical Quotations and Allusions in 4QApocryphal Lamentations, (4Q179),” in Herbert and Tov, eds., *Bible as Book* (p. 116: “...there is a demonstrable and particularly strong link between 4Q179 and the biblical Book of Lamentations”); Hananiah Michaeli, “Reconstruction of ‘Lamentations’ from Qumran: 4Q179,” *Beit Mikra* 46 (2001): 146–70 (Hebrew) (p. 148: “The [full] reconstruction [of this text] must be based on the biblical Lamentations Scroll... which shares with 4Q179 the description of the destruction”—my translation T. I.)

¹⁷ E.g., Horgan, “A Lament over Jerusalem,” 222 writes: “There is nothing within the text itself which gives any firmer indication of the date except perhaps the devastation of Jerusalem which is described. Theoretically 4Q179 could be a poetic reminiscence of the fall of Jerusalem in 578 B.C.... but it is possible that more contemporary events inspired the work. In 1 Macc 1:16–40 there is an account of Antiochus IV Epiphanes’ attack on Jerusalem following his campaigns against Egypt (169/8 and 168/7 B.C.)... the details of the destruction as presented in I Macc. [are] similar to the content of 4Q179...”

¹⁸ See Galit Hasan-Rokem, *Web of Life: Folklore and Midrash in Rabbinic Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 12.

¹⁹ As suggested by Berlin, “Qumran Laments,” 9, who writes: “All this begins to add up to a peculiarly Qumranic view of Jerusalem. The poet may be conveying a picture of the condition of Jerusalem of his own time, which he couched in the language of the destruction of 586 B.C.E. To the Qumran community, the Temple was a place of impurity, unfit for sacrifice, and whatever sacrificing was done there would not be pleasing to God. It may not be going too far to say that for the Qumranites the Temple was, in a cultic sense, still in ruins.”

²⁰ See Deborah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989–1990* (ed.

of identifying the social location of such a text are slim, and its real intentions have to remain obscure.²¹ Our scholarly pursuit reaches an impasse.

In order to overcome this impasse let us approach the entire issue from a different angle. Let us not assume that the similarity to the biblical Lamentations derives from 4Q179's borrowing, but rather that 4Q179 is an alternative version of Lamentations, preserved in Qumran before the biblical text received its canonical form and recognition. A short review of the presence and distribution of the biblical Lamentations in Qumran can be useful here. Although it has been argued by some that the biblical text of Lamentations is cited in the *Hodayot* scroll,²² an investigation of these so-called allusions discloses that they are no more than a combination of two words, in different grammatical modes than the ones found in Lamentations²³ and they may have been no more than common idioms. The scroll of the biblical Lamentations itself is attested once in Cave 4,²⁴ on two fragments from Cave 3 and on two fragments from Cave 5. The fragments from Cave 3, however,

Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill 1995), 27–30. On p. 47 she labels 4Q179 as non-sectarian.

²¹ And see the words of Høgenhaven, "Biblical Quotations and Allusions," 120: "It may be added that the general theme of 4Q179, the image of Jerusalem in ruins, is itself a strong biblical theme, reflected as it is in Daniel, Psalms, and a great number of prophetic passages. The theme also occurs with theological significance in other writings from the Qumran library. In light of this literary background there should seem little reason to look for any specific historical events as the background for 4Q179."

²² See Lange, "The Status of the Biblical Text," 28 n. 12. The references in this footnote are very confusing and in one case incorrect, and see next note.

²³ These are Lam 3:17 (תזנח משלום נפשי)—"my soul is abandoned of wellbeing") in 1QH 9:11 (ושלומי לא הזנחת)—"you have not abandoned my wellbeing"). In the new translation of this text by Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg and Edward M. Cook (in Tov and Parry, eds., *DSSR. Part 5: Poetic and Liturgical Texts*, 45), a period is inserted between ושלומי and הזנחת; and 3:14 (הייתי שחק לבני עמי נגינתם כל היום)—"I have become a laughingstock to all people, their taunt song all day") in 1QH 2:11 (אני הייתי נגינה לפושעים)—"I have become a taunt song for the rebellious") but compare also Psalms 69:13 (שיחו בי יושבי שער ונגינות שוטי שכר)—"Those who sit at the gate talk about me, I am the taunt song of drunkards"), which could be the source of this text. Both these references were suggested by Jacob Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 67, 144 (Hebrew). See also Lam 3:46 (פצו עליך פיהם כל אויביך)—"all our enemies opened their mouths against us") in 1QH 5:11 (ולא פצו עלי פיהם)—"but have not opened their mouths against me") as identified by Johann Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer III* (München: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1969), 178. Note that each of these scholars failed to identify Lamentations "quotations" identified by the other.

²⁴ See Frank Moore Cross, in Patrick W. Skehan and Eugene Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4, Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 229–37.

consist of 10 and 16 letters and one of the fragments from Cave 5 consists of 18 letters²⁵ and while the reconstruction is convincing, it is hard to know how similar the entire composition was to the Masoretic Lamentations text at our disposal. I shall return to the other two larger fragments of Lamentations from Qumran below. Thus, we may conclude that the biblical text of Lamentations was known in Qumran, but there is no evidence that it was canonized, or that its form was stable. In fact, as I will show below, it was neither.

As shown by the other scholars who examined this text, if we compare the Masoretic Lamentations with 4Q179 linguistically and with regard to common motifs, we are struck by the apparent similarity. When we inquire what is the chief issue on which they differ we should note that gender here plays a major role.²⁶ Let us take a close look at

²⁵ For the Cave 3 fragments see: Maurice Baillet, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* DJD III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 95:

Lam 1:10–12:

]קהל[
]יהוה[
]הוג[ה

Lam 3:53–62:

]צמתו ב]בור[
]קולי שמע[ת[
]ראי[ת[
]ש[פ]ת[י[

For the Cave 5 fragment see Józef T. Milik, in DJD III, 176–8:

]עוד[ינה[
צדו צע[דינו[
קלים ה[
]אפינו[

²⁶ Gender is such a generic issue in the imagery of Lamentations that anyone who deals with these texts is bound to come across it. Thus Horgan, “A Lament over Jerusalem,” 228–9, wrote: “The third column describes the desolate city as a woman and enumerates her sorrows. The principle allusions are to Lam. i. 2 and Isa. liv. 5–6. Jerusalem and all her daughters, i.e., the surrounding cities have been abandoned. . . she mourns the fate of the people, her children.” Horgan here chooses to stress the similarities rather than the differences. Berlin, “Qumran Laments,” 8, writes: “Whereas Lam 1:1 speaks of a widowed woman dwelling alone and then goes on to portray a faithless woman, 4Q179 2, calling on descriptions of the destroyed cities from Isa 54:1–6 and perhaps Zeph 2:4, speaks of a woman abandoned, barren and bitter.” She obviously notes the difference between 4Q179 and the Masoretic Text but assigns this difference to a reference found in 4Q179 to another biblical allusion. She is consistent in her understanding of the text as secondary to the biblical. Høgenhaven, “Biblical Quotations and Allusions,” 119–20, writes: “In the text of the column preserved on fragment 2 (column iii) we have a direct quotation from the opening phrase of Lamentations 1:1. This quotation is then used as a starting-point for developing the metaphor of Jerusalem as a mourning, abandoned woman, a metaphor which governs the entire following description. A biblical allusion is thus made the structuring principle

the text of 4Q179 printed above. It has three parts, or three separate poems. The first one is an admission of guilt on the part of the writer, and is actually dissimilar to the biblical text of Lamentations, so we shall not discuss it here. However, the second part features linguistic and topical similarities to Lamentations 4 and the third part is similar to Lamentations 1.

I will now present a synoptic comparison of 1Q179 with chapter 1 of Lamentations. In the right-hand column, I print the Masoretic Text. In the center, I present part 3 of 4Q179 as it parallels Lam 1. In the left-hand column I present the text of Lamentations 1 as it is preserved in a scroll from Cave 4 in Qumran. I have underlined the words in 4Q179 that are feminine and absent from the biblical text. I have boldfaced feminine words in the biblical composition. I have both boldfaced and underlined those words which are gendered and appear in both texts in a similar function. And I have presented in italics those words in the biblical text that are clearly masculine. As is obvious, in the text of 4Q179 the underlined text by far exceeds the one boldfaced in the Masoretic Text.

4QLam ²⁷	4Q179 frg 2	Lamentations 1
Col. i	4. איכה ישבה] בדד העיר]	(1) אִיכָה יִשְׁבֶּה בְּדַד הָעִיר רִבְתֵּי עַם הַיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה רִבְתֵּי בְּגוֹיִם שָׂרְתִי
1. [א]למנה רבתי בגוים שר[...]	5. [ים שרתי כל לאומים]	בְּמַדִּינֹת הַיְתָה לְמָס: ס (2) בְּכוֹ תִבְכֶּה בְּלֵילָה וְדָמְעָתָה עַל לְחֵיהּ אֵין לָהּ מִנְחָם מִכָּל אֲהַבֶּיהָ כָּל רַעִיָּה בְּגָדוּ בָהּ הָיוּ לָהּ לְאִיבִים:
2. [...]בכה בלילה וד[...]		ס (3) גָּלְתָה יְהוּדָה מְעַנִּי וּמָרַב עֲבָדָה הִיא יִשְׁבֶּה בְּגוֹיִם לֹא מִצָּאָה
3. [...] מכול אוהביה [...]		מְנוּחַ כָּל רֹדְפֶיהָ הַשְׁיִגוּהָ בֵּין הַמְצָרִים: ס (4) דְּרָכֶי צִיּוֹן אֲבֵלוֹת
4. [...] לאיבים גלתה[...]		
5. [...]היא[ה] י[ש]בה בג[...]		
6. [...] בין [...]		

of the text, biblical allusions and materials being employed extensively to elaborate the metaphor, yet the context created is a new context in its own right.” The “structuring principle” in the understanding of this scholar is that this composition is secondary to the biblical ones, but aside from that he comes closest to identifying the unique gendered features of this text.

²⁷ See Cross, DJD XVI, 231–32. I follow Cross’s transcription, without his extensive restoration.

Table (cont.)

4QLam ²⁷	4Q179 frg 2	Lamentations 1
[... ב'אי מ]וועד[...]	5. שוממה כעזובה	מבלי באי מועד כל שעריה
[...נאנ]חיס [...]	וכל [בנ]ותיה עזובות	שוממין כהגיה נאנחים בתולתיה
[...צרי]ה לראוש [...]	6. כ[א]שה ערמה	נוגות והיא מר לה: ס (5) היו
[...רו]ב פשע]	כעזובה וכעזובת	צריה לראש איביה שלו כי ה'
	[בע]לה] כל	הוגה על רב פשעיה עולליה
	ארמונתיה]	הלכו שבי לפני צר: ס (6) ויצא
		מבת ציון כל הדרה
[...ויצ]א מבת [...]	7. כ[ע]קרה וכמסככה	היו שריה כאילים לא מצאו
Col. ii	כול אורחון]תיה	מרעה
אשר שריה כאילים לוא מצא	ה[² אשת מרורים	וילכו בלא כח לפני רודף: ס (7)
ומרעה		זכרה ירושלם ימי עניה ומרודיה
[ו]ילכו בלי כוח לפני רודף		כל מחמדיה אשר היו מי מי קדם
זכורה יהוה		בנפל עמה ביד צר ואין עוזר לה
[כ]ול מכאובנו אשר היו		ראוה צרים שחקו על משביתה:
מימי קדם בנפל		ס
[עמ]ה ביד צר ואין עוזר		(8) חטא חטאה ירושלם
צריה שחקו על		על כן לנידה היתה כל מכבדיה
[כ]ול משבריה חטוא חטאה		הזילוה כי ראו
ירושלים על		ערתה גם היא נאנחה ותשב
[כ]ן [לנ]וד היתה [כ]ול		אחור: ס
[מכב]דיה הזילו כיא ראו		(9) טמאתה בשוליה לא זכרה
[ע]רותה גם היא נאנחה		אחריתה ותרד פלאים אין מנחם
ותשב [אחור		לה ראה ה' את עניי כי הגדיל
טמאתה בש[וליה] [...]		אויב: ס (10) ידו פרש צר על
[פ]לאות ואין [...]		כל מחמדיה כי ראתה גוים באו
[כ]י הגדיל[...]		מקדשה
[מחמ]ד[יה] [...]		
Col. iii		אשר צויתה לא יבאו בקהל לך:
1. אשר צויתה לוא יבואו		ס (11) כל עמה נאנחים מבקשים
מחמדיה באוכל להשיב נפשה		לחם נתנו מחמדיהם באכל
ראה יהוה והבטה		להשיב נפש ראה ה' והביטה
2. כיא הייתי זולל לוא אליכ[י]		כי הייתי זוללה: ס (12) לוא
הכל עברי ד[רך הביטו] ור[או]		אליכם כל עברי דרך הביטו וראו
אם יש מכאוב		אם יש מכאוב כמכאובי אשר
3. כמכאובי אשר עוללו לי אשר		עוללו לי אשר הוגה ה' ביום חרון
הוגירני [יהוה ביו]ם [חרו]נו		אפו: ס (13) ממרום שלח אש
ממרום שלח א[ש]		בעצמותי וירדנה פרש רשת
4. בעצמותי ויורידני פרש רשת		לרגלי השיבני אחור נתנני
לרגלי השיבני [אחו]ר נתנני		שממה כל
שומם כול		

Table (cont.)

4QLam ²⁷	4Q179 frg 2	Lamentations 1
5. היום וד[ו]י נקשרה על פשעי בידו וישתרג עולו על צ[וארי] הכשיל כוחי נתנני		היום דוה: ס (14) נשקד על פשעי בידו וישתרגו עלו על צוארי הכשיל כחי נתנני
6. יהוה ביד לוא אוכל לקום סלה כול אבירי אדני בקרבי קרא עלי מועד		אדני בידי לא אוכל קום: ס (15) סלה כל אבירי אדני בקרבי קרא עלי מועד
7. לשבור בחורי גת דרך יהוה לבתולת בת יהודה		לשבר בחורי גת דרך אדני לבתולת בת יהודה: ס (16) על אלה אני בוכיה עיני עיני ירדה מים כי רחוק ממני מנחם משיב נפשי היו בני שוממים כי גבר אויב: ס (17) פרשה ציון בידיה אין מנחם לה צוה ה' ליעקב סביביו צריו
7. פרשה ציון בי[דיה אין]		
8. מנחם לה מכול אוהביה צדיק אתה יהוה צפה אדוני ליעקוב סביב[יו צריו]		
9. היתה ציון לדווח בניהמה על אלה כבו עיני ירדה דמעתי כיא רחק[ממני]	8. [וכל בנותיה כאבלות על בע[ליהן] ויה במשכלות	היתה ירושלם לנדה ביניהם: ס (18) צדיק הוא ה' כי פיהו מריתי שמעו נא כל העמים וראו מכאבי בתולתי ובחורי הלכו בשבי: ס
10. מנחם משיב[נפש היו בני שוממים כיא] גבר אויב צדיק הוא א[דוני כיא]	9. [ליחידיהן כבו תבכה ירו[שלים] ו על לחיה על בניה	

As can be seen, chapter 1 in Lamentations consists of feminine images, but only two of them, שרתי (princess 1:1) and שוממה (deserted 1:13), are also repeated in the Qumran composition. Also, the term אשת מרורים (a woman of bitterness) of 4Q179 may be viewed as similar to the description מר לה (it is bitter to her 1:4) found in the MT. In fact the biblical text suggests three feminine images for Jerusalem—a widow (1:1), a virgin (1:4; 15; 18) and a menstruant (1:8; 17). The last two represent a positive feminine image (the virgin) and a negative one (the menstruant). The first image, the widow, a woman left without her husband, is neutral, but her situation is tragic and irreversible. Because 4Q179 is fragmentary at the very beginning, it remains unclear whether it had also used the widow metaphor, and the parallel to the first verse of Lamentations is very close. However, further down in the text Jerusalem is compared neither to a sinless virgin, nor to a

sinful menstruant, nor to a widow, but rather to a deserted (עזובה) naked (ערמה) and barren (עקרה) woman.

Before I attempt to say something about this difference let me draw your attention to four other textual phenomena in this synopsis.

- (1) Note that the woman in 4Q179 is described as שוממה (desolate). This adjective is also used in Lamentations, but there it is applied in verse 1:4 to the gates of Jerusalem, which in Hebrew are male and in verse 1:16 to her male sons (בניה).
- (2) Jerusalem of Lam 1:4 has virgins (בתולותיה), who are sad (נוגות), but her children are described with the gender neutral term עולליה (1:5). In 1Q179 as a mother, she is the mother of daughters (בנותיה), who appear in lines 5 and 8. In line 8 they are in mourning (אבלות) and bereaved (משכלות).
- (3) Note the way the editor of 4Q179 has reconstructed the text: The woman in line 6 is described as deserted by her husband (בעלה). This last word, absent from the text, is a clearly androcentric imposition. One could instead suggest here for example the reconstruction אלוהיה (i.e. the woman is deserted by her God). In line 8 the daughters mourn over something that the editor has again reconstructed as בעלן (their husbands) although the same criticism applies here too.
- (4) 4QLam occasionally emends gendered feminine terms from the Masoretic Lamentations into gendered male terms. The לנדה (as a menstruant), in 1:8 of MT, is replaced with לנוד (object of derision) in 4QLam and the Masoretic 1:17 לנדה ביניהמה (a menstruant among them) is replaced here with לנדוח בניהמה (sending away of their sons). Similarly the female שוממה (deserted) of 1:13 is replaced with the male שומם in 4QLam. These changes are of the same quality as those between 4Q179 and the Masoretic Lamentations, where powerful feminine metaphors are toned down or removed, and male figures appear instead. 4Q179 is more female gendered than the MT and the MT is more female gendered than 4QLam. This may point to the unstable character of the Lamentations texts during the Second Temple period regarding gender images.

What then is the difference between 4Q179 and the Masoretic chapter 1 of Lamentation? The deserted and infertile woman of 4Q179 seems

to me more human than the sinless virgin or the sinful menstruant of the MT. This means that while the Masoretic Lamentations has not completely moved away from the use of the feminine metaphor, it has shifted its emphasis from a portrayal of what is reminiscent of a real woman to an unequivocal metaphor. Also the situation of 4Q179's woman is not hopeless. An infertile woman may be blessed and become fertile. A deserted woman may yet be repossessed, but the husband of a widow is dead. Lamentations is a much more pessimistic text than 4Q179.

Let us now turn to a comparison of Lamentations chapter 4 to 4Q179:

4Q179 Frg. 1 Col. ii	Lamentations chapter 4
11. וכתם טוב עדים נושאים הלבוןשים	(1) אִיכָה יוּעַם זָהָב יִשְׁנָא הַכֶּתֶם הַטוֹב תִּשְׁתַּפְּכֶנָּה אַבְנֵי קֹדֶשׁ בְּרֹאשׁ כָּל חוּצוֹת: ס
12. ומשי תכלת ורקמה מו]	(2) בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן הַיְקָרִים הַמְּסֻלָּאִים בַּפֹּז אִיכָה נִחְשְׁבוּ לְנִבְלֵי חָרֶשׁ מַעֲשֵׂה יָדֵי יֹצֵר: ס
9. המסלאים [בפ]ז תו]	(3) גַּם <תַּנִּין> תַּנִּים חָלְצוּ שָׂדַי הַיְנִיקוּ גּוֹרֵיהֶן בַּת עַמִּי לְאַכְזָר בְּיַעֲנִים בַּמַּדְבָּר: ס
13. בנוי ציון היקרים הרכות בס	(4) דָּבַק לְשׁוֹן יוֹנֵק אֶל חִבּוֹ בַּצִּמָּא עוֹלָלִים שְׂאֵלוּ לֶחֶם פֶּרֶשׁ אֵין לָהֶם: ס
4. לעוליהן ובת עמי אכזריה]	(5) הָאֲכָלִים לְמַעַדְנֵים נִשְׁמּוּ בַּחוּצוֹת הָאֲמִנִים עָלֵי תוֹלַע חִבְקוֹ אֲשַׁפְּתוֹת: ס
5. עלומיה שוממו בני]	(6) וַיִּגְדַּל עוֹן בַּת עַמִּי מַחֲטָאת סֹדֶם הַהַפּוּכָה כְּמוֹ רִגְעַ וְלֹא חָלוּ בָּהּ יָדַיִם:
8. שאלו מים ואין מגיר]	ס (7) זָכוּ נְזִירֵיהָ מִשְׁלֹג צָחוּ מִחֶלֶב אֲדָמוּ עֵצִים מִפְּנִינִים סַפִּיר גְּזָרְתָם: ס
6. מלפני חורף בדל ידיהן]	(8) חֶשֶׁד מִשְׁחֹר תִּאָרֶם לֹא נָכְרוּ בַּחוּצוֹת צֶפֶד עוֹרֶם עַל עֲצָמָם יָבֵשׁ הָיָה כְּעֵץ: ס (9) טוֹבִים הָיוּ חֲלָלֵי חֶרֶב מִחֲלָלֵי רֶעִב שֶׁהֶם יוֹבּוּ מִדְּקָרִים מִתְנוּבַת שָׂדֵי: ס (10) יָדֵי נָשִׁים רַחֲמַנִיּוֹת בְּשֵׁלוּ יִלְדֵיהֶן הָיוּ לְכַרּוֹת לָמוֹ בְּשֶׁבֶר בַּת עַמִּי: ס (11) כָּלָה הָיָה אֶת חֲמָתוֹ שֶׁפָּדַח חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ וַיִּצַּת אֵשׁ בְּצִיּוֹן וְתֹאכַל יִסּוּדֶיהָ: ס (12) לֹא הָאֲמִינוּ מַלְכֵי אֲרָץ כָּל יֹשְׁבֵי תֵבֵל כִּי יָבֹא צָר וְאוֹיֵב בְּשַׁעֲרֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם: ס
7. אשפתות מדור ביתו]	(13) מַחֲטָאת נְבִיאֶיהָ עוֹנוֹת כְּהִנְיָה
10. וחפץ אין בו אמונים עלי תולע	
1. או לנו כי אף אל עלה]	
2. ונגוללה עם המתים]	
3. כמשונאה יש]	

Table (cont.)

4Q179 Frg. 1 Col. ii	Lamentations chapter 4
	<p>השפכים בקרבה דם צדיקים: ס (14) נעו עורים בחוצות נגאלו בדם בלא יוכלו יגעו בלבשיהם: ס (15) סורו טמא קראו למו סורו סורו אל תגעו כי נצו גם נעו אמרו בגוים לא יוסיפו לגור: ס (16) פני ה' חלקם לא יוסיף להביטם פני כהנים לא נשאו וזקנים לא חננו: ס (17) עודינו תכלינה עינינו אל עזרתנו הבל בצפיתנו צפינו אל גוי לא יושע: ס (18) צדו צעדינו מלכת ברחבתינו קרב קצינו מלאו ימינו כי בא קצינו: ס (19) קלים היו רדפינו מנשרי שמים על ההרים דלקנו במדבר ארבו לנו: ס (20) רוח אפינו משיח ה' נלכד בשחיתותם אשר אמרנו בצלו נחיה בגוים: ס</p>

This synopsis, as can be seen, has only two columns, because there is no extant Qumran manuscript of Lam 4. In chapter 4 of Lamentations we are no longer concerned with metaphor of the pitiful woman, Jerusalem, who is widowed and suffering, but rather with the daughter of Israel as a wicked, heartless mother. In 4:3 she is described as wicked. In 4:6 her crimes are described as greater than those of Sodom. In 4:10 the wickedness of the daughters of Israel is described as so great that they cook their own children. Although 4Q179 is fragmentary and we cannot judge how faithful it is to the text of Lamentations, it seems that the wickedness of the daughter of Zion here is not as horrendous. In line 4 she is described as wicked (*אכזריה* in the feminine, unlike the masculine *אכזר* of MT) but unlike the MT, where her victims are the dear sons of Zion (4:2) in 4Q179 her victims are the delicate daughters of Zion (line 13). Note also the mistake made by the scribe of 4Q179, who began to write 'dear' in the masculine (*יקרים*) as referring to the sons of Jerusalem, and then corrected himself. This is probably an indication that the scribe who copied the manuscript was versed in the Masoretic Lamentations text.

To summarize the observations of the comparative analysis above, I think it is hard to miss the gender implications of 4Q179. There are many more feminine images in it than in the Masoretic Lamentations, and they are usually more positive or nuanced. How can

this be explained? One could claim simply that the author of 4Q179 was friendlier to women and wished to “correct” the picture emerging from the Masoretic Lamentations but I find such an explanation unlikely. I think that instead of claiming that 4Q179 was composed by a “zealous feminist,” who found Lamentations offensive and corrected it, we must look for another model here. In my opinion, it makes more sense to assume that 4Q179 is an example of the kind of texts the editor of Lamentations had before his eyes when composing the biblical treatise. The choice he made to diminish the role of women, and at the same time make more extreme the character of the female is a common trait in the process of canonizing texts, as I have argued in many of my studies.²⁸ I think this is one more such example.

One can demonstrate this process even with manuscripts found at Qumran that have been identified unequivocally as texts of the scriptural Lamentations. In the following synopsis a fragment of the biblical Lamentations discovered in Cave 5 from Qumran²⁹ is compared with the end of chapter 4 and the beginning of chapter 5 of MT:

5Q6 col. iv ³⁰	Lamentations 4:21–5:3
1.] בגוים שישני ושמח]י בת אר[ום]	(21) שִׁישִׁי וְשֹׁמְחֵי בֵּת אֲדוֹם יוֹשְׁבֵת בְּאֶרֶץ עוֹץ
2.] עליך תעב[ור [כוס תש[כרי]	גַּם עֲלֶיךָ תִּעְבֵּר כּוֹס תִּשְׁכַּרִי וְתִתְעָרִי: ס
3.] בת צינן לוא יוסף ל[הגלותך]	(22) תָּם עֲוֹנָךְ בֵּת צִינָן לֹא יוֹסִיף לְהַגְלוֹתְךָ
4. פ[קד] [עוונך]בת אדום גלה על חט[אותיך]	פְּקֹד עֲוֹנָךְ בֵּת אֲדוֹם גְּלָה עַל חַטֹּאתֶיךָ: פ
5. זכ[ור] מה []לנו הביטה []את	(1) זְכֹר ה' מָה הָיָה לָנוּ הַבִּיטָה וּרְאֵה אֶת
6. חרפותי[נו בתינו לנוכריים לזרי]ם	חֲרַפְתָּנוּ: (2) נַחֲלַתְנוּ נְהַפְכָה לְזָרִים בְּתֵינוּ לְנֹכְרִים:
7. יתומים [] אב אמותינו לא בנות נאלמנות	(3) יְתוּמִים הֵיינו וְאִין אָב אִמּוֹתֵינוּ בְּאֵלְמָנוּת:

²⁸ See recently, Tal Ilan, *Silencing the Queen: The Literary Histories of Shelamzion and other Jewish Women* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), especially the introduction.

²⁹ On the insignificance of the provenance of a manuscript in the Qumran caves see Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts,” 30–1.

³⁰ Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux, *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford; Clarendon, 1962), 176–77.

5Q6 col. iv

Lamentations 4:21–5:3

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. [] the nat]ions. Rejoi[ce and
be gla]d, O daughter of Ed[om]</p> <p>2. [] the cu[p shall
pa]ss over unto thee also; thou
shalt be dru[nken]</p> <p>3. [] daugh]ter of Zion, He will
no more carry [thee away]</p> <p>4. He will pu[nish] thine iniquity,
O [daughter of] Edom, He will
uncover thy si[ns].</p> <p>5. Remem[ber] what [] is come
upon us; behold, and see</p> <p>6. our repro[ach]. Our sham[
] unto stran]gers, our houses unto
aliens.</p> <p>(3) [] orphans and fatherless,
our mothers are not daughters and
widows.</p> | <p>(21) Rejoice and be glad, <i>O
daughter of Edom</i>, that dwellest in
the land of Uz: the cup shall pass
over unto thee also; thou shalt be
drunken, and shalt make thyself
naked.</p> <p>(22) The punishment of thine
iniquity is accomplished, <i>O
daughter of Zion</i>, He will no more
carry thee away into captivity;
He will punish thine iniquity, <i>O
daughter of Edom</i>, He will uncover
thy sins.</p> <p>(1) Remember, O LORD, what is
come upon us; behold, and see our
reproach.</p> <p>(2) Our inheritance is turned unto
strangers, our houses unto aliens.</p> <p>(3) We are become orphans and
fatherless, <i>our mothers are as
widows</i>.</p> |
|--|---|

Note that the similarity is great but again that the most significant difference that can be noted entails gender. At the very end, the Qumran text—which could (but need not be) viewed as scribal error—includes not just our mothers (אמתינו), but also daughters (בנות) among the victims of the destruction.

2. PROVERBS

The text known as 4Q184: The Wiles of the Wicked Woman³¹ runs as follows:

1. ה[תוציא הבל וב] א[תועות תשחר תמיד] ל[שנן דברי]ה
2. וקלס תחל[י]ק ולהליץ יחד בש[וא] עול לבה יכין פחוז וכליותיה מק
3. בעול נגעלי הוה תמכו שוח רגליה להרשיע ירדו וללכת באשמות]
4. מוסדי חושך רוב פשעים בכנפיה [] ה[תועפות לילה ומלבשיה]
5. מכסיה אפלות נשף ועדיה נגועי שחת ערשיה יצועיה יצועי שחת]

³¹ Allegro, DJD V, 82–83.

6. מעמקי בור מלונותיה משכבי חושך ובאישני ליל[ה ממ]שלותיה
מוסדי אפלות
7. תאהל שבת ותשכון באהלי דומה בתוך מוקדי עולם ואין נחלתה
בתוך בכול
8. מאזרי //נוגה והיאה ראשית כול דרכי עול הוי הוה לכול נוחליה
ושדדה לכ[ול]
9. תומכי בה כיא דרכיה דרכי מות ואורחותיה שבילי הטאת
מעגלותיה משגות
10. עול ונתיבו[תי]ה אשמות פשע שעריה שערי מות בפתח ביתה תצעד
שאו[לה]
11. כ[ו]ל [] ישובון וכול נוחליה ירדו שחת וה[י]א במסתרים תארוב
12. כול[] ברחובות עיר תתעלף ובשערי קריות תתיצב ואין
להרג[יעה]
13. מה[] ת ת [] עיניה הנה והנה ישכילו ועפעפיה בפחו תרים
לראו[ת לא]יש
14. צדיק ותשיגהו ואיש[ע] צום ותכשילהו ישרים להטות דרך
ולבחורי צדק
15. מנצור מצוה סמוכי [] להביל בפחו והולכי ישר להשנות ח[וק]
להפשיע
16. עניים מאל ולהטות פעמיהם מדרכי צדק להביא זד[ו]ן [] במה
בל ערוכי[ם]
17. במעגלי יושר להשגות אנוש בדרכי שוחה ולפתות בחלקות בני איש

Translation³²

1. *h* utters vanities, and *b* []' errors; She seeks continually [to] sharpen [her] words
2. she smoothly flatters and with emp[tiness] to mock together unto naught.³³ Her heart's perversion prepares wantonness and her kidneys *mq*[
3. In fouled perversion they were supported her legs descended to (perform) wickedness and to walk in the guilt [³⁴
4. the foundations of darkness, the sins in her skirts are many. Her [] is the depth of the night, and her clothes [
5. Her garments are the shades of twilight, and her adornments are touched with corruption. Her beds are couches of corruption, [
6. depths of the pit. Her lodgings are lairs of darkness, and in the depths of the nigh[t] are her [do]minions. From the foundations of darkness
7. she takes her dwellings, and she resides in the tents of the underworld, in the midst of everlasting fires, and she has no inheritance among all

³² The translation is adapted from the *editio princeps* (see previous note). In cases where I did not understand his translation and departed from it, I indicate this in a footnote.

³³ My translation, see previous note.

³⁴ My translation, see previous note.

8. who gird themselves with light. She is the foremost in all the ways of iniquity; Alas! Ruin shall be to all who possess her, and desolation to a[ll]
9. who take hold of her. For her ways are the ways of death, and her paths are the roads to sin; her tracks lead astray
10. to iniquity, and her paths are the guilt of transgression. Her gates are the gates of death, in the opening of her house it stalks. To Sheol
11. a[ll] [] will return, and all who possess her will go down to the pit. She lies in wait in secret places, []
12. all []. In the city's alleys she displays herself, and in the town gates she sets herself, and there is none to distur[b
13. from []. Her eyes glance keenly hither and thither, and she wantonly raises her eyelids to seek out
14. a righteous man and lead him astray, and a perfect man to make him stumble; upright men to diverse their path, and those chosen for righteousness
15. from keeping the commandments; those sustained with [], to make fools of with wantonness, and those who walk uprightly, to change w[ay]; to make
16. the humble rebel from God, and to turn their steps from the ways of righteousness; to bring wick[ed]ness [], those not arraign[ed]
17. in tracks of uprightness; to lead mankind astray in the ways of the pit, and to seduce by flatteries the sons of man

In assessing the relationship between this text and the biblical Proverbs, I will return to the formulation I used above when assessing the relationship between 4Q179 and the biblical Lamentations. Many scholars have discussed this text and have all commented that it is very close to the biblical Proverbs 1–9. All also concluded, with no further discussion, that since 4Q184, like sections of the biblical Proverbs 1–9, describes a dangerous, wicked women, it must have been influenced by the biblical text.³⁵ With this conviction in mind, they assume that

³⁵ E.g., Melissa Aubin, “She is the Beginning of all Ways of Perversity: Femininity and Metaphor in 4Q184,” *Women in Judaism: A Multidisciplinary Journal* 2:2 (2001) http://www.utoronto.ca/wjudaism/journal/journal_index1.html: 5. “The very building blocks of this poem are familiar Proverbs images and *Leitwoerter* that starkly polarize Lady Wisdom and the ideal wife of Proverbs, depicted as domestic, familiar, nubile, and docile, away from the anti-typical, alien woman or Dame Folly, who is aggressive, foreign, deceitful, and irreverent”; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184,” *RevQ* 15 (1991): 138: “[O]ne could point to the echoes in our text to the phraseology found in the *Book of Proverbs* in passages concerned with warnings about the strange woman. Especially noteworthy is the common theme of linking the evil woman with the netherworld”; Jacob Licht, “The Wickedness of the Wicked Woman,” in *Bible and Jewish History: Studies in Bible and Jewish History*

its author's concern was not really the danger posed to young innocent neophytes by sexually experienced and alluring women, as in Proverbs 1–9, and particularly Proverbs 7, but rather the use of the images of this composition metaphorically, was done in order to warn against something else.³⁶ Again, as above in the case of Lamentations, this is the result of a near-scholarly consensus, that the text is not interested in the past in which Proverbs was written but in the present. In order to assess whether this scholarly judgment here is justified to the same extent that we find it concerning 4Q179, let us begin with the biblical Proverbs text that is supposedly parallel to it.

Proverbs 1–9 is an instruction of a father *and mother* (cf. Prov 1:8; 6:20) to their son to follow wisdom and avoid wickedness. This theme is carefully laid out in chapter 1, which is an introduction to the entire composition. 1:1–7 are a general introduction but in 1:7 father (אבִיךָ) and mother (אִמֶךָ) speak to their son in second person. From 1:10 the parents warn the son not to succumb to sins (חַטָּאוֹת in plural). The reasons for this warning are listed in 1:11–19. From 1:20 the parents recommend to their son the pursuit of wisdoms (חֲכָמוֹת in the plural). Up to this point the structural similarity between sins and wisdoms is

Dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver (ed. Benjamin Uffenheimer; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1971), 292 (Hebrew): “An initial reading discloses immediately that this is nothing more than a reworking of the well known motif from the Book of Proverbs (see especially Proverbs ch. 5; 6: 20–35; ch. 7)” (my translation—T. I.); Rick D. Moore, “The Personification of the Seduction of Evil: ‘The Wiles of the Wicked Woman,’” *RevQ* 10 (1979–1981): 511: “In all four extended passages in *Proverbs* on the harlot (2, 16 ff.; 5, 3 ff. 6, 24 ff.; 7:5 ff.) she is introduced with a remark about her smooth words. Our Qumran work, obviously following the *Proverbs* model, thus leads off on the same note”; Magen Broshi, “Beware the Wiles of the Wanton Woman,” *BAR* 9/4 (1983): 54: “The text on this fragment is remarkably similar to certain passages from Proverbs; indeed the Qumran fragment was apparently modeled after chapters 5 through 7 of Proverbs”; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 139: “...the poem simply reiterates an ancient biblical-wisdom trend that warned against the dangers of the wanton woman, who entices even the best of men”; Sidnie White Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 360: “4Q184 is a pastiche of allusions to Proverbs 1–9, where Dame Folly’s sins are sexual...”

³⁶ Scholars suggested that the woman mentioned there is either a personification of the sect’s ideology of the two ways—reflecting the way of evil (Licht, “The Wickedness of the Wicked Woman,”; Moore, “The Personification of the Seduction of Evil”); or an allegory (or peshet) for one of the sect’s enemies (Rome—see Anatole Gazov-Ginzberg, “Double Meaning in a Qumran Work [‘The Wiles of the Wicked Woman’],” *RevQ* 6 [1967]: 279–85; the Hasmonaeans—Hans Burgman, “‘The Wicked Woman’: Der Makkabäer Simon?” *RevQ* 8 [1974]: 323–59); or a demon (Baumgarten, “On the Nature of the Seductress”); or the heterodoxy that threatens the sect (Aubin, “She is the Beginning of all Ways of Perversity.”)

complete. As of 1:21, however, wisdoms speak in first person singular, listing the reasons why the son should follow it. This change from plural to singular is the beginning of the transformation of the abstract wisdoms to the personified Lady Wisdom of Proverbs 1–9. The counterpart of this feminine personified wisdom is, obviously the feminine personified sin. However, this character (eventually to be identified with Dame Folly) only makes her appearance later on, in verse 2:16.

Chapter 2 again speaks of abstract wisdom (חכמה, תבונה, בינה), always in the singular, 2:3–11, translated by JPS as wisdom, discernment, understanding, ability, knowledge, foresight), but this time it is pitched not against abstract sins, but against a very much alive “man who speaks contrarily” (איש מדבר תהפכות, 2:12) and against a “strange, foreign woman” (מאשה זרה מנכריה, 2:16). Sins have been transformed into offenders, or more correctly into those who entice the son to commit offences. They are both male and female. But while the man’s sins are doing evil in general (לעשות רע, 2:14), the woman’s sins are sexual, for she has deserted the man of her youth (אלוף נעוריה, 2:17). From here on sins are no longer abstract. In this chapter they are transformed into persons, both male and female, but in the following chapters the two persons merge into one, who is always a woman.

Chapter 3 is a detour on the fear of God, but chapters 4 and 5 represent the opposites of the previous chapters. Chapter 4 speaks in praise of wisdom and of the dangers it removes. Wisdom is mostly neutrally described, but at least one feminized, slightly erotic element enters into its description. In 4:8 the son is enjoined to embrace her (תחבקנה). The impersonal wisdom too is becoming personal and feminine. The mirror-image of this chapter is chapter 5, which describes the foreign (woman—זרה, 5:3) and the dangers of following her. The main danger is of the son being distanced from his native home and culture to a foreign one. The foreign woman is described as dangerous—her feet lead on down to hell (5:5), but she is not eroticized (yet). Only at the end of chapter 5 is the sexual danger of a foreign woman emphasized. The son is enjoined to stick to the wife of youth (אשת נעורך, 5:18), as the foreign woman had not done in 2:17. She, rather than the foreign woman is described erotically as possessing the beauty of a gazelle and soft breasts (5:19). As opposed to the recommendation with regard to wisdom, in the previous chapter, he is warned against embracing (תחבק) the bosom of a foreign woman (5:20). Only in this verse does

metaphorical evil, personified as Dame Folly, become a real dangerous foreign woman.

Chapter 6, which continues the theme of real (rather than metaphorical) dangers introduced at the end of the previous chapter, includes practical advice about life—not to offend a person, whether close or foreign, not to be idle, and in general not to do evil—but ends in warnings against dangerous women. These women are not representative of sin in general. They are real women. The foreign woman (נבריה) tops the list (6:24) but is followed by the harlot (זונה, 6:26) and the married woman (אשת רעהו, 6:29). Thus, in this chapter, women are not the representation of evil but are one aspect of it.

As opposed to the preceding chapters, which had begun by juxtaposing wisdom and evil, and had in a slow process, slightly feminized both, chapters 7 and 8 display full-fledged feminine manifestations of both wisdom and evil. Chapter 7 is about an evil feminine character—the strange woman—and chapter 8 is about a positive feminine character—wisdom. Here positive Lady Wisdom is undoubtedly a feminine metaphor. Whether the evil foreign woman should also be understood metaphorically, as Dame Folly, or whether she should be understood as an indictment against real women, remains an open question. What is obvious now is that the evil woman is sexualized and eroticized to the extreme—she is a harlot (7:10) she kisses her victim (7:13). She describes the pleasure of her bed (7:16–17). And she expressly invites her young victim to enjoy sex (7:18). Wisdom too is given feminine features: she is described with a feminine attribute (טובה, 8:11 “good”) and a feminine verb (משחקת, 8:30–31 “playing”), but she is not in the least eroticized. In fact, one could suspect that she is only described in feminine terms because wisdom in Hebrew is feminine.

Only chapter 9 may give the impression of female rivalry between wisdom and the bad woman (here described not as foreign but as foolish—אשת כסילות, 9:13). The entire chapter is a speech of Lady Wisdom, in which she invites young men to seek her and shun the woman of foolishness. I thus conclude that chapters 1–9 in Proverbs perform a complex exercise, in which the two abstract concepts, wisdom and sin, evident in chapter 1, are transformed into feminine manifestations. Yet while Lady Wisdom, who appears first at the end of chapter 1, remains a constant metaphor, not in any way likened to a real-live woman, Dame Folly, who first makes her appearance in the

middle of chapter 2, is transformed from the abstract danger of sin in general into the danger that real women pose for men who seek wisdom.³⁷

How does 4Q184 fit into this picture? First of all, in the following Table I present the way in which it resembles Proverbs 1–9:

4Q184	Parallels from Proverbs 1–9
<p>ה[תוציא הבל וב] א[תועות תשחר תמיד] ל[שנן דברי]ה וקלס תחל[י]ק ולהליץ יחד בש[וא] עול לבה יכין פחוז וכליותיה מק]</p>	<p>(ה ג) כִּי נִפְתַּח תִּטְפְּנָה שְׁפָתַי זָרָה וְחָלַק מִשְׁמֵן חֶבֶה: (5:3) For the lips of a strange woman drip honey, and her mouth is <u>smoother</u> than oil</p>
<p>בעול נגעלי הוה תמכו שוח רגליה להרשיע ירדו וללכת באשמת] פשע</p>	<p>(ה ה) רַגְלֶיהָ יֵרְדוּת מְוֹת שְׂאוֹל צְעָדֶיהָ יִתְמַכּוּ: (5:5) <u>Her feet go down</u> to death; her steps take hold on the nether-world</p>
<p>מוסדי חושך רוב פשעים בכנפיה] ה[תועפות לילה ומלבישה] מכסיה אפלות נשף ועדיה נגועי שחת ערשיה</p>	<p>(ב יג) הַעֲזִיבִים אַרְחוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְלֶכֶת בְּדַרְכֵי חֹשֶׁךְ: (2:13) Who leave the paths of uprightness, to walk in the <u>ways of</u> <u>darkness</u></p>
<p>(ז ט) בְּנֶשֶׁף בְּעָרֵב יוֹם בְּאִישׁוֹן לַיְלָה וְאִפְלָה: (7:9) In the <u>twilight</u>, in the evening of the day, <u>in the blackness of night</u> and the darkness.</p>	

³⁷ Much has been written on these two feminine figures in the first chapters of Proverbs. I have recapitulated the entire scene because I have not found a discussion of the theme that satisfied my view of it and that could serve as a springboard for the following discussion of the Qumran text. For two good discussions of the topic see Carol A. Newsom, "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1–9," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. Peggy L. Day, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 142–60; Claudia V. Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy: The Strange Woman and the Making of the Bible* (JSOTSup320; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 40–71.

Table (cont.)

4Q184	Parallels from Proverbs 1-9
	(ז טז) מְרַבְּדִים רַבְּדָתִי עֲרָשִׁי חֲטָבוֹת אֶטוֹן מִצְרַיִם:
	(7:16) I have decked <u>my couch</u> with coverlets, with striped cloths of the yarn of Egypt.
יצועיה יצועי שחת] מעמקי בור מלונותיה משכבי חושך ובאישוני לילה ממ] שלותיה ממוסדי אפלות	(ז יז) נִפְתִּי מִשְׁכְּבִי מֵר אֶהְלִים וְקִנְמוֹן:
	(7:17) I have perfumed <u>my bed</u> with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon.
	(א יב) נִבְלָעִם כְּשֶׂאוֹל חַיִּים וְתַמִּימִים בְּיֹרְדֵי בֹר:
	(1:12) Let us swallow them up alive as <u>the grave</u> , and whole, as those that go down into <u>the pit</u>
תאהל שבת ותשכון באהלי דומה בתוך מוקדי עולם ואין נחלתה בתוך בכול	(ב יג) הַעֲזִיבוּ אֲרָחוֹת יִשְׂר לְלַכֵּת בְּדַרְכֵי חֹשֶׁךְ:
	(2:13) Who leave the <u>paths</u> of uprightness, to walk in <u>the ways</u> of darkness
מאזרי // נוגה והיאה ראשית כול דרכי עול הוי הוה לכול נוחליה ושדדה לכ[ול]	(ב טו) אֲשֶׁר אֲרָחוֹתֵיהֶם עִקְשִׁים וְנִלְוִיִּם בְּמַעְגְּלוֹתָם:
	(2:15) Who are crooked in their <u>ways</u> , and perverse in their <u>paths</u> ;
תומכי בה כיא דרכיה דרכי מות ואורחותיה שבילי חטאת מעגלותיה משגות	(ב יח) כִּי שָׁחָה אֶל מֹנֵת בֵּיתָהּ וְאֶל רַפְּאִים מַעְגְּלֹתֶיהָ
עול ונתיבון[תי]ה אשמות פשע שעריה שערי מות בפתח ביתה חצעד שאו[לה]	(2:18) For <u>her house</u> sinketh down <u>unto death</u> , and her <u>paths</u> unto the shades;
כ[ו]ל[] [ישובון וכול נוחליה ירדו שחת וה[י]א במסתרים תארוב	(ב יט) כֹּל בְּאֵיהָ לֹא יִשׁוּבוּן וְלֹא יִשְׁיִגּוּ אֲרָחוֹת חַיִּים:
	(2:19) None that go unto her return, neither do they attain unto the paths of life;

Table (cont.)

4Q184	Parallels from Proverbs 1–9
כול] [ברחובות עיר תתעלף ובשערי קריות תתיצב ואין להרג[יעה]	(ז כז) דְרָכֵי שְׂאוֹל בֵּיתָהּ יִרְדּוּת אֶל חֲדָרֵי מוֹת: (7:27) Her house is the <u>way to the</u> <u>nether-world, going down to the</u> <u>chambers of death.</u>
מה] [ת ת [עיניה הנה והנה ישכילו ועפעפיה בפחו תרים לראו[ת לא]יש	(ז יב) פֶּעַם בַּחוּץ פֶּעַם בְּרַחֲבוֹת וְאָצֵל כָּל פְּנֵה תִּאָּרֵב: (7:12) Now she is in the outside, now in the <u>alleys</u> , and lieth in wait at every corner.
צדיק ותשיגהו ואיש] [ע צום ותכשילהו ישרים להטות דרך ולבחורי צדק מנצור מצוה סמוכי] [להוביל בפחו והולכי ישר להשנות ח[וק] להפשיע	(ו כה) אֵל תִּחַמַּד יִפְיָהּ בְּלִבְבָךָ וְאֵל תִּקְחָךָ בְּעַפְפֵּפֶיהָ: (6:25) Lust not after her beauty in thy heart; neither let her captivate thee with her <u>eyelids</u>
ענוים מאל להטות פעמיהם מדרכי צדק להביא זד[ו]ן] [במה בל ערוכי]ם במעגלי יושב להשנות אנוש בדרכי שוחה לפתות בחלקות בני איש	(ב יג) הַעֲזִיבִים אַרְחוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְלֶכֶת בְּדַרְכֵי חֹשֶׁךְ: (2:13) Who leave the paths of uprightness, to walk in the <u>ways of</u> <u>darkness</u>
ענוים מאל להטות פעמיהם מדרכי צדק להביא זד[ו]ן] [במה בל ערוכי]ם במעגלי יושב להשנות אנוש בדרכי שוחה לפתות בחלקות בני איש	(כג כז) כִּי שׁוֹחָה עֲמֻקָּה זֹנָה וּבְאֵר צָרָה נְכָרִיָּה: (23:27) For a harlot is a <u>deep ditch</u> ; and an alien woman is a narrow pit.

In the column on the right I present 4Q184 and on the left hand column I quote verses using similar terminology from Proverbs 1–9. I also quote verses from Prov 23:27–8, which returns briefly to the themes of the first chapters of the book. What can be seen is that much of the terminology describing the evil woman is repeated with reference to the feminine manifestation represented in 4Q184, but there is no direct quotation of Proverbs 1–9 in it. On the other hand, many very wicked terms, which are absent from Proverbs 1–9 are used to describe this creature in 4Q184: עול, פחו, רשע, אשם, פשע, שחת, חטא, translated by Allegro as emptiness, perversion, wickedness, guilt, sin, corruption,

and again sin). Thus, most scholars of this text have concluded that this woman is more evil than the one of Proverbs 2–9, and sometimes even suggested that the Qumranites were greater misogynists than the author of Proverbs 2–9.³⁸ What has not been noted by scholars, but which I think is important to stress is that the seductress in 4Q184 is far more dangerous than the foreign seductress of Proverbs 7 but is, at the same time, less erotically described. For example she does not kiss, or embrace her victims as in Prov 7:13. When she seduces him, she does not mention sex as her object as in Prov 7:18. Her bed is graphically described as that of darkness (חושך) and corruption (שחת) but is not as alluring as those of the seductress in Prov 7:16–7, which is thickly laid with soft covers and smells of perfumes. In fact she is much nearer to the foreign women of Proverbs 5, who, as stated above, is not particularly erotic, and is accused mainly of being a bringer of death.

All scholars agree that the female figure of 4Q184 is less human and more metaphoric than the “foreign” woman of Proverbs. For example, Mellisa Aubin writes: “(T)he Seductress of 4Q184, [who] is a vehicle for the negative expression of the author’s (or authors’) self-described position directs attention to the poet’s *gendering* of his own self-defining rhetoric.”³⁹ White Crawford claimed that “The female figure of 4Q184... appears to be more cosmic in scope than the simple ‘loose woman’ of Proverbs 1–9.”⁴⁰ Wright noted in this context that “The woman figure personified in 4Q184 represents the anti-type of Woman Wisdom.” Grossman specifically used the term metaphor in this context: “The Wiles text uses the metaphor of the ‘wicked woman’ to speak of the folly that is a serious threat to all men.”⁴¹ Other similar quotations can also be presented here. What some of these scholars also seem to share is the assumption that, because 4Q184 is secondary to Proverbs 1–9, it is probably sectarian.⁴² In 1967 Gazov-Ginzberg

³⁸ E.g., Benjamin G. Wright III, “Wisdom and Women in Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 243: “Although the language that describes the woman of 4Q184 depends on biblical Proverbs, this woman is not simply a foolish or ‘strange’ woman, out to pervert the way of some oblivious man. In this text she has a more sinister character”; White Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” 361 writes: “Dame Folly has ceased to be simply human and has become demonic.”

³⁹ Aubin, “She is the Beginning of all Ways of Perversity.”

⁴⁰ White Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” 360.

⁴¹ Maxine Grossman, “Reading for Gender in the Damascus Document,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 230.

⁴² On this see Wright, “Wisdom and Women in Qumran,” 147.

wrote: "All special studies on the short Qumran work provisionally named 'The Wiles of the Wicked Woman' unanimously take it for an allegory against an ideologically hostile group."⁴³ However, as noted above, scholars are extremely careful to name a Qumran text sectarian.⁴⁴ For example, Sidnie White Crawford concluded that it does not represent "a 'Qumranian' phenomenon but occur[s] broadly in Second Temple literature. This would lead to the conclusion, that [this text is] not 'sectarian'..."⁴⁵

If it is not sectarian, would the model suggested above for 4Q179 also fit 4Q184? Can we assume that it existed contemporarily with the Masoretic Proverbs and that the final redaction of Proverbs was performed with relation to texts such as 4Q184, and intentionally dismissed them? In this context it is worthwhile surveying the preservation of the biblical Proverbs in Qumran. This composition is even less well attested than the biblical Lamentations, having been preserved only in two manuscripts from Cave 4. One of them includes parts of chapters 13 and 14 and the other the bottom of chapter 1 and the first verse of chapter 2.⁴⁶ The editors carefully remarked on this last fragment: "If these fragments represent the bottom margin of the first column of the Book Proverbs etc...."⁴⁷ Since from the extant text it is clear that the composition in question is chapter 1 of Proverbs, the conditional clause in this sentence can only be understood as an indication that the editors thought bits of the biblical book were in circulation, but do not necessarily think that its final form resembled the one we have today. There is no way of knowing, for example, whether this scroll also included chapters 2:16–9 of Proverbs, in which (as claimed above) Dame Folly first makes her appearance in Proverbs, and which, according to scholars, form the main source of inspiration for the wicked woman of 4Q184, or whether these chapters were found/known in Qumran at all.⁴⁸ Because the biblical *Ketuvim* had no

⁴³ Gazov-Ginzberg, "Double Meaning in a Qumran Work," 279.

⁴⁴ See Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts." On p. 50 she labels 4Q184 as non-sectarian.

⁴⁵ White Crawford, "Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran," 365.

⁴⁶ Skehan and Ulrich, DJD XVI, 181–86.

⁴⁷ Skehan and Ulrich, DJD XVI, 181.

⁴⁸ Regarding the second Proverbs Scroll found in Qumran (containing Proverbs 13–14) the editors maintained that another fragment, which included 5 letters, may belong to it, and that if it does, it is probably from chapter 7, but they comment that "Slight differences in the formation of the *waw*, final *mem*, and *taw* make it

canonical status in Qumran, we do not know if the preserved sections of the biblical texts formed recognized compositions or books, and there is no way of knowing whether 4Q184 was inspired by Proverbs 2–9, or whether it was contemporary to and in dialogue with it. If, as argued for 4Q179, the second option is just as likely, we again have a text in which gender questions may have dictated the way the canonical composition was conceived.

As shown, in Proverbs ch. 1 wisdom and sin are two abstract concepts that should be coveted and shunned respectively. As the following chapters (2–9) develop, both become feminine personifications. But while Lady Wisdom remains metaphorical, Dame Folly develops into a flesh-and-blood woman, indicating that sins tend to become narrowly defined as sexual sins perpetrated by dangerous women. Let us now consider what Proverbs would have looked like if, instead of the strange woman of chapter 7, one would have found here the seductress of 4Q184, who is simply an amplification of the dangerous feminine metaphor of chapter 5. I suspect that most scholars would immediately have identified in her the metaphorical counterpart of Lady Wisdom. In her harsh description she embodies all sins and dangers, but she is not exclusively sexualized, and is certainly not the embodiment of a real woman.

The decision of the editor of Proverbs to channel all the sins of the metaphorical Dame Folly into the strange flesh-and-blood woman/harlot of Proverbs 7 contributes more to the demonization of real women than attaching extremely negative adjectives to the metaphorical woman of 4Q184. If the direction taken in the composition of the Book of Proverbs is the one I suggest, then unlike the case of 4Q179 and Lamentations, where the composition process minimized the presence of life-like women, preferring the stylized, feminine metaphor, here we have a reversed process in which the metaphor gives way to real women, and in the process, their very image is tarnished. Although this is a different method employed in ancient Jewish literature with regard to belittling women and their importance,⁴⁹ we can justify the proposal that this process is occurring here based on another piece of evidence found in Qumran, to which I will turn now.

questionable whether this fragment belongs to the MS"; see Skehan and Ulrich, DJD XVI, 186.

⁴⁹ See Ilan, *Silencing the Queen*, 39–42.

3. BEN SIRA

The apocryphal Book of Ben Sira belongs squarely in the wisdom tradition represented by the Book of Proverbs. It is, however, clearly later than Proverbs, as it is internally dated to the Seleucid era, in the late third–early second century B.C.E.⁵⁰ Like Proverbs it is full of comments on gendered issues. It uses the metaphor of Lady Wisdom, and it has much to say about real women. In this it is a perfect follow-up to the issue discussed above. Ben Sira adopts whole-heartedly the metaphorical Lady Wisdom but, the metaphorical Dame Folly (who is already transformed by Proverbs into a real dangerous woman) he completely dismisses. Instead, he develops in great detail real women and the danger they pose to men. Thus, in Ben Sira one can no longer speak of wisdom and sin as two opposites, femininely personified. This last section focuses on the textual finds of Ben Sira from Qumran—how these finds relate to gender, and how they relate to canonization, composition and the Qumranite discourse on the issue.

Unlike Lamentations and Proverbs, Ben Sira is not part of the Hebrew Bible, but it is certainly the book for which we have most evidence of the difficulty Jews had parting with it when the canon was decided. In the discussion of Lamentations and Proverbs and the issue of gender, I was able to show what exists in Qumran of the Masoretic Text and beyond it, and how gender is present in the Masoretic Text and in the additional texts found in Qumran, and what sort of role it played in the politics that dictated the form of the canonized text. Here, with regard to Ben Sira, I will be arguing from silence. Namely, I will outline what of the Book of Ben Sira is present in Qumran, what is absent, why I think this absence is no accident, and what role gender plays in this. While I am aware that silence is a much weaker argument, I nevertheless think that sometimes this is a venue worth pursuing, particularly when it comes to gender, where I believe that silencing was often intentional.

The debate over the question whether to include or exclude Ben Sira from the Jewish canon was lively and long-lived.⁵¹ In a previous study I showed how the book was deeply cherished by the Babylonian

⁵⁰ Segal, *Ben Sira*, 3–6.

⁵¹ See recently Giuseppe Veltri, *Libraries, Translations and 'Canonic' Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish Christian Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 190–222.

Talmud, and although eventually rejected as part of the canon, was nevertheless studied and cited.⁵² I claimed that gender played a major role in this process, arguing that the Babylonian Talmud had been particularly fond of Ben Sira because of the blatant misogynistic statements found therein. The Babylonian rabbis held similar opinions, and were happy to use an old authority to voice their views. I produced some statistics to support my claim, including the following. While in the Book of Ben Sira verses referring to real women constitute only 7% of the book, in the Babylonian Talmud they constitute 40% of all the verses cited from it. And the Book of Ben Sira was not just cherished by the editors of the Babylonian Talmud (or rabbinic literature in general). Elsewhere in the Judaeen Desert, but in no direct connection with the Qumran covenanters, a Ben Sira scroll was found on Masada, and it preserves one of the most blatantly misogynistic texts from the Book of Ben Sira (41:28–9; 42:7–20).⁵³ Before we commence with our investigation of Ben Sira in Qumran it is perhaps useful to state that not a single one of these verses on women has been found among the thousands of manuscript fragments at the site. This could be viewed of course as coincidence, but I will claim that there are strong arguments against such an assumption.

So what part of the Ben Sira text have the Qumranites preserved? Two pieces of circumstantial evidence for the book have been discovered. The first is a tiny fragment from Cave 2:

2Q18 = Ben Sira 6:20–31 ⁵⁴	
ב[	.20
[	.21
כח[	.22
[	.23
[	.24
[	.25
ה[	.26
פה [	.27
ענג[	.28

⁵² See Ilan, *Integrating Women*, 155–74.

⁵³ Ilan, *Integrating Women*, 157–58. Some of these verses are also found in the Babylonian Talmud; see *b. San.* 100b. For the Masada Scroll see Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada with Introduction, Emendations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965), 42. In the Masada scroll, verses about the wickedness of women constitute 9% of the preserved text, but this of course could be seen as mere coincidence.

⁵⁴ See Baillet, *DJD III*, 76–77.

בגדי כתם]	.29
לת]	.30
ת תפארת תעטרנה]	.31

As can be seen, this text, found in Cave 2, includes only 30 visible letters dispersed on the edge of 11 lines. It was ingeniously identified by Maurice Baillet as a Ben Sira text, probably based on the combination of the two words preserved together in the third before last and the last line—בגדי כתם (robes of gold) and תפארת תעטרנה (crowned by glory). Using the Hebrew text found in the Cairo Genizah, Baillet was able to deduce that this combination is unique to Ben Sira.⁵⁵

The second Ben Sira text from Qumran is a poem incorporated into the apocryphal Psalms Scroll of Cave 11:

11QPsalms^a 21 = Ben Sira 51:13–19⁵⁶

- .11 אני נער בטרים תעיתי ובקשתיה באה לי בתרה ועד
- .12 סופה אדרשנה גם גרע נץ בבשול ענבים ישמחו לב
- .13 דרכה רגלי במישור כי מנעורי ידעתיה הטיתי כמעט
- .14 אוזני והרבה מצאתי לקח ועלה היתה לי למלמדי אתן
- .15 הודי זמותי ואשחקה קנאתי בטוב ולא אשוב חריתי
- .16 נפשי בה לוא השיבותי טרתי נפשי בה וברומיה לוא
- .17 אשלה ידי פרש] [מערמיה אתבונן כפי הברותי אל

11. I was a young man before I erred when I looked for her. She came to me in her beauty, and till the end
12. I shall seek her. Even as a blossom drops in the ripening of grapes making glad the heart
13. (So) my foot trod in uprightness, for from my young manhood have I known her. I inclined but a little
14. my ear and great was the persuasion I found. And she became my nurse, to my teacher I give
15. my ardour. I purposed to make sport, I was zealous for pleasure without, without pause. I kindled
16. my soul in her without distraction. I bestirred my soul for her, and on her heights I do not
17. waver. I opened my hand(s) [] and perceived her nakedness. I cleansed my hands to

This text, unlike the previous one, is not in a fragment, which may represent a Ben Sira scroll, but is rather a Ben Sira hymn, incorporated into an entirely different composition. This Psalms scroll can be used to argue that even the Psalms (which in *Miqṣat Ma'āse Ha-Torah* are

⁵⁵ Baillet, DJD III, 75.

⁵⁶ Text and translation follows James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrān Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*. DJD IV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 42, 81, with minor emendations.

probably designated “David”), which the Qumranites canonized, were not the Psalms canonized in the Masoretic Text. It includes 32 of the canonical Psalms, within which are interspersed two psalms known only from the Syriac Psalter, perhaps a part of 2 Samuel 23, at least four otherwise unattested psalms and chapter 51 from Ben Sira.

Some scholars claim that chapter 51 never was an integral part of Ben Sira⁵⁷ and I do not intend to argue the opposite, because it is unnecessary. Regardless of whether it was or was not part of an original Ben Sira book, from the way the text is found in Qumran it is obvious that the Qumranites who preserved it certainly did not think they were preserving the Book of Ben Sira.⁵⁸ If scholars would like to argue that a Ben Sira scroll was preserved in Qumran, they would have to do so based on the 30 letters found in 2Q18.

At this point I would like to incorporate the question of gender into the Ben Sira discussion. Since, as mentioned above, the misogynistic Ben Sira texts were not found in the Qumran fragments, it is interesting to note that they nevertheless do represent a major gender theme. This theme entails the courtship of Lady Wisdom. This pursuit, which as we saw in the previous section, was recommended to the student of wisdom, was enthusiastically adopted by Ben Sira. In fact, an interesting development has taken place in the presentation of Lady Wisdom in Ben Sira. She has become much more feminine and erotic than Lady Wisdom of Proverbs, and her pursuit by the seeker of wisdom takes on a far greater metaphoric quality. At the same time it is possible that Dame Folly of Proverbs has become the universally bad woman/wife/daughter in Ben Sira. This double-pronged development has brought about a disturbing contradiction within the writings of Ben Sira. With Dame Folly becoming a real-life woman, Ben Sira takes the opportunity to warn his readers against her. He warns young men in general against courting all kinds of women (foreigner, harlot, married woman as in Proverbs 6:24–9; but also a virgin, a singer and a beauty, see Ben Sira 9:1–12) and advises a father to protect his daughter against courting suitors. A father should seal his daughter’s windows (Ben

⁵⁷ See Sanders, DJD IV, 83; and also Hanan Eshel, “Four Alphabetical Hymns from Qumran,” in *Studies in the History of Eretz Israel Presented to Yehuda Ben Porat* (ed. Yehoshua Ben-Arieh and Elchnan Reiner; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2003), 44–50 (Hebrew).

⁵⁸ As put by Sanders, DJD IV, 83: “[I]t is now clear that the canticle is totally independent of Sirach. If Jesus son of Sira, of Jerusalem, had penned the canticle it would hardly be found in 11QPs^a, which claims Davidic authorship.”

Sira 42:15–7) and a husband beware of tent pegs pitched in front of his wife's abode (Ben Sira 26:14). One receives the impression that romantic love is basically negative, and that it should never be brought into consideration where the relations between the sexes are decided. However, because Lady Wisdom has not been transformed, in the writings of Ben Sira, into a real woman, and because pursuit of wisdom is the highest goal a scholar should aspire to, this process is described by Ben Sira metaphorically as the courting of a woman. As a metaphor, romantic courting is lauded and encouraged. The graphic description of the courting of Lady Wisdom includes doing what a father forbids a suitor to do for his daughter or a husband for his wife: To peep through her windows or to plant his tent peg at her door (Ben Sira 14:23–5). Particularly interesting and erotic is the connection between the first chapter in Ben Sira and the last one, 51 also found in the Psalm scroll from Qumran (11QPsalms^a). In chapter 1 of Ben Sira we read that no human has observed the nakedness of wisdom (מערומיה 1:5). Obviously this is a highly coveted but nigh impossible goal. In the last chapter the neophyte who is courting wisdom confesses that he has observed her nakedness (מערומיה ארתבונן). The author of Ben Sira, who began by claiming the impossibility of fulfilling one's coveted courtship,⁵⁹ ends by confessing that he has, metaphorically speaking, consummated it.⁶⁰

In this context it might be interesting to note that 2Q18, the other Ben Sira text discovered in Qumran is also a hymn in praise of wisdom. Here again some statistics are in order. Five poetic compositions in Ben Sira, including the opening and closing chapters are devoted to the courting of Lady Wisdom (1:1–18; 4:11–20; 6:17–40; 14:21–15:10; 51:36–54). All in all they constitute 87 verses—slightly less than the number of verses Ben Sira devotes to real women—about 5% of the entire composition. In Qumran all the verses from Ben Sira that have been preserved, both those in 11QPs^a and those in 2Q18, are derived from these 87 verses. I think we should seriously consider the possibility that the Qumranites did not preserve Ben Sira. They preserved an earlier collection of (almost erotic) hymns in praise of wisdom that

⁵⁹ And see also Takamitsu Muraoka, "Sir. 51, 13–30: An Erotic Hymn to Wisdom," *JSJ* 10 (1979): 166–78.

⁶⁰ On the possibility that Ben Sira 51 was originally an erotic love poem akin to the biblical Song of Songs, see Eshel, "Four Alphabetical Hymns from Qumran." If his argument is correct, it is nevertheless quite understandable why this poem was chosen to end Ben Sira. It complements Ben Sira 1, and creates an *inclusio*.

Ben Sira had then incorporated into its writings. The treatment of gender in the final version of the Book of Ben Sira, as it is preserved in the Hebrew manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah and in the Greek text of the Septuagint, represents the latest thinking on the issue, which prevailed in the third century B.C.E. Both Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly became considerably more eroticized than in the sources available to the book of Proverbs. The final redactor of the book of Proverbs chose to eroticize and humanize Dame Folly. The Qumran texts at our disposal show no trace of this Dame Folly in their scripts. Instead they preserved the metaphorical wicked woman of 4Q184. The final redactor of Ben Sira used Dame Folly of Proverbs to denounce the danger embodied in real women. As a metaphor he rejected her completely. Lady Wisdom, on the other hand, became his great metaphorical feminine heroine. She was positively feminized and eroticized. I assume that the Qumranites either never saw this version of Dame Folly in Ben Sira, or they saw it and did not like it. But they liked and preserved the feminized, enticing Lady Wisdom on whom Ben Sira drew.

4. CONCLUSION

In sum, I think we can see that the question of canonization in Qumran, especially with regard to the *Ketuvim*, is an open one, and since gender is always a problematic category for texts and scribes, perhaps it can be used to determine the relationship between canonical and non-canonical texts. Here we were able to see that for two biblical books that were canonized—Lamentations and Proverbs—in which gender imagery abounds, another two, even more gender-charged fragments were found in Qumran. It could be suggested that they are later, but I think it makes more sense to understand them as contemporary, and assume that gender imagery in what became the canonical Lamentations and Proverbs was tamed or actually removed.

For another book that was not canonized, but was seriously considered worthy of canonization—Ben Sira—we were able to see that the finds in Qumran may be preserving an earlier collection of poems in praise of the courting of Lady Wisdom, which Ben Sira also employed in his composition. Ben Sira displays a very ambivalent attitude toward women. His work, it seems, was of no interest to the Qumranites. Yet the gender-charged poems in pursuit of Lady Wisdom, that Ben Sira also employed, were important for them.

LAWS PERTAINING TO WOMEN AND SEXUALITY IN THE EARLY STRATUM OF THE *DAMASCUS DOCUMENT*

LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relationship of certain laws pertaining to women in the corpus we generally term the Dead Sea Scrolls, that is, the collection of scrolls discovered at Qumran, to the corpus of law generally known as Pharisaic-rabbinic law. This latter legal system is preserved in later Talmudic sources but, when used judiciously, these sources are often indicative of the practice of the Pharisees and their followers in Second Temple times.¹ In a previous paper, delivered at the conference here in Israel commemorating the 40th anniversary of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (the conference's final sessions were held at this museum), I gave what I think was the first full presentation devoted to women in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In that paper, I addressed the question of the laws pertaining to women found in the *Temple Scroll*.² The truth be told, when I went to write the chapter pertaining to women for *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1994),³ I realized the disappointing nature of what I had discovered in my earlier study on the *Temple Scroll*. In fact, what I had learned was that with one exception, all that the *Temple Scroll* had done pertaining to women was to repeat biblical legislation with minor modifications. This was the case, for example, with the laws of vows and oaths in the *Temple Scroll* whereas, by contrast, my study of this issue in the Zadokite Fragments (*Damascus Document*) had shown that this latter document had modified biblical legislation in several ways, most of

¹ Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Relevance of Rabbinic Sources to the Study of Qumran Law," *WCJS* 12, A (1999): 73–78.

² Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Laws Pertaining to Women in the *Temple Scroll*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 210–28.

³ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 127–43.

which were in accord with later rabbinic legislation.⁴ In the meantime, at about the time of our 50th anniversary celebration, DJD editions were published of the remaining halakhic materials from Qumran. These texts, especially the Cave 4 *Damascus Document* texts,⁵ added greatly to our store of laws pertaining to women.⁶ The excellent commentaries of Joseph Baumgarten and others in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*⁷ certainly provide a good basis for this study. However, before beginning our study, we must call attention to the wonderful volume of Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*,⁸ which serves as the basis of much that we will discuss below.⁹

As we noted, it is only about a decade ago (1994, 1996 and 1999) that the long unpublished halakhic materials from Cave 4 appeared.¹⁰ These volumes set the stage for a number of very significant works in our field. Further, several distinct developments in the field, all the results of research conducted by colleagues in the last decade, have made possible the present study. A number of significant works, indeed an entire section at our conference eleven years ago,¹¹ dealt with the literary history of our documents, especially with the notion that many of the texts of significance in the Qumran collection existed in various recensions. Especially regarding the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community*, it was realized that the complex literary history indicated something of the history of the Qumran sect.¹² While this

⁴ Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Law of Vows and Oaths (Num 30: 3–16) in the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 15 (Mémorial Jean Starcky, 1991): 199–214.

⁵ Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

⁶ Moshe J. Bernstein, "Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004): 191–211.

⁷ Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

⁸ Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (SBL Academia Biblica 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2005).

⁹ William Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009) came out after this study was written, but we have attempted to make use of it as well.

¹⁰ In addition to the volumes mentioned in notes 5 and 6, see Elisha Qimron, and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

¹¹ *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000).

¹² Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, *The Serekh Texts* (CQS 9; LSTS 62; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 15–20.

had been realized much earlier, resulting in much speculation,¹³ it was only the full publication of all the Cave 4 materials that made it possible to reconstruct such histories. Particularly, regarding the *Damascus Document*, the work of Charlotte Hempel provided an entirely new framework for the study of this text and its legal history.¹⁴ The important book by Cecilia Wassen makes use of Hempel's method in order to separate an early legal stratum that may go back to a period before the process of radicalization that produced the sect as we know it, which no doubt took place after the schism. In my view, this stratum goes back to the period before the schism, approximately at the time of the MMT text and, therefore, like MMT, it lacks reference to sectarian organization or to the language of invective.¹⁵ The second stratum, coming from the period in which the Qumran sect as we know it was in existence, in my view after the rise to power of Jonathan the Hasmonean in 152 B.C.E., shows a joining together of the classic subjects of Jewish law with regulations pertaining to the organizational life of the sect. The second layer is, no doubt, later and testifies to the fact that the laws that we are dealing with, at least in this second recension, were those of the Qumran sect. In this respect, recent research since our last conference has built an entirely new structure that is going to underlie all future research on the law of the Dead Sea sect.

However, there is another way in which this paper fits our theme of the progress of the last ten years. I alluded before to my own presentation at the fortieth anniversary conference and to my chapter in *Reclaiming*. However, since then, virtually all fields in the humanities, and certainly biblical and Judaic Studies, have become involved in what is today called gender or women's studies. Our own field of Dead Sea Scrolls research has seen the writing of numerous excellent papers and the holding of certain specific sessions on this topic, and our own conference included two such sessions. This is, of course, a virtual reversal of the previous refusal to take account of the indications in

¹³ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49; idem, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document XIX, 33–XX, 34," *RB* 79 (1972): 544–64; Jean Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: son évolution littéraire* (CahRB 17; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976).

¹⁴ Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹⁵ Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 (June 1990): 64–73; an earlier version appeared in *Mogilany 1989, Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Zdzislaw J. Kapera; Krakow: Enigma, 1993), 1: 59–70.

a large number of scrolls of the presence of women, at least in some subgroups of the sect. Today, research has advanced considerably in this area. As a result, the sophistication of the questions that we ask in this regard and the manner in which we integrate them with the other issues of our field make it possible to achieve results that we could not have achieved when we met in this museum to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary.

A word is in order about the literary character of some of the texts that we will be discussing. A number of fragments adhere closely to the order of Scripture in terms of the order in which they discuss specific laws. Further, some passages read almost like rewritten Bible, since most of their verbiage is derived from the Bible. In such passages, we occasionally observe added sentences similar to what we find in some parts of the *Temple Scroll*.¹⁶ We have already observed in previous studies that just as tannaitic literature included legal discussion in both scriptural order and in abstract, apodictic form, the same is the case in the Dead Sea Scrolls. We called attention to the *serakhim*, lists of laws in apodictic form that we compared with mishnaic laws, and to the *Temple Scroll*—rewritten Bible—that we compared to the scriptural order of tannaitic midrash.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear from examining some of these more recently published passages, that some seemingly apodictic legal discussions, organized around common subject matter and even having titles, are internally organized in scriptural order.¹⁸ Certainly, the influence of the Bible on Qumran halakhic texts cannot be underestimated, both in terms of legal derivation and literary form. As observed long ago, we sometimes find in the texts substitution of postbiblical terminology for that used in the Hebrew Bible but the opposite tendency, use of archaic, biblically-based language, is more common.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 77–88.

¹⁷ Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Codification of Jewish Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Postbiblical Judaism presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (ed. Chaim Cohen et al.; 2 vols.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 2:917–26.

¹⁸ On the organization and literary character of the material under discussion here, see Martha Himmelfarb, “Purity Laws of 4QD: Exegesis and Sectarianism,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 155–59.

¹⁹ Chaim Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Scripta Judaica 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 108–111.

Below, we will concentrate on laws pertaining to women that appear in the *Damascus Document* in the earliest stratum, as defined by Hempel and Wassen. This is because these texts help to build up a general picture that we are seeking about the nature of the Sadducee/Zadokite legal system as it was practiced before there was a Qumran sect.²⁰ Within this general corpus, we will leave out those laws dealing with oaths and vows, Sabbath, prohibited consanguineous marriages, and the city of the sanctuary. Elsewhere, we have devoted considerable study to these texts. We will concentrate on comparison with Pharisaic-rabbinic parallels. In our discussion, we hope to continue the research of the past decade while pointing ahead to research that will be celebrated at further anniversaries.

2. MALE GENITAL DISCHARGE IMPURITY

Following Lev 15:2–12, the *Damascus Document* (4Q272 1 ii 3–7=4Q266 6 i 14–16) refers to three types of male genital discharges, the *zav* (generally understood to be one who had contracted gonorrhea),²¹ one who had ejaculated due to lustful thoughts and, it seems most likely, one who experienced a seminal emission in sexual intercourse.²² All these categories of impure persons are said to impart impurity to others through physical contact. A very similar ruling appears in 4QToh A 1 I 8b–9a. In this respect, the text seems to be much stricter than the Bible, since Leviticus discusses impurity transmitted by touching the gonorrhoeic or anything that he has defiled. Specifically, he defiles that which he sits or rests upon. Also, contact with his saliva can render another impure. He also renders vessels impure. Further,

²⁰ See Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 29–31.

²¹ Julius Preuss, *Julius Preuss' Biblical and Talmudic Medicine* (trans. and ed. Fred Rosner; New York: Sanhedrin, 1978), 354–57.

²² See Joseph M. Baumgarten, “*Zab* Impurity in Qumran and Rabbinic Law,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 273–77; Martha Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 17–20; idem, “Purity Laws of 4QD,” 159–63; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 47–8; Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Jewish Culture and Contexts; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 100–104; Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 46–51; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 146–48.

Lev 16:16–17 indicates that contact with semen causes impurity, but it does not indicate that a person who touches a man who had ejaculated becomes impure. Our law promotes the one who had ejaculated, within or outside of sexual relations, to the level of the gonorrhoeic. According to this law, anyone who touched anyone who had relations would become impure. Further, the purification of the gonorrhoeic requires a seven-day period in our text, whereas according to the Bible seminal impurity is a one-day impurity.²³ 11QT 45:7–16 lengthened that impurity to three days, on analogy with the purification of the Israelites in expectation of the giving of the Ten Commandments at Mount Sinai, which was a three-day period.²⁴

Now before discussing the specifics of these regulations, we need to remember that whatever the original intention of Leviticus, rabbinic tradition understood these purification laws to apply only to one who intended to enter the sanctuary or eat from offerings. According to the rabbis, it was permissible otherwise to ignore these impurities and purification rules.²⁵ It is apparent that such purification rules, however, were a regular part of the life of the Qumran sect,²⁶ as they were also for the *haverim* described in tannaitic sources.²⁷ While this is the case, later rabbinic tradition, both tannaitic and amoraic, claiming not to base itself on biblical injunctions, introduced a series of regulations regarding the *ba'al qeri*, one who had a seminal mission,²⁸ prohibiting him from, in various baraitot, praying, studying or both.²⁹ Some amo-

²³ See Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary* (STDJ 56; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 272. Cf. Aharon Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis* (Taubman Lectures in Jewish Studies; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 156–57 who reports on an alternative reconstruction by Elisha Qimron.

²⁴ See *y. Ber.* 3:4 (6c) on the connection of the law of *ba'al qeri* to the three days of abstention at Sinai. See Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin,” 19 and Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 147 n. 164.

²⁵ Himmelfarb, “Purity Laws of 4QD,” 161–62.

²⁶ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (Brown Judaic Studies 33; ed. Jacob Neusner; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 161–73.

²⁷ Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, 11–21; Saul Lieberman, “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” *JBL* 71 (1951): 199–206, repr. in *Texts and Studies* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 200–207; Aharon Oppenheimer, *The ‘Am ha-Aretz: A Study in the Social History of the Jewish People in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (ALGHJ 8; trans. I. H. Levine; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 118–56.

²⁸ The term is derived from Deut 23:11.

²⁹ *m. Ber.* 3:4–6; *t. Ber.* 2:12–13; *b. Ber.* 20b–26a; *y. Ber.* 3:4–5 (6a–7a).

raim (*b. Ber.* 22a; *y. Ber.* 3:4 [6c]) explain these regulations as resulting from a desire to limit excessive sexual relations, but in fact such an explanation does not suffice. Examination of these rabbinic traditions indicates that the exclusion of one who had had a seminal emission from the Temple, for one day according to the Torah, has strongly influenced these later regulations. Sometime in the amoraic period, the law of the *ba'al qeri* ceased to be observed.³⁰ It seems to have fallen into disuse along with purity laws pertaining to the Temple that did not survive the transition from tannaitic to amoraic times. Its disappearance among these laws probably indicates its original origin, as a vestigial Temple purity regulation. However, some small minorities of Jews maintained these laws throughout the ages under Kabbalistic influence and they have been widely revived among Hasidic Jews where males immerse every morning.

When we come to the specifics of these rules, tannaitic tradition is in marked contrast to the sectarian rules. *m. Zav* 2:2 indicates clearly that the tannaim distinguished *zav* impurity from that of a seminal emission.³¹ Further, unlike the *Temple Scroll*, tannaitic opinion saw Temple impurity for those who had a seminal mission as lasting only for one day.³² No laws whatsoever regarding the one who had experienced an emission saw him as rendering anything impure by touch or conveying impurity to those that touched him. Neither sexual partner conveyed such impurity after relations. We should note, however, that seminal impurity resulting from sexual relations was considered to last three days for women, because the rabbis believed that semen continued to be emitted from the woman's body for a period of three days.

3. FEMALE GENITAL DISCHARGE IMPURITY

The *Damascus Document* discusses (4Q272 1 ii 7–11) impurity resulting from female genital discharge of blood. Ancient sources agree that the term *zav* refers to one who had contracted the disease of gonorrhea and, therefore, experienced the flow of a white liquid. The term *zavah*, however, referred to a woman who had experienced a blood

³⁰ See Maimonides, *H. Qeri'at Shema* 4:8.

³¹ See Baumgarten, DJD XXXV: 87–88.

³² See Baumgarten, DJD XXXV: 88.

flow outside of the normal menstrual period,³³ but in biblical Hebrew the verb זָוַי could also refer to menstrual bleeding.³⁴ Here Lev 15:19–33 provides the source. This text refers explicitly to a woman who had experienced a blood flow outside of the regular period. It appears, however, that our text understood these laws to refer also to the menstruating woman. After all, verse 26 asserts their equivalence. After repeating some of the essential prescriptions of Leviticus 15, our text appears to assert that such a woman defiles by touch. It may be that in this manner our text harmonizes the impurity of the woman who experienced the blood flow, within or outside of menstruation, with the law of the gonorrhoeic. A very similar ruling is found in 4QToh A 1 I 7–8 which makes an analogy between a menstruating woman and a gonorrhoeic in terms of their ritual impurity.³⁵

Following biblical law, the rabbis agreed that blood from the uterus under all circumstances renders one who comes into contact with it impure (cf. Lev 15:19).³⁶ In their view one who came in contact with a menstruating woman or one who had an irregular blood flow was rendered impure and required a one-day purification period (Lev 15:19, 27).³⁷ In this respect, they are in agreement with our text as both follow Leviticus.

However, our text shows no evidence of a much wider set of interpretations and rulings central to rabbinic law. The rabbis set out a basic distinction between menstrual impurity (*niddah*) and a woman who had a flow at a time other than during her regular menstrual period (*zavah*). These two biblical categories were conflated in rabbinic halakhah, apparently during the amoraic period. According to the Bible, it was assumed that once a month a woman would have a blood flow of several days. Thereafter, she would wait until the end of a total of seven days from the beginning of her period, and then immerse herself and return to normal contact with her husband (Lev 15:19). On the other hand, one who had an irregular flow had to wait

³³ Preuss, *Biblical and Talmudic Medicine*, 376–79.

³⁴ “זָוַי,” DCH 3:95 a–b.

³⁵ See Himmelfarb, “Purity Laws of 4QD,” 165–67; idem, “Impurity and Sin,” 20–29; idem, *Kingdom of Priests*, 104–11; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 53; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 148–49; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 51–55.

³⁶ *Sifra Mešora’ Parashah* 4:1 (ed. I. H. Weiss [Vienna: J. Schlossberg, 1861/2; repr. New York: Om, 1946], 78a).

³⁷ *Sifra Mešora’ Parashah* 4:9–10 (ed. Weiss, 78b); Maimonides, *H. Mishkav u-Moshav* 5:1; cf. *H. Qeri’at Shema’* 4:8.

until the bleeding ceased, count seven pure days with no blood flow, and only then could she be purified (Lev 15:28).³⁸

This system was modified sometime in the amoraic period. At this point, the assumption was made that it was easy to confuse a woman's menstrual period with a blood flow during the days on which the period was not expected, especially if one accepts the Talmud's fundamental assumption that almost all women have regular menstrual cycles.³⁹ This, of course, was highly doubtful in ancient times in which periods were more erratic than today. Because of this, in a ruling attributed to Rabbi Judah the Prince, the editor of the Mishnah, the two sets of rules were combined.⁴⁰ Accordingly, it was ruled that a woman should allow at least five days for menstruation (or more if necessary) and then count seven pure days before immersing.⁴¹ In effect, the law of the *zavah* was superimposed on that of the *niddah*. This was one of a series of stringencies established during the Talmudic period regarding menstrual impurity. Needless to say, there is no reflection of any of this in the scrolls material. Rather, the ruling on this topic in the scrolls, following that of the Bible, is in accord with that of the early tannaim before the institution of the double *niddah-zavah* stringency.

Additional regulations concern the woman who had an irregular blood flow. 4Q266 6 ii 2–4 rules that a *zavah* will be impure for seven days, in accordance with Leviticus, and that she is forbidden from eating holy foods and may not enter the Temple until completion of her purification at sunset of the eighth day.⁴² This rule is in accord with the various Qumran laws that follow the Sadducee/Zadokite view prohibiting what the rabbis termed the *tevul yom*. The tannaim, following the Pharisees before them, ruled that certain restrictions concerning those who contracted impurity were set aside once they completed their purification rituals on the last day, but awaited only the setting of

³⁸ See Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 56.

³⁹ *m. Nid.* 4:7.

⁴⁰ Attributed by the amora Rav Judah to Rabbi Judah the Prince in *b. Nid.* 66a. See also Maimonides, *H. 'Issure Bi'ah* 11:3 and R. Vidal of Tortosa, *Maggid Mishneh*, ad loc.

⁴¹ Some medieval customs lengthened the menstrual period to seven days, and only then counted the seven "pure days." See Eric Zimmer, 'Olam ke-Minhago Noheg: *Studies in the History and the Metamorphoses of Jewish Customs* (Jerusalem: Merkaz Shazar, 1996), 240–49 (Hebrew).

⁴² See Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 53–54.

the sun. Our text, as is the case with numerous Qumran texts, emphasizes that the sun must set on the eighth day in order for the woman to become pure. We will not discuss these laws in detail, because we and other scholars have already done so in various articles.⁴³ We only note that this is an example of deep disagreement between the Sadducee-Zadokite system of Jewish law and the Pharisaic-rabbinic.⁴⁴

That such a woman may not eat holy foods or enter the Temple is not stated explicitly in Leviticus. It seems to be the case from 4Q266 6 ii 3–4. This law can be compared to that of the woman after childbirth as described in Lev 12:4 where these restrictions are explicitly stated. In this case, rabbinic law is in agreement. This fragment also seems to imply that the flow of any blood would render the woman with an irregular flow impure, whereas for the rabbis at least three days' flow is required to place a woman in the category of *zavah*.⁴⁵ This is based on the phrase ימים רבים, “many days” (Lev 15:25).

4. RESTRICTION OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

One law found in 4Q266 6 ii 1–2 rules according to Lev 15:24 that if a man has relations with a woman who was menstrually impure, he incurs a seven-day impurity.⁴⁶ This is simply in accord with the Bible; rabbinic halakhah is in full agreement. A small fragment⁴⁷ seems to indicate that, accordingly, it was forbidden to get married to a woman who was in a state of menstrual impurity. Only after she completed her period of purification, could the marriage take place. In fact, this is in agreement with one view in rabbinic halakhah as it is stated in post-Talmudic sources. The only exception was a student of the sages (*talmid hakham*) who could be assumed to be able to delay sexual relations until his new wife had been purified. In fact, a simple reading of Talmudic sources would indicate that marriage cannot be effected

⁴³ Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Sadducean Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Case of the *Tevul Yom*,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 285–99; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Pharisaic Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts,” *JJS* 31 (1980): 157–70.

⁴⁴ See Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD* X, 152–55.

⁴⁵ *Sifra Mešora' Parashah* 5:9–10 (ed. Weiss, 79a).

⁴⁶ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 52–53; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 149–50. Loader notes that this passage is paralleled in the “three nets” of the *Damascus Document*, CD 5:6–7 (*ibid.*, 119–20).

⁴⁷ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 89.

with a menstrually impure woman since she is outside the category of those who may consummate a marriage. This was indeed the view of Maimonides,⁴⁸ but over time, this ruling was substantially softened under the influence of party planning, travel and other such exigencies.⁴⁹ In this case, then, it is possible that the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition in its earliest cast would have agreed with the ruling of the sect.

5. PURIFICATION AFTER CHILDBIRTH

4Q266 6 ii 9–10 also takes up the question of purification after childbirth. This topic also appears in 4Q265 (Miscellaneous Rules) where an explanation for the number of days of purity and impurity is found that is also paralleled in *Jub.* 3:8–14.⁵⁰ Our passage is closely based on Lev 12:2–8. At the end, we are told that the parturient (like the menstrually impure woman and one who has had an irregular flow) may not eat of holy foods nor enter the sanctuary, and that violation of these two regulations constitutes a capital crime. Our text has rearranged the biblical order of these restrictions in order to make the points that they apply after the birth of both male and female offspring and that they apply both to the times of “impure blood” and to those of “pure blood.” From the Bible, we would not have known that a violation of this regulation would constitute a capital crime, but our text makes that claim.

Regarding the text’s emphasis on the fact that the offerings occur after both periods have elapsed and that only then may the parturient eat of holy food or enter the Temple, rabbinic tradition is in full agreement.⁵¹ Clearly, the sectarians determined that this was a capital crime. The rabbis understood Lev 15:31 to refer to *karet* (excision).⁵² One may also compare Lev 7:20–21 that mentions the punishment

⁴⁸ Maimonides, *H. Issure Bi’ah* 11:10; *H. Ishut* 10:6; based on an unanswered question of the late amora Rav Ashi in *b. Ket.* 66a.

⁴⁹ See “Huppah,” *Entsiqlopedyah Talmudit*, 16:430–37.

⁵⁰ Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin,” 29; Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 55; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 151–52; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 55–60.

⁵¹ Rashi and Ramban to Lev 12:4; *b. Hul.* 31a, Maimonides, *H. Bet ha-Behirah* 7:15.

⁵² *Sifre Num* 125 (ed. H. S. Horovitz, *Sifre Num*; [Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1966], p. 161 as interpreted by Rashi to Lev 15:31; see Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 56.

of *karet* for anyone who eats *shelamim* sacrifices while impure.⁵³ The same punishment is prescribed in Lev 22:2–3 for priests who eat sacrifices while impure. All this evidence would seem to imply that we are talking about death at the hands of heaven or *karet*.⁵⁴ However, the term *משפט מות* appears only in Deut 21:22 where it refers to a crime punishable by execution. This also appears to be the case with the sectarian term *דבר מות*, “capital case.”⁵⁵ Nonetheless, it does appear from all this evidence that in our passage reference is to the divinely administered punishment of excision, and not to death at the hands of a human court.⁵⁶

The most significant question regarding the relationship of Pharisaic-rabbinic views to the laws pertaining to purification after childbirth has to do with the understanding of the two periods of time that are designated in Leviticus 12. The passage speaks of the period of impurity, similar to that of menstrual impurity, of seven days after the birth of a boy and fourteen days after the birth of a girl. The text also speaks of longer periods, namely of 33 more days for a boy and 66 more days for a girl, during which the mother is in a state of “pure blood,” to borrow a rabbinic term. According to rabbinic exegesis, the first period is a period of absolute impurity in which the woman is separated from relations with her husband and prohibited from eating holy foods or entering the sanctuary. For this purpose, the sanctuary is defined as the entire *temenos*—the Temple Mount. Thereafter, during the second period, she is still forbidden from eating holy foods or entering into the Temple precincts, but she is permitted relations with her husband since she is in a period of “pure blood,” and this blood is clearly not menstrual. During tannaitic times, and one would assume beforehand, this meant that it was permitted to have relations after the initial period if immersion took place, even if there continued to be bleeding during second period. The lengths of these two periods were defined differ-

⁵³ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 56 n. 35 for some reason contains numerous errors. Num 7:20–21 should be corrected to Lev 7:20–21. Num 22:23 is also incorrect, but Lev 22:23 is also irrelevant. It is most probably an error for Lev 22:2–3 which is also cited by her. The reference to Lev 7:20 at the end of the note is a correct reference to a passage that had been incorrectly referred to at the beginning of the note as Num 7:20–21.

⁵⁴ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 55.

⁵⁵ For references, see Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 55 n. 33; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Halakhic Terminology in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 93 (2009), 115–33.

⁵⁶ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 56.

ently for women who had delivered male and female children, following the Torah. Eventually, apparently in the early Middle Ages, the custom spread to most Jewish communities to forbid relations until all bleeding had stopped and there had been a seven-day period of purification on analogy with the law of the *zavah*, thus rendering this Torah law no longer operable.⁵⁷ In this case, it appears that tannaitic practice regarding the two different kinds of blood and the two periods represented the dominant explanation of Leviticus 12. Hence, we can assume that sectarian and Pharisaic-rabbinic practice were unified on this particular issue.

As mentioned above, a variety of stringencies relating to impurity came into practice toward the end of the Talmudic period and in the Geonic era, spreading throughout the Jewish communities in the early Middle Ages. Attempts have been made to explain these stringencies as arising from Karaite influence or from ancient sectarian traditions.⁵⁸ Some of the stringencies are found in a post-Talmudic work known as *Baraita' de-Niddah*.⁵⁹ It would be a mistake to trace these stringencies to Second Temple times and to assume them to have been Sadducean when they are not found in relevant Qumran texts that deal with the same issues. On the other hand, certain of the stringencies are indeed documented in Qumran texts, such as the *Bet Niddot*, the special house to which menstrually impure women were exiled, mentioned according to one vocalization of the Mishnah⁶⁰ and required by the *Temple Scroll*.⁶¹ It is certain that a variety of historical causes contributed to the onset of such stringencies at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and ancient sectarianism was only one of those causes. In fact, tendencies towards greater stringency in these issues can be observed within the Talmudic corpus and so seem to have been part of the general trajectory.

⁵⁷ See Maimonides, *H. 'Issure Bi'ah* 11:5–7. Even longer periods of waiting before returning to sexual relations after childbirth became customary in some Jewish communities. See *Shulhan 'Arukh, Yoreh De'ah* 194:1 (in the gloss of Moses Isserles). On the controversy over the prohibition of relations during the entire period of postpartum bleeding, see Zimmer, 'Olam ke-Minhago Noheg, 220–39."

⁵⁸ Yediyah Dinari, "The Violation of the Sacred by the Niddah and the Enactment of Ezra," *Te'udah* 3 (1983): 17–37.

⁵⁹ See Michael J. Goldman, "Baraita de-Niddah," *EJ* (1971): 4.194.

⁶⁰ Vocalized "bet ha-teme'ot" in *m. Nid.* 7:4.

⁶¹ 11QT^a 48:14–16 and Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:305–307. Samaritans and Ethiopian Jews followed a similar practice. See also Josephus, *Ant.* 3:261 regarding the desert camp of Israel.

6. THE RITE OF THE SUSPECTED ADULTERESS

The rite of the suspected adulteress (*soṭah*) is taken up in 4Q270 4 1-11(=4Q266 12 1-4). This passage is based on biblical commands of Num 5:11-31. Numerous verbal parallels indicate that our text deals with the *soṭah*.⁶² Lines 2-5 seem to describe a process in which there is mention of a witness who sees the wife, as well as the possibility of counterclaims on her part such as the claim that she was raped. These laws have no parallel in the Bible but appear to correspond to certain procedures that rabbinic halakhah required as part of the *soṭah* ritual. (We note parenthetically that there is no evidence that this ritual was ever practiced in the rabbinic period. It seems to have fallen into disuse early in Second Temple times, if not earlier. Yet the rabbis continued to discuss such rituals as if they were still practiced).

Rabbinic halakhah required that before the ordeal could take place, certain other requirements had to be fulfilled.⁶³ First, the husband had to warn his wife in front of two witnesses not to be alone with a specific man (*m. Soṭ.* 1:1-2). Second, the man has to have been secluded with the woman a second time according to the testimony of two witnesses or, according to some alternative views, one witness or the husband (cf. *t. Soṭ.* 1:1-2). Before the ritual could occur, the case came before the Sanhedrin (*m. Soṭ.* 1:4-5) in order to convince the woman to confess. If she confessed, she was divorced from her husband and forfeited her marriage settlement (*ketubah* payment). If she still denied her guilt, then the ritual was performed. All these procedures were intended to avoid the unjustified performance of this ritual. The rabbis introduced a legal procedure, in addition to the Torah's simple meaning, that disallowed the process if motivated only by the husband's feelings of jealousy. Philo, *Special Laws* 3:52-63, describes a very similar process in which the court interrogates the woman and she has the opportunity to defend herself. It seems that in this case, Second Temple Jewish sources must have been more or less unanimous so that our text, Philo and the tannaitic material all expect a similar judicial procedure.⁶⁴

⁶² Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 63-64; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 153-55; Wacholder, *New Damascus Document*, 301-303.

⁶³ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 64-65 quoting Baumgarten, DJD XVIII: 153.

⁶⁴ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 68. For some other details in the middle of this column which are difficult to interpret, see Wassen, 66-67.

It seems that our text refers to a witness, perhaps a single one, who must observe the initial seclusion of the couple in order to begin the procedure. This leads us to believe that there may have been additional procedures similar to those discussed in tannaitic literature.⁶⁵ An example actually documented in our text is the possibility that the woman might claim she had been raped. This claim is provided in our text verbatim (“I was raped”—line 3) and it seems that our text follows the very same ruling as the rabbis.⁶⁶ Indeed this is the rabbinic understanding of, “she was not caught in the act” (Num 5:13),⁶⁷ which the rabbis understood to mean “she was not seized, that is, raped.”⁶⁸ Had she been raped, there would be no reason for this entire procedure, and she was permitted to her husband unless he was a priest.

7. PROHIBITION OF RELATIONS WITH A BETROTHED SERVANT GIRL

Lines 13–17 (18) of 4Q270 4=4Q266 12 6–9 concern what the rabbis termed the “betrothed servant girl” (שפחה חרופה) discussed in Lev 19:20–22 (and perhaps in Exod 21:9–10). From the point of view of the Bible, it is difficult to propose a simple meaning for this text. Qumran and rabbinic interpretations subsequently expanded on biblical legislation. All we can know from this Qumran law is that it is a reference to a female servant who has been designated for some man.⁶⁹ It is forbidden to have relations with this woman although the penalty is a minor one, offering a ram as a guilt offering (*’asham*). Here, the question is to what extent we should fill in interpretations of the Qumran passage based on rabbinic interpretations of the biblical data.

Tannaitic interpretation was divided in its understanding of this law.⁷⁰ The view attributed to Rabbi Akiva took this law as applying to a non-Jewish woman who was half servant girl and half free.⁷¹ That of Rabbi Ishmael took it to refer to a Canaanite handmaiden (a female

⁶⁵ See Baumgarten, DJD XVIII: 153; Wacholder, *New Damascus Document*, 301.

⁶⁶ *b. Sof.* 28a, attributed to tannaim; cf. *b. Ket.* 9a and Maimonides, *H. ’Ishut* 11:11.

⁶⁷ *Sifre Num* 7 (ed. Horovitz, p. 12); *b. Yev.* 56b (Baumgarten, DJD XVIII: 153).

⁶⁸ Note that where שפחה refers to rape in Deut 22:28, 11QT 66:8–11 reads rape out of this biblical passage by harmonizing it with Exod 22:15–16. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 533–36.

⁶⁹ See Shemesh, “4Q271.3,” 259–61.

⁷⁰ *Sifra Qedoshim Pereq* 5:2 (ed. Weiss, 89c); *t. Ker.* 1:17; *baraita* in *b. Ker.* 11a.

⁷¹ So Rashi to Lev 19:20.

slave). In both cases, she was betrothed to a Jewish slave who, according to halakhah, is permitted to marry a servant girl,⁷² since the process of freeing her constituted the completion of the conversion process. Such a conversion is alluded to in CD 12:10–11 where such male and female slaves are referred to as having entered the covenant of Abraham. The term for such servants in rabbinic halakhic literature is “Canaanite slaves.” Had the slave girl been free and now Jewish, the man who had relations with her would have committed the capital crime of adultery. But her betrothal cannot be considered to be totally valid since she is not yet freed, hence, the lighter penalty.

Ibn Ezra discusses the claim that this girl was not Jewish, an interpretation that he identifies as Karaite.⁷³ He interprets the passage as referring to the same Jewish servant girl described in Exod 21:10 and, hence, understands her to be fully Jewish although half slave and half free.⁷⁴ Whatever the actual correctness of this interpretation, it appears from the usage of that verse in line 16 (as restored) that our sectarian text agreed that the Exodus passage was related. If so, it would turn out that the Qumran text, while agreeing with Ibn Ezra, is in disagreement with the way in which the sages took the passage, as they understood her to be a “Canaanite slave.”

8. DISCLOSING BLEMISHES IN A PROSPECTIVE WIFE

4Q271 3 7–9 (=4Q270 5 14–15=4Q269 9 1–2) requires that the father who gives his daughter in marriage should disclose any blemishes of his daughter’s, lest he violate the curse of Deut 27:18 in misleading the blind.⁷⁵ From the passage before, it is apparent that reference here is to the honesty that the seller is required to demonstrate in not defrauding anyone with whom he enters into a business transaction (cf. lines 4–7). This same level of honesty applies even to a father convincing a suitor

⁷² See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish Christian Schism* (Hoboken, N. J.: Ktav, 1985), 36–37.

⁷³ He refers to them as *המכחישים*, “the deniers” (of the oral law). The suggestion of some to emend to *המעתיקים*, “the passers on of tradition,” i.e., the rabbis, is incorrect.

⁷⁴ Asher Weiser, *Commentaries on the Torah of Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1976) 2:63–64.

⁷⁵ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 74–76; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 157. Wacholder, *New Damascus Document*, 259 sees this law as falling under the general topic of honesty in business dealings.

to marry his daughter. It is not immediately clear what these blemishes are, but parallels in 1QSa 2:3–11 indicate that this referred to physical blemishes of the kind that would disqualify priests from service in the Temple.⁷⁶ It would seem from the parallel with honesty and business, however, that this list must be widened to include other issues such as serious personality problems or other matters that would make normal married life impossible, such as inability to bear children. Arguing against the addition of non-physical blemishes, however, is a parallel in 4QInstruction A 11 6–7 which seems to refer to the same law, but which makes specific reference to “and regarding (blemishes in) her bodily parts, make it known to [him].”

Very similar principles are in effect in tannaitic law. The Mishnah requires that if a betrothal is effected on the assumption that there are no defects and they were found later on, the betrothal is not valid. Further, if the marriage is completed and a husband finds defects upon his wife after the wedding that he had no reason to expect, even if no condition was stated, she can be divorced without receiving her alimony settlement (*ketubah*; *m. Qid.* 2:5). This is because it is assumed that this marriage, likened to a business deal, represents a transaction made in error, since had the husband known about these defects he never would have married her. However, it is important to notice that no penalty to be assessed against the bride or her father is mentioned at all in the Qumran texts, either in the *Damascus Document* or in *Instruction*. On a related issue, we ought to note that there is no mention of the marriage contract and required financial settlement agreement (*ketubah*) in any Qumran text. While rabbinic texts debated as to whether the marriage contract and settlement payment constitute a Torah requirement,⁷⁷ modern scholars see these institutions as post-biblical. Further, marriage documents including alimony payment guarantees are found in the documents from the Judean Desert hidden during the Bar Kokhba Revolt.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), 43–51.

⁷⁷ *Seder Nashim in Shishah Sidre Mishnah* (ed. Chanoch Albeck; 6 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1954), 77–79.

⁷⁸ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Marriage and Divorce,” *EDSS*, 1:513–14.

9. SELECTING AN APPROPRIATE GROOM

The *Damascus Document* (4Q271 3 9=4Q270 5 15–17=4Q269 9 2–3) requires that a father not marry off his daughter to a husband who is not appropriate (הוֹכֵן) for her. The terminology here is difficult, since הוֹכֵן literally means “prepared,” and in the scrolls it often means “predestined.”⁷⁹ The text compares such a marriage to the law of *kil’ayim*, mixing that which was not naturally intended to be mixed.⁸⁰ What is meant here is very similar to that discussed by the rabbis who used the very same imagery to indicate their opposition to marriages between those who were physically or socially incompatible or of diverse ages.⁸¹ Although other suggestions have been made,⁸² it appears that the rabbinic parallel here is correct, despite the fact that the comparison with “mixed kinds” seems to hint at something that is halakhically forbidden. This is the case with the reference in MMT B 75–82 that uses the same imagery to describe an improper union between priests and lay people.⁸³ Certainly the authors understand this to be a union violating Jewish law. In our view, despite the difficult terminology and imagery, it appears that this is an example where the Qumran text takes the very same view as do the rabbis.

10. PROHIBITION OF MARRIAGE TO A WOMAN WHO HAS HAD SEXUAL RELATIONS OUT OF MARRIAGE

This section (4Q271 3 10–15=4Q270 5 17–21=4Q269 9 4–8) actually has two subsections. The first concerns the prohibition of marriage to a woman who had extramarital sexual relations. The second requires

⁷⁹ Jacob Licht, *Megillat ha-Hodayot mi-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 249.

⁸⁰ See Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 76–80; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 157–59.

⁸¹ See *b. Yev.* 44a ; Baumgarten, DJD XVIII:177. See also *Pereq ’Arayot* 11 (ed. Michael Higger; *Masekhtot Derekh ’Erets* [2 vols.; New York: Debe Rabanan, 1935], 273–74), a late rabbinic text.

⁸² Aharon Shemesh, “4Q271.3,” 261–63 interpreted this הוֹכֵן as one “betrothed” to him, and sees sexual relations as always constituting a marriage bond. Wassen objects rightly to this view (Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 77); see also Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 158; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 65–66. Shemesh has reconsidered his interpretation of. See his article in this volume, “Marriage and Marital Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 590 n. 5.

⁸³ See Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X: 171–75.

a physical examination in the case of a woman whose virginity is disputed.⁸⁴

The first regulation prohibits marrying a woman who had sexual relations before marriage or while she was in the state of widowhood. It is clear that these laws derive from the attempt of lay Israelites to fulfill the requirements for a high priest, in not marrying a woman who has been defiled (חללה זונה; Lev 21:14—applying only to the high priest). A similar definition for the term *zonah* is given by Rabbi Eleazer.⁸⁵ Yet unlike the Torah's law for the high priest, this text does not prohibit marriage with the divorcee or widow who had not had sexual relations outside of marriage. Further, despite the rabbinic parallel in the form of one particular definition of the term *zonah*, this text is taking a unique approach in prohibiting such marriages. There is no rabbinic parallel to a prohibition on marrying those who had sexual relations outside marriage. This certainly represents a stringency of the kind known to us from numerous other Qumran texts in which priestly laws are extended to the community in general. Perhaps the best sectarian example of this phenomenon is the exclusion from the eschatological assembly of all those with physical deformities that, had they been priests, would have rendered them unfit for Temple service.⁸⁶

The second feature added here is the procedure for physically examining a young woman suspected of not being a virgin. Our text mandates this process in cases where the young woman has a bad reputation for having already had relations while living at her parents' home before marriage. Such a woman, after being examined by reliable and knowledgeable women, was permissible for marriage. That this is what the text is talking about is clear from the parallels with Deut 22:13–21. That very same passage is paraphrased in 11QT^a 65:7–15 with no real changes.⁸⁷ However, 4QOrdinances (159 2–4 8–10) paraphrases this law and adds that, after marriage, an investigation can be undertaken by having “trustworthy women” examine the

⁸⁴ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 80–89; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 150–62.

⁸⁵ *Sifra 'Emor Perek 1:7* (ed. Weiss, p. 94a; Shemesh, “4Q471.3,” 246–47).

⁸⁶ Shemesh, “4Q471.3,” 248 takes this prohibition as based on the fact that the woman is effectively married to the man with whom she had had relations, and, hence, prohibited to the second man. We do not accept his argument that relations alone constitute marriage in sectarian law. See above, n. 82.

⁸⁷ Schiffman, *Courtyards*, 530–33.

bride accused of non-virginity.⁸⁸ Here it is presumed that even after sexual relations, it is possible to tell whether the woman has had relations more than once. Medically true or not, this is the fundamental assumption of the text. Our text, however, is a procedure designed to avoid these types of accusations and is undertaken before the wedding, in order to make sure that the woman is a legitimate mate for her new husband.⁸⁹ In this way, two problems are solved. First, the law against marrying a woman who had had relations outside of marriage was observed and, second, the entire procedure of bringing the accusation of non-virginity to court (Deut 22:13–21) is totally obviated.

Regarding rabbinic parallels, the question can be asked from two points of view. First—and this can be disposed of simply—since there is no parallel in the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition to a prohibition against marrying a woman who previously had relations outside marriage, there need not be any procedure for determining if a particular young woman falls under this category. Second, however, we can ask whether there is a parallel to the procedure outlined in the Ordinances text. For the rabbis, there was awareness of the complexity of using physical examination to determine virginity. First, the symptoms of virginity could have been lost without sexual relations. Second, they believed that menstruation brought on a partial deterioration of the hymen. Further, they were aware that relations could take place without creating those symptoms of non-virginity.⁹⁰ Thus, it would appear that such a practice would not have entered into tannaitic procedure, and I was not able to find evidence of it.

In this context, we should also remember that according to *Megillat Ta'anit* (4 Tammuz) the application of this law was one of the funda-

⁸⁸ Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Ordinances and Rules," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (PTS/DSSP; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Siebeck]; 1994–), 1:154–57. On virginity, see Preuss, *Biblical and Talmudic Medicine*, 476–80; Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 216–19. See also Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Examination of the Accused Bride in 4Q169: Forensic Medicine at Qumran," *JANESCU* 22 (Festschrift for Yohanan Muffs; ed. Edward L. Greenstein and David Marcus; 1993), 129–34.

⁸⁹ Shemesh ("4Q471.3," 252–55) understands this as indicating that once the woman had relations, she was effectively married and, hence, forbidden to marry the putative new husband. He sees this law as derived from Lev 21:13–14. See above, n. 82.

⁹⁰ See also Charlotte E. Fonrobert, *Menstrual Purity: Rabbinic and Christian Reconstructions of Biblical Gender* (Contraversions; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 137–50, on physical examination of women to determine menstrual purity or impurity and for determining puberty and, hence, the age of majority. Regarding the latter, rabbinic halakhah eventually settled on the validity of chronological age.

mental examples of how the Boethusians followed the Torah literally, whereas the sages (that is, the Pharisees) followed the oral tradition.⁹¹ According to *Sifre Deut 237*⁹² the words, “they shall spread out the garment (Deut 22:17)” were interpreted to refer to legal hearings that would determine whether the bride had been a virgin. Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob argued that these words were to be taken literally.⁹³ The scholion to *Megillat Ta’anit* (Oxford Recension) echoes the very same disagreement, attributing the view that this text is to be taken literally to the Boethusians.⁹⁴ The scholion most probably dates to the amoraic period⁹⁵ and is evidence that issues regarding this procedure were much later understood to have separated groups of Jews in Second Temple times. Unfortunately, however, this text cannot stand as direct evidence for early Jewish sectarianism. The text in the *Sifre* leads us to believe that a tannaitic argument has been adapted into a Pharisee/Sadducee conflict, simply because it concerns the question of how literally to take the Torah’s text, an issue known to have been debated between the Pharisees and the Sadducees according to Josephus.⁹⁶

11. CONCLUSION

The investigation of these laws has been most fruitful. According to recent research, we have been examining a group of regulations that were part of the Sadducee/Zadokite legal system before the Qumran sect came into being. The study of these laws in comparison to later rabbinic texts has yielded evidence of a rich and complex situation. In some cases, it was clear that we deal with ancient controversies between the two systems of law, the Sadducee/Zadokite and the Pharisaic-rabbinic. In other situations, we find interpretations of the Torah that formed part of the common Judaism of Second Temple times.

⁹¹ Vered Noam, *Megillat Ta’anit: Versions, Interpretation, History, with a Critical Edition* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2003), 206–16 (Hebrew).

⁹² *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (ed. Louis Finkelstein; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969), 270.

⁹³ Another interpretation of the words is found above, in small print, in Finkelstein’s edition of *Sifre Deuteronomy* but, as he notes in the apparatus and commentary, it is a secondary addition, not really part of the text.

⁹⁴ The Parma recension reads “Sadducees,” but it omits all the specific Scriptural examples.

⁹⁵ Noam, *Megillat Ta’anit*, 369.

⁹⁶ *Ant.* 13:297.

Tannaitic rulings that we believe go back to Temple times were in agreement with prescriptions of the sectarians. Sometimes, we found a mixture of matters of controversy and matters of agreement. Certain issues debated later on in Talmudic law seem not to have yet gained the attention of those involved in the halakhic controversies of Second Temple times.

The comparison of these probably pre-Maccabean laws⁹⁷ continues to confirm our claim that many laws found in the tannaitic corpus may be shown to go back into Pharisaic times. The Qumran sect—or those whose legal tradition they inherited and passed on—polemicized, either directly or indirectly, against Pharisaic views. All this testifies not only to the existence of many Pharisaic-rabbinic laws before the destruction of the Temple, but also to the fructifying debate over these legal rulings that was already going on by around the time of the Maccabean revolt. This conclusion is itself one of the major results of the study of the halakhic material in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

What do these texts tell us about the role of women in this society? First, as opposed to the material in the *Temple Scroll* that I studied for the fortieth anniversary, these texts testify to numerous developments in the history of Jewish law between the biblical period and the time of these manuscripts. In some cases, such as that of the suspected adulteress, the law represents a move supportive of women, protecting them from some of the vicissitudes of the earlier law of the Pentateuch. While we cannot be totally certain that evidence in our materials is in any way complete, it does seem that chronologically we are at some kind of midpoint. These texts testify to change that was moving, at least for the Pharisees, toward the protections and improvements in the status of women evident in tannaitic sources. Yet at the same time, certain fundamental improvements, such as the marriage contract, are not in evidence, either in the sectarian texts or in those of the Pharisaic-rabbinic materials preserved in later rabbinic texts. Finally, we note that in some cases, later sources report on greater stringency than either of our major groups practiced during Second Temple times. This is definitely the case with certain purity laws, especially those of menstruation, where the common halakhah of Second Temple and earlier tannaitic times was replaced with rulings

⁹⁷ See Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Pre-Maccabean Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Tradition," *DSD* 13 (2006): 348–61.

that became even stricter. However, on the other side, we have seen that the sectarian material sometimes imposes capital guilt where the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition was much more lenient. Further, certain marriages permitted by the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition, such as those of women who had relations outside of marriage, were prohibited by the sectarians.

The analysis of the texts presented here, themselves based on editions and full-length studies done in the last dozen years, can still uncover new information about the relationship of Sadducee/Zadokite law to that of the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition. This effort started in earnest only with the announcement of MMT at the 1984 conference on Biblical Archaeology⁹⁸ and shows how new our field is and how significant recent progress has been. This progress is the result of the continuing work of an expanding group of scholars who have made the scrolls truly part of our Western culture.

⁹⁸ Elisha Qimron, and John Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakic Letter from Qumran," *IMJ* 4 (1985): 9–12; see Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, xvii–xviii.

WOMEN IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: RESEARCH IN THE PAST DECADE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

EILEEN SCHULLER

For the sixtieth anniversary conference held at the Shrine of the Book in July 2008 I was asked by the conference organizers to survey developments in research on women in the Dead Sea Scrolls over the past ten years and to look ahead to the future. In tackling the specific question—how is our discussion on this topic different from ten years ago?—I automatically began by turning back to the fiftieth anniversary conference that was held in Jerusalem, and dug out my program from 1997. In the Archaeology Section, Rachel Hachlili had given a paper entitled “The Qumran Cemetery Reconsidered” where she noted that “a small number of women and children were found only in the extensions and secondary cemeteries,” and concluded that “on the basis of this evidence scholars argue that this supports the celibate character of the Qumran community.”¹ Although the published volume of the 1997 conference proceedings has a distinct section (Part III, Chapter 6) entitled “Women at Qumran,” the two articles there actually deal with archival materials from Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever, and at the conference itself these papers did not form a separate unit but were part of a general session on “Themes in the Scrolls.” In 1997 I suspect it was not on anyone’s radar to have a separate session on “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls”—much less that a plenary public session might be devoted to such a topic (as was the case at the 2008 conference)!

By the late 1990s in the field of Biblical Studies, both Old Testament/Hebrew Bible and New Testament, much attention had been devoted to exploring women in the texts and in the communities that produced these texts. There was already an immense bibliography, comprising both studies that focused on specific biblical passages and others dealing more theoretically with issues of feminist criticism and

¹ Quoted from the published version of her paper, “The Qumran Cemetery: A Reconsideration,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 661–72.

hermeneutics.² “Women in the Bible” courses were well established in almost every university and seminary curriculum, as well as in church and synagogue adult education programs.

But when it came to Dead Sea Scrolls, certainly in the mid 1990s when the various fiftieth anniversary conferences were being planned (I can speak as someone involved at that time with the Society of Biblical Literature events), it was not obvious that anything of much significance could be accomplished by trying to bring what was happening in biblical studies to the study of the scrolls. The interpretive framework for reading the manuscripts found at Qumran was, for the most part, as the product of a male, celibate community, most frequently identified with the Essenes, an elusive and mysterious group described by various Greco-Roman authors. Specific statements of Philo (*Apol* 14), Josephus (*B.J.* 2.120–21), and Pliny (“no women . . . only the palm trees for company” *Nat. Hist.* 5.73) about the Essenes could be quoted as if that were all that needed to be said. After all, women, marriage, and family were not mentioned explicitly in the *Community Rule*, the document of the *yahad* that was linked most specifically with the people living—and buried—at the site of Qumran itself.³ True, women and children appeared in *The Rule of the Congregation*, but this rule was usually interpreted as applying to the eschatological future.⁴ Passages

² Indeed many of the most significant and groundbreaking studies in defining the nature and methods of feminist biblical study were written in the late 1970s and 1980s. For surveys of this initial stage and consolidation, see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Feminist Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship* (Biblical Scholarship in North America 10; Chico, Calif: Scholars Press, 1985); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Bread Not Stone: The Challenge of Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon, 1984); Mary Ann Tolbert, *The Bible and Feminist Hermeneutics*, *Semeia* 28 (1983). In 1992 *The Women’s Bible Commentary* (ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville: Westminster John Knox) was published, to be expanded and revised already by 1998.

³ That there were examples of stereotypical biblical phraseology such as “born of a woman” (1QS 11:21) or metaphorical expressions, “fruitful seed” (1QS 4:7) was, of course, acknowledged but this did not impinge on the question of women in “real life.”

⁴ This reading for the eschaton was popularized by the only full-length commentary in English on IQSa, that of Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), and largely supplanted other interpretations, including that of the original editor of this document, Józef T. Milik, who had understood it as a rule for the Hasidim in the first stage of the movement at the time of the Maccabean wars; “28a: Règle de la Congrégation (IQSa),” *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 108. For a renewed emphasis on the significance of the regulations for a historical reality, see Charlotte Hempel, “The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–69.

that spoke of women, marriage, sexual relations and children in the *Damascus Document* were matched up with the reference in Josephus to “another order of Essenes” (*B.J.* 2.160–161) who, on the model of Christian monasticism, were treated as a somewhat peripheral “third order.” Of course everyone knew that there were a few female skeletons in the cemetery, but these women could be explained as visitors, housekeepers, or exceptionally pious devotees who had been allowed to be buried at Qumran. In this way, in the first four decades of scrolls scholarship, what sources of information we did have about women were rendered functionally invisible, or at least negligible.

By the mid 1990s, the whole framework of discussion was just beginning to be re-examined. A. Baumgarten argued the case in sociological terms for making a clear distinction between the authors of the scrolls (as one group) and the Essenes (another group). Even though he could not then draw upon statements in Greco-Roman sources about Essene celibacy, Baumgarten still suggested that those who authored the scrolls (or at least the more fervent of them) may have “deferred marriage as tainted in this unredeemed world.”⁵ In contrast, in a long paper that was given at the 1991 Madrid conference and even more pointedly in his 1993 book, H. Stegemann took as his starting premise that the authors of the scrolls were to be identified as Essenes and that all Essenes were married; thus, according to Stegemann, what needed explanation was why Philo and Josephus thought they could make the claim that the Essenes were not married. But until Stegemann’s book was translated into English in 1998, these ideas had relatively little impact on North American scholarship.⁶ By the mid 1990s, Dead Sea Scrolls specialists were well aware of the existence of a much more extensive corpus of texts that had to be brought into the discussion, many of them still only partially or preliminarily published, especially purity regulations, purification rituals, and wisdom texts. Already at a fortieth anniversary conference in 1987, L. Schiffman had given a paper

⁵ Albert Baumgarten, “The Rule of the Martians as Applied to Qumran,” *IEJ* 12 (1992): 121–42, esp. 131–33.

⁶ Hartmut Stegemann, “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. Julio Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; *STDJ* 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:83–166; *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993); idem, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

on “Laws Pertaining to Women in the *Temple Scroll*,”⁷ and in 1994 he had brought together much of the relevant material in what was probably the first full-length book chapter on women.⁸ Voices from other areas and disciplines began to ask about women at Qumran. But non-specialists usually were only familiar with the limited corpus of texts that appeared in readily accessible translations. Biblical scholars and classical scholars who worked on women in the Greco-Roman world considered Qumran studies an esoteric and isolated field and were often fearful of venturing in, suspicious that they would be proven wrong by unpublished materials that only the “in-group” knew about.⁹ It was perhaps not by chance that the first attempts to ask questions about women came from people outside the guild. Some were important contributions, especially a short article by Linda Bennett Elder that situated the discussion in terms of female ascetics in antiquity.¹⁰ Others, like the book of I. Sheres and A. K. Blau, made wild claims and unfounded speculations that have justifiably been forgotten over the years.¹¹

It is difficult to specify the point at which women and scrolls came together as an academically respectable topic. I can recall that when I proposed to speak on women at a conference in New York in 1992, comments were made (puzzled, more than hostile, comments) about why I chose such an odd topic, and more than one person opined that hopefully “that was over” and I would now get back to serious work.¹²

⁷ Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Laws Pertaining to Women in the *Temple Scroll*,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 210–28.

⁸ Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Women in the Scrolls,” in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 127–43.

⁹ Thus women in the Dead Sea Scrolls/Qumran were given only a minimal, almost passing, examination in works such as Léonie J. Archer, *Her Price is Beyond Rubies: The Jewish Woman in Graeco-Roman Palestine* (JSOTSup 60; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), or Ross Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among the Pagans, Jews and Christians in the Greco-Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁰ Linda Bennett Elder, “The Woman Question and Female Ascetics among the Essenes,” *BA* 57 (1994): 220–34.

¹¹ Ita Sheres and Anne Kohn Blau, *The Truth about the Virgin: Sex and Ritual in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

¹² Eileen Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John J. Collins, Dennis G. Pardee; New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Science 722, 1994), 115–32.

A major turning point was the decision to commission an article on women for the two-volume anniversary assessment of Qumran research published by Brill (1999)¹³ and various entries not only on women but also on marriage and family life for the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2000).¹⁴ In addition to providing a readily accessible compilation of the key texts, these articles began to raise, from within the world of Qumran scholarship, albeit in a very tentative and incomplete way, broader issues of androcentric language and worldview, the relationship between text and social reality, and what might it mean to read with an assumption of the presence, rather than the absence of women.

As I re-examined the extensive scholarly work on this topic over the past ten years, I realized that it could be put together and analyzed in a number of different ways, each emphasizing specific points and painting a slightly different picture of the decade. My survey makes no attempt to compile a bibliography of every relevant article written since 1997.¹⁵ Rather than going through publications alphabetically or chronologically, I have chosen to give a more impressionistic overview, divided into four broad categories: general surveys; archaeological matters; the close reading of specific texts; and methodological issues. In each category, I have picked out a few articles or books for comment, choosing studies that either illustrate typical approaches or make significant new proposals.

¹³ Eileen Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:117–44.

¹⁴ *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, James C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See, for instance, articles on "Celibacy" by Joseph Baumgarten; "Family Life" by John J. Collins; "Marriage and Divorce" by Joseph A. Fitzmyer; "Women and Children," by Eileen Schuller and Cecilia Wassen.

¹⁵ Perhaps this is the place to insert an apology to the authors of those books and articles that do not appear here—many of which are of major importance and would have been included if I had chosen a different schematic organization. In particular, I recognize that the Wisdom texts are somewhat neglected, but the reader can refer to the surveys of Benjamin G. Wright III, "Wisdom and Women at Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004): 240–61, and Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

1. GENERAL SURVEYS

Of surveys on “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls” it seems that there is no end, both in English and other languages.¹⁶ Most cover the same basic core of topics (marriage laws, licit and illicit sexual activity, purity regulations, women’s vows, women’s testimony), though each brings a slightly different perspective and question. The comprehensive and systematic survey of Sidnie White Crawford focuses on the discrepancy between the archaeological evidence (the limited number of gendered articles and few female skeletons) versus the textual evidence (many texts about women) and sets out “to resolve the question of the identification of the Qumran community with the Essenes.¹⁷ She argues that all the pieces can be made to cohere if we allow that (1) the Qumran community was indeed Essene; (2) most Essenes married and lived a family life; (3) some Essenes avoided marriage primarily for purity reasons. It was these latter (males) who lived at Qumran (hence the scarcity of evidence for females in the cemetery) and adhered to the *Rule of the Community*, while the majority, men and women, lived elsewhere in Judaea and followed the regulations of the *Damascus Document*. Crawford is particularly interested in the extent to which women were involved in the communal and ritual life of the community, and concludes that they “were admitted to some form of membership” but “certainly women could not attain the same status as men in the organization.”

For the Society of Biblical Literature panel on “Women and Children in the Dead Sea Scrolls” in November 2000, Moshe Bernstein prepared another overview that examines solely literary (not archaeological) materials.¹⁸ He found a “pervasive textual presence of women

¹⁶ Although I will discuss only surveys in English, there are many general overviews in other languages, for example, in Spanish: Pilar de Miguel Fernandez, “Las mujeres y los documentos de Qumrán,” *Reseña Bíblica* 14 (1997): 45–52; in Swedish: Håkan Bengtsson, “Kvinnor i Qumran: en Fråga om Text eller Kontext? (Women at Qumran: A Question of Text or Context?),” *Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok* 68 (2003): 135–53.

¹⁷ Sidnie W. Crawford, “Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran,” *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds Shalom Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence Schiffman, and Weston Fields; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127–50; quotations from p. 130.

¹⁸ The papers given during the panel were published, in an updated version, only in 2004 (hence Bernstein’s survey appeared in press after that Sidnie White Crawford’s) with introductory comments by Robert Kugler and Esther Chazon in *DSD* 11 (2004): 167–261; the presentation that was given by Jodi Magness as part of the panel

at Qumran,¹⁹ in all the kinds of legal and liturgical texts in which we might expect to find them—so that it is the absence of women in the *Rule of the Community* that is anomalous. These laws are sometimes more stringent than rabbinical regulations but do not “limit women’s behavior in completely new ways”²⁰ nor focus exclusively on women. On the question of the relationship between texts and socio-historical reality, Bernstein is cautious in warning that even copious references to women in the legal texts from Qumran do not enable us to make the leap from text to socio-historical reality and say that there were women living at Qumran. While allowing that “it is very unlikely that these laws were written only as theoretical exercises,” he concludes that whether they “are to be seen as depicting the reality or the ideal state”²¹ cannot be determined.

While I am sure that general surveys and reviews will continue to be written, the basic materials from Qumran about women have now been compiled in these studies. A slightly different approach will obviously be adopted in the articles that will be generated by the two major dictionary projects that are now in process: the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* promises a survey of usage from a theological perspective;²² the *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zu den Texten vom Toten Meer*, a more lexical and philological study.²³ It remains to be seen how fruitful and innovative such word-based studies will prove to be. The other type of survey that I would find helpful at this stage as a heuristic and teaching tool is one that would bring together the Qumran materials on women, especially the legal regulations, with similar texts on the same topic or motif from the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, the New Testament and the Mishnah. Given that many of the relevant scrolls texts were first

was subsequently published separately as “Women at Qumran?” in *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 113–49; the responses by Eileen Schuller and Ross Kraemer were not published; a paper by Maxine Grossman that was given in a separate SBL session was also included in this *DSD* issue (see n. 45).

¹⁹ Moshe J. Bernstein, “Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 197.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 211.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 211.

²² This project is currently in process under the direction of Heinz-Josef Fabry at the Catholic Theological Faculty, University of Bonn.

²³ Also currently in process under the direction of Reinhart Kratz, Faculty of Theology, Georg-August University, Göttingen.

published in DJD volumes, the constraints of that format meant that the editors could point to only limited and selected parallels with the briefest of commentary, but there is much more still to be compiled and compared.

2. ARCHAEOLOGY

In terms of the contribution of archaeology to the issue of women at Qumran, the situation has definitely changed since ten years ago—there is new information and yet many unresolved questions remain.²⁴ In my fiftieth anniversary review, I concluded the short section on archaeology with what had become the standard lament about the small number of graves that have been excavated, and I noted that there was some uncertainty about “the accuracy of skeletal identification.”²⁵ That is, questions were beginning to be voiced about the process whereby the skeletal remains from the graves excavated by de Vaux had been classified as male or female by Henri-Victor Vallois (T3–11) and by Gottfried Kurth (T12–37) and then how that information was subsequently reformulated and interpreted in various publications.²⁶ Even more uncertain, or at least unverifiable, was the identification of four females from the eleven graves excavated by S. H. Steckoll in 1966–1967.²⁷ Certainly by the mid 1990s, a number of people were making informal inquiries about the whereabouts of these skeletal remains with a view to re-examination and more detailed study by a forensic anthropologist. But this line of query appeared to be a dead-end; no one seemed to know (or was willing to say publicly) where any of the skeletons were being stored.

Over the last ten years the situation has, of course, dramatically changed. Thirty-nine partial skeletal remains have been recovered:

²⁴ The reader is referred to the more detailed and systematic treatment of this question, with fuller bibliography, in Jodi Magness, “Women at Qumran?”

²⁵ Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 141.

²⁶ For example, the imprecise “plusieurs femmes” that Vallois identified in the first group of graves excavated in 1951 (Roland de Vaux, “Fouilles,” *RB* 60 [1953]: 103) became one certain female skeleton when described by de Vaux in the Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1959. The discrepancies and lack of clarity were first discussed in detail by Joan E. Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women’s Presence at the Site,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 285–323.

²⁷ Steckoll reported his identifications on the basis of “preliminary anthropological studies,” see Solomon Steckoll, “Preliminary Excavation Report in the Qumran Cemetery,” *RevQ* 23 (1968): 335.

twenty-two in the German collection in Munich; seventeen in the “French Collection” (nine at the École Biblique, Jerusalem; eight in the Musée de l’Homme, Paris).²⁸ Joseph Zias has made the case (on the basis of the east-west orientation and the presence of burial objects) that some of the graves in the southern extension and southern cemetery are from modern Bedouin burials, and hence irrelevant for our purposes.²⁹ Thus in current discussions, quite a range of numbers are being given for the number of women from a sectarian community of the Second Temple period that have been attested in the Qumran cemetery: only one woman in Tomb A (Zias);³⁰ three women in T22, T24b (in the western sector) and Tomb A (in the northern cemetery) (Magness);³¹ eight women in T22, T24b, T32-34, T36-37, TS1 (Rohrer-Ertl);³² Zangenberg (who does not admit of any later intrusions or Bedouin burials) tallies sixteen female individuals (including infants);³³ Sheridan allows the possibility that the sex of the person buried in T7

²⁸ For the German collection, see the publication of Olav Röhrer-Ertl, Ferdinand Rohrhirsch, and Dietbert Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran insbesondere die funde der campagne 1956. I: Anthropologische datenvorlage und erstauswertung aufgrund der collection Kurth,” *RevQ* 19 (1999): 3–46; for the French Collection, Susan Sheridan, “Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites?: Analysis of the French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 199–248. Another physical anthropologist who has examined the remains is Joseph Zias (see n. 29 below). Other scholars, including Magness, Taylor and Zangenberg, have relied on the specialized training and judgment of these who have worked directly with the skeletons.

In addition, there now exist the skeletons of five people recovered from nine graves on the southern end of the cemetery in excavations between 1993–2004, though no information is currently available about the numbers of males and females; see Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations 1993–2004: Preliminary Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007), 45. In addition, the bones of two women, dated to the Second Temple period, were found in a “mourning enclosure” at the eastern end of the cemetery that was excavated in 2001, but these bones may have been deposited there later than the structure itself, see Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi, Richard Freund, Brian Schultz, “New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 135–65, esp. 150–51.

²⁹ Joseph Zias, “The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?” *DSD* 7 (2000): 220–53; “Qumran Archaeological Skeletons with Multiple Personality Disorders and Other Grave Errors,” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 83–98.

³⁰ Zias, “The Cemeteries of Qumran,” 250.

³¹ See Jodi Magness, “Women and the Cemetery at Qumran,” in idem, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) esp. 172–73, and with some updates in idem, “Women at Qumran?” in *Debating Qumran*.

³² Rohrer-Ertl, “Über die Gräberfelder.”

³³ Jürgen Zangenberg, “Bones of Contention: ‘New’ Bones from Qumran Help Settle Old Questions (and Raise New Ones)—Remarks on Two Recent Conferences,” *The Qumran Chronicle* 9 (2000): 51–76.

may have been female;³⁴ in addition, there are the remains of the two women (identified as from the Second Temple period by C-14) that were buried secondarily in the mourning enclosure.³⁵ If there is one, three, four, or even eight females, the proportion in relation to males is well below the anthropologically-expected norm; that is, archaeological evidence would indicate that there were women living (or at least buried at the site of Qumran) but less than to be expected in a “normal” society; only if the higher figures are accepted (e.g., sixteen females in comparison to twenty-six males) would this be closer to a typical ratio.³⁶

In addition to counting the number of female skeletons, recent discussion has explored whether there are other material indicators that should be brought into play with our textual sources. For example, in her 1999 article, Joan Taylor problematized (and argued against) de Vaux’s reconstruction of the topography of the site in terms of a “‘main’ important cemetery at Qumran with subsidiary ‘extensions.’” Such a reconstruction mirrors, she suggested, how the texts have been read with the assumption of a main/core male community and women as marginal, secondary members.³⁷ In addition, she championed the approach of “engendered archaeology” that focuses on the presence or absence of objects like spindle whorls, jewelry, cosmetics, and mirrors, items usually associated with the presence of women. That the number of such articles in the Qumran cemetery as well as in the rest of the site and caves is fewer than would be expected is generally agreed,³⁸ but it is less clear what definitive conclusions can be drawn. The absence of material objects traditionally associated with women cannot (methodologically) *prove* the absence of women at Qumran, particularly if women may not have made use of many of the objects typically associated with females, perhaps because of their ascetic lifestyle.

So what will move the discussion forward at this time? We still await the full publication of the formal excavation report of the site, including all the small objects. And there is always the hope (at least

³⁴ Sheridan, “French Collection,” 228–29, where she lists T7 as M? and insists that the question mark remain in place, especially since it is not known exactly what evidence Vallois had before him when he classified these remains as female.

³⁵ See footnote 24.

³⁶ Whether or not Steckoll’s finds are counted (eleven skeletons; six males, four females and one to two children), the relative balance is not significantly changed.

³⁷ Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran,” 285–93.

³⁸ See the fuller discussion of Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 175–79.

entertained by us amateurs) that some new, technologically sophisticated forensic techniques will be developed that can establish the date and gender of even partial skeletal remains with definitive and indisputable scientific certainty. Until we come to the time when the whole expanse of the cemetery can be excavated (or new sub-terrain radar technology will allow the examination of buried remains), much of how we evaluate the significance of the figures that we have depends on how we judge the statistical reliability of this amount of data. If the 3.5 or 4% of graves dug are truly random and hence representative of the cemetery as a whole, so that if the whole cemetery were available to us we would find the same proportionally small number of women, then we might as well factor that data into our discussions now and not wait for future work in the field. But if we allow the possibility that there might be areas of the cemetery where women and children were buried in greater concentration so as to affect significantly the overall percentages, then the present ratios of male/female, dependent on such a limited sample, must be used with caution.

To focus on the cemetery is to focus on the people living at the site of Qumran itself (or brought there for burial). But the scrolls themselves do not put the emphasis on a desert site, and the “making a way in the wilderness” motif of texts like 1QS 8 may be at least as metaphorical as geographical. If we take seriously the texts about living in the “camps” (CD 7:6, 13:20, 14:9, etc.) or in “dwellings” (1QS 6:2) that is, in multiple sites throughout Judaea, knowing how many women were buried at Qumran is not the ultimately key for our understanding of this movement. The cemetery and the site of Qumran per se may not merit quite so much of the attention and argumentation as they have often received.

3. STUDIES OF SPECIFIC TEXTS

By 1997 virtually all of the manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls that contain significant material about women were already accessible. Admittedly many were available only in the form of preliminary publications (though some of these studies were detailed and technical).³⁹

³⁹ Particularly helpful in those years were studies such as Lawrence H. Schiffman, “New Halakhic Texts from Qumran,” *Hebrew Studies* 34 (1993): 21–33; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Laws of the Damascus Document in Current Research,” in *The*

The key years for the official publication of major new texts dealing with women were 1996–1999: *The Damascus Document* (4Q266–273),⁴⁰ 4QInstruction (4Q415ff.);⁴¹ collections of halakhic and purification texts (4Q251, 264a, 265, 274–278, 284, 414).⁴²

Although the basic corpus of texts has, in fact, not changed dramatically since 1997, the passage of time has allowed for detailed, close work on specific passages with a level of analysis and sophistication that was simply not possible in the first publications or within the confines of a DJD volume. This focused concentration on a small selection of text, establishing the best readings or range of readings, proposing restorations of small lacunae, working out the range of exegetical interpretations, searching out parallels—all this is the type of scholarship that has been fundamental in our field for many years. Much of this detailed study has been undertaken because of the inherent importance of the specific texts, particularly in terms of understanding halakhah and purity issues, quite apart from any explicit feminist agenda or context.⁴³ There are two recent studies, not surprisingly both on the *Damascus Document*, where the authors explicitly espouse and apply feminist methodologies and hermeneutic: the strength of Cecilia Wassen's monograph is its comprehensiveness in analyzing all the relevant passages and assigning them either to an earlier law code or to specific sectarian communal legislation;⁴⁴ Maxine Grossman's article is

Damascus Document Reconsidered (ed. Magen Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1992), 50–61; Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1996).

⁴⁰ Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII, The Damascus Document (4Q266–373)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

⁴¹ John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction (Musar 1^a Mevin): 4Q415ff.*, (DJD XXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

⁴² Joseph Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXV Halakhic Texts* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

⁴³ For example, the studies of purity texts by Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (CQS; London: T & T Clark, 2004); Martha Himmelfarb, "The Purity Laws of 4QD: Exegesis and Sectarianism," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther Chazon et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 155–69; Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007). Samuel Iwry used to remind me that there was much studying of texts about women long before specific feminist concerns came to the fore; note his paper to the World Congress of Jewish Studies in 1989, "Unambiguous Remarks in Connection with the Rights of Women in Relation to the Law in the Damascus Document."

⁴⁴ Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (Academia Biblica 21; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

more selective in the actual texts discussed, but articulates a stronger theoretical basis for examining the construction of gender and a multiplicity of textual meanings.⁴⁵

In surveying the last ten years, it becomes apparent that there is a core of passages and topics that have generated ongoing scholarly attention—and about which the final word has probably not been said. A prime example is the regulations regarding divorce and remarriage. It is generally recognized that some texts proscribe (or can be read to proscribe) divorce totally (CD 4:20–5:6a; 11QT^a 57:17–19; 4Q271 3) while other texts recognize the possibility of divorce either explicitly (CD 13:15–17; 11QT^a 54: 4–5) or by implication (11QT^a 66:11, 4Q159 2–4).⁴⁶ Much attention in recent years has turned to attempting to explicate what is fundamentally at stake in these and other marriage regulations, whether it is a distinctive sectarian understanding of the ontological bond established by sexual relations (Shemesh), or whether halakhic principles dominate (Noam), or whether a particular exegetical interpretation of a biblical passage like Gen 24:14 was the key factor (Rothstein).⁴⁷ Another regulation that has continued to generate radically different interpretations is the passage in the *Rule of the Community* about a woman giving testimony against her husband (1QS^a 1:11). Although every discussion that I am aware of in the past decade now accepts the clear reading of a feminine verb (תקבל), diametrically different interpretations have been given: whether this testimony is restricted only to matters of sexual intimacy or whether it extends to any and all issues (Rothstein);⁴⁸ whether this regulation is a negative for women, an illustration of the totalitarian control of a greedy sect that supersedes even conjugal and familial ties (Ilan),⁴⁹ or whether it is

⁴⁵ Maxine Grossman, “Reading for Gender in the Damascus Document,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 212–39.

⁴⁶ Major discussions since 1997 include Aharon Shemesh, “4Q271.3: A Key to Sectarian Matrimonial Law,” *JJS* 49 (1998): 244–63, and his article in this volume, “Marriage and Marital Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 589–600. Adiel Schremer, “Qumran Polemic on Marital Law: CD 4:20–5:11 and its Social Background,” *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. Joseph Baumgarten et al.; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 147–60; Vered Noam, “Divorce in Qumran in Light of Early Halakhah,” *JJS* 56 (2005): 206–23.

⁴⁷ David Rothstein, “Gen 24:14 and Marital Law in 4Q371 3: Exegetical Aspects and Implications,” *DSD* 12 (2005): 189–204.

⁴⁸ David Rothstein, “Women’s Testimony at Qumran: The Biblical and Second Temple Evidence,” *RevQ* 21 (2004): 597–614.

⁴⁹ Tal Ilan, “The Attraction of Aristocratic Jewish Women to Pharisaism,” *HTR* 88 (1995): 32–33; she develops this further in a forthcoming article, “Women in the Yahad Council” to be published in the forthcoming proceedings from the February

a positive, an example of a fundamental equalitarian principle that is distinctive to this sectarian group (Gruber).⁵⁰

A few of the texts that have occasioned repeated articles in the past decade are those with problems that are fundamentally linguistic and philological, although these are often part and parcel of broader interpretative concerns. One example is the lines in the *Damascus Document* (4Q270 7 i 13b–15) detailing the penalty for murmuring against the “Fathers” and “Mothers;” the punishments are differentiated because the Mothers have “no *rwqmh* in the midst of [the congregation].” Commentators working from a predominantly linguistic perspective have often interpreted the phrase quite negatively, that women have no essential being, ‘they count for nothing’ and ‘have no intrinsic right to be’ (Elwolde,⁵¹ Horowitz⁵²); those who look more broadly at women in the scrolls and the New Testament have tended to find contextual support for a more positive interpretation of the passage as a whole, emphasizing the parallel leadership titles for men and women.⁵³

There is still a significant number of passages involving women that up to this time have received very little attention beyond the initial *editio princeps*. The detailed study that remains to be done on these will complement, and indeed is required as a prerequisite to, the newer and non historical-critical methodologies to which many scholars are now turning.⁵⁴

2008 conference “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context,” organized by the University of Vienna and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

⁵⁰ Mayer I. Gruber, “Women in the Religious System of Qumran,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity 5.1 The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce Chilton; Handbook of Oriental Studies 1.56; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 173–96.

⁵¹ John F. Elwolde, “*Rwqmh* in the Damascus Document and Ps. 139:15,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 65–83.

⁵² Victor Hurowitz, “רוקמה in the Damascus Document 4QD^e (4Q270) 7 I 14,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 34–37.

⁵³ Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 185–96; also George Brooke, “Between Qumran and Corinth: Embroidered Allusions to Women’s Authority,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. James Davila, STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 157–76; in the same volume, Sidnie White Crawford, “Mothers, Sisters and Elders: Titles for Women in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities,” 177–91.

⁵⁴ I am sure everyone has their own list of passages that they would like someone to work on. For instance, I am waiting for a detailed study (especially drawing on parallel rabbinic materials) on the fragmentary passage about women and the eating of the paschal sacrifice (4Q265 4 2–3). I am also surprised by how little detailed attention

4. NEW METHODOLOGIES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In the various reviews of the state of scholarship on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary, it became almost a standard trope to end with a challenge to go beyond the philological, literary and historical-critical methods that have been standard in our field and to incorporate divergent and innovative approaches, especially from the social sciences and literary/rhetorical study, thereby moving Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship more into the mainstream of contemporary biblical studies and general academic discourse.⁵⁵ This call has been taken up over the past decade by senior scholars (especially Carol Newsom in her groundbreaking book in which she turned to Bakhtin, Foucault, and Kenneth Burke for new ways to think about construction of identity, self, and community)⁵⁶ and by younger scholars, two of whom, Eyal Regev and Maxine Grossman, have worked specifically on women and family. Their papers, included in this volume, will introduce their work and provide concrete examples of the recent application of social-scientific and feminist methodologies.⁵⁷

As we look to the future, it is becoming increasingly clear to me that we will not advance our understanding of how women “fit” by focusing only on those texts that name women explicitly. Our sense that we have not yet quite “put together” or made coherent sense of these “women texts” may reflect not so much a specific problem about the place and roles of women but a much larger issue. That is, there is still a whole range of unanswered questions and ambiguities about how we conceptualize the interrelationship of the *Rule of Community* (in all

has been paid to the actual wording in the many small fragments preserved in 4Q502 “Rituel de mariage” (though note some recent attention to terminology by Eyal Regev, “Chercher les femmes: Were the *yahad* Celibates?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 277–82).

⁵⁵ For instance, George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Currents in Qumran Scholarship: The Interplay of Data, Agendas and Methodology” and particularly the response of Carol Newsom, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty* (ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 79–100, 115–22; Lester L. Grabbe, “The Current State of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Are There More Answers than Questions,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 54–67.

⁵⁶ Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁵⁷ For further examples of the exploration of new methodologies over the past decade, see *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2010).

its stages of development), the *Rule of Congregation*, and the *Damascus Document*, and then how we relate all of these to the Essenes. A spate of recent articles about the nature of the *yaḥad* and the relationship between those who live in the camps, those in the groups of ten in 1QS 6:1b–8, and those at the site of Qumran have highlighted various options possible but little consensus.⁵⁸ While attention to women can contribute to and even sharpen this discussion, the overall issue is more encompassing, and in the end whatever we say about women has to be part of a larger framework of interpretation.

In thinking about possible future avenues for study, I will mention one that seems to me to merit further attention both for broader questions and for the study of women more narrowly. (I mean only to point out a general direction; perhaps this will prove to be a short and meandering path, but it, or some by-way, may help us look at old data in a new way). In talking in socio-historical terms about the community that produced our texts, the model of the “sect” has been the dominant paradigm in much of the discussion of the past decade.⁵⁹ Yet this is not the only sociological category available to us. When we turn to classical sociologists, Max Weber included both “sects” and “religious orders” as manifestations of what he called *virtuoso religion*, and Ernst Troeltsch made a place for voluntary associations and religious orders as a significant sociological category. In the early years after the discovery of the scrolls there were frequent comparisons made between the community living at Qumran and monasticism

⁵⁸ For example, John J. Collins understands texts about the *yaḥad* as referring to celibates, not to those living at the Qumran site but as “an umbrella ‘union’ of groups of ten or more without reference to women or children”; see Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emmanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden: Brill 2003), 111; Regev argues the opposite, that those who belong to the *yaḥad* were not celibate, “Chercher les femmes” 1–32; Sarianna Metso, “Whom does the Term *yaḥad* Identity?” in *We, You and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 68–84.

⁵⁹ The bibliography on “sect,” both theoretical and in conjunction with the scrolls, is immense. Note especially the work of Albert Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), and his contribution to the SBL Panel on Women, “Who Cares and Why does it Matter? Qumran and the Essenes Once Again!” *DSD* 11 (2004): 174–90; Jutta Jokiranta, “The Sectarianism of the Qumran ‘Sect’: Sociological Notes,” *RQ* 78 (2001): 224–39; more recently, David J. Chalcraft, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances* (London: Equinox, 2007) and Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

in its specifically western and Christian manifestations.⁶⁰ Perhaps in reaction against some of these rather simplistic discussions, there has been subsequently a downplaying of the ascetic, ritual and elitist elements of the way of life implicit in many of our texts.⁶¹ In recent years, however, a few scholars, with varying degrees of theoretical interest and sophistication, have again returned to the language and categories of ascetical movements and religious virtuosity to explore what they might offer.⁶²

Here is an area where scrolls scholars could perhaps benefit from dialogue with colleagues working in other religious traditions where such approaches have been pursued more intensively, especially in relationship to gender and to the challenges and potential of doing comparative studies that attempt to work with manifestations in widely divergent cultural and religious contexts.⁶³ Obvious “conversation partners” are scholars in Early Christianity where the construction of early Christian women ascetics and martyrs as “men” has been pursued in the literature for some time.⁶⁴ But I am thinking of going further afield, to enter into conversation with recent work in Buddhist studies (where the monastic law codes elevate celibacy and the epigraphical and literary evidence deal quite matter-of-factly with preg-

⁶⁰ Often this linkage was made only in passing comments, but see articles such as Edward R. Hardy, “Dead Sea Discipline and the Rule of St. Benedict,” *Journal of Bible and Religion* 25 (1957): 183–86.

⁶¹ Some important and serious early studies have not been taken up and pursued; for example, Barbara Thiering, “The Biblical Source of Qumran Asceticism,” *JBL* (1974): 429–44.

⁶² For example, Robert A. Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,” *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–52; Louise J. Lawrence, “Men of Perfect Holiness’ (1QS 7.20): Social-Scientific Thought on Group Identity, Asceticism and Ethical Development in the *Rule of the Community*,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies* (ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons, and Lloyd K. Pietersen; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 83–100; Timothy J. M. Ling, *The Judaean Poor and the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Brian Capper, “John, Qumran and Virtuoso Religion,” a paper presented to the SBL session on “John and the Scrolls,” San Diego, November 2007, to be published in *John, Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate* (ed. Mary Coloe and Tom Thatcher; Atlanta: SBL, forthcoming).

⁶³ For example, the monograph of Ilana Silbert, *Virtuosity, Charisma and Social Order: A Comparative Sociological Study of Monasticism in Theravada Buddhism and Medieval Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁶⁴ As Carol Newson reminded us in her response to George Nickelsburg at the 1997 SBL meeting (see note 55 above), what we see and what questions we entertain are often determined by who we allow and invite as our “conversation partners.”

nant nuns and monks with families),⁶⁵ and studies of the so-called “new monasticism” within Protestantism, as well as “new communities” within Catholicism, that combine married and celibate lifestyles in ways that do not fit neatly into models previously recognized either by sociology or ecclesial law. Perhaps such interdisciplinary voices can help us think beyond the traditional categories that do not seem to capture the whole picture of what we are seeing in the scrolls.

During the sixtieth anniversary conference in Jerusalem, many participants remarked how the topic of women kept turning up in so many different settings and contexts in a way that was simply not the case in the 1997 conference. This, in itself, is a reflection of the accomplishments and advances of the past decade. And in 2017? Will there still be a special session on women? If so, what will we be discussing? If not, will it be because we have reached an impasse and there is little more that can be said? Or will the discussion of women have been fully integrated into general scrolls study? The next decade of scholarship will determine the answers to these and other still-unasked questions.

⁶⁵ Here I am indebted to my colleague, Shayne Clarke, who has introduced me to some of this literature, especially his UCLA dissertation (2006), “Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticism”.

MARRIAGE AND MARITAL LIFE IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

AHARON SHEMESH

The title of this paper is “Marriage and Marital Life *in the Dead Sea Scrolls*,” and not “Marriage and Marital Life *at Qumran*” or “*in the Yahad Community*.” I will not address the question of whether or not there were women living at the site of Qumran; I will attempt to describe briefly the marriage and family life of men and women in the world envisioned by the scrolls.¹ The paper will begin with שידוכין, matchmaking, and then proceed to weddings. The third section will focus on marital life.

1. MATCHMAKING

There is no explicit reference in the halakhic material from Qumran to the legal aspects of the creation or dissolution of marriage. The scrolls, usually following the Bible, describe men simply *taking* wives or divorcing them.² The term “marriage”—נישואין—is unknown in the scrolls: in one, perhaps two, places the institution is described as “ברית קודש” (covenant of holiness). Furthermore, in the scrolls, the biblical assumption that it is the father who gives his daughter’s hand to a man in marriage is essentially unchanged. This differs from the picture which emerges from the tannaitic literature. Though the Mishnah acknowledges the father’s prerogative to sell his young daughter to another for marriage, the Tosefta, when recording the various formulas of קידושין to be pronounced by the bridegroom, presents them as

¹ For this question see *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (ed. Geza Vermes and Martin D. Goodman Sheffield: JSOT, 1989); Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel, “Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the contention of twelve theories” in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine* (ed. Douglas Edwards; London: Routledge, 2004), 162–69. See also Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* V.15.73.

² See, e.g., the list of forbidden marriages in 4Q251. See also a fragment of the *Damascus Document* (4Q271 3:10–11; in Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.13: The Damascus Document [4Q266–273]* [DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996], 175) which the editor reads as describing the marriage as ברית קדש. See below, the fragment from מוסר למבין.

directed to the wife herself, not to her father: “you are consecrated to me, you are engaged to me, you are my wife” (הרי את מקודשת לי, הרי את לי לאיתא את מאורסת לי, הרי את מאורסת לי; *t. Qidd.* 1.1; ed. Lieberman, 276). Adiel Schremer correctly pointed out that this is an indicator of a shift in the conception of marriage, which took place in the first two centuries C.E., from an essentially economic agreement between men and fathers in-law, to an agreement which emphasizes personal relationships between men and their wives.³

4QD (4Q271, 3) includes some instructions for fathers looking for matches for their daughters.

ואם [את בתו יתן איש לאי]ש את כול מומיה יספר לו למה יביא עליו את משפט [הארור אשר אמ]ר משגה עור בדרך.
וגם אל יתנהה לאשר לוא הוכן לה כי [הוא כלאים ש]ור וחמור ולבוש צמר (ו)פשתים יחדיו

If [a man gives his daughter to a ma]n, let him disclose all her blemishes to him, lest he bring upon himself the judgment[of the curse which is said] (of the one) that ‘makes the blind to wander out of the way’.

Moreover, he should not give her to one unfit for her, for [that is *kil'ayim*, (plowing with) o]x and ass and wearing wool and linen together.⁴

The first clause begins, typically, with a biblical formula “if a man gives his daughter,” and instructs the father to disclose to the prospective husband any blemishes from which the daughter might suffer. The second clause warns the father not to give his daughter to someone who is “unfit for her.” From a parallel to this instruction found in 4QInstruction⁴ we can learn that this “unfitness” concerns the couple’s spirits. Fragment 11 line 5 read: [כינו תכנתה ביחד] כי לפיא רוחות ית [כנו תכנתה ביחד]. “For according to the spirits will they be me[asured].” The verb הכן means to weigh or to measure, as discerned by Menahem Kister; in Qumran theology it relates to the creation and to the portion allotted to every individual by God.⁵ The knowledge of divine measurement

³ See Adiel Schremer, *Male and Female He Created Them* (Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar, 2004), 322–26; 337–45 (Hebrew).

⁴ 4Q271 3:7–9; DJD XVIII, 175. See Menahem Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements Ordained by God in the Literature of the Second Temple Period,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 153–76, for a bibliography of recent comparisons between the two fragments.

⁵ Thus Kister, “Measurements,” 173. I therefore recant my interpretation in “4Q271.3: A Key to Sectarian Matrimonial Law,” *JJS* 49 (1998): 261–63.

and thus the determination of the compatibility of the couple is linked to astrology (מולדים) and may be achieved by access to the body of knowledge of “רו נהיה” (the mystery of what is to come), as is evident from another passage in *4QInstruction*. Here, the teacher advises the *maskil*: “If you take a woman in your poverty, study her horoscope (קח מולדיה) [] of the mystery of what is to come (מרז נהיה) when you are joint and become a union, go about with the helpmate of your flesh.” (4Q416 2iii 20–21)⁶

Of course not every ordinary member of the community would have had access to this esoteric knowledge, and so fathers had to turn to others for this information. An injunction in the *Damascus Document*, column 13 (lines. 15–17) instructs: “let no man do anything involving buying and selling without telling the Overseer of the camp, that he may do it with good counsel and not err. And so with all who take a wife [...] and so with divorce.”⁷ It is likely that the Overseer was responsible for approving marriages since he was the one who had knowledge appropriate to this matter. The outcome, whatever its reason, is that men were not completely free to marry. Like many other activities in the community, marriage also was supervised by the “Overseer.”

⁶ See Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Qumranic and Astrological Terminology in *Mussar Lamevin*,” *Tarbiz* 72 (2003): 324–25 (Hebrew). For the term בית מולדים see Matthew Morgenstern, “The Meaning of *Beit Moladim* in the Qumran Wisdom Texts,” *JJS* 51 (2000): 141–44. In this connection 4Q186 should also be mentioned. See John M. Allegro with Arnold A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 89–91. This is a physiognomic work which classifies people by the appearance of their bodies and the shape of their body parts and also incorporates horoscopic elements.

⁷ If this passage did not exist, we would assume that Qumranic halakha does not recognize divorce in any form, and that the divorce mentioned in the *Temple Scroll* is nothing but a dead letter. See the polemic debate between Jesus and the Pharisees, Matt 19:2–8 (=Mark 10:1 ff): “And Pharisees came up to him and tested him by asking, ‘Is it lawful to divorce one’s wife for any cause?’ He answered, ‘Have you not read that he who made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, *For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh?* So they are no longer two but one flesh. What therefore God has joined together, let not man put asunder.’ They said to him, ‘Why then did Moses command one to give a certificate of divorce, and to put her away?’ He said to them, ‘For your hardness of heart Moses allowed you to divorce your wives, but from the beginning it was not so.’”

2. WEDDINGS

Maurice Baillet published 4Q502, a damaged papyrus scroll, under the title “ritual de marriage,” in 1982.⁸ Some argued with this designation of the scroll and suggested other interpretations: Joseph Baumgarten suggested it was a “Golden age separation ritual”; Michael Satlow read it as “a new year festival.”⁹ I believe that Baillet was correct: Fragment 1 mentions “[man] and his wife” and also the words “to produce descendants” (לעשות זרע), and later on the words “a reliable woman” (בת אמת) and “his consort” (רעייתו) appear as well. Fragment 6 has “time of joy” (מועד שמחתנו) and “festival of our joy” (מועד שמחתנו). The text links these times of joy to fertility and procreation as evident from the phrase “our soil and all its produce [and all] the fruit of the tree and our water,” (ואדמתנו וכול יבולה וכול פרי עצה) (ומימנו... ומימי תהומיה) and frequent mention of “adult and youth,” “sons and daughters,” “virgins, boys and girls.” The overall content of the scroll fits its designation as a wedding ceremony exceptionally well, although these phrases may not necessarily *prove* Baillet’s contention that the scroll is a “ritual de marriage.”

More convincing are the hitherto unnoticed two tiny fragments 108 and 102. The former records the words “the girl’s father” (אבי הנערה) and the latter has: “his days [had] been filled to enter into” (מלאו ימיו) (לב[ו]א ב). Though “girls” and “virgins” appears a few times in the text this occurrence of אבי הנערה is unique in that it refers to a specific girl. The girl is no doubt the bride whom her father gives to the groom to be his wife. This is the also the meaning of the term in Deut 22:15, 16, and 29. The latter is about the groom. In Gen 29:21 after having worked for Laban for seven years, Jacob demands: “give me my wife as my days had been filled, so that I may come to her” (הבה את) (אשתי כי מלאו ימי ואבואה אליה). The biblical parallel, however, does not exhaust the full meaning of this phrase. In the *Rule of the Congregation* 1: 9–10 we read: (כי אם לפי מילואת לו עש[ר]ים שנה בדעתו [טוב] ורע ולוא י[קר]ב) אל אשה לדעתה למשכבי זכר) “He must not app[roach] a woman for sexual intercourse before he is fully tw[en]ty

⁸ Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 81–105.

⁹ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual,” *JJS* 34 (1983): 125–35; Michael L. Satlow, “4Q502, a New Year Festival?” *DSD* 5 (1998): 57–68. See also n. 1 there.

years old, when he knows [right] from wrong.” Thus, the role of the phrase “מלאו ימיו לבוא” in 4Q502 is to confirm that the groom is at least twenty years old and eligible for marriage.¹⁰

Two fragments of the scroll can be contrasted in light of the above.

Fragment 19

<p>So let him sit with them in the assembly of the el[ders] Descendants of blessing, old men and wo[men young men and virgins, boys and girls.] With all of us together and as for me, [my tongue sha]ll [sing] And afterw[ards] the men of [] shall say [and raise their voice] and say ‘blessed be the [Go]d [of Israel</p>	<p>וישב עמו¹¹ בסוד זק[נים]¹² זרע ברכה זקנים זק[נות]... [בחורים] ובתולות נערים ונע[רות] עם כולנו יחד ואני ת[רנן לשוני] ואח[ר] ידברו אנשי [] [וענו] ואמרו ברוך [א]ל [ישראל]</p>
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Fragment 24

<p>Man of thanksgivings Blessed is the God of Israel who helped [Increa]se your life in th midst of the people who endure forev[er] And she shall stand in the assembly of the elder me[n] and wom[en]] Your days in peace</p>	<p>איש ההודות¹³ ברוך אל ישראל אשר עזר] הר[בות חייך בתוך עם עולמי[ם] ו[עמדה בסוד זקני[ם] זקנו]ת [ימיכה בשלום</p>
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¹⁰ See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Law, Custom and Messianism in the Dead Sea Sect* (trans. Tal Ilan; Jerusalem, Merkaz Zalman Shazar, 1993), 173 (Hebrew); Yitzhak D. Gilat, *Studies in the Development of Halakha* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992), 29 (Hebrew).

¹¹ Another possible reading is: עמם.

¹² Baillet read [קדושים].

¹³ Baillet read האשה הודות (“The woman, thanksgiving”). See the discussion below.

The subject of the first four lines of fragment 19 is an individual, probably the groom, who in line 4 speaks in first person: “and as for me, [my tongue shall si[ng].” According to my reading of line 1, slightly different than Baillet’s, the groom is instructed to sit among the elders and then praise and give thanks, probably to God. He is answered by the people who in their turn bless the God of Israel.

In contrast to fragment 19, the subject of fragment 24 is a female as evident from the word *ועמדה* in line 4. Notice that while the groom sits among the elders, she should “stand in the assembly of the elder men and women.” The first line of this fragment is written in small letters, and it was probably inserted between the lines, having been initially omitted by the scribe. Baillet read these words as “האישה ההודות”, which would indicate an instruction to the bride to praise and give thanks to the Lord on this happy occasion of her wedding. As much as I like the idea that the bride too should have an active role in the ceremony, Prof. Elisha Qimron has convinced me that this reading is incorrect; *אשה* (woman) is never spelled plene in the scrolls. The correct reading of these two words is: *איש ההודות*, an individual who is most probably a functionary in charge of chanting prayers and blessings. While the groom praises and thanks God himself, it is the “man of thanksgiving” (*איש ההודות*), who blesses the bride or gives thanks to the Lord on her behalf: “Blessed is the God of Israel who helped etc.” The verb *עזר* is not frequently used in the scrolls and I suggest it refers to the creation story in Genesis in which God created Eve as *עזר כנגדו* (a helpmeet) for Adam.

3. MARRIED LIFE

Family life was basically a non-issue for the authors of the scrolls. Nowhere in the scrolls have we found reference to the husband’s financial or any other obligations to his wife, nor even the obligations of the wife to her husband like the list of duties and services recorded in *m. Ketub.* 5:5: “These are the [kinds of] work which the woman is bound to do for her husband. She must grind corn, and bake, and wash, and cook, and suckle her child, make his bed, and work in wool.” Besides two wisdom passages found in *4QInstruction*^a, discussed below, the only references to family life in the scrolls consist of a great number of restrictions on sexual relations between married couples.

In addition to the biblical prohibition on sex during menstruation, *Jub.* 50:8 forbids sex on the Sabbath due to its holiness. The

Damascus Document may also refer to this prohibition in one or two places. According to Elisha Qimron this is the meaning of the vague sentence in 10:4: **אל יתערב איש מרצונו ביום השבת**. Qimron argues that: “The verb **ערב** here refers to impurity in general and to impurity resulting from sexual contact in particular.”¹⁴

In another place we find this incomplete sentence: **ואשר יקרב אל** [...] **אשתו ביום** “Or one who approached his wife on the day [of...]”.¹⁵ If the missing word is indeed “Shabbat” as Baumgarten suggested, then this clause refers to the same prohibition.¹⁶

The Qumranites were not the only group to forbid sexual relations on the Sabbath; the Talmud tells us of **חסידים הראשונים** who practiced even stricter norms and refrained from having sex with their wives from Wednesday onwards, lest the semen spill out of them on the Sabbath, rendering them impure.¹⁷ The importance of this law is that sex per se is not forbidden on Shabbat, only the impurity resulting from it. Causing impurity on Shabbat defiles it and desecrates its holiness.

Just as the impurity resulting from sexual activity may harm the holiness of the holy day, so too it endangers the holiness of the holy place. Indeed, CD 12:1–2 warns: “A man may not lie with a woman in the city of the Temple, defiling the city of the Temple by their sexual uncleanness” **אל ישכב איש עם אשה בעיר המקדש לטמא את עיר** (המקדש בנדתם).¹⁸

The list of transgressors mentioned above, includes the following clause: **או אשר ישכב עם אשה הרה מקוץ דם** [דוּתָהּ או יקרב א]ל

¹⁴ Elisha Qimron, “The Halakha of the *Damascus Covenant*—An Interpretation of *al Yitavev*,” *WCJS* 9: 4.1 (1986): 9–15, 13 (Hebrew).

¹⁵ 4Q270 2 i 18, DJD XVIII, 143.

¹⁶ As an alternative reconstruction, Baumgarten (*ibid.*, 144) suggested that the day referred to in the text is “the Day of Atonement,” **יום הכפורים**. This would not be trivial information: the Torah does not explicitly prohibit sex on this day. Rabbinic literature does indeed prohibit intercourse on the Day of Atonement (*m. Yoma* 8:1), but Philo and Josephus do not mention it at all. The scrolls would thus be the earliest source for this tradition.

¹⁷ See Jacob N. Epstein, *Prolegomena Ad Litteras Tannaiticas* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 280 (Hebrew) and Finkelstein and Schur quoted there; Shmuel Safrai, “The Mishna of the Pious in Tannaitic Literature,” in *idem, In the Days of the Temple and the Mishna* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994), 2:501–17 (Hebrew).

¹⁸ See also the *Temple Scroll* 11QT^a 45:10–11. “The City of the Temple” was identified by some as referring to the Temple Mount only. However, others have quite conclusively demonstrated that it refers to the entire city, effectively driving families out of this ideal Jerusalem. See Daniel R. Schwartz, “Antiochus the Impious,” *Shnaton* 13 (2002): 185–97 (Hebrew).

אשה [בה] (one who lies with) a pregnant woman, causing blood to stir (?) [or approaches] to a b[east or one who lies with a male] as with a woman).¹⁹ While the prohibitions against lying with men or with animals are explicitly mentioned in the Torah, forbidding sex with pregnant women is a sectarian innovation. This accords with Josephus' account of the Essenes in *B.J.* 2.161 where he tells of "another order of Essenes who although in agreement with the others on the way of life, usages and customs, are separated from them on the subject of marriage." Nevertheless "when they are pregnant they have no intercourse with them, thereby showing that they do not marry for pleasure but because it is necessary to have children."

Finally we should mention the following ruling from the penal code: "One who comes near to fornicate with his wife contrary to the law shall depart and return no more." We do not know what exactly the nature of this "fornication" (זנות) is. It may be synonymous with "having sex with a pregnant wife," prohibited since it cannot bring about conception. No less plausible is Baumgarten's suggestion that it is anal intercourse, probably prohibited for the same reason.²⁰

Two additional passages from *Musar leMevin* should be considered here.

4Q416 2 iii 20–21 to iv 13 (according to Qimron's reading and reconstruction)

בלוא חוק vacat אשה לקחתה ברישכה קח מולד ^ה ובנחלתה תשכיל]	20
מרז נהיה. בהתחברכה יחד התהלך עם עזר בשרכה] כל ימי חייה כי	21
את אביו [ו]את אמו ית[וש איש ובאשתו ידבק לבשר אחד]	1
אותכה המשיל בה ותש[וקתה אליכה]] את אביה]	2
לא המשיל בה מאמה הפרידה ואליכה [דבקה והיתה]	3
לך לבשר אחד. בתכה לאחר יפריד ובניכה [לבנות רעיכה]	4
ואתה ליחד עם אשת חיקכה כי היא שאר ער[ותכה]	5
ואשר ימשול בה זולתכה הסיג גבול חייה. ב[רוחה]	6
המשילך להתהלך ברצונכה ולא להוסיף נדר ונדב[ה]	7

¹⁹ 4Q270; 2 ii 15–17; DJD XVIII, 155. Readings follow Qimron.

²⁰ Menahem Kister, "Notes on some new texts from Qumran," *JJS* 44 (1993): 280–90, at 280–281. Cf. *y. Qidd.* 1:1 (58c) and *Gen Rab.* 18 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 166): "R. Shmuel in the name of R. Hanina offers another law as well: A Noahide who engages in anal intercourse is killed, for the verse says 'and they shall be one flesh'—in the place where they both make one flesh [i.e., a child]."

[	השב רוחכה לרצונכה וכל שבועת אסרה לנדר נדר]בה	8
[	הפר על מוצא פיכה וברצונכה הניא]ה ואל למבטא	9
[	שפתיכה סלח לה] [למענכה אל תרב]	10
[	כבודכה בנהלתכה]	11
[	בנהלתכה. פן vacat]	12
[	אשת חיקכה וחרפ[תכה תרבה מאודה]	13

20. ...If you take a woman in your poverty, study her horoscope [and learn her heritage]
21. of the mystery that is to come when you are joint and become a union, go about with the helpmeet of your flesh [all her life. Because]
1. his father [and] his mother a man sh[ould leave, and cleave to his wife, So that they should become one flesh].
 2. He has given you dominion over her, and her de[sire is to you To her father]
 3. He has not given dominion over her; From her mother He has separated her, and to you [she will cling and she will be]
 4. to you as one flesh. Your daughter He will separate (in order to cling) to another, and your sons [(he will separate for) the daughters of your friend]
 5. And you and the wife of your bosom (will become) a union because she is the flesh of your nak[edness]
 6. And whoever has dominion over her except you, will draw back the boundary of his life. Over [her breath (i.e., speech)]
 7. He has given you dominion, to do as you please, so as not to make additional vows of votive offering[s]
 8. You just have to blow your breath (i.e., to speak) as pleased you, and every binding oath of hers to vow
 9. (you may) annul by your speech, and as you please (you may) prevent [her (from performing her vows) and God to]
 10. (by) your speech has forgiven her because of you.. Do not []
 11. Your glory, In you heritage []
 12. in your heritage, Lest vacat []
 13. the wife of your bosom, And your shame[will increase]²¹

4Q415 2 ii 1-8 (according to Qimron's reading and reconstruction)

מאהבתו]	כאב כבדי אישך]	1
וישבת בביתו]	אל תמושי בלבבך זע[שית רצונו	2
השמרי לד]	כול היום ובחיקו בר[כתך.	3

²¹ Translation is taken from Menahem Kister, "Divorce, Reproof and Other Sayings in the Synoptic Gospels: Jesus Traditions in the Context of 'Qumranic' and Other Texts" in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity, Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls January 11-13, 2004* (ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill: 2009), 204. I thank Prof. Kister for the permission to use his translation.

[והיית צרה]	פן תפרעי ברית קוד[ש]	4
[אוהבת את]	ואיבת לנפשך היי [לו אשת ברית	5
[	א[י]שה עד לע[ולם]	6
[	בבית מכו[ניך] ובבריתך ת[דבקי והיית	7
[	תהלה [ב]פי כיל אנשים]	8

1. Like (your) father honor your husband [from his love]
2. do not remove *in* your heart . and do [what he wishes and sit in his home]
3. all the day long, And in his bosom is your ble[ssing Be aware]
4. lest you neglect (the) hol[y] covenant [and you become rival]
5. and enemy to your own soul. Be [his wife of covenant loves her]
6. hu[s]band for e[ver]
7. in the house of [your] orig[ins,]And in your covenant [and you shall be]
8. a subject of praise [in the mou]th of all men. []

The first passage is directed to the young husband. In an unpublished article, Menahem Kister explains that the main novelty of this passage is its reading of Gen 2:24 as a commandment.²² It is not only normal or natural that men leave their fathers and mothers and cling to their wives, it is commanded. According to this author, God, who separated women from their parents and gave husbands dominion over them, will in turn separate the daughter of any man from him and give her to others, and his sons to the daughters of his peers. It is thus God who joins the married couple: this may explain the term ברית קודש (“holy covenant”) in the parallel passage directed to the wife.

The passage tells us very little about the reality of the relationship between husbands and wives or even its ideal depiction. The only practical example given here for the husband’s control over his wife is his right to annul her vows in accordance with the biblical injunction in Num 30:7–16.²³ The text does not necessarily recommend this procedure or advise the husband to perform it. The main point is that in the event that the husband annuls the vows of his wife, God will forgive her for not fulfilling them. The other consequence of the husband’s full dominion over his wife is the serious warning that anyone who dares

²² Kister “Divorce, Reproof and Other Sayings,” 205–206.

²³ One of the results of divorce in this paragraph is that the husband may no longer annul the vows of his wife. This ability or duty is the central expression of the “dominion” of the husband over his wife in Qumranic sapiential literature as well: see 4Q416 2 vi 6–9; John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin, in consultation with Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: 4QInstruction (Musar leMevin): 4Q415 ff.* (DJ)D XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 123–24.

have dominion over her “will draw back the boundary of his life,” a phrase which probably means, as suggested by Kister, that his life will be shortened. The exact nature of this domination attempt is unclear. Did the man merely speak to the woman, or was it somewhat more than that?

The strict fidelity expected of wives has an even clearer expression in the second passage. A wife is expected to stay at home and accept that her blessing is being in her husband’s bosom. The warning to the woman not to neglect her “holy covenant” with her husband lest she become an enemy to herself indicates that the author was aware of how challenging this submissive behavior might be. Actually the only comfort he can offer her is acknowledgement.

While realizing the patriarchal and non-egalitarian nature of marriage in Qumran, the fact is that the passage is addressed to the wife. Some scholars have already noted its uniqueness as the only known wisdom teaching spoken directly to women.²⁴ They are, at least, considered subjects worth talking to.

In order to somewhat balance the overall impression of this account, we should recall the much debated injunction in the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QS*a* 1:11): ובכן תקבל להעיד עליו משפטות התורה ולהתיצב במשמע המשפטים ובמלוא בו (“And consequently [she] shall be received so as to witness against him the precepts of the Torah and to take firm stand in the hearing of judgments”).²⁵ According to its simple and straightforward meaning this teaches that a wife is allowed to stand up and talk against her husband, probably by reporting him to the Overseer. Joseph Baumgarten suggested that משפטות התורה refers to the laws concerning sexual intercourse: the husband who “came near to fornicate with his wife,” was expelled from the community on his wife’s testimony.²⁶ This is a powerful weapon given to women against their husbands lest they abuse the dominion granted to them over their wives.

²⁴ Daniel Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 44; Benjamin G. Wright III, “Wisdom and Women at Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 240–61, at 252–53.

²⁵ For a detailed survey of the various readings, emendations and explanations suggested for this injunction, see David Rothstein, “Women’s Testimony at Qumran: the Biblical and Second Temple Evidence,” *RevQ* 21 (2004): 597–614.

²⁶ Baumgarten, *DJD* XVIII, 165.

4. CONCLUSION

In sum, I have presented the evidence of the scrolls with regard to three aspects of marriage at Qumran: matchmaking, weddings and marital life. The picture is fragmentary and impressionistic but it fits our general impression of the world of the scrolls as being situated between the biblical worlds and rabbinic worlds, not just in terms of chronology but in terms of sociology, theology and law. In particular we might note that as opposed to the Bible, but not quite as fully realized as in rabbinic sources, the scrolls begin to attend to females, relating to women and prospective wives as subjects with a certain degree of agency.

5. NEW PERSPECTIVES

5a. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

KARAITES, QUMRAN, THE CALENDAR, AND BEYOND: AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY¹

ALBERT I. BAUMGARTEN

1. INTRODUCTION

The Karaites, and especially the information about Jewish sects supplied by al-Qirqisani in his *Kitāb al-anwār wal-marāqib*, *Book of Lights and Watchtowers*, have hovered like a ghost over the study of the Dead Sea Scroll documents since the earliest discoveries of that literature. In trying to identify the hitherto unknown Jewish sect responsible for the text that we now know as the *Damascus Document*, Solomon Schechter appealed to Qirqisani's description of the Sadducees, noting points of agreement in law on aunt-nephew marriage and the calendar as one basis for proposing that the *Damascus Document* was a Zadokite work.² Now—virtually a hundred years after Schechter's pioneering publication and sixty years after the discovery of the trove of manuscripts at Qumran, with all the fragments of that corpus finally published—is an appropriate time for reflection on the course of scholarship. As each of the two comparanda is now better known and more fully appreciated, it is time to ask what are the proper lessons to be learned for Qumran scholarship from the rich resource of information concerning Jewish groups in the Muslim world of the late first millennium C.E.?

This paper focuses on the role of calendar disputes in determining identity among the Qumran group and the Karaites. Specifically, it analyses the place of calendar disputes between Rabbanites and Karaites in shaping scholarly perception of the significance of analogous disputes during the Second Temple period, for the Qumran community

¹ This paper elaborates points I first raised in Albert I. Baumgarten, "‘But Touch the Law and the Sect will Split’: Legal Dispute as the Cause of Sectarian Schism," *The Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 5 (2002): 301–15.

I presented central aspects of the expanded version of these ideas at the workshop on "Groups, Normativity and Rituals," organized by Clemens Leonard and Benedikt Eckhardt at Münster University in November 2009. The discussion there had a key role in bringing my thoughts on the topic to completion, as presented in this paper.

² Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (New York: Ktav, 1970; Reprint), xviii–xxi.

in particular. At the same time, the analysis also goes in the opposite direction—starting with the Qumran texts and moving from there to the role of Dead Sea Scroll sources in promoting specific conclusions concerning the Karaites. I argue two points, one straightforward and less controversial, the other more interesting. If my second contention is sustained we should begin rethinking much of what many scholars (myself included) have written about Qumran. I suggest (1) that for any number of years the data about the Jewish groups of the Muslim East was improperly understood. As a result, when comparisons with Qumran were drawn—in either direction—they were mistaken, since they rested on an erroneous foundation. (2) It is nowhere written in heaven that circumstances among Jewish groups in the Land of Israel in Second Temple times, Qumran in particular, were anything like those in the Muslim East a millennium or so later. The differences may have been far more important than any similarities.³ Nevertheless, since all Jewish groups over the ages should share at least some significant foundational sources,⁴ it is worth considering the implications of Karaite scholarship for Qumran. *If* we take that step and consider the data from the later period, now far better understood, as a paradigm for insight into the earlier era, the results may generate reconsideration of past conclusions about Qumran and further thought.

³ Compare, for example, Duby's comments on the differences between the nature of what was considered and treated as heresy during the Middle Ages, in contrast to the perception of heresy in the modern period, as a result of which "the historian of the modern period cannot study heresy in the same way as the historian of medieval history." Georges Duby, "Heresies and Societies in Preindustrial Europe between the Eleventh and the Eighteenth Centuries," in *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 185–86.

⁴ See the discussion of this issue in Moshe Rosman, *How Jewish is Jewish History?* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007), 101. Rosman searches for a set of Jewish initial categories that are present from example to example of Jewish cultures, without at the same time regressing into the teleological and essentialist approaches prevalent in the past. He suggests that there is a limited set of properties that can be combined in many different ways to create a Jewish cultural constellation, but Jewish culture, "while highly variegated, malleable, and multi-faceted cannot be infinitely protean." For one suggestion of what this foundation of Judaism was in antiquity, defined in terms of "common Judaism" and "covenantal nomism," see Ed P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63BCE–66CE* (London: SCM, 1992). See further Ed P. Sanders, "Common Judaism Explored," in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism* (ed. Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 11–23.

2. CALENDAR CONTROVERSIES

This first part of the discussion focuses on the dynamic relationship in analysis of the significance of calendar controversies between the Karaite scholar Zvi Ankori and the Qumran scholar Shemaryahu Talmon. Ankori began his discussion of this issue with a general statement, of virtually universal import, that:

the history of any religious sect, whatever the latter's time and brand, is to a great extent the history of its calendar deviations. For such deviations have always been the most outstanding symptom of the sect's break with the normative environment or with the general body to which its members adhered originally. Of course, differences of calendar are hardly the *reason* for secession; rather, they seal the separatist trend and constitute the group's *final* declaration of self-determination and independence.⁵

On a practical level, according to Ankori, when Rabbanites and Karaites lived in close proximity to each other, the differences became a "*daily* problem indeed" and the two neighboring parties "could not help but be sensitive to each other's 'error' in calculation."⁶

Ankori went one step further and suggested that the partition between Karaites and Rabbanites in the quarter of a Jewish guild at Péra (in Constantinople), as reported by Benjamin of Tudela, was a real physical wall, built by the government "in order that the tension between the warring camps be eased, especially on festivals falling on different dates." Perhaps, Ankori hypothesized, this step was necessary because there was once some violence (otherwise unattested) between factions at Péra over differing calendars.⁷

⁵ Zvi Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 293. Emphasis in the original.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 146–47 and 335–36. As Ankori noted, *ibid.*, 336, some scholars were inclined to understand Benjamin of Tudela's comments as a figure of speech, alluding "to the *religious division* between Karaism and Rabbinism," but he understood these remarks as testimony to an "*actual fence or wall* dividing the dwellings of the five hundred Karaite families from the neighboring community of Rabbanites which was four or five times larger." On the odd nature of these absolutist comments on Karaite-Rabbanite divisions in the context of Ankori's larger work, which argued for the social and economic interdependence of Karaite and Rabbanite communities see Marina Rustow, "The Qaraites as Sect: The Tyranny of a Construct," in *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History* (ed. Sacha Stern; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

In support of this analysis, both its grand conclusions on the widest scale and its more tentative suggestions, Ankori appealed to Talmon's work on the Qumran calendar, citing "S. Talmon's 'attempt to present the calendar controversy as a decisive factor in the formation of the *Yahad* as an organized social body cut off from the Jewish community.'"⁸ Indeed, Talmon asserted that calendar deviation was

for the Dead Sea Sect—as it was for other dissident groups, such as the Samaritans and Karaites—a sign and symbol of their disobedience towards the contemporary public leadership of Judaism, and of their dissidence from the body politic.⁹

Citing Qirqisani, Talmon argued that:

A telling definition of the importance of the calendar in the history of Jewish sectarianism has been preserved by the Karaite al-Qirqisani, who lived in the tenth century. While describing the sect led by Abu 'Isā, Qirqisani relates that despite the fact that they had parted from the Rabbanites in matters of opinion and belief, they were not boycotted by them. He adds: "I asked Jacob ibn Ephraim al-Shāmi, 'Why do you encourage association with the followers of 'Isā and intermarry with them, although they attribute prophecy to men who are not prophets?' He answered me: 'Because they do not differ from us in the keeping of the festivals.'" Qirqisani reacts to this reply with mocking remarks concerning the Rabbanites, who valued the calculation of festive seasons more than beliefs and ideas.¹⁰

Now Talmon and Ankori wrote at around the same time, Talmon slightly before Ankori and was cited by him, so it would seem straightforward that Ankori learned the absolute importance of calendar disputes and their irreconcilable character from Talmon. However, matters are not that simple: as the passage from Talmon just quoted and other remarks in that same article show, Talmon reached his conclusions concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls group based on Samaritan

⁸ Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, 293, n. 2, citing Shemarhayu Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect of the Judean Desert," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958): 163f. In the discussion that follows, I cite Talmon according to *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1965²). Talmon cited Qirqisani's work as published in his time by Leon Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisani's Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity," *HUCA* 7 (1930): 382. See now Bruno Chiesa and Wilfrid Lockwood, *Ya'qub al-Qirqisani on Jewish Sects and Christianity* (Frankfurt a. Main: Lang, 1984), 144–45.

⁹ Talmon, "Calendar Reckoning," 164.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 196, n. 91.

and Karaite precedent and on the passage from Qirqisani, understanding Qirqisani's remarks not as testimony to circumstances at a particular time and place, but as evidence for a general rule about calendar controversies "in the history of Jewish sectarianism" and of the fact that "no barrier appears to be more substantial and fraught with heavier consequences than differences in calendar calculation."¹¹ Talmon argued this conclusion was true from the days of Jeroboam, through Second Temple times, "down to the sectarian secessions at the height of the Middle Ages."¹² For that reason, Talmon concluded, calendar considerations should have a central role in identifying the "Sons of Light," the sect whose writings were found in the Judean desert, composed a thousand or so years before Qirqisani.¹³ Therefore, rather than posit a simple one-way path (in either direction) between Talmon and Ankori, I suggest that we have a dynamic relationship between the Qumran and Karaite evidence, perhaps a case of cross-fertilization, in which each body of sources was employed to help understand the other, in both directions, at virtually the same time. The Karaite shadow was hovering over Qumran studies from the days of the categorization of the *Damascus Document* as a Zadokite work, at the same time that Dead Sea Sect texts published after 1947 were shaping the understanding of the Karaite instance.

Ankori's conviction that calendar differences were irreconcilable then had significant consequences for his analysis of the documentary evidence concerning Karaite-Rabbanite relations. He recognized that there were Karaite-Rabbanite marriages and that the *geniza* documents known in his day preserved records of the stipulations of the marriage contracts drawn up in such circumstances, but Ankori's account of these documents was confusing and contradictory, perhaps a masterpiece of academic cognitive dissonance. He reported that the standard Karaite marriage contract obligated the parties to "observe the festivals of God by way of lunar observation and through the finding of *abib* in the Land of Israel," that is the Karaite way. According to Ankori, true to their supposedly absolute commitment to the Karaite calendar, in "mixed marriages" the Karaites always insisted that their calendar control the life of the newly constituted household.¹⁴ However,

¹¹ Ibid., 163.

¹² Ibid., 198.

¹³ Ibid., 196–98.

¹⁴ Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, 297–98, esp. the example cited 298, n. 16.

Ankori also observed that “in *regular* cases the rights of *both* parties were ensured in equal measure,” and cited at least two examples of a Karaite groom obligating himself to observe festivals according to the Rabbanite way of reckoning. However, the general comment that “the rights of both parties were ensured in equal measure” and the two cases that would seem to contradict his grand blanket statements about the absolute demand that the Karaite calendar be followed were buried in footnotes.¹⁵

3. GENIZA EVIDENCE

The Cairo *geniza* evidence as accumulated since the publication of Ankori’s work has not been kind to his conclusions about the irreconcilable and absolute role of the calendar in causing schism in Karaite-Rabbanite relations. M. A. Friedman found fifteen examples of Karaite-Rabbanite marriage contracts among approximately one thousand cases of marriage contracts in the Cairo *geniza* that he studied. In one instance, MS. Antonin 637, there are two slightly different versions of the agreement. According to the recto,

And we performed a complete *qinyan* with a suitable instrument, with Mevorach ben Japheth, the groom (to affirm) that he not alter the laws of the Rabbanites on all their festivals and fast days, and all of their laws. And she will conduct herself according to his law, and this Dalal daughter of Yahye will not desecrate his law in his presence.

On the verso, however, we learn that

We performed a complete *qinyan* with him (to affirm) that he would not desecrate in her presence her festivals and that he conduct himself with her as she conducts herself with him.

Not surprisingly, in light of this seeming confusion, Friedman concluded with the comment that the matter required further extensive study.¹⁶

Subsequently, however, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger completed a comprehensive analysis of the material. At the end of her thorough discussion of fifty seven known examples of Karaite marriage contracts, she

¹⁵ Ibid., 298, nn. 16 and 18.

¹⁶ Mordechai A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine—A Cairo Geniza Study* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1981), 2.290–98.

argued against a simplified view of Karaite-Rabbanite relations that took its lead from the polemical literature. The actual nature and tenor of relations was different, almost diametrically opposed to the image of a battle in which the only reasonable outcome was unconditional surrender. Mediaeval Karaites, Olszowy-Schlanger concluded,

do not appear to be a dissident “sect” which threatens the unity of Judaism, but rather a distinct intellectual and religious movement within the body of Judaism itself. . . . The Karaites did not consider themselves to be separate from ma'am Judaism, and nor were they considered as such by the Rabbanites.¹⁷

All this, among other points,

is amply confirmed by the existence of marriages between Karaite and Rabbanite individuals. . . . daily life differences—regarding dietary laws and calendrical issues—could actually be dealt with and accommodated in such a way that common life was perfectly possible.¹⁸

For this reason, in her book, Olszowy-Schlanger consistently refused to call the Karaites a Jewish sect, preferring the “less derogatory and antagonistic term ‘movement.’”¹⁹

After extensive analysis of the Karaite marriage documents from the *geniza*, Olszowy-Schlanger turned to the issue of mutual tolerance in mixed marriages. She concluded:

In mixed marriage contracts we always find a provision for mutual tolerance in the observance of festivals. . . . Indeed, even in the contract written in the Rabbinic style, where the groom makes only a few concessions towards the religion of his Karaite wife, the possibility for her to observe the festivals at the Karaite dates is stipulated, provided that she also observe them at their Rabbanite date.²⁰

Each side observed festivals according to their own calendar, while there was a mutual commitment not to violate the festivals of the other side.

What then should we say of Qirqisani, and of the Talmon-Ankori symbiosis based in no small measure on his testimony? The most

¹⁷ Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents from the Cairo Geniza: Legal Tradition and Community Life in Mediaeval Egypt and Palestine* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 255.

reasonable conclusion is that *at most* calendar differences may have played the role Qirqisani attributed to them at his time and place. Perhaps, however, calendar differences did not even have this central position at Qirqisani's time and place, but Qirqisani believed that calendar differences *should* always play that role. In either case, an appeal to the Karaites and Qirqisani in particular as the basis for a *general rule* in effective and widespread practice that insists on the "importance of the calendar in the history of Jewish sectarianism," from Jeroboam to the Middle Ages—that perhaps if one disagrees about food laws, one can nevertheless find something all sides will eat, but if one disagrees about the calendar the situation is hopeless because compromise is impossible—is misguided, if not downright incorrect. And if this is true for the Karaite side of the Talmon-Ankori symbiosis, what does it mean for Qumran?

If one does not see Olszowy-Schlanger's arguments as the last nail necessary to permanently close the coffin of the argument that the Karaite example shows that calendar differences have a special irrec-
oncilable character, the more recent work of Marina Rustow should convince any remaining doubters. She argues four significant conclusions, specific to the calendar and more general at the same time: (1) Karaites played an important role as third parties in the competition between Babylonian-Iraqi *yeshivot* and the academies of Syria-Palestine for the loyalty of Mediterranean Jews, the traders of Egypt, Sicily and North Africa in particular. They were alternately valuable allies for one side or other, with a central place in Rabbanite politics.²¹ (2) Calendar issues and methods of determining the festivals were far more complex and fluid over the years than one previously imagined. The gap was not always nearly as great as earlier scholars believed.²² In general, differing ideas about the calendar did not necessarily lead to conflict. It was not so catastrophic if different communities kept the same festivals on different days.²³ (3) The lines between Karaites

²¹ See Marina Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimid Caliphate* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 145–50, 297–302.

²² *Ibid.*, 15–20, 57–65.

²³ See Sacha Stern, "Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism," in *idem*, ed., *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*. Note my argument, "But Touch the Law," 311–12, that different Christian groups celebrate the same holidays in the same buildings (Church of the Nativity and Church of the Holy Sepulcher) on different dates. As indicated there, 312, n. 40, the different dates for celebrating the holidays may be a blessing in disguise, reducing possible friction.

and Rabbanites were fluid. Even if the wall at Péra between Karaites and Rabbanites was real, one should not expect to find its equivalent everywhere else. One could switch allegiances virtually at will, for the most apparently trivial social or personal reasons. As we learn from one case in Fustat from about 1030 C.E., the Rabbi in the old Palestinian Rabbanite synagogue (Ben Ezra) was warned that he and his son-in-law were behaving insufferably, so many people switched over to the Babylonian Rabbinic synagogue, or prayed with the Karaites.²⁴ (4) Accordingly, one must be prepared to consider the possibility that mixed Karaite-Rabbanite loyalties—shades of gray rather than a choice only between black and white—abounded.

4. THE MODEL OF “TOLERATED DISSENT”

Thus far, the relatively uncontroversial part of my argument. However, one can go further. In proposing the possibilities of the existence of mixed Karaite-Rabbanite loyalties, Rustow pointed to insightful remarks by George Duby from the essay on heresy already cited above. Duby argued that

All heretics became heretics because of decisions by orthodox authorities. They were first and foremost—and often they always remained—heretics in the eyes of others, or to be more precise, in the eyes of the Church, in the eyes of *one* Church. This is an important consideration, because it shows that the terms ‘orthodoxy’ and ‘heresy’ are historically indissoluble. Even so, one should not consider them like two provinces on opposite sides of a river, divided by a definite border. *Instead, it is more a question of two poles, between which margins extend, enormous areas of indifference perhaps, sometimes of neutrality, at any rate undefined and changing fringes* (emphasis mine).²⁵

Along the same lines, Rustow further pointed to the notion of “tolerated dissent” in rabbinic culture over the ages, first suggested by Talya Fishman.²⁶

What then, if one were to discard the notion of doctrinal and legal rigidity ascribed by so many scholars to the Qumran group (perhaps

²⁴ Rustow, “The Qaraites as Sect,” 000.

²⁵ Duby, “Heresies and Societies,” 187.

²⁶ Talya Fishman, *Shaking the Pillars of Exile: ‘Voice of a Fool,’ an Early Modern Jewish Critique of Rabbinic Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), esp. 185, n. 68.

a product of the inspiration of the example of the communist party of the Stalinist era, an important part of the immediate past for the first generation of Qumran scholars, that may have provided a template for them of a rigorous movement).²⁷ What if one were to disregard Morton Smith's remark, made almost fifty years ago, "but touch the law and the sect will split,"²⁸ and elaborate instead another of Smith's offhand comments in that same article, concerning the contents of the Qumran library: "Even if we suppose that all books came from the official library, we cannot be sure that everything in the library reflected faithfully and directly the beliefs of its owners—that sort of absurd supposition should be left to the secret police."²⁹ Or, focus on the existence of what Smith correctly identified as "unreconciled diversity" not only in matters of belief (eschatological scenarios in particular),³⁰ but also (*contra* Smith) across a much wider spectrum of ancient Jewish sectarian life, including their practice? What if one began to look for Duby's "enormous areas of indifference" or Fishman's notion of "tolerated dissent" in the Dead Sea Scroll evidence, first *within* the Qumran community, next *by* Qumran of other Jews, and last *of* the Dead Sea Scrolls group by other Jews?

In sum, what if we were to continue in the path of our predecessors and take the Karaite example as the paradigm for Qumran, but now based on the more nuanced view of the Karaite evidence as elucidated in the past generation? Perhaps, as indicated at the outset, moves like this would be gross errors, instances of ignorance of the difference between the ancient Jewish cases and later medieval and modern Jewish experience. But, perhaps not, and the intuition that we should take the lead and there might be something important to learn from better known Jewish cases for understanding the lesser known examples is sound; and if so, what would the results be? What difficulties that have perplexed scholars might this alternate perspective resolve? What

²⁷ I also note that George Orwell's *1984*, a dystopic state in which the rules were mercilessly enforced and all signs of dissent quashed, virtually required reading for young intellectuals of the era, was first published in 1949, and was therefore contemporary with the first stages of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship.

²⁸ Morton Smith, "The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism," *NTS* 7 (1960): 360.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 347.

³⁰ Morton Smith, "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" *JBL* 78 (1959): 71.

sources would we now understand more easily? What benefit might we derive from this revised approach?

5. CONSEQUENCES

Is this suggestion mad? Have we scholars not been rightly guided for years by the sharp division between sons of light and darkness that seemed so central to the world-view of the Qumran group? Was not a member commanded to love all the sons of light and to hate the sons of darkness (1QS 1:10–11)? Was he not obliged to love everything that God chose and hate all that God despised? In practical terms, wasn't a member required to stay as far as possible away from all evil and to cleave to good deeds (1QS 1:4–5)? Wasn't one such practical issue the calendar (1QS 1:9)? What sort of "tolerated dissent" is possible under such conditions? Where can we hope to find "enormous areas of indifference, undefined and changing fringes" under such circumstances?

And yet, two fragments of Ben Sira were found in Cave 2 (2Q18), containing verses from chapter 6 (6:14–15 and 6:20–31). However, this is the same Ben Sira who declared *וְגַם יִרְחַ יֵאֲרִיחַ עֵתוֹת לֹא מוֹעֵד* (43:6, according to the Masada MS).³¹ Now, whatever the Qumran calendar may have been (more below), it was not set by the lunar year, nor were its festivals set by the moon.³²

Along the same lines, fourteen, perhaps fifteen copies of *Jubilees* were found at Qumran. Many scholars are convinced of the consistently close connection between *Jubilees* and the Qumran group, regularly

³¹ One can always argue that only these few verses from Ben Sira were known or preserved at Qumran, and not the passage, closer to the end of the book, endorsing a lunar calendar. However, this is a flimsy excuse to escape the difficulty posed by the presence of *any* fragments of Ben Sira at Qumran. In the pre-modern era, in which learned men knew vast numbers of texts by heart and had highly developed systems of memory training, it would be absurd to argue that someone was familiar with one chapter of Ben Sira but not another. See further Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory—A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and the application of these ideas to the world of the Rabbis by Shlomo Naeh, "The Arts of Memory, Structures of Memory, and Patterns of Text in Rabbinic Literature," in *Mehqerei Talmud: Talmudic Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Ephraim E. Urbach* III.2 (ed. Yaakov Sussman and David Rosenthal; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2005), 543–89 (Hebrew). For a different view, see Tal Ilan's article in this volume, "Canonization and Gender in Qumran: 4Q179, 4Q184, 2Q18 and 11QPsalms^a," 513–45.

³² On the significance of Ben Sira's loyalty to the lunar calendar see further Alexander Rofé, "The Beginnings of Sects in Post-Exilic Judaism," *Cathedra* 49 (1988): 13–22 (Hebrew).

appealing to *Jubilees* to help illuminate Qumran sources and vice versa, as if they were part of the same movement (for example Aharon Shemesh³³ and Cana Werman).³⁴ Others have argued the opposite, with Liora Ravid especially prominent in that role.³⁵ In a recent survey, VanderKam concluded in general terms that “there is *some relation* (emphasis mine) between the teachings of the book and those in the scrolls.”³⁶ To return to questions of calendar, Jaubert argued the identity of the Qumran and *Jubilees* calendars in a way that has remained widely convincing for decades.³⁷ However, Liora Ravid has staunchly contested that conclusion, contending that the calendar of *Jubilees* differed from that of the Qumraners.³⁸ If she is correct, the existence of numerous copies of *Jubilees* at Qumran becomes significantly problematic, perhaps less than Ben Sira, but problematic nevertheless if calendar has such an absolute role in determining group identity.

If Ben Sira and *Jubilees* at Qumran are understood this way, they become additional examples of a phenomenon that has puzzled scholars more than once in the past, with the most prominent example the finding of 4Q448, the “Prayer for King Jonathan.” Even if only brought to Qumran from the outside, and not a text composed and recited by members of the group, once 4Q448 is taken as a prayer for *the benefit of* King Jonathan, how can we comprehend the presence of this text in the possession of a movement widely perceived as anti-Hasmonean from the outset and to the utmost degree? 4Q448 requires us to moderate our notions of the extent of rigor on doctrinal and political matters prevalent at Qumran.³⁹ Apparently, 4Q448 shows that the members of the *yahad* could tolerate texts that we imagine that

³³ For example, see Aharon Shemesh, “4Q251 Midrash Mishpatim,” *DSD* 12 (2005): 280–302.

³⁴ For example, see Aharon Shemesh and Cana Werman, “Halakhah at Qumran: Genre and Authority,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 104–29.

³⁵ See, for example, Liora Ravid, “Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*,” *JSP* 13 (2002): 61–86.

³⁶ James VanderKam, “Recent Scholarship on the Book of *Jubilees*,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 6 (2008): 405–31.

³⁷ Annie Jaubert, “Le Calendrier des Jubilés et la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques,” *VT* 3 (1953): 250–64.

³⁸ Liora Ravid, “The Book of *Jubilees* and its Calendar—a Reexamination,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 371–94. See further Vanderkam’s discussion of this issue, “Recent Scholarship,” 421–23.

³⁹ For a thorough discussion of the problems connected with 4Q448 see Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 101–16.

they should have banned. Ben Sira and *Jubilees* may do the same for practical legal issues, even involving the calendar.

Yes, according to 1QpHab 11:4–8, the “wicked priest” pursued the teacher of righteousness and his followers to their “abode of refuge,” the place of their self-imposed exile, “at the appointed time of their rest, the Day of Atonement, he appeared before them to confuse them and to cause them to transgress the Day of Fasting.” From the description in 1QpHab, however, this seems to have been a one-time event, not an attack repeated year after year. If so, what did the “Wicked priest” do on previous or subsequent Days of Atonement? Indeed, at the time of the famine in the days of Herod the residents of Qumran ate well. They understood that this was their merit: since they fasted at the right time, they had plenty to eat during the famine (4QpPs^a).⁴⁰ However, it may be too simple minded to take texts such as these as the absolute standard for judging the attitude of all Qumran sources on matters concerning the calendar.

One can continue. If the calendar was so central and so non-negotiable, why is the MS evidence not definite concerning the question of whether 4QMMT began with the Qumran calendar? Why does 4Q394 include section A, with the calendar, but section A is missing in 4Q395, even though there is enough room in 4Q395 for section A?⁴¹ In general, despite the high degree of self justification prominent in section C, why is there so little animus towards opponents in 4QMMT? Why is the address in largely (and unexpected) friendly terms? Is it sufficient to argue that this work comes from the early stages in the life of the movement, when it was still more open to the outside, still more optimistic of effecting change on the larger Jewish scale (i.e. in the way the Temple was run)? Is this too easy a solution to a real difficulty? Even if this explanation is accepted, one must still remember that this “archaic” work, from the distant and more friendly past, was copied six times in the Herodian period, with our versions

⁴⁰ See further Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 147–50.

⁴¹ See John Strugnell, “MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 61–62; Lawrence Schiffman, “The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran MSS,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. James Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 82–86; Cf. Menahem Kister, “Studies in 4QMiqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar,” *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 360–64 (Hebrew).

(4Q394–399) all dated on paleographic grounds from early Herodian to mid Herodian?⁴² Didn't these later writers and readers notice that 4QMMT seemed out of step with the supposedly tightly introversionist nature of the *yahad* in later years, as posited by scholars?

Calendar aside, scholars have been perplexed and numerous solutions offered to explain the differences in leadership of the group between 1QS and the 4QS fragments. Was it in the hands of Zadokite priests, or the “many,” the רבנים?⁴³ Why are there at least two sets of regulations for entry into the group in 1QS?⁴⁴ How is it that this isolated group, remote and removed by choice from other Jews and their central institution, can offer on-going commentary on current events in their *pesharim*?⁴⁵ How can one understand the evidence compiled by Martin Goodman that the Qumran group did not cut itself off as sharply from other Jews and the Jerusalem Temple, as we once thought?⁴⁶

Once freed of Stalinist style preconceptions of group dynamics, the Qumran evidence starts making better sense, and some of the difficulties that have troubled scholars may be resolved. The world of Qumran now is a more complicated and confusing place, less certain than we thought, but perhaps that murky picture is also more accurate and more interesting. Or, to reprise a wonderful metaphor proposed by Goodman: we now should recognize that the end of Second Temple Judaism is not like the final act of a Shakespearian tragedy with dead bodies all over the stage, but more like the end of a tragedy by Chekhov, with all the actors still alive and together—but miserable. Goodman calls this a case of “grumbling tolerance,”⁴⁷ perhaps somewhat

⁴² See the conclusions on the script of the individual manuscripts in Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 6, 14, 18, 25 (Ada Yardeni), 34, (Ada Yardeni) and 39.

⁴³ For my attempt at resolving this problem—one suggestion among many—see Albert I. Baumgarten, “The Zadokite Priests at Qumran: A Reconsideration,” *DSD* 4 (1997): 137–56. See further, Charlotte Hempel, “Interpretive Authority in the Community Rule Tradition,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80; idem, “Do the Scrolls Suggest Rivalry Between the Sons of Aaron and the Sons of Zadok, and if so, was it Mutual?” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 135–53.

⁴⁴ Ed P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977), 323–25.

⁴⁵ Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*.

⁴⁶ Martin Goodman, “Religious Varieties and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and its Aftermath,” *JJS* 60 (2009): 202–13. See also idem, “The Qumran Sectarians and the Temple in Jerusalem,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 263–73.

⁴⁷ Goodman, “Religious Varieties,” 213.

less cordial, but nevertheless not that far from the “wide margins of indifference,” or “tolerated dissent” for which I have been arguing.

6. WHAT CAN THE RABBIS TEACH US?

However, these dissonances require some sort of explanation. We should not remain lost in the murky darkness. I suggest that the best place for Qumran scholars to turn to deal with these complexities is the experience of those who have studied Rabbinic Judaism in antiquity. As the result of lessons that have sometimes been long and painful, scholars now take adequate account of the normative character of rabbinic texts. They do not inform us how life was lived, but how the authorities cited in the Mishnah and other sources believed life should be lived. The realities of daily life, especially as revealed by archeology over the past century, were different. Furthermore, as the principal rabbinic sources were legal texts subject to constant revision and reinterpretation, these were gapped texts, in which new additions of one sort or other were not always fully harmonized with older material. This created the need for constant interpretation, to bring different pieces of the gapped surface into harmony with each other, to the extent possible.

In light of the analysis above, I propose that some of our Qumran texts, such as the *Community Rule*, in its 1QS and 4QS versions, should now be firmly placed in the normative class. As such, if they display gaps in the laws they prescribe it is entirely to be expected. At the same time, if we discover that life as it was lived at Qumran or as prescribed in the non-sectarian books preserved in their library does not agree completely with the demands of normative Qumran documents, that is also no cause for surprise. Utopias aside, is there a human society in which real life experience agrees entirely and on every detail with some vision of how life ought to be lived?⁴⁸

The severely harsh conditions imposed by the sectarian works found at Qumran combined with the legitimate scholarly concern to disprove

⁴⁸ Of course, this is not meant to deny that those responsible for normative texts may decry the gap between their prescriptions and everyday experience. Perhaps, if they could, they would see to it that their regulations were universally followed to the letter, but that is simply impossible.

bizarre theories separating sect, site, and scrolls⁴⁹ encouraged scholars to overlook the normative character of many key Qumran sources and to assume that these texts presented a wholly accurate picture of how the Qumran sectarians lived. At the same time, specialists in ancient Rabbinic Judaism had no choice but to recognize the normative nature of the documents they studied, but that perception never seems to have crossed the imaginary line (artificial and most deplorable) sometimes separating Qumran from many other aspects of the study of Judaism in antiquity. Now, Karaite studies (more carefully done) reinforce recognition of the gap between the prescriptions of the polemicists on both sides and the realities of compromised life in the Muslim East. That lesson needs to be taken for Qumran as well. When that recognition is adequately internalized any number of difficulties that have troubled scholars will recede in significance.

7. CONCLUSION

The Dead Sea Scrolls offer a portrait of a group whose members were exhorted to strive for perfection (1QS 1:1–10). They were encouraged to live in a manner that would help them achieve eternal life: this meant loving all that God chose and hating all that He despised. They were urged to stay away from all evil and cleave to good deeds, being true, just, and righteous (לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט), and thus walking before Him perfectly (תמים). They were the sons of light, and it was their obligation to hate the sons of darkness. In modern terms, the *yahad* aspired for sainthood, if one may employ the term, despite its Christian overtones. Perhaps the most insightful analysis of sainthood is that of George Orwell, commenting on Gandhi, one of the truly great saints of the twentieth century. Orwell wrote:

⁴⁹ The number of theories separating sect, site, and scrolls has multiplied. Nevertheless, the principal spokesman for this line of analysis remains Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (NY: Scribner's, 1995). From among the discussions of Golb's ideas see Magen Broshi, "Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery? The Consensus and its Challengers: An Archaeologist's View," in *Caves of Enlightenment; Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 1998), 19–37; idem, "Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: the Contention of Twelve Theories," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine; Old Questions, New Approaches* (ed. Douglas Edwards; London: Routledge, 2004), 162–69.

The essence of being human is that one does not seek perfection, that one is sometimes willing to commit sins for the sake of loyalty, that one does not push asceticism to the point where it makes friendly intercourse impossible, and that one is prepared in the end to be defeated and broken up by life, which is the inevitable price of fastening one's love upon other human individuals. No doubt alcohol, tobacco, and so forth, are things a saint must avoid, but sainthood is also a thing human beings must avoid... Many people genuinely do not wish to be saints, and it is probable that some who achieve or aspire to sainthood have never felt much temptation to be human beings.⁵⁰

The evidence that has accumulated and puzzled scholars concerning Qumran, analyzed in the light of Karaite experience here, emphasizes the gap between ideal, obligation, and the realities of life. We should no longer expect the *yahad* to live exactly and as perfectly as prescribed in their normative texts. As such—in Orwell's terms—it deprives the members of the *yahad* of some degree of success in their aspiration to sainthood. However, at the same time, the argument in this paper takes a significant step towards restoring the members of the Qumran community as human beings, prepared to be much more flexible than we imagined, "sometimes willing to commit sins for the sake of loyalty" in confronting the challenges of being "defeated and broken up by life" as a result of having no choice but to pay "the inevitable price of fastening one's love upon other human individuals."

⁵⁰ George Orwell, "Reflections on Gandhi," in *A Collection of Essays by George Orwell* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1954), 182–83.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS, HEBREW UNION COLLEGE, AND
REFORM JUDAISM 1948–2008

RICHARD FREUND

This paper is a part of a much longer, ongoing, research project based upon a systematic review of how the Dead Sea Scrolls influenced modern religious life in general and modern Jewish religious movements in particular (Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, Reconstructionism, Renewal, etc.). Our focus here is upon the impact of the Scrolls on the Reform movement. The paper can be broken down into four different parts:

1. How the Cairo Geniza “discovery” influenced modern Reform (Hebrew Union College-HUC) and Conservative Judaism (Jewish Theological Seminary-JTS) in the early twentieth century and paved the way for the influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the mid-twentieth century.
2. The issues concerning the importance of the Scrolls for modern Jews (in the 1950s–1990s) in the Reform and Conservative movements become clearer through some comparisons between the movements.
3. The Dead Sea Scrolls in Friday Night Sermons of Reform Rabbis with special attention to developments at Hebrew Union College from 1950–2000.
4. The influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls upon Reform and Conservative Responsa, Liturgy, and Bible Commentaries (1950s–2000).

1. THE “DISCOVERY” OF THE CAIRO GENIZA ANTICIPATES THE
DISCOVERY OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Few archaeological discoveries have had an effect upon modern Jewish practice and doctrine as the discovery of the Cairo Geniza. In the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Geniza was not well known, the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary in Cincinnati and New York respectively, developed two different attitudes towards these unknown fragments of Jewish life from

the past. Scholars from both institutions concluded that most of the Geniza texts included rabbinic correspondence, responsa recorded elsewhere (but some that had no parallels), rabbinic texts in manuscripts that were different from our published editions, fragments of materials discussing Jewish life and customs that were otherwise only hinted at in rabbinic texts and fragments of documents that had no parallel in any rabbinic literature.

Among the Geniza fragments were the famous “Zadokite Fragments” (now, Taylor-Schechter 10K6 and 16.311).¹ Dr. Schechter, a Jewish scholar of rabbinics at Cambridge, UK and then later the President of the Jewish Theological Seminary, came to regard these fragments as originating from a heretofore unknown ancient sect of the Sadducees and not the Pharisees (hence he called them by the name Zadokite). Louis Ginzberg, who was appointed by Schechter as a professor of Talmud in 1903, spent the next 50 years at the Jewish Theological Seminary until his death in 1953, working on the Geniza texts. He came to a very different conclusion about who wrote the fragments that Schechter had earlier identified as “Zadokite.” He concluded that the Zadokite fragments represented a proto-rabbinic Pharisaic group whose practices could be compared to the kinds of Talmudic and Geonic work that were normative parts of the tradition.² If anything, the Geniza fragments were seen as Jewish precedents that added to the understanding of the development of the Halakha and could be used as such. Halakha was, therefore, to be understood and treated as a progressive legal system that was not as canonized as was once thought. This became one of the fundamental points for the Conservative movement’s view of Jewish Law and the Geniza continued to be important in Halakhic studies in the Conservative movement.

The Reform movement at the turn of the century was itself engaged in a campaign to demonstrate the variety of different “Judaisms” that pre-existed their own period and so the Geniza became another area of

¹ Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries: Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), Introduction, xv, xvi. For citations on the work of Schechter and an in-depth understanding of the Geniza, see Stefan C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

² Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet Series 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976), 15. Ginzberg was responsible for the publication of some of Schechter’s materials that were not ready for publication before his untimely death. So, Louis Ginzberg’s *Ginzei Schechter* (repr. New York: Hermon, 1969).

research for Hebrew Union College scholars as well. Soon after Schechter had settled in the United States, he had a discussion about the Geniza fragments with the distinguished scholar and leader of Reform Judaism, the head of the Cincinnati based Hebrew Union College in 1903, Kaufmann Kohler.³ For Kohler, the Geniza fragments were a remnant of that religious system of the ancient Zadokites, the Sadducees, Samaritans, and Karaites who all preserved ancient and elitist traditions and practices in contrast to the progressive and populist notions of the Pharisees.⁴ Despite some who questioned the origins of the Geniza fragments, both HUC and JTS scholars began the arduous task of unraveling the unknown texts and readings of the Geniza and most began to use them to interpret the more well known corpus of rabbinic texts. As they began this comparison a new and more complex system of Jewish life and custom emerged that indirectly demonstrated to the Jewish world how diverse medieval Judaism was. Slowly, over the next one hundred years, the Geniza fragments showed that Judaism was indeed more diverse (even a thousand years ago) than was once known.⁵

The Geniza's forgotten texts and readings came to exercise influence not only over the contemporary understanding of ancient Judaism, but also became a vehicle for reinterpreting modern Rabbinic Judaism. These "new/old" texts of the Geniza were used as precedents for liturgical, legal, and theological innovations that were also going on in Reform and Conservative Judaism.⁶ It was a two-way influence. The ideologies of Reform and Conservative Judaism impacted the research of the Geniza and the Geniza, in turn, influenced the ideologies of the movements. Citations from the Geniza materials were used in the scholarly works of Reform and Conservative Jews not only as historical points of interest but as legitimate precedents for modern religious practice. Geonic and *piyyut* (liturgical) materials in the Geniza became

³ See the letter printed in my article entitled "How the Dead Sea Scrolls influenced Reform Judaism" in the *AJAJ* 61.1 (2009): 117.

⁴ Kaufmann Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and his Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects," *AJT* 15 (1911): 406.

⁵ For example, Louis Finkelstein's "The Development of the Amidah," in *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy* (ed. Jakob Peuchowski; New York: Ktav, 1970), 91-177.

⁶ For an excellent review of the Geniza sources and their implications for liturgical, legal and theological changes see Lawrence A. Hoffman's *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).

a part of Conservative and Reform responsa and influenced the formulation of prayer books.⁷

In many ways, the Geniza “discovery” and the research on the fragments anticipated the discovery and research on the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls especially by the Reform movement. First, because so many scholars from Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary had earlier concluded that the Geniza fragments were relevant as legitimate rabbinic precedents, the Dead Sea Scrolls, (a thousand years earlier than the Geniza fragments), were immediately (at least by some in the Reform movement) accorded a legitimacy that they would not have been possible without the Geniza. Second, since the Geniza fragments revealed a heretofore unknown highly eclectic and diverse Jewish life and custom, the Dead Sea Scrolls could point in the similar direction. The Geniza had earlier suggested that there were textual materials of the Jews that showed a richer and more complex Jewish community than was suggested by the canon of rabbinic texts that was being used in the Ashkenazic or the Sephardic worlds. The connection between the Geniza fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments was almost immediately apparent. When Solomon Schechter identified Geniza fragments fifty years before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls as representing an unknown Zadokite sect (albeit in a medieval copy) he unknowingly provided the future framework for the acceptance of the Dead Sea Scrolls as a normative source of Jewish authority for modern Judaism. Schechter’s identification of an unknown Zadokite sect remained theoretical until fifty years later when multiple copies of the *Damascus Document* confirmed the exist-

⁷ In a series of important articles, Jacob Mann presented fragments from the Geniza that reveal reasons for many of the ancient rulings. See, e.g., Jacob Mann, “Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue Due to Religious Persecutions,” *HUCA* 4 (1927): 241–311, and the collection in idem, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (2 vols. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1931). See also Solomon Freehof, “The Structure of the Birchos Haschachar,” *HUCA* 23.2 (1950–1951): 339–55; idem, “Responsum 3” in *American Reform Responsa: Collected Responsa of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1889–1983* (ed. Walter Jacob; New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1983), 5. In *The Lev Hadash Siddur* (Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, London, 1995) the Reform movement used the Genizah as the justification for formulating innovations in prayers. So in the notes to the Siddur on page 664 of *Lev Hadash*, it is noted:

- a. On the version of the “You are Holy...” from the morning prayers: “Our version is taken from the Cairo Genizah reflecting ancient Palestinian usage down to the 9th century.”
- b. On the version of the Amidah chosen on page 24, “Let righteousness...”: “This benediction was not featured in the ancient Palestinian liturgy as reflected in the Genizah...”

tence of this sect. The Geniza's importance and influence upon Reform and Conservative Jewish liturgy, practice and responsa literature was built over a fifty year period by scholars at HUC and JTS. The question that this paper will investigate is whether the Dead Sea Scrolls would have a similar trajectory for modern Judaism.

2. SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS IN REFORM JUDAISM AND HEBREW UNION COLLEGE AND CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM AND THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN THE 1950s AND 1960s

In order to see just how unique Reform Judaism's embracing of the Scrolls was I have included some comparisons with Conservative Judaism from the same time period. While this comparison is far from exhaustive, it heightens our understanding of how significant the Reform rabbis who did embrace the Scrolls were. At the outset, it is clear that Reform Judaism had a very close connection with the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls because of Hebrew Union College's president, famed Negev archaeologist, Nelson Glueck. Glueck's involvement with Israeli archaeology, especially in the southern region of Israel and Jordan (where the Scrolls were discovered), gave him an instant understanding of the larger archaeological context of the discovery. Glueck's presence at the American School of Oriental Research in the period directly before the Scrolls were photographed there made him an "insider" rather than an "outsider" in assessing the importance of the discovery. One of the reasons why Reform Judaism seems to have embraced the study of the Scrolls so early on was because of Nelson Glueck. The interest in the Scrolls by leading Jewish scholars was certainly not universal in the 1950s and 1960s. We see a marked difference between Glueck's role and that of Chancellor Louis Finkelstein's attitude towards the Scrolls' discovery in the same time period. Given the importance of the Geniza at JTS one might have expected that Finkelstein, a very well-known Second Temple period scholar and Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary in the same time period as Glueck's presidency at Hebrew Union College would be equally excited about the Scrolls discovery. He was not.⁸ Finkelstein, for example, did

⁸ This despite the fact that the Jewish Theological Seminary had been in the forefront of Geniza research. Finkelstein only makes reference to the Scrolls twice in his many works on the Second Temple period during this critical period of Scrolls

not comment publicly on the Scrolls at the same time that Glueck was regularly commenting on their importance in the media. Glueck rarely offered a written reflection of the significance of the discovery Dead Sea Scrolls for the movement but he did choose to present some insights into why he thought the Scrolls were important to the movement he headed in a *New York Times* book review of major books that had been written on the Scrolls in the 1950s. Glueck's review of May 11, 1958 entitled "Out of Yesterday, A Symbol for Today," contains one of the few expressions of his impressions about the importance of the Scrolls for modern Jews:

Could it be that the Dead Sea Scrolls, so amazingly exhumed from their long forgotten cave-burials and suddenly transported over the space of some twenty centuries to the attention of the world, were hailed unconsciously by myriads as a symbol of luminescent hope in an age of otherwise unrelieved darkness.

In this pronouncement he seems to be alluding to the "dark days" of the Holocaust, the wars of Israel, the American post World War II conflicts and nuclear threats (Cold War and Korean Conflict) and he saw the Scrolls not as museum pieces, but rather as a form of a "message in a bottle" from a Divine hand. Glueck, the archaeologist, knew the importance and scarcity of archaeological finds and ancient manuscripts and also the state of biblical studies before the discovery of the Scrolls. The discovery energized both Judaism and biblical studies with a new appreciation for the faith and the "authenticity" of ancient Israel. Glueck, the Rabbi and president of a major rabbinical institution, also knew the importance of the hope that new and unexpected finds like the Dead Sea Scrolls offered to the Jewish people still recovering from the Holocaust and of American and Israeli Jews living in countries that were full of new challenges.

The connection between the Scrolls and Hebrew Union College, the flagship institution of the Reform movement, went beyond the original authentication of the Scrolls purchased by the State of Israel in a

research (1950–1970) even when information was available. Once in his *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950) and the six references in the 1962 revised version of *The Pharisees* (originally 1938) are odd in citation (Qumran is misspelled each time as Qumram) and it is clear that Finkelstein is relying upon the opinion of others rather than his own insights on the Scrolls.

“clandestine” operation by Dr. Harry Orlinsky in 1954.⁹ It continued through the present day with scholars at the different campuses of HUC playing a key role in research.¹⁰ No other rabbinical school in the United States or elsewhere had a similar record.

One of the main reasons for the reluctance of Jewish scholars to totally embrace the Scrolls as authentic and ancient Jewish documents has to do with the arguments of Professor Solomon Zeitlin. The thinking of Solomon Zeitlin (and his students) of Dropsie College on the Scrolls influenced faculty and scholarship in the Jewish world for nearly a generation. Early in 1949, Zeitlin began his attacks on the Scrolls as medieval Karaite documents. His criticisms, based upon his own evaluation of the limited corpus of published pieces available to the public, continued for the rest of his life (he died in 1976). He held that the texts had little or no importance for the development of normative, historical, rabbinic Judaism.¹¹ His arguments (which have been rejected by everyone except his most ardent supporters) were mainly found in articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (of which he was the

⁹ This entire episode is recorded in a number of different presentations but especially by Harry Orlinsky, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Mr. Green,” in his *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 245–56 and in *Reform Judaism* 20.3 (1992): 47–48.

¹⁰ The rabbinic theses (graduating rabbis write theses) at Hebrew Union College reflect an interest in Scrolls research although these theses also reflect the ambivalence of the instructors regarding the Scrolls. Into the present day an entire generation of Hebrew Union College graduates question the antiquity of the Scrolls because of Ellis Rivkin and his mentor Solomon Zeitlin’s critiques in the 1950s. See, for example, Daniel Alan Wiener, “The Dead Sea Scrolls as Historical Sources: The Zeitlin Critique and His Critics” (Rabb. diss., HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, 1991), 177–78 supervised by Ellis Rivkin which questions the antiquity of the Scrolls. He writes: “Concerning Zeitlin’s dating of the Scrolls as medieval, I suspect that he may be correct... [The] Scrolls are, as Rivkin contends, opaque and atypical—hence not utilizable as a source for any period.” Wiener has since concluded that the Scrolls are ancient. See his most recent comments in: http://seattletimes.nwsources.com/html/localnews/2003262494_scroll17m.html

¹¹ William G. Weart, “Bible Scroll ‘Find’ Suspected as Hoax; Dr. Zeitlin of Dropsie College Splits With Other Scholars on Dead Sea Discovery,” *The New York Times* (March 4, 1949), 19. Solomon Zeitlin’s works are remarkable in their breadth and number and his steadfast reluctance to accept the Scrolls as anything but medieval Karaite works. The first salvo began with Professor Zeitlin’s 1949 *Jewish Quarterly Review* article entitled: “A Commentary on the Book of Habakkuk: Important Discovery or Hoax?” *JQR* 39.3 (1949): 235–47. It continued unabated throughout the 1950s. See, idem, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship,” in *JQR Monograph Series* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1956), xvi–154; “The Idolatry of the Dead Scrolls,” *JQR* 48.3 (1958): 243–78; “More Literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls—More Pseudo-Scholarship,” *JQR* 49.3 (1959): 221–38 among many more articles and chapters in books.

editor). A scholar with a vast knowledge of Jewish texts, Zeitlin, challenged almost every part of the Scrolls research. He found contradictions in the initial reporting of the discoveries, found contradictory historical references and identifications among the scholars who were researching the Scrolls and challenged archaeological discoveries at Qumran (associated with the dating of the Scrolls), as well as the paleography studies and carbon 14 dating.

Zeitlin's influence at Hebrew Union College came mainly through Ellis Rivkin. Rivkin came to teach at Hebrew Union College in the 1950s and continued for nearly a half century as one of the most influential faculty members at the College. He was also a disciple of Zeitlin's thinking on the medieval provenance of the Scrolls.¹² In addition to the work of Rivkin at HUC-Cincinnati, Samuel Sandmel, (an HUC ordained) rabbi and scholar of Bible and Hellenistic Literature, was ambivalent to the significance of the Scrolls in his teaching and writing about the period for a variety of reasons. Prolific writers and lecturers, Rivkin and Sandmel saw very little Jewish significance in the Scrolls and this was the message transmitted to their students. It was this legacy at HUC-Cincinnati which prevailed even after the Scrolls photos were released in the early 1990s and new Scrolls translation teams began. Newly trained HUC rabbis and students rarely cited the importance of the Scrolls for the study of ancient or modern Judaism. The present generation of Hebrew Union College faculty is markedly different with regards to the Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls figure in Bible, Liturgy and Second Temple Judaism coursework on all three campuses of Hebrew Union College. The Reform Movement has reclaimed the Dead Sea Scrolls in many different ways. In the introduction to the book *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, the sense of the importance of the Scrolls for modern Judaism in general and for Reform Judaism in particular is expressed clearly:

For Jews, the Qumran texts say, "Our family was larger than you knew." The watchword is *diversity*. Modern Judaism comes from Pharisaism, but in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. there were also other kinds of Judaism, and it was not obvious that the Pharisees would be the ones still standing at the end of the day.¹³

¹² Robert Seltzer and Jack Bemporad, "Ellis Rivkin on Judaism and the Rise of Christianity" in *CCAR Journal* 43.3 (1996): 1–16.

¹³ *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (ed. Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr. and Edward M. Cook; Harper San Francisco, 2005), 2.

3. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE FRIDAY NIGHT SERMON

My research focused on examples of the Scrolls in the everyday life of modern Jews. I studied the influence of the Scrolls upon the development of the rabbi's sermon at the late Friday night service because of the importance of this service in the 1950s and 1960s American Jewish scene. Beginning in the 1920s the Friday night sermon was a staple of Jewish religious life in Reform, Conservative and even Orthodox synagogues. The sermon or *Dvar Torah* had its roots in ancient Judaism, but the use of the sermon from the 1920s onward in the United States was a vehicle for American acculturation and education.¹⁴ Most of the rabbis who were trained at the Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary, Yeshiva University, the Jewish Institute of Religion and later the Reconstructionist Rabbinical School used the sermon as a forum for educating and probing the interests of the American Jewish public. Homiletics was (and is) a central part of the rabbinical school curriculum and it developed into one of the main pillars of the American rabbinate.¹⁵

In looking through thousands of sermons from rabbis in the late 1940s through the 1990s across the United States that are found in the *American Jewish Archives* in Cincinnati one notes sermons on the major events of the day from the beginnings of the new State of Israel, the sexual revolution, the status of women, children, wars across the world, books, movies, music, performers, major figures, law, civil rights, Communism, major American holidays among many other issues but very little from the world of archaeology. The sermon was the vehicle for discussing the basic ideas of Jewish law but also the innovations that became hallmarks of American Judaism were presented often for the first time in the Friday night sermon. Religious questions such as patrilineal descent, women as rabbis, theological problems related to the Holocaust, gay and lesbian relations, Jewish-Christian relations, religious vs. civil divorce are all found in meticulously crafted sermons. Many of the insights of these rabbis translated into changes that later

¹⁴ For more on this topic see Jeffrey S. Gurock, "The Late Friday Night Orthodox Service: An Exercise in Religious Accommodation" in *Jewish Social Studies* (New Series) 12.3 (2006): 137–56.

¹⁵ Marshall Sklare's early study, *Conservative Judaism* (New York, Schocken: 1954) has a major section on the Friday night service and sermon and its importance in modern Judaism, pp. 102–11.

became parts of Reform Jewish law and life. The Friday night sermon was a vehicle for testing “public opinion” and interest for American Jews. Often it was the only barometer for the importance of an issue for the congregants and the rabbis. In reading through over 1000 sermons I did not encounter (besides the Scrolls) any other archaeological discovery mentioned in a sermon between the late 1940s through the year 2000.¹⁶ I was intrigued by the fact that the Scrolls were seen as significant enough by Reform rabbis in the field to devote Friday night sermons to them at the same time that at the Hebrew Union College the Scrolls were greeted with ambivalence.

4. REFORM RABBIS WITH A CAUSE: THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS IN 1948, 1955, 1957, 1968

Many of the rabbis who preached sermons on the Dead Sea Scrolls had studied at Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York prior to the discovery of the Scrolls. An example is Rabbi Harold Saperstein, who for almost 50 years was Rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Lynbrook, New York. He was trained at the Jewish Institute of Religion and ordained in 1935. His father had been a famed Orthodox Rabbi in Troy, New York and he began in the pulpit of Temple Emanuel in 1933 and retired in 1980. He obviously did not study under any of the noted scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls at HUC but he apparently did study and read the materials of Harry Orlinsky (he mentions specifically the article on the Scrolls in *American Judaism*, 1955).¹⁷ Orlinsky was a particularly influential and beloved teacher at the “new” Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (1950 onward) and he taught at many of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and Union of American Hebrew Congregations (rabbinical association) conventions as well as professional institutes for rabbis. Saperstein was a well-known figure starting in the 1950s at

¹⁶ In the archives of the *American Jewish Archives* at Hebrew Union College there is a wealth of information on the sermons of Reform Judaism and many of the faculty connected with the Hebrew Union College. I want to thank Kevin Proffitt and Dr. Dana Herman of the AJA who helped me with many of my research requests and Dr. Jason Kalman of Hebrew Union College for his editing insights and for sharing his research with me.

¹⁷ Edith Brodsky, “The Case of the 7 Dead Sea Scrolls,” *American Judaism* 5.2 (1955): 14–16.

most of these events and a prolific writer and activist. His sermons are meticulously typed and arranged and his collection shows the entire diversity of the American Rabbinate in this period.¹⁸ On Friday night, December 16, 1955 he preached a sermon simply entitled: "The Dead Sea Scrolls."¹⁹ What apparently motivated Saperstein in December 1955 to deliver this sermon then may have been a series of different publications that had mentioned the Scrolls in 1955. Edmund Wilson's article in the *New Yorker* magazine on May 14, 1955 began the popular interest for Jews and Christians.²⁰

A very scholarly and community-involved individual (and avid reader of the *NY Times*), Saperstein drew many of his sermons directly from the events of the day. The *NY Times* had been one of the places where the debates among the Jewish and Christian scholars played itself out from the end of 1948–1950.²¹ The closest reference was probably Nelson Glueck's review in the *New York Times* of Millar Burrow's book *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* and another book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* which had recently been published by the Magnes Press. The review which appeared in the *New York Times* on November 20, 1955 was probably the specific motivation for Saperstein's sermon after the Thanksgiving holiday and in anticipation of the Christmas holiday. *The New York Times* was the place where many of the debates played themselves out in the late 1940s and through the

¹⁸ Harold I. Saperstein, *Witness from the Pulpit: Topical Sermons 1933–1980* (ed. Marc Saperstein; Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000).

¹⁹ Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein, Manuscript Collection #718, Box 2, Folder 5, Sermons 1954–1955. 12/16/55.

²⁰ See Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955) for the fuller account.

²¹ *The New York Times* "debate" over the authenticity of the Scrolls begins in March, 1949 after the initial notice in April 1948 and continued through the 1950s. Much of the debate centered around the controversial views of Zeitlin and the other experts who saw the discoveries as ancient and monumental. So for example: "Bible Scroll 'Find' Suspected as Hoax; Dr. Zeitlin of Dropsie College Splits With Other Scholars on Dead Sea Discovery," *The New York Times* (March 4, 1949), 19 and Eliezer Suke-nik's rejoinder in "The Antiquity of Hebrew Scrolls: Scholar Presents Evidence for View That Manuscripts are Authentic," *The New York Times* (March 19, 1949), 14. See also, "Origin of Hebrew Scrolls; Authenticity of Manuscript Said Not to Be Established," *The New York Times* (April 2, 1949), 14 and "Experts Dispute Age of Bible Documents," *The New York Times* (December 30, 1949), 4. "Scroll Comment Denied: Biblical Scholar Says Date of Text Was Not at Issue," *The New York Times* (January 8, 1950), 14. Only if one was aware of public "debate" over the authenticity of the Scrolls in the *New York Times* could one understand how influential Zeitlin was in the public arena. In light of Zeitlin's status at the time, Saperstein and the other rabbis who did not follow Zeitlin's lead very much stand out as independent thinkers.

1950s. The article in the *Times* about the acquisition by the State of Israel of the first seven Scrolls was itself a catalyst for rabbis to discuss the issue of the Scrolls and the fledgling State of Israel.²²

The theme of Saperstein's remarks includes the elements from the Scrolls which do demonstrate the close relationship between Judaism and Christianity, a constant motif in the Scrolls sermons that I read.²³ Most of the sermons that dealt with the Dead Sea Scrolls were usually placed in anticipation of Jewish-Christian ecumenical events and holidays (the other popular period was before Easter) when rabbis attempted to demonstrate the close relationship between Jews and Christians. Edward Klein of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in New York City, (also ordained at the Jewish Institute of Religion) in his Friday night, December 6, 1957 sermon entitled: "More on the Dead Sea Scrolls" notes:

The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls speak to us across two millennia of the amazing vitality and creativity of an ancient people, the rag-tag and bobtail of the ancient world, a tiny people over-run by Greeks and Romans, able nonetheless to give humanity its God idea, its Bible, its prophets, its commandments to give more than half the world its faith. They bid Christianity to recognize a new and even greater debt to Judaism, than had before been known. On the eve of Chanukah and Christmas, the Qumran covenanters urge that Christianity and Judaism, unique in their separate beliefs, yet even closer than before in the things they share, fulfill their mission as Children of Light, doing battle against the forces of darkness.²⁴

In fact, many different rabbis delivered sermons on the Scrolls in 1957.²⁵ This was because 1957 marked the 10th anniversary of the Scrolls and

²² "Israel Acquires Ancient Scrolls," *The New York Times* (February 14, 1955), 21.

²³ There were many writers, such as André Dupont-Sommer, who held that the leader of the Qumranites, the "Teacher of Righteousness," prefigured Jesus and added much to our understanding of the circumstances of the crucifixion of Jesus. See André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

²⁴ AJA Rabbi Edward Klein, Manuscript Collection #702, Box 3, Folder 7. This was a follow up to an earlier sermon on the Scrolls.

²⁵ Two of many more examples are:

1. Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn, AJA Manuscript Collection #704, Box 36, Folder 4
2. Rabbi Richard C. Hertz delivered two Friday nights in a row on the Dead Sea Scrolls—Friday, December 6 and 13, 1957—AJA Manuscript No. 675, Box 5, Folder 6.

attracted new attention in the media.²⁶ Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman of Temple Israel in St. Louis, for example, delivered a sermon on March 29, 1957, in which he connected the newly published hymns from Qumran and the hymns composed by the Reform movement (that appeared in the *Union Prayer Book*). He stated:

It is the literary record of this community that has been found. Among them is a book of hymns. These hymn books draw on biblical sources, but they reveal the originality of the community. They did exactly what we have done. We have a Union Prayer Book. In it there is a song centered around the 23rd Psalm. It is, however, not the 23rd Psalm, but it centers about it. That is what they did too. They were inspired by biblical literature and the biblical point of view, but they composed their own songs.²⁷

The recognition that there was a possibility of composing new liturgy was not a new idea. It had been written about especially by scholars of liturgy at the Jewish Theological Seminary and Hebrew Union College following the discovery of the Geniza. What Isserman was pointing to was the ability of the inspired ancient author to compose a hymn based upon the Bible and having the same type of inspiration that the ancient biblical author had had. The Scrolls provided for Reform Jews (especially the rabbis) a validation of many of the changes that had been made in the *Union Prayer Book* and that had been going on for nearly a century before the discovery of the Scrolls.

Rabbi Saperstein's interest in the Scrolls is demonstrated by his follow up sermon 13 years later in January, 1968. While very few American rabbis preached "in-depth" on the content of the Scrolls (most references I found were just passing references to the Scrolls), Saperstein preached on the significance of the Scrolls for modern Judaism in this sermon.²⁸ After Saperstein's return from his sabbatical in Israel in 1967, he frequently reported on the major events in Israel with

²⁶ Cave 11 near Qumran was the last major discovery made there in 1956. Scholarly articles abound in 1957 in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, *Vetus Testamentum*, the *Jewish Quarterly Review* continued throughout 1957 and popular works such as John Haverstick, "The Battle of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Saturday Review* (March, 1956) and books like Theodore Gaster's *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), Samuel Sandmel's *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1956), and Yigael Yadin's *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957) made their impact as well.

²⁷ Rabbi F. M. Isserman, AJA Manuscript Collection #6, Box 20, Folder 3.

²⁸ Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein, AJA Manuscript Collection No. 718, Box 4, Folder 3.

particular vigor and the Scrolls were seen by him as a part of Jewish life that had continuously developed in antiquity to the present. Saperstein held that Reform Jews were a continuation of the life and times of the Jews that extended back to the biblical world and the Scrolls were a legitimate and authentic expression of Jewish life in antiquity. Saperstein states in this sermon:

Now what is the importance for the understanding of Judaism of these greatly publicized ancient scrolls? Outside of the fascination of dealing with something which goes back 2000 years-do they throw light on our heritage? I think they do.²⁹

First, they add great support on the accuracy of our current Bible texts....

Secondly, these discoveries make us realize that we are not the people of the book but the people of the books. We had come to feel that the only book that has come down from ancient times was the Bible. We suspected that there were many other books which had somehow got lost-there are hints of some in the Bible itself. But we had never seen any. Now suddenly we have come across a group of these books-each with a character of its own and can better appreciate how rich the total literary heritage of our people must have been.

Thirdly, we are reminded of the great variety of Jewish religious thought and practice during the time that the Jews were in an independent nation. Judaism was never a monolithic faith. There was a great deal of free religious searching. There were many differing, sometimes conflicting groups. The break away from tradition by Reform Judaism in our day is not an innovation in Jewish history at all.

He is one of many rabbis who made the intellectual leap that the developments of the Qumranites in the second century B.C.E. were similar to the developments of Reform Jews in the twentieth century. Rabbi Saperstein concluded his sermon: "The ancient scrolls that come from the area of the Dead Sea still have the potential of life and light and inspiration for the people of Israel. Amen." While Saperstein was not alone in bringing this message of the significance of the Scrolls for Reform Judaism to his congregation, his insights are by far the most clearly defined of any of the sermons that I found.

²⁹ Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein, AJA Manuscript Collection No. 718, Box 4, Folder 3.

5. HUC 1990-PRESENT: AFTER THE RELEASE OF THE SCROLLS

Professor Jason Kalman's recent article in the *American Jewish Archives Journal* traces the history of HUC's central role up to and after the release of the Scrolls in the 1990s.³⁰ It seems that after the release of the Scrolls which began in the 1990s, and the ground-breaking work of Wacholder and Martin Abegg, HUC re-embraced the significant role which it had played in the Scrolls history in the 1950s. In many events from the year 2000 onward, the Scrolls became a *leitmotif* at many different HUC and at Reform Judaism's major events. As far as I could find, the Scrolls were quoted at more events at HUC campuses and rabbinic installations during this period than in the previous forty years. The use of the Scrolls and their content as an appropriate Jewish metaphor in Reform gatherings is evident both from the invited speakers and the faculty of HUC. At the May 13, 2002 commencement at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Los Angeles, for example, the invited speaker, Professor Paula Hyman (a well-known Modern Jewish Historian) of Yale University, spoke on the topic of "Jewish Identity on the Global Frontier" and used the Scrolls as an example of an important issue in modern Jewish identity which affects Reform and Conservative Jewish life, the question of the "Who is a Jew" controversy in Israel:

To be sure, the Dead Sea Scrolls and recent scholarship on sectarianism in the ancient world have made it apparent that "who is a Jew" was a hot question in the first centuries of the common era. And religious syncretism was not unknown. Jewish Christians, for instance, straddled the boundaries of two groups.³¹

It is an inspired and timely connection, but it assumed that the audience and students at the commencement would be well-versed enough in the content of the Scrolls to find the connection meaningful and that the Scrolls had some particular connection to the audience and students as well. It is in fact the pioneering and courageous work of Wacholder and Abegg at HUC in the 1990s that allowed this metaphor to be especially important at an HUC commencement.

³⁰ Jason Kalman, "Optimistic, Even With the Negatives: HUC-JIR and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1948-1993," *AJAJ* 61.1 (2009): 1-114.

³¹ Accessed on April 24, 2009 at <http://www.huc.edu/faculty/faculty/pubs/hyman.shtml>.

One of the most unusual influences of the Dead Sea Scrolls is found in the installation of a Reform rabbi in 2006. Most of the installations of Reform rabbis in their respective pulpits are accompanied by an investment or installation by a scholar or rabbi from the ordaining institution or a Senior Rabbi who either mentored the rabbi or represents the ordaining authority or institution. Often this installation ceremony has a very ritualized and formal nature and citations from the Bible and rabbinic literature accompany the blessings that are invoked upon the new rabbi. There are, indeed, written formulae which have been suggested by ordaining institutions. Often the installation ceremony is accompanied by sermons on Friday night and/or Saturday morning and meaningful weekends of study and teaching to invest the event with dignity and solemnity. Usually the Torah reading is the central pillar of this teaching. The use of the Scrolls in an installation is meaningful because it implies that the congregation would somehow see the Dead Sea Scrolls as representing normative Jewish authority. On this particular occasion, Michael Meyer of HUC-JIR, Cincinnati was involved in the installation of Rabbi Evan Moffic at Chicago Sinai Congregation, Illinois, as assistant rabbi. Moffic, who graduated HUC-JIR in 2006, had Meyer speak at his installation. Professor Meyer in his Friday night sermon used a variant reading from the book of Numbers found in the Dead Sea Scrolls texts to reinforce his message and stated:

But I should like to conclude my remarks this Shabbat evening of your installation not with the usual text as it is found [in the Book of Numbers] in the Bible, but with a variant version, one that was found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, those ancient parchment accounts discovered only in our own times but that date back two millennia. Here is the text: "May God bless you with all that is good and protect you from all that is evil. May God illumine your heart with life-giving wisdom and grant you knowledge of those things that are eternal. May God's love and kindness extend to you so that you may always have peace." May it be so.³²

The citation of the variant from the Dead Sea Scrolls suggests that the Scroll may indeed preserve an original and authoritative Jewish message. The use of this variant reading in an installation assumes so many

³² Accessed on April 24, 2009 at http://www.chicagosinai.org/liberal_reform_judaism/michael_meyer_6_06.pdf. The same text appears as an alternative in the new Reform prayer book, *Mishkan T'filah* (99), where it is taken from Nahum Glatzer's anthology *Language of Faith*.

different levels of acceptance of the Scrolls. On the one hand it assumes that the congregation will be aware of differences found in the biblical readings of the Scrolls. On the other hand, it accepts those readings as authentic expressions of the Jewish people and Meyer thereby implies that there are new and unknown understandings of Judaism that may emerge in the future. He does all of this as a representative of Hebrew Union College, which had institutionally re-embraced its role in the story of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

So too, in that same year, the commencement speaker at Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, Peter von der Osten-Sacken, who received a degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa* at the ceremony, invoked the Scrolls in his commencement address entitled: "To Get To Know, To Understand and To Respect" (on May 15, 2006). von der Osten-Sacken first cited a verse from the biblical book of Micah 6:8 and then cited how this verse appears in the Scrolls:

Most of the summarizing rules of life are much shorter. The community of the Dead Sea Scrolls chose the one sentence of the prophet Micah just cited, enriching it by two or three terms of their own.³³

The implication of this speaker at an HUC sponsored event is that the Scrolls provide an authentic slice of Jewish life and that they are authentic spokespersons for the history of Judaism. The rendering of this quotation from Micah in the Scrolls demonstrates that the Bible's revelation was an ongoing and continuous process. These two settings, an installation of a new Reform rabbi and the commencement speeches at Hebrew Union College are reflective of the new role for the Scrolls that Hebrew Union College that the Reform movement seems to have embraced after the year 2000. I found nothing like this in the archives from the more than forty years of the early role that HUC played in the story of the Scrolls.

6. MODERN LITURGY AND RESPONSA LITERATURE

Liturgical innovation is a hallmark of modern Jewish religious literature as is innovation in halakhic responsa literature. This trend of the use of translation, manuscripts, and the ability to create new liturgy

³³ Accessed on April 24, 2009 at <http://www.huc.edu/newspubs/GradSpeeches/2006/Peter%20von%20der%20Osten-Sacken%20Graduation%20LA%202006.pdf>.

was indirectly affected by the discovery and unraveling of the Geniza. Suddenly with the “discovery” of the Geniza a plethora of “new/old” manuscript readings were available to be compared and contrasted with the traditional manuscript readings. The standardized Amidah (literally: “standing prayer”), which many had assumed to have been canonized in the first centuries of the Common Era, suddenly was seen to be more fluid than was first thought, thanks in part to the new manuscript readings available in the Geniza. This fluidity was used by the Reform and Conservative movements to demonstrate that changes in the prayer books being prepared in these movements were permissible and could be made in the future.³⁴

Fragments of Psalms texts were found in almost all of the 11 caves of Qumran and texts of the Psalms represent the largest number of manuscripts of any book in the Dead Sea Scrolls.³⁵ According to some scholars, this abundance of Psalms manuscripts suggests that Qumran prayer was similar to the Temple prayer and included Psalms. The existence of unique Qumran psalm compositions or *Hodayot* also suggests that the Qumranites were not just following the rites of Jerusalem but felt they had the authority to create (and innovate) new prayers.³⁶ The existence of new prayers in original manuscript versions (albeit Dead Sea Scrolls) further legitimated the Reform prayer book innovations which were created in the twentieth century.

³⁴ Sometimes it is the actual comparison of manuscripts and the printed text traditions which is presented to students to show how creative the rabbis were. See Rabbi Joel E. Rembaum, “Regarding the Inclusion of the Names of the Matriarchs in the First Blessing of the *Amidah*,” in Rabbi Paul Schneider, *A Study Guide to Teaching the Teshuvah* (Conservative Jewish Law Committee, 1990). The claim of the *teshuvah* is that the blessings in the *Amidah* “...while remaining within the framework established in Talmudic times, Jewish liturgy has retained a flexibility that has allowed it to be adjusted and adapted to the spiritual needs of different generations of Jews.... Wording of a number of the blessings of the *Amidah* was considerably different from the language that eventually became standard in the later Geonic period... In the first set of berakhot presented, students are asked to compare weekday berakhot in *Sim Shalom*, which in this case are representative of Ashkenazi tradition, and materials found in the Cairo genizah. We are going to look at two sets of berakhot in the *Amidah*. The *Sim Shalom* set is Ashkenazi and reflects the practices of the European countries from which most of our ancestors immigrated. The genizah set of berakhot was rediscovered in the attic of the Ezra Synagogue in 1896 by Solomon Schechter.” (Rembaum, “Regarding the Inclusion of the Names of the Matriarchs,” 486).

³⁵ Peter W. Flint, “The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *VT* 48.4 (1998): 453.

³⁶ The unique character and significance of the Thanksgiving-*Hodayot* literature of Qumran were recognized early on. For an early study, see Menachem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961).

A few examples from the Reform movement's use of the Scrolls will suffice. The Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (based in the U.K.) introduced a new prayer book in 1995. *Siddur Lev Chadash*, The New Heart Prayer book, which uses extracts from the Scrolls as they might use readings from normative Jewish thinkers throughout the ages, including the Geniza fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The title of the Siddur is taken from Ezek 36:26 "I will give you a new heart and put a new spirit in you." Besides changing the masculine pronouns for God in the liturgy, it includes the Matriarchs and features extracts from the Dead Sea Scrolls alongside normative rabbinic citations from the Talmudim, Maimonides, Judah HaLevi, Hasidic masters and Samson Raphael Hirsch.³⁷

The inclusion of citations from the Dead Sea Scrolls as readings, as benedictions and as liturgical versions was a conscious decision by the editors of the new Reform siddurim. Another example is from the Israeli Reform siddur and machzor, *Ha'Avodah Shebalev* and *Kavanat Halev*.³⁸ In *Ha'Avodah Shebalev* the Scrolls' version of the *Birkat HaKohanim* (Num 6: 22–27) is featured in one of the most important parts of the service. The Scrolls version of the priestly blessing found in 1QS is indeed a liturgical innovation on the famous biblical verses that links the Qumran community with the holy angels. Perhaps because of the importance attached to this prayer by all Jews in all movements, the literature on its meaning has been prolific.³⁹ The Aaronid blessing is used by Reform rabbis in a variety of contexts, for blessings made by rabbis for the occasion of bar and bat mitzvah, weddings, conversions and as a final benediction at the end of services. The Israeli prayer book has

³⁷ The citation that is included is a section from col. 10 of the *Community Rule*: "With the coming of day and night" (*Lev Hadash*, 114; from the *Pesukei DeZimra* in the morning service).

³⁸ *Ha'Avodah Shebalev* (Jerusalem: IMPJ [The Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism], Service of the Heart, 1982; revised printing, 1991), and a machzor for the High Holidays, *Kavanat Halev* (Jerusalem: IMPJ [Meditations of the Heart], 1989).

³⁹ See, for example, Billah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 148–153; Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden Brill 1998), 224–25; George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*, JSOT Supp29 Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 295–301, and Richard Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and Among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties," in *Liturgical Perspectives Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, 19–23, January, 2000 (STDJ 48; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 151–72.

brought it at the end of the Kabbalat Shabbat service. The text was also incorporated into the English language, *Mishkan T'filah*. At the end of the Kabbalat Shabbat service, as an alternative concluding benediction (the benediction is an important innovation in Reform liturgy), the *Ha'Avodah Shebalev*, page 90, includes the Dead Sea Scrolls variant on the *Birkat HaKohanim* as the benediction option.⁴⁰

In the Israeli *Kavanat Halev*, the High Holiday Reform machzor, several passages from the Thanksgiving Scroll (*Hodayot*) were incorporated as well. For the Shacharit (morning) service for Yom Kippur a number of *Hodayot* were selected for inclusion. Among the suggestions for "opening readings" between the Talit blessing and the Torah blessing, for example, the Reform machzor incorporated several readings from the *Hodayot* and in the meditations after the morning Amidah, several other *Hodayot* lines were chosen as readings.⁴¹ In the Shacharit Mussaf (concluding prayer) the meditations following the Amidah are other *Hodayot* verses.⁴² The use of these citations attaches a clear normativity to the activities of the sectarians and these prayers are used as if they were composed by the Rabbis. The idea that the Qumranites were creating new blessings based upon their new inspired understandings of biblical verses is also significant.

7. REFORM AND CONSERVATIVE BIBLE TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES

As much as the Siddur was a mediator of the ideological views of Reform and Conservative Judaism, the *Humash* in the pews was just as influential. The weekly use of the Torah and Haftarah and the translations and interpretations that accompanied the Hebrew were affected by new information and understandings of the Ancient Near East that emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The Geniza and the Dead Sea Scrolls discoveries had a similar affect upon the creation of new *Humash* and Haftarah translations and commentaries.

⁴⁰ The source given in the prayer book is *The Rules Scroll*, column 2, lines 2–4 (Jacob Licht edition, Bialik Institute, Jerusalem, 1965).

⁴¹ *Kavanat Halev*, 169, has *Hodayot* 10:14–17, cited from the translation of Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 1995) for the opening readings. *Kavanat Halev*, 195 has the meditations after the Amidah, cited from Vermes, *Hodayot* 11: 26–31 (*ibid.*, 220).

⁴² *Kavanat Halev*, 227, *Hodayot* 7:26–31 (Vermes, *CDSSE*, 212).

Little of the wealth of readings/manuscript variants and interpretations of the Dead Sea Scrolls that would emerge in the 1990s through the present were available to W. Gunther Plaut and Bernard J. Bamberger for their work, *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (henceforth, TMC).⁴³ First published in 1981, (with research that was done in the 1960s and 1970s) it has references that show the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the canon but little is mentioned in the textual notes to indicate that enough was known to warrant a full article in the Torah commentary. Most of the insights that were given in TMC were intended for a form of Torah study by rabbis and congregants. The insertion of the Scrolls texts, therefore, needed to serve either as a homiletic cue or to enable a Reform congregant or rabbi to form an opinion about ancient Judaism to be sure, but also a reflection of some aspect of Reform Judaism. There were some well known textual variants or comparable readings that were presented in TMC. In Genesis 5 when describing the elusive Enoch figure TMC presents the more extensive ancient *Books of Enoch* that are present in the Dead Sea Scrolls to demonstrate that much more was known about the figures of the Torah (although these stories did not always get into the canonical text) than is reflected in the canonized Bible.⁴⁴

Similarly, for example, in Genesis 12, TMC cites the *Genesis Apocryphon* with additional information about Sarah that is only found in the later rabbinic midrash.⁴⁵ In the *Apocryphon*, for example, Sarah's beauty is a much more important literary device in the text than in the canonical Genesis 12. The fact that the *Genesis Apocryphon* predates

⁴³ W. Gunther Plaut and Bernard J. Bamberger, *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981).

⁴⁴ TMC, page 31. A much shorter insight is found in the *Etz Hayim (EH)* of the Conservative movement on page 32. *Etz Hayim: Torah and commentary* (ed. David I. Lieber and Jules Harlow; Philadelphia: JPS and NY: Rabbinical Assembly, 2001). Many of the editors of the *EH* were well known biblical scholars and were using the Jewish Publication Society translation of the text that many of them had worked on earlier. My comparison is based upon the fact that the TMC, written in a time when very few Scrolls were available to the public, seems to place more importance upon the Scrolls materials than the *Etz Hayim*, that was written in a time when the Dead Sea Scrolls texts were available to the *EH* editors.

⁴⁵ Cited in the *Gleanings* note #10 on page 1696 as N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956) cols. 20:6f. In *Gleanings*, 101, the text is cited in full:

Of all the virgins and brides
That walk beneath the canopy
None can compare with Sarah.

rabbinic midrash by hundreds of years and presents a fuller interpretation of the Abraham and Sarah story gives the reader the impression that the revelation of the Torah was followed by on-going revelations about the Patriarchs and the Matriarchs and that these revelations are relevant to the understanding of the canonical Genesis 12 text. The TMC study cue here seems to imply that the Scrolls preserved additional parts of a longer ancient narrative. Also, again (as in the case of the Enoch text) TMC used the *Genesis Apocryphon* as if it was a normative Jewish text, similar to rabbinic midrash. The comparison between the way that the editors of the TMC viewed the Dead Sea Scrolls (normative and significant) and how the HUC-JIR faculty viewed the Scrolls (not normative and significant) in relatively the same time period demonstrates the same disconnect noted above. The sermons of the Reform rabbis in the field reflected a different appreciation (the Scrolls were normative and significant) of the importance of the Scrolls than they received in the classrooms of some HUC-JIR faculty members.

TMC goes further than most of the sermons of the rabbis in the field. In TMC Leviticus, for example, the differences between the calendar of the Qumranites and the Jerusalemites is alluded to.⁴⁶ This idea of differing calendars (and holidays) demonstrates that even in antiquity Jews often celebrated their holidays on different dates and in different ways. The Qumranites did not share the same calendar as the Jerusalem Jews and so, for example, they would be celebrating Passover, Sukkot, or Shavuot on different dates than the Jerusalemites. Although I am not suggesting that the Scrolls calendar issues are the same as the Reform movement's calendar issues, these differences allowed TMC to present an issue that represented a contemporary

⁴⁶ "The Festival Calendar," 922. "Some time during the Second Commonwealth, a sectarian group tried to introduce and entirely new—apparently solar—calendar; this attempt is recorded in two apocryphal books, Jubilees and I Enoch. These proposals seem to have influenced the group that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls." In TMC a note on page 922 directs the reader to a footnote on page 1740 to Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Gramercy Publishing Company, 1955) and the later follow up book, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Scrolls and New Interpretations with Translations of Important Recent Discoveries* (New York: Viking, 1958) In the same article TMC on the Calendar specifically states: "In the Land of Israel, the only occasion observed for two days is the Festival of the New Year. Reform Judaism follows the one-day biblical rule."

debate among Reform and Conservative Jews in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁷ In that period when debates raged in the Conservative movement on whether to follow the Reform movement's decision to eliminate the second day of the pilgrimage holidays, which meant that all American Jews were not celebrating the same days of a holiday.⁴⁸ In the American Jewish community of this period this type of confusion was problematic for many reasons. TMC's insights on the ancient controversies on the calendar do not appear in *Etz Hayim*, despite the fact that by the 1990s the research clearly showed that the Qumranites maintained a solar calendar.⁴⁹

William Hallo's introductions to the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy in TMC do have specific references to the Scrolls. In "Genesis and the Ancient Near East" Hallo establishes the understanding of the Qumran discoveries as presenting pre-Masoretic textual variants for comparison, while his introduction to "Deuteronomy and the Ancient Near East" references a comparison between the book of Deuteronomy and the *Temple Scroll* which "took pains to eliminate all references to Moses and rephrased the Deuteronomic record in third person terms."⁵⁰ It appears that these Scrolls references both present the Scrolls as authentic ancient precedents (in deference to the Zeitlin/Rivkin presentation) and are cues for the rabbis and the congregant to understand that the figure of Moses is one that is understood in different generations with different emphases, a view that would resonate with Reform views of how the ancient leaders of Israel help understand the contemporary world. The fact that Moses disappears in the *Temple Scroll* and that the account is written in the third person (versus the first person in Deuteronomy) makes Moses an even more humble figure than he is in the Masoretic text of Deuteronomy.

In the *Gleanings* to the portion called *Naso*, (page 1068) on the "Priestly Blessing" of Numbers 6, TMC introduces what appears in the *Rule of the Community* scroll from Qumran. It is a much more detailed priestly benediction that was bestowed upon the new initiates

⁴⁷ See Mark Warshofsky, *Jewish Living: A Guide to Contemporary Reform Practice*, (New York: UAHC, 2001), 93–95.

⁴⁸ David Golinkin, *Proceedings of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Conservative Movement 1927–1970* (NY: Rabbinical Assembly, 1997), 3.1228–1272.

⁴⁹ See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar of the Qumran Sect," *Qadmoniot* 30.2 (1997): 105–14; James C. VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 176.

⁵⁰ TMC, 9 and 1149. None of this is found in EH.

of the sect. TMC chose to use Theodore Gaster's translation of the *Manual of Discipline*⁵¹ in the *Gleanings* section because Gaster's translation clearly presents the priestly blessing of Qumran as a creative version of the Numbers 6 benediction: (all caps are from Gaster's translation. He attempts to show how this is a direct expansion of the priestly blessing).⁵²

Then the priests are to invoke a blessing on all that have cast their lot with God, that walk blamelessly in all their ways and they are to say: MAY HE BLESS THEE with all good and KEEP THEE from all evil, and ILLUMINE thy heart with insight into the things of life, and GRACE THEE with knowledge of things eternal, and LIFT UP HIS gracious COUNTEenance TOWARDS THEE to grant thee peace everlasting.

Gaster's presentation shows that the intent of the Qumran priestly blessing is to draw upon the more ancient Numbers 6 prayer and to use it as a springboard for a more appropriate prayer for the Qumran initiate. The use of this in the *Gleanings* provides it as an authentic Jewish creative prayer.

TMC attempts to make a connection between the *Kittim*, (a general name for an unknown group of foreigners) mentioned in Numbers 24.22, and a more specific meaning that the *Kittim* in the Scrolls as a more specific group of foreigners.⁵³ The Scrolls demonstrate that a code name/word "Kittim" could be used to mean different foreign enemies in different periods. Again, even though little was known about the references to the *Kittim* in the time in which TMC was edited, the editors chose to present this insight for the rabbis and lay leaders. It is not just an arcane piece of information with the TMC presents for the reader. Its inclusion shows that the Scrolls provided authentic Jewish insights. It is clear that TMC sees the Scrolls as normative Jewish

⁵¹ *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 40. This as opposed to the other major translation of the time, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* published by Geza Vermes in 1962, which barely acknowledges in his translation of the same section that it is a version of the Numbers 6 priestly benediction (Middlesex: Penguin, 1962), 73. None of this is found in EH. Note that Gaster uses the early name for this composition, rather than the current nomenclature of the *Community Rule*, or *Serekh*.

⁵² TMC's use of this *Birkat HaKohanim* reference may have indirectly influenced the editorial liturgical changes that were noted in the Israeli Reform siddur, *Avodah Shebalev* and the *Mishkan T'filah* noted above.

⁵³ He does this by directing the reader to the book by *The Century Bible: Leviticus and Numbers* (ed. Norman H. Snaith; London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1967) and the connections made there with the Qumran materials. TMC, 1181. Note 30 is on page 1753.

sources that provide not only ancient data but also are religious signposts for modern Jews to read and understand their own differences. It is also clear that the editors of TMC went out of their way to include whatever comparative information from the Scrolls that was available to the public so that the Scrolls' reputation would be enhanced.

This is similar to TMC's basic use of the Septuagint readings as well. They provide not only additional or parallel readings of the Torah, they also provide insights into the different Jewish interpretations that were circulating in antiquity and which suggests a much more fluid text of the Torah than the traditional Masoretic presentation would allow. The Septuagint readings, however, were very well known and there was little controversy over the inclusion of these readings as legitimate, ancient Jewish texts. In the 1996 Haftarah commentary edited by Plaut, he does show, (where available) that the Septuagint and Qumran (4QSamuel^a on the Haftarah of Shemini, for example⁵⁴) agree against the Masoretic text. The Book(s) of Samuel in the Masoretic text was/were quite different in the Septuagint and Qumran Scrolls. Although the entire text of the Scrolls version of Samuel was not available to the editors of the Haftarah, Harvard Professor Frank Moore Cross and others had by the 1960s made many of the major differences between the Masoretic text and the Scrolls text of Samuel available in a number of scholarly articles and in his book, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*.⁵⁵ By presenting the differences between the Masoretic text and the Scrolls readings of the book of Samuel one is clearly left with the impression that the Haftarah (Hebrew Bible prophets texts) were, similar to Scrolls readings used in TMC, examples of how the Scrolls may preserve a better and more complete text than the Masoretic text. Although small in number, the citations that were chosen by TMC and Plaut's Haftarah commentary demonstrate that the Scrolls were authentic expressions of "lost" traditions of Judaism. In short, although the editors of TMC and Plaut's Haftarah commentary did not have access to much Scrolls information to present, they presented them as authentic revelations of ancient Jews that spoke to modern Jews in the same way that the words of Midrash, Rashi, Rambam and others spoke to modern Jews. This is all the more remarkable because

⁵⁴ TMC, xlvii and 616. Found in EH as well.

⁵⁵ NY: Doubleday, 1961; and in "The Oldest Manuscripts of Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 147-72.

of what we now know was the attitude of most of the faculty teaching the Scrolls at Hebrew Union College in the same period that TMC and the Haftarah were being prepared. The message that TMC and the Haftarah commentary send was one that Reform Jews could readily understand. The Scrolls were a continuation of “an original conversation or interaction between God and the Jewish people that began at Mount Sinai and that continues to this day.”⁵⁶

8. SUMMARY: HOW THE PAST INFLUENCES THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Most of the analysis in this article shows how the Scrolls influenced the Reform Judaism. The influences upon a modern Jewish movement such as the world-wide Reform movement are manifold. The Reform movement has been influenced by Zionism, by the Holocaust, by social ideology and movements both in Europe and the United States, and by the Geniza and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The influence of the Dead Sea Scrolls upon the Reform movement is complicated because in the same period that some Hebrew Union College professors either ignored the Scrolls or were ambivalent about their importance, the Scrolls were seen as profoundly significant for some Reform rabbis in the field. The two explanations that my research offers for this discrepancy (between the views of some of HUC’s faculty and the rabbis in the field) are:

1. The many, independently minded, and learned Reform rabbis in the field drew their own conclusions about the Scrolls debate that was raging in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁵⁶ URJ publication: *Chai: Revelation Study Guide for Teachers* Joanne Doades and Alan Levin. The curriculum URJ urj.org/_kd/go.cfm?destination=ShowItem&Item_ID=8033 is based upon the CCAR statements of principles, this formulation taken from 2004: “*God’s ongoing revelation . . . our people’s ongoing relationship*. The Centenary Perspective said that “Torah results from the relationship between God and the Jewish people.” The Pittsburgh Principles defined Torah as an ongoing dialogue between God’s continuing revelation and Israel’s continuing struggle to understand the ways of God, and to respond to God’s presence and God’s will. The Columbus Platform states that “revelation is a continuous process.” The Third Draft of the Principles states that “the Reform movement believes that changing times affect the way we understand the *mitzvot*” and “what may seem outdated in one age may be redemptive in another.” http://ccarnet.org/Articles/index.cfm?id=45&pge_prg_id=4687&pge_id=1656.

2. The influence of the views of the President of HUC, professor, archaeologist and Rabbi Nelson Glueck, was so positive about the significance of the Scrolls (so early on) that it offset some of the faculty's negativity and/or ambivalence.

From the 1960s onward, some Reform rabbis used the liturgical, legal, and interpretive innovations of the Scrolls (even in the small fragments that were available in the period 1950–1990) as a precedent for their own innovations and teachings about Reform Judaism for Reform Jews. As a point of comparison, the Jewish Theological Seminary (and Conservative rabbis, in general) in the same time period (1950s–1990s) did not embrace this same level of enthusiasm or interest for the Scrolls.

The period from 1990 through the present has given the Scrolls even greater significance and exposure both at Hebrew Union College and within the Reform movement (from liturgy, scholarship, and even in their Israel activities). Now that the Scrolls have finally been fully translated and their significance can be understood by both Jewish scholars and the laity alike, we may yet see a greater “trickle-down” effect upon the beliefs and practices of modern Jews in all modern religious movements.

INTERPRETIVE CIRCLES:
THE CASE OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

EDNA ULLMANN-MARGALIT ש"ת

1. CIRCULARITY

In what follows, I shall tell a story of circularity. It pertains to a central hypothesis in Dead Sea Scrolls research, known as the Qumran-Essene hypothesis.¹ My concern is with the explanatory power and value of circular explanations. In particular, I shall ask whether explanatory circles must be “vicious”; might not a circle, under certain conditions, be “benign,” or even charmed?

The circle I shall examine combines three distinct sets of sources:

- (1) The corpus of the Dead Sea scrolls—primary textual source.
- (2) The archaeological site of Qumran—material source.
- (3) Contemporary historical testimony, namely the writings of Philo, Pliny the Elder and Flavius Josephus—secondary textual source.

Given the context, participants and audience of the present volume, I shall consider myself exempt from the need to provide background information about these three sources. Let me therefore plunge straight in, with a passage from Roland De Vaux’s book (1973):

If the writings of Qumran exhibit certain points of resemblance to what is known from other sources about the Essenes, and if the ruins of Qumran correspond to what Pliny tells us about the dwelling-place of the Essenes, his evidence can be accepted as true. And this evidence in its turn serves to confirm that the community was Essene in character.²

Reading this passage more than once can make you giddy. If you sniff circularity here, consider De Vaux’s own comment on the passage just

¹ The material here presented is based on my book, *Out of the Cave: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006).

² Roland De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), 137.

quoted: "This is no vicious circle, but rather an argument by convergence, culminating in that kind of certitude with which the historian of ancient times often has to content himself."³

Compare De Vaux's assertion with what Flusser said, more recently: "In the early days of scroll research, Josephus served as a guide to understanding the scrolls, but nowadays the scrolls help us understand what Josephus says about the Essenes."⁴ Lawrence Schiffman is more blunt: "Scholars used the material from Philo, Josephus, and Pliny as a means of interpreting the scrolls and vice versa, thus giving rise to a circular process."⁵ Some scholars write as if the three ancient sources can be "both supplemented and *corrected* by recourse to the texts discovered in the Qumran caves."⁶

The move these scholars describe seems to be roughly the following:

- (1) We believe what the first century historians tell us about the Essenes;
- (2) We notice striking points of surface similarity between what the historians tell us, on the one hand, and the contents of some of the scrolls (mostly, but not only, the *Rule of the Community*), on the other;
- (3) On the basis of this similarity we surmise that the scrolls are Essene;
- (4) We then begin to notice some discrepancies between the two sets of texts (as well as within each corpus) and we conclude that the historians might not be entirely accurate;
- (5) Finally, we complement the historical writings and correct them, in light of the scrolls.

Are we in wonderland? Is the situation inherently circular? And if it is, can we tell whether it involves a vicious, or illegitimate circle, or perhaps a benign one? In order to be in a better position to respond to these questions, we had better examine the logic of De Vaux's "argu-

³ De Vaux, *ibid.*

⁴ David Flusser, "The Sect of the Essenes and Its Beliefs," *Qadmoniot* 114 (1997): 94–96 (Hebrew). The citation is from p. 94.

⁵ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 17.

⁶ Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 50 (emphasis original).

ment by convergence” more closely. As we shall presently see, the circle here encountered is embedded in a yet larger and thicker one.

2. THE TWO THREADS

In the quoted passage, De Vaux starts with two separate observations. First, he points out the textual resemblance between the Qumran writings and the descriptions by the three ancient writers of the Essenes. Second, he points out the geographic correspondence between the site of Qumran and Pliny’s location of the Essenes. Taking these observations as two premises of an inference, De Vaux draws the conclusion that Pliny’s evidence is true. Given that this conclusion has been validly deduced, De Vaux then uses it to further establish, or “confirm,” that the Qumran community was Essene.

As a strict, deductive inference, this argument is patently invalid.⁷ However, let us not be detained, or discouraged, by this, reminding ourselves that when an argument is exposed as invalid its conclusion is not thereby proved to be false. The tenuousness of the inference notwithstanding, we should apply the principle of charity to De Vaux’s argument and try to follow its spirit rather than its actual reasoning. We shall then be able to come up with a more interesting and a more coherent result.

The starting point of the reconstructed argument remains De Vaux’s two observations—about the writings on the one hand and about the ruins on the other. The first one notes that there is broad compatibility, indeed sometimes a striking resemblance, between the contents of the scrolls found in the caves and the descriptions of the Essenes contained in the classical sources. The second notes a putative compatibility between the physical location of the ruins of Qumran and Pliny’s placement of the Essene settlement. A further tacit assumption that impels the argument is that the accounts of the three classical writers, Pliny, Josephus and Philo, are reliable.

At this point however the reconstructed reasoning diverges from De Vaux’s original one. Instead of taking these two observations as premises of a deductive inference, let us think of them as the starting

⁷ See *Out of the Cave*, 41 n. 19.

points of two threads. And let us now extend each thread by following it through to its own logical conclusion. The first thread, connecting the scrolls with the ancient authors' account of the Essenes, is to be extended by drawing the *prima facie* conclusion that the scrolls are Essene. Similarly the second thread, connecting the location of the site of Qumran with what Pliny says about the dwelling place of the Essenes, is to be extended by drawing the *prima facie* conclusion that the Essenes lived at Qumran.

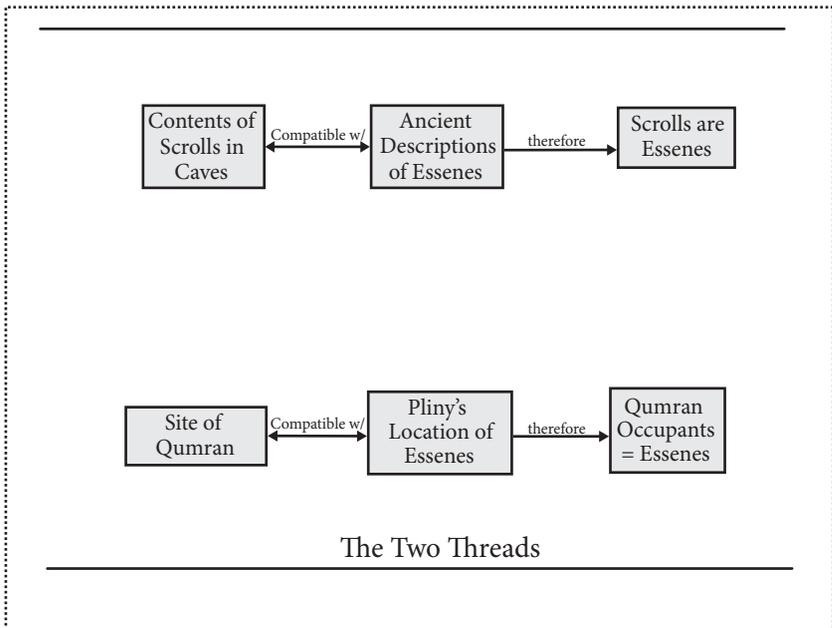
Here is a schematic presentation of these two threads (where “← →” stands for “compatible with,” and “→” stands for “therefore”):

Upper thread:

Contents of Caves' Scrolls ← → Ancient Descriptions of Essenes →
Scrolls are Essene

Lower thread:

Site of Qumran ← → Pliny's Location of Essenes → Qumran's Occu-
pants are Essenes



3. THE LINKAGE ARGUMENT

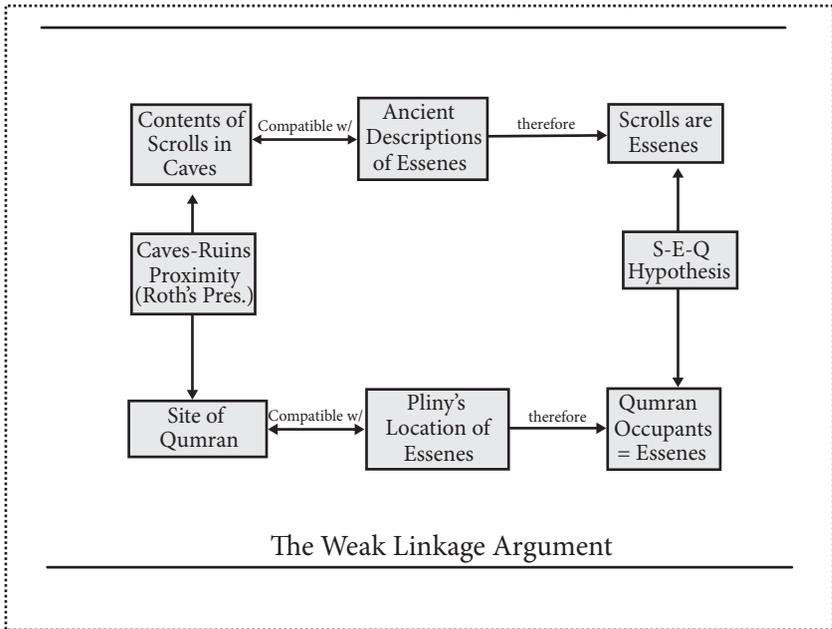
The question now is how to establish a connection between the two separate threads. Let us start by looking at the *endings* of the two threads. The conclusion of the first thread is that the scrolls are Essene; the conclusion of the second is that Qumran's occupants were the Essene. We note that the connection between these two conclusions yields the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis or, more precisely, the Scrolls-Qumran-Essene Hypothesis. Spelled out more fully, but roughly, the hypothesis amounts to the following: The Essenes, known to us from the writings of the three first-century historians, lived at the site of Qumran for a period of some 150 years, terminating in the destruction of the place by the Romans in 68 C.E. In Qumran they conducted their communal, monastic, ascetic and strictly religious way of life, and there they wrote and copied the scrolls known to us as (part of) the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

But how can a connection be established between the threads at the other (left-hand side) end, namely between the *first* link of each? In other words, how can the scrolls found in the caves be connected directly to the site of Qumran? What is the nature of the missing link there?

A possible connection between the first link of both chains can presumably be provided by the consideration of the physical proximity between the site of Qumran and the caves in which the scrolls were found. Consider the following formulation by the historian Cecil Roth, to be referred to as the *proximity presumption*: "Unless there is a very strong argument against it, archaeological evidence must be interpreted within the context of the place where it was discovered."⁸ We are urged by this presumption to assert that the scrolls (or at least some of them) "belonged" to Qumran, that is, that they originated there and were authored by the Essene occupants of the site.

Here is a schematic presentation of the argument—call it the Linkage Argument—for the full *prima facie* web of identifications which form the core of the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis.

⁸ Cecil Roth, "Qumran and Masada: A Final Clarification Regarding the Dead Sea Sect," *RevQ* 5 (1964–1966): 81–87.



The proximity presumption provides the vertical link, on the left-hand side, between the two starting points—the scrolls found in the caves and the site of Qumran. This link now completes the connection between the two threads. The conclusion of the Linkage Argument is presented by the vertical link on the right-hand side, namely, the S-E-Q hypothesis stating that the Essenes, who occupied the site of Qumran, were the authors of (at least some of) the scrolls found in the nearby caves.

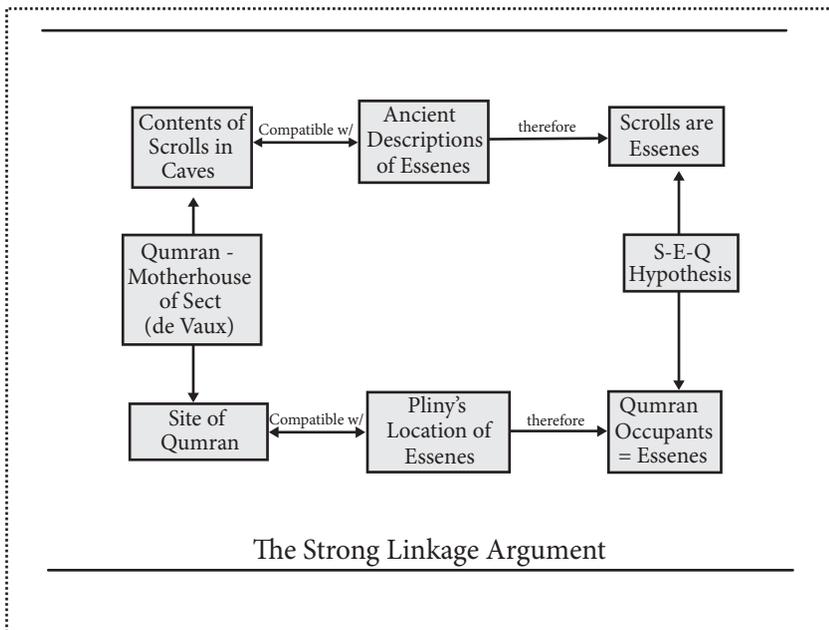
This Linkage Argument is referred to as weak, presently to be replaced by a stronger version of the argument. It is weak because of the obvious weakness of the left-hand side vertical link: first of, the argument from physical proximity to causal connection is merely presumptive. This means that when independent reasons to doubt the connection are brought forth, the presumption is rebutted. In addition, “proximate” is a relative, not an absolute, notion of evaluation. While some of the eleven caves in which scrolls were found are indeed very close to the site of Qumran—so close as to be almost within it—other caves are at a distance of more than two kilometers from the site.

In the strong Linkage Argument the proximity link, connecting the scrolls found in the caves with the site of Qumran, is replaced. It is De

Vaux’s archaeology that I offer as the direct and non-presumptive connection between the two threads of the Linkage Argument: De Vaux’s interpretation of Qumran as a “motherhouse” of a religious sect provides the alternative, direct link between the religious contents of the scrolls on the one hand and the ruins of Qumran on the other.

This connection is achieved, minimally, in virtue of the fact that according to De Vaux all the physical installations in the ruins of Qumran are compatible with what the texts tell us about the way of life of the scroll community. In his more ambitious mode, however, De Vaux offers a far stronger thesis, namely that the archaeological evidence in and of itself indicates that the site was inhabited by a monastic sect leading a communal life. The archaeological findings, he says, “suggest to us that this group was a religious community [which] was organized, disciplined, and observed special rites.” (De Vaux, see n. 2, p. 110)

Here is a schematic presentation of the strong Linkage Argument:



The Linkage Argument thus becomes a robustly closed circle. Its conclusion establishes a tight connection among the three elements, the scrolls, the Essenes, and the site of Qumran: Qumran was a motherhouse of a religious sect; the sectarians inhabiting Qumran were the Essenes; it is in Qumran as their center that the Essenes wrote and copied (at least a certain number of) the scrolls found in the nearby caves. The strong Linkage Argument is thus a choice specimen of a hermeneutic circle in which the interpretation of material evidence is made possible by the interpretation of texts which are in turn illuminated by the material evidence.

Quite generally, a hermeneutic circle, or a “circle of understanding”, refers to a situation in which in order to understand something A (a text, say, or a form of life, or an archaeological find), it is necessary first to understand something else B—but the understanding of B in turn requires a prior understanding of A. For some, like Heidegger, hermeneutic circles are charmed rather than vicious. For others they are vicious, especially if they are felt to be too “thin” or if their diameter is too small, so to speak.

How are we to assess the strength of this argument? How can we tell whether the circle it involves is charmed or vicious? As the history of Qumran studies shows, no link in this chained argument has remained unchallenged. Can a chain, whether open or closed, be stronger than its weakest link? Before turning our attention to the strength of the circle as a whole, let us try to assess the strength of its individual links.

4. ASSESSING THE LINKS

First, let us look at the bottom thread, purporting to establish that Pliny’s description of the dwelling place of the Essenes corresponds to the site of Qumran. The relevant, well known phrases from Pliny are these:

To the west (of the Dead Sea) the Essenes have put the necessary distance between themselves and the insalubrious shore... Lying below the Essenes [*infra hos*] was formerly the town of Engada, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm trees, but now, like Jerusalem, a heap of ashes. Next comes Masada, a fortress on a rock, itself also not far from the Dead Sea.⁹

⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* (trans. Harris Rackham; London: LCL, 1942), 2.277.

To be sure, then, Pliny does locate the Essene settlement on the west shore of the Dead Sea; so far so good. But does he succeed in pinpointing where, on that shore? The crucial phrase, surely, is “*infra hos Engada*,” which raises some queries. If “below” is taken to mean “lower than” or “underneath,” then the problem is that the site of Qumran is more or less on the level of the Dead Sea and thus not higher than Engedi. If the phrase is taken to mean “to the south of” (as in, “downstream from”), then the problem is that while indeed south of Qumran, Engedi is located very much further south, with several sites lying in between. These circumstances render the description “under them, Engedi” somewhat puzzling: taken literally, this description, according to some scholars, does not comfortably fit the site of Qumran. Indeed, because of Pliny’s description placing Ein Gedi “below” the Essene settlement, the late archeologist Yizhar Hirschfeld has sought to identify a site in the hills above Ein Gedi as the Essene settlement referred to by Pliny; his excavations there, however, have not produced clear evidence of a Second Temple period settlement.¹⁰

So at least in the eyes of some, question marks hang over the bottom link, purporting to establish Qumran as the dwelling place of the Essenes.

Let us consider now the top thread, purporting to establish the identity between the unnamed community that the scrolls talk about and belong to, and the community of the Essenes known to us from the writings of the first-century historians. Here is how Yadin, early on, presented this identity, attributing its authorship to his father:

Professor Sukenik was the first to propose identifying the sect with the sect of the Essenes, a proposal nowadays accepted by many researchers who continue to substantiate and to develop it. Whether we accept it or reject it, we cannot help but realize the huge similarity between what we learn from the scrolls and what we know about the Essenes from the three important sources: Philo, Josephus and Pliny.¹¹

There can be no doubt that the *prima facie* evidence for this identification not only exists but that it is striking. Based primarily on the strong surface similarities between the descriptions of the Essenes known to us from the contemporary sources of the period, and the material

¹⁰ See e.g., the critique of Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 41.

¹¹ Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls* (NY: Crossroad, Christian Origins Library, 1992 [Heb. ed., Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: Schocken, 1957]), 176.

contained in several of the scroll, most notably the *Rule of the Community*, these similarities have to do with the organized way of life, doctrines and practices of both of the communities under consideration. I shall not elaborate on this point, as the thrust of the immense body of scholarship relating to it is well known.

However, in assessing the strength of this link of the Linkage Argument, not only the striking similarities but also discrepancies and inconsistencies between the corpus of the scrolls and the writings of the historians (as well as within each corpus of texts on its own)¹² need to be recognized. Puzzling gaps too: what are we to make, for example, of the fact that the term “Essenes” occurs not even once in the entire corpus of the scrolls?¹³ Or, to take another example, what are we to make of the fact that Josephus does not mention the Essene settlement at the Dead Sea shore—if indeed the site functioned as an Essene center for more than a century and if indeed, as some suggest, Josephus had joined the Essene community for a while in his youth? And what are we to make of his omission of any mention of their solar calendar that would have set them apart from the majority of the people in the celebration of the main Jewish holidays (including *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement)?¹⁴

¹² For example, while Pliny locates the Essenes on the western shore of the Dead Sea and Dio Chrysostom (c. 40–112 C.E.) mentions them in “a very blessed city situated near the Dead Water” [sic] (see Menachem Stern, *Greek and Roman Authors on Jews and Judaism* [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974], 1.538–39), Josephus says they live in “every town” (*B.J.* 8.124), and Philo says they live only in villages, or in many towns (Philo Judaeus, *Hypothetica: Apology for the Jews*, 11.1). See *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (ed. Geza Vermes and Martin D. Goodman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989).

¹³ Various scholars have attempted to solve the puzzle regarding the absence of the term “Essenes” from the total corpus of the scrolls. For example, it has been suggested that the term “Essenes” might derive from the term “Boethusians,” or *Baytusim*, mentioned in the Talmudic sources; Sussmann discusses this possibility while embarking upon an extensive investigation of the usage of the terms in the varied sources. See Jacob Sussmann, “The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), Appendix 1. See also James C. VanderKam, “Identity and History of the Community,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 488–98. For a controversial new view that amounts to seeing the Essenes as a figment of Josephus’s imagination see Rachel Eilior, *Memory and Oblivion: The Mystery of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute/Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 2009) (Hebrew).

¹⁴ On the Qumran community calendar see Shemaryahu Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 188–89; James C. Vanderkam, *Cal-*

Of course, we should be careful about conclusions drawn from an *argumentum ad silentio*, and indeed I do not propose to draw any. All I need to do at this stage is ascertain that the top chain in the Linkage Argument does not remain unchallenged and to point out that the thrust of much scholarship over the years questions the Essene authorship of the scrolls and attempts to offer alternative views.¹⁵

The remaining link whose strength remains to be assessed is the left-hand side vertical link, establishing the connection between the scrolls and the site of Qumran. Initially the weakest link, based on the nearness between the caves and the site and buttressed by the “proximity presumption,” this link was replaced by De Vaux’s interpretation of Qumran as the dwelling place of a strict religious community.

Before asking how robust this link is, let me open a brief parenthesis, to mention that there is yet an additional, alternative replacement for this link. It has to do with the finding, in a 1996 excavation at the site of Qumran (conducted by James F. Strange from the University of South Florida, Tampa), of a first century ostrakon. Written in Hebrew, this fragment of pottery is the only writing ever found at the site of Qumran itself.

Two readings of the ostrakon have been offered, both by prominent scholars and experts in Hebrew paleography.¹⁶ Both readings share a rendering of the ostrakon as a transfer of property, but on one

enders in the Dead Sea Scrolls (London: Routledge, 1998). For a recent statement, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, “The 364-day Year in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* (ed. Menahem Kister; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 435–76 (Hebrew). On Josephus’s “mildly disturbing” failure to mention the calendar, see VanderKam, “The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essenes or Sadducees?” in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Hershel Shanks, New York: Random House, 1992), 57. For more on some of the attempts to explain, or explain away, the discrepancies, inconsistencies and gaps between the scrolls and the historians consult John J. Collins, “Essenes,” in *ABD* 2:619–26.

¹⁵ Consider: “[M]any of the works found at Qumran were the common heritage of Second Temple Judaism, and did not originate in, and were not confined to, Qumran sectarian circles” (Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scroll Sect,” in Shanks, ed., *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 41). In contrast, consider a very recent re-affirmation of the identification of the Dead Sea sect with the Essenes: Daniel R. Schwartz, “The Dead Sea Sect and the Essenes,” in Kister, ed., *The Qumran Scrolls and their World*, 601–12 (Hebrew).

¹⁶ The first reading is offered by the veteran scrolls scholar Frank Moore Cross of Harvard University, together with Esther Eshel of the Hebrew University (Frank Moore Cross and Esther Eshel, “Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran,” in *IEJ* 47 ([1997]: 17–28 [see also the next footnote]); the second reading is offered by the Hebrew paleographer Ada Yardeni (Ada Yardeni, “A Draft of a Deed on an Ostrakon from Khirbet Qumran,” *IEJ* 47 [1997]: 233–37).

of the readings the ostracon records a gift of property to the *Yahad*. If this reading is accurate, then the ostracon would seem to confirm that the site of Qumran, where it was found, served as a center of the community and, moreover, it would be seen as the “first find from Khirbet Qumran that provides proof of the link between the site and the scrolls.”¹⁷ This reading of the ostracon, however, remains highly contentious. Having mentioned it, I leave it on one side, and return to De Vaux’s interpretation as providing the link between the scroll community and the site of Qumran.

How robust, then, is this link? In addition to being immensely attractive and appealing, the view of Qumran as a communal religious center has reigned as the dominant, mainstream view ever since its inception in the late 1950s/early 1960s. It has not remained unchallenged, however. Alternative theories abound; it seems that offering them became something of an international sport, from the mid 1990s until today. While differing widely in their interpretation of the site of Qumran, the alternative theories agree on one fundamental point: they sever all connection between the site and the scrolls. The main alternative account they offer for the origin of the scrolls is that they are from Jerusalem. Specifically, the claim is that the scrolls originated in a variety of libraries in Jerusalem—or, possibly, in the Temple library—and that they were rushed for safekeeping in the remote caves of the Judean wilderness as the Roman legion was closing in on Jerusalem just before its final destruction in 70 C.E.

Regarding their accounts of Qumran, these alternative theories have come up with an impressive number of different interpretations of the site. (By Magen Broshi’s count, the proposals come up to the apocryphal number twelve.)¹⁸ Military fortress, aristocratic country villa or “villa rustica,” industrial compound, “caravanserai” (roadside inn), customs post, agricultural manor house, pottery factory—each of these ideas (and more) has its proponents.¹⁹ Common to these alternative

¹⁷ Frank Moore Cross and Esther Eshel, “The ‘Yahad’ (Community) Ostracon,” in *A Day at Qumran—The Dead Sea Sect and its Scrolls* (ed. Adolfo Roitman; Jerusalem: the Israel Museum, 1997), 40.

¹⁸ Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel, “Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Contention of Twelve Theories,” in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches* (ed. Douglas R. Edwards; London: Routledge, 2004), 283–297.

¹⁹ Military fortress: Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Scribner, 1995); “villa rustica”: Pauline Donceel-Voute, “Les ruines de Qumran reinterpretées,” *Archeologia* 298 (1994): 24–35; industrial compound: Joseph Patrich,

interpretations is a picture of the site as fulfilling a mundane function, depriving it of any spiritual or religious character. All of them challenge the idea that the site served as a center for an ancient Jewish community that exercised in it a monastic, proto-Christian form of life.

One may well be impressed by the variety of these suggestions and by the imagination invested in them. But to what extent do they undermine De Vaux's "canonical" interpretation of Qumran? An intriguing, related question is this: does the fact that a large number of alternative theories have been offered constitute *more* of a threat to the mainstream theory than had there been just one main rival theory—or *less* so? Given that none of the alternative hypotheses succeeds in rallying a significant number of Qumran researchers behind it and, indeed, that most of them remain theories of one-or-two persons only, I tend to believe that this situation is less damaging to the mainstream view than had there been just one rival hypothesis supported by a sizable proportion of opposition scholars. Also, quite independently of the substantial positive arguments for connecting the site of Qumran with the scrolls, none of the alternative theories is remotely close to the theory of the consensus in its comprehensiveness, and none of the alternative theories can compete with the consensus theory's ability to account for the majority of the findings; none therefore succeeds in posing a threatening challenge to it.

So, as with the other links in the Linkage Argument, this one too, while certainly challenged, succeeds in holding up. As we have seen, no link of the Linkage Argument remains unchallenged. At the same time, however, no link has decidedly been shown to break down.

"Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* (ed. Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John Collins, and Dennis G. Pardee; New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 93–94; "caravanserai": Alan D. Crown and Lena Cansdale, "Qumran, Was It an Essene Settlement?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (1994): 24–35; agricultural manor house: Yizhar Hirschfeld, "Qumran: Back to the Beginning," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003): 648–52 (see also Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004]); pottery factory: Itzhak Magen and Yuval Peled, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research, 1993–2004," in *The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of the Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (ed. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jürgen Zangenberg; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 55–113 (see also Hershel Shanks, "Qumran—The Pottery Factory," *BAR* 32:5 [2006]).

Pliny's reference to the geographic location of the site remains alluring, but non-clinching. The Essene authorship of the scrolls remains a matter of ongoing scholarship and controversy. The considerations in favor of a causal connection between the site and the scrolls community seem to outweigh considerations to the contrary. None of the alternative archaeological interpretations offered for the site of Qumran, imaginative and partially persuasive as any of them may appear to be, is accepted as compelling by the community of scholars.

5. ASSESSING THE CIRCLE

Having reviewed and assessed each of the individual links of the Linkage Argument, it is time now to return to the question of assessing the strength of the argument as a whole, keeping in mind the further questions posed at the outset. While accustomed to connecting circularity with viciousness, do we continue to uphold this? Does circularity have to be malignant? Can't circles, under some circumstances, be charmed rather than vicious?

In addressing these issues, it seems to me that we cannot help being impressed with the remarkable resilience shown by the Linkage Argument, regarding the chain taken as a whole. The resilience of the argument gains, I believe, from the consideration that two notions of truth are at work here rather than one.

When dealing with each individual link, we tend to apply the standards of the *correspondence theory of truth*: each link is confronted, in isolation, with the available evidence and data—and, as we saw, it is found wanting, in one respect or another. But so long as none of the links actually breaks down, we turn our attention back to the chain as a whole. However, when dealing with the chain as a whole, we tend to apply the standards of the *coherence theory of truth*: we are impressed with the degree to which the links of the chain fit together and cohere with each other, manifesting quite compelling inner logic. We are impressed, I would like to say, by the way the links of this tightly interlocking interpretative circle “click” with—and click into—each other.²⁰

²⁰ Schematically put, the correspondence theory of truth embraces the notion that the truth of a proposition consists in its correspondence to a fact or, more broadly, in its relation to reality; the coherence theory of truth, in contrast, sees the truth of a

It looks as if each individual link in the chain gains extra strength by virtue of being just that, namely, a link in a larger, well cohering circle. And the circle as a whole looks robust and resilient in virtue of the fact that it succeeds in braiding together three independent and rich bodies of data, namely, the textual material from the scrolls, the ancient literary sources, and the archaeological findings. The non-conclusive import of each separate link seems to turn conclusive, as if by a magic wand, once the links click into one tightly cohering and closed chain. One wants to say, then, that the robustness of the circle owes to its *thickness*, and to the fact that its “radius” is large.

So, *is* the chain stronger—*can* the chain be stronger—than its links (and, in particular, stronger than its weakest link)? My answer is that this cannot be ruled out. Put in bolder terms: I submit that the chain can be stronger than its links. I submit, further, that this chain is not vicious or malignant. Because of its thickness and because of the size of its diameter (as it were), this circle has a non-trivial claim to methodological and explanatory legitimacy.

In spite of the battering taken by each of its links, the Linkage Argument, taken as a whole, stands. In a way I may be closing a circle here too. I find myself coming back to De Vaux’s formulation, with which I started, that we may have reached “that kind of certitude with which the historian of ancient times often has to content himself”: perhaps not only the historian of ancient times but the philosopher of science too.

I want to end on a somewhat speculative note, with the claim that the interpretive circle I refer to as the Linkage Argument is in fact embedded in another, much wider and larger, circle. The larger circle applies far beyond the Dead Sea Scrolls research: it applies to, and is constitutive of, the human, or interpretive, sciences in general.

The key observation here is that widely different assignments of prior probability to a given hypothesis, or theory, are in and of themselves indicative of deep disagreements about the evidence. That is, people who start out with very different assessments of whether a

proposition as consisting in its coherence with some specified set of propositions. The intuitions backing the first view of metaphysical realism go back to Aristotle, those in back of the second, idealist, view can be traced to Hegel (if not to Spinoza and Kant before him): for an excellent recent summary of the 20th century statements of these two theories consult the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on line, at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/truth-coherence> and <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/truth-correspondence>.

given theory (say, the Qumran-Essene theory) is probable, will generally be unable to agree about the description and interpretation of almost any piece of evidence that is brought forth in support of the theory. No agreement can be reached on the evidence because of a deep underlying inter-dependence between theory and evidence: both description and interpretation of crucial pieces of evidence depend on the theory from which the researcher sets out.

This is what constitutes the large, encompassing interpretive circle. And this is why the human sciences—understood to be dealing in an essential way with the interpretation of artifacts as products of human intentions—are to be seen as ultimately concerned with hermeneutics, rather than with rationality or irrationality. In the final analysis the deep disagreements within these disciplines are about meaning and interpretation.

5b. EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS ONLINE:
TAKING ON A [SECOND] LIFE OF THEIR OWN

SUSAN HAZAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The Israel Museum's 2008 conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture served to update the scholarly community on the most recent developments in Scrolls research, underlining the reconceptualization and recontextualization of the Scrolls in a contemporary world. This paper focuses on the Scrolls and their electronic message, and the different ways in which their significance can now be communicated to schoolchildren, university students, and the public in meaningful ways. This is a time when people no longer dwell on ancient manuscripts, but graze instead on sound bytes and fleeting visuals in an era that is now referred to as an information age. How can the Scrolls' message travel these electronic byways, and how readily can their message be heard amongst all the white noise of information that is generated by the Internet, mobile telephony and other electronic media? At the New Media Unit at the Israel Museum, we see it as our remit to find meaningful ways to disseminate the religious and cultural message of the Qumran community of the Second Temple period, and to extend the written word of the 2,000 year old manuscripts to the public beyond the glass showcase, and the museum walls.

The international scholarly community who have made the Dead Sea Scrolls their life work have dedicated themselves to this highly specialised field; endeavouring to create a shared vocabulary in order to define their own parameters for academic discussion. These discussions continue to evolve around the Scrolls, their graphic quality, the scribal features, and their historical message, but the *lingua franca* so artfully articulated at the conference was not actually expressed in a language easily shared by outsiders. Referring to specific texts by their identification numbers curtly, as 11QP5^a, 4Q179, CD, 1Q59-61, 2Q18 and the like, this was a language that was not truly transparent to outsiders. While the dynamic group of scholars was freely able to

engage in intense discussion with one another—a discussion anchored in cryptic endnotes and savant references—this was not a conversation that made much sense to those outside of the guild.

At the same time the knowledge inscribed in the Scrolls is highly attractive to those outside of the cabal, and it is critical to make this knowledge available to the public, without “dumbing down” the content. People may well have heard about the Scrolls—perhaps from a Dan Brown novel, or in a brief, popular encounter with the Scrolls on cable TV—but once they have looked up the Dead Sea Scrolls on Google, or on Wikipedia, it is critical that they find their way to information from a competent and trustworthy source; such as the Israel Museum. In this case, the very notion of a museum inspires a sense of trust, and the fact that this knowledge is located under the umbrella of the museum assures the visitor/user that the information is, in fact, accurate, up to date, and reliable. At the same time the museum is obliged to make its collections not only available to its public, but also intellectually accessible. This means that resources must be presented with the right level of interpretation; so that the layman can make sense of the material in a way that is pertinent to him or her.

Towards this goal we use the tools available to us in an information age: our institutional website, web 2.0 tools, webcasting, and we are now moving into new virtual worlds. In order to relay the significant primary sources and the secondary information that serves to contextualize and interpret the Scrolls, we have to rearticulate the content that is to be uploaded online or in-world in meaningful ways. When our [physical] visitors come into The Dorot Foundation Dead Sea Scrolls Information and Study Center in memory of Joy Gotsesman Ungeleider they will discover a number of different platforms: films, documentaries, databases, animations and installations. Our goal is not only to be able to present the richness of content in new ways, but also to inspire our public and to find new compelling ways to present the relevance of the Dead Sea Scrolls to them in an Age of Information.

This paper marks some of the Scrolls’ digital footprints, and invites you to go behind the scenes of the New Media Unit to see the kinds of solutions we have developed in the museum. We find that we are on a constantly changing roller-coaster learning curve, because in contrast to Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, a field that moves forward with great caution, the field of new media flashes by at the crack of a sound byte

and evolves at a speed that not only demands innovative responses, but also leaves us sometimes quite breathless.

2. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS' DIGITAL FOOTPRINTS

Since their discovery in 1947, the Dead Sea Scrolls have stimulated much public interest all over the world. The world-wide distribution of digital images, scholarly research, translations and transliterations has now become available not only through the thousands of books and print publications, on microfiche, as well as on CD-ROMs, on-line, and across digital networks; and now over 3D platforms. The tale of their discovery has fired the imagination of scholar and layman alike. While the discovery ignited public imagination, it was also shrouded in an aura of mystery. The recognition that the Scrolls reflected a time during the Second Temple period, the time when Jesus of Nazareth lived, not only generated critical scholarly research but also intrigues the layman who now, perhaps for the first time, is able to seek information from primary resources over the Internet in ways that were unthinkable even five years ago.

Since their initial discovery, the Scrolls and the identity of the community that guarded them have generated much scholarly and public interest. The Scrolls and scroll fragments discovered near the Dead Sea represent a capacious corpus of ancient texts emerging fragment by fragment from a prototype archive and perhaps the greatest manuscript find of the twentieth century. The Dead Sea Scrolls discovery reflects an impressive link to the past. The thousands of fragments, manuscripts and scrolls represent a rich literary collection reproduced by hand in a number of copies, written in three different languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.

The link from the past to the present still runs strong via the numerous web-sites that continue to refer to the Scrolls. A Google search for "Dead Sea Scrolls" will return over one million results; reflecting the unwavering interest in the Scrolls and their enduring mystique. With the early CD-ROMs and databases that emerged from the Dead Sea Scroll research, came the realization that the distribution of the historical, cultural and religious message contained within manuscripts could be disseminated more efficiently via electronic publications. This, in turn, both stimulated popular interest in the manuscripts, and



Figure 1: The Dead Sea Scrolls Revealed Pixel Multimedia, Tel Aviv and Aaron Witkin Associates, London, 1994

functioned as a more efficient tool for sharing scholarly research in research centers all over the world. The first CD-Rom developed, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Revealed*, was produced in 1994, by Pixel Multimedia, Tel Aviv, and Aaron Witkin Associates, London.¹

This was perhaps the first electronic tool that brought the secrets of the mysterious manuscripts onto the computer screen. The popular multimedia interface presents the critical historical texts and sources from the Second Temple period, and a comprehensive section on the excavations at Khirbet Qumran. This is illustrated by photo-realistic walk-throughs, and fly-overs, across the ancient settlement as it might have appeared two thousand years ago; a section on Scrolls research, with details about how the Scrolls were written and the laborious processes of deciphering and analyzing the texts; and extensive background material on the debates that arose during the many excavations of the Essene Compound. The intuitive navigation tool guided the user through

¹ *The Dead Sea Scrolls Revealed*. Produced by Pixel Multimedia, Tel Aviv, and Aaron Witkin Associates, London, 1994.

the texts, images, CAD simulations, and video clips and provided a stimulating and informed introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Jerusalem-based, academic institution, The Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, was established in 1995 as part of the Institute for Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Their scholarly web-site (orion.mscc.huji.ac.il) provides many resources for the study of the Scrolls, and stimulates and fosters research on the Scrolls, integrating such areas such as biblical studies, Jewish literature and thought of the Second Temple period, earliest Christianity and the New Testament, and the study of early rabbinical Judaism. The resources page offers a meticulous bibliographical listing of publications in nineteen languages; Afrikaans, Arabic, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish.

The *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* makes available the complete set of digitized images, (2,700 photographs) and full texts from the eleven caves of Khirbet Qumran.²

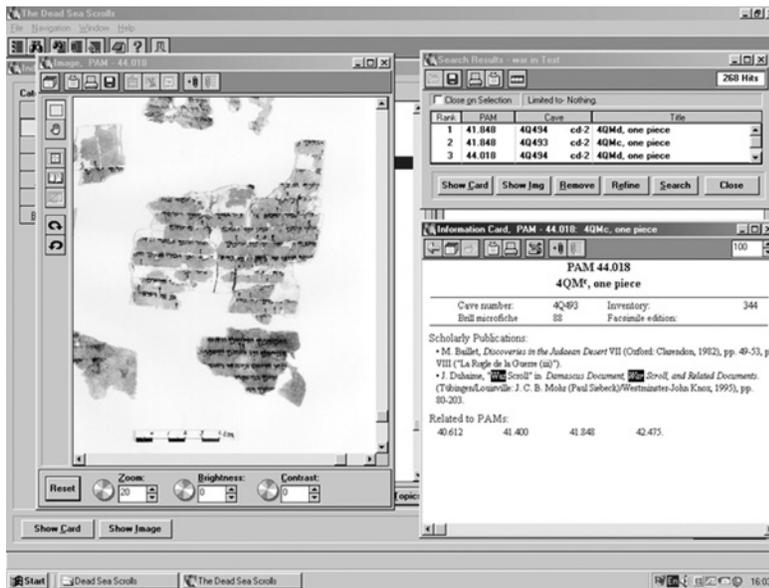


Figure 2: The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, Volume 1, Oxford University Press and Brill Academic Publishers, 1997

² Timothy H. Lim, in consultation with Philip S. Alexander, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

The launch of the CD-ROM came soon after the Israel Antiquities Authority celebrated the release of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the world at large in 1991 and soon to follow would be the publication of the extensive Microfiche Collection and a Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1991) in book format, in two folio volumes.³ Soon after that, in 1991 the Huntington Library made its collection available to the public on microfilm.⁴

The images in the *Electronic Reference Library*, Volume 1, are annotated with cave number, text title, inventory number, and links to other images containing the same scroll or fragment, with cross-references to the microfiche edition published by E.J. Brill and the facsimile Edition of the Biblical Archaeology Society. A searchable list of biblical passages attested to the Qumran corpus is also included. All images were scanned at 300 dpi. and may be manipulated on screen with zoom, brightness and contrast buttons embedded in the interface. As well as the panning and zooming tools built into the program, individual images can be flipped 90 degrees clockwise or counter-clockwise. This intuitive manipulation facilitates the comparison of the images within the program which then may be copied outside of the program or printed. The archived index is fully searchable using specific terms, wildcards and/or Boolean operators. The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library provides researchers with a comprehensive collection of reference material, extensive search options and pliant digitized images, making individual scholarly research away from the original manuscripts feasible all over the world.

The *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library*, Volume 2 is a CD-ROM produced in 1999.⁵ The CD-ROM is composed of a comprehensive, fully indexed, and cross-linked collection of non-biblical texts, both in Hebrew and English translation, as well as a selection of high-resolution digitized images of Dead Sea Scrolls fragments.

³ Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Washington DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991); Emanuel Tov, with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert, with a Companion Volume* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

⁴ *Huntington Library Collection on Microfilm*. Los Angeles: The Microfilm Company of California, Inc., 1991.

⁵ *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library*, Vol. 2 (ed. Emanuel Tov; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

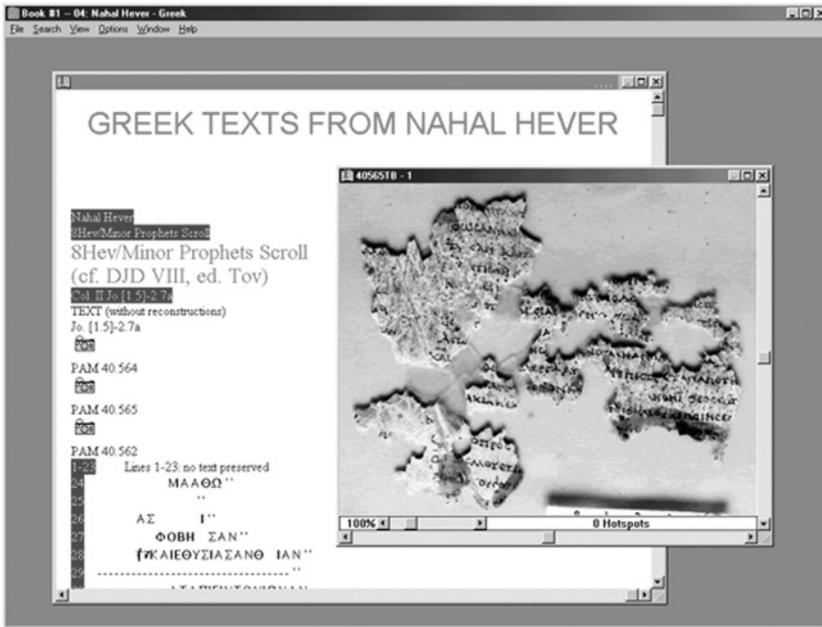


Figure 3: The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, Vol. 2 Edited by Emanuel Tov, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1999

In addition, the CD-ROM contains relevant reference material for scholarly work on the Scrolls and related literature. The search capabilities of the WordCruncher® software allow users to find any or all occurrences of words and phrases in any or all texts. This practical reference tool contains edited Hebrew and Aramaic transcriptions and English translations of all the non-biblical scrolls. Presented on facing pages, the manuscripts or fragments are arranged by serial number from Cave 1 to 11. The Database's approximately 900 images were scanned at 400 dpi on an Agfa Arcus scanner. Each of the images is tagged to, and corresponds with, a particular transcriptional text, which allows the user to view more than one image simultaneously and may be enlarged to 500% within the interface. There is an unlimited distribution of the database, allowing images and transcriptions to be made available to an individual or institution at a relatively low cost.

3. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AT THE ISRAEL MUSEUM

As the permanent location of the jewels of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Israel Museum has a special responsibility to conserve, display, and interpret the manuscripts for the hundreds of thousands of visitors who flock to the Shrine of the Book every year to see the Scrolls for themselves. The institutional website has therefore a critical role to play both in preparing the visitor before the visit or enhancing the experience after the visit by filling in the gaps or strengthening the understanding of the Scrolls and their meaning. At the same time, the museum acknowledges that many of the web visits come from people who will probably not actually come into the museum in their lifetime, but they too are curious about the Scrolls and may also wish to learn about them from afar.

The website, therefore needs to cater to different communities, and in contrast to the more academic nature of the Orion Center, the museum has to present a far more experiential approach in keeping with the museum as a social space of informal learning.

One of the ways of getting a sense of 'being there' without leaving your seat is through the virtual tour; a photo-realistic walk-through of the museum campus. The various hotspots throughout the tour lead visitors to both the upper and lower levels of the Shrine of the Book complex and invite you into the exhibition spaces themselves located underneath the white dome and black basalt wall.



Figure 4: Homepage of the Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum website



Figure 5: Online virtual tour of the Shrine of the Book, upper level

The interactive map also guides visitors along their route and serves to contextualize the experience for the visitor, while preserving a sense of the location of the actual manuscripts in the physical gallery.

In keeping with the pace of the physical tour through the galleries, the highlight of the visit is undoubtedly the view of the *Great Isaiah Scroll* showcase that the visitors see as they emerge from the darkened corridor. The virtual tour re-enacts this moment while allowing visitors to continue with the tour of the galleries at their own pace.

While the museum tour serves to set the stage, it is the manuscripts themselves that are the main protagonist in this narrative. As the visitors continue through the website they will also discover two full manuscripts online; The *Great Isaiah Scroll* and the *Temple Scroll* are both interactive environments that were envisioned and funded by George Blumenthal, with digital photography by Ardon Bar Hama.

The Scrolls have been created as a Flash application, enabling visitors from all over the world to open up the Scrolls and view them for themselves with the aid of a magnifying glass for a closer look at the scholarly details. Our weekly statistics inform us that this an extremely popular part of our website and from the impressive number of hits we receive from all parts of the world we are confident that this service is greatly appreciated by our visitors.

Displaying the Scrolls in this way not only makes them accessible online, it also extends the experience of the physical display in the museum where, due to conservation limitations of displaying the Scrolls in the galleries, only single sections of the Scrolls can be exhibited

at any given time. To this end, both the *Great Isaiah Scroll* and the *Temple Scroll* are presented on a large screen in the Dorot Foundation Information and Study Center, which will soon offer our visitors an opportunity to be able to peruse the entire scrolls for themselves using a touch screen.

Also located in the Dorot Foundation Information and Study Center on the main wall is the beguiling installation created by the digital artist, Ariel Malka. The narratives are represented as tiny, textual vignettes that are based on passages from the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Malka's three-dimensional animation charts the journey of the People of the Book in a never-ending loop of dynamic micro-calligraphy inspired by medieval Jewish scribal art. The name of the work, the *JavaScriptorium*⁶ alludes both to the programming



Figure 6: Viewing the *Temple Scroll* online with magnifying glass

⁶ See the screen shots of the work reflecting a new kind of scriptorium; this time written in the computer language of Java.; The 3D animation develops the theme of desert wandering and the concept of sanctuary.

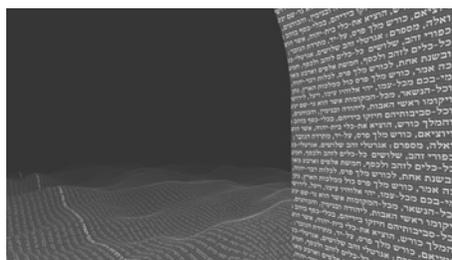
language of the software in which it was compiled (Java) and to the scribal work that took place in a scriptorium. Drawing on traditional art, this contemporary piece thus offers a fresh way of approaching the ancient texts that form the collection of the Shrine of the Book.



Scene 1: The primal waters, the chaotic waters of the deep, symbol of the anarchy that preceded Creation. The column of biblical texts that spirals up from the water represents the axis mundi, the axis of the world, perceived in ancient mythology as the foundation point of the Creation and the cosmic organization of space. The words that form the column are taken from the book of Exodus [25:8]: “And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst,” the divine command to build a Temple that links the material and the spiritual.



Scene 2: The Sinai Desert, route of the Exodus, is the next chaotic wilderness. It was here, centered on the portable divine “Mishkan” of Tabernacle, that the Hebrew tribes forged a national identity as the people of Israel. The biblical verses are from the book of Numbers.



Scene 3: The return from Babylonian exile, by the Gates of Ishtar across the Syrian Desert. The texts that form the picture are drawn from the biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which describe the Return to Zion. Woven into the work are verses from the book of Isaiah, among them: “Comfort, comfort my people”. “A voice cries: ‘In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God; and the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain” [40:1–4].

Figure 7 (cont.)



Scene 4: Judean Desert. Members of the sect called the *Yahad* are represented by tall, slim spirals of words descending like humans towards the Dead Sea region. The spirals reiterate the phrase, “Sanctuary of men”, a formulation that is unique to one scroll [4Q174] in the Dead Sea Scroll collection, and represents a central concept in the worldview of the sect. Its members saw themselves as a living temple, and rejected the stone Temple edifice in Jerusalem.



Scene 5: The cliffs are awash with water that wells up from the purified Dead Sea, and now supports life. The scene represents Ezekiel’s vision of the end of days [ch. 47], when that arid region will once again become “the garden of the Lord” [Genesis 13:10], as it was before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Figure 7: *JavaScriptorium* (designed by Ariel Malka), is based on a Java application that makes use of OpenGL to generate real-time 3D animation, <<http://www.chronotext.org>>

3.1 Walking in 3D Worlds—a Truly Social Experience

While the interfaces described above are designed for the individual visitor sitting on their own in front of the screen, the following examples of 3D worlds allows for real-time interaction and a more social kind of experience. The Shrine Educational Experience (SEE)—was a project conceived in 2001, and was developed over 2 years together by Shrine of the Book at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and the Politecnico di Milano, Italy, with the support of the Dorot Foundation. This project brought young adults together from all over the world synchronously, where they met in the online, in the virtual Shrine of the Book to meet, learn, play, and discuss issues related to the famous

Dead Sea Scrolls and the lives of the people of the Qumran community who once lived by the Dead Sea.

The world they met in was a specially developed 3D environment, where several users, represented by avatars (graphic animations) entered, and interacted together in real time. The students co-operated through interaction with the environment, and with each other, manipulating objects and chatting as they went. Our challenge in 2002 was to find a way to engage students, where the key to the success or failure of these environments was measured in its ability to *hold* a critical mass of users in real time; not only in the technical sense, but also intellectually. At this time, the museum and the Polytechnico were designing an environment that would be familiar to our students from online computer games that were popular at the time, *Dungeons and Dragons* and the *Sims*, for example. But, what we were actually seeking was what we felt to be a kind of ‘social glue’; the kind of experience that caused the player to become totally engaged in the environment. Unlike the battle scenes that students were familiar with from their online gaming and had kept them previously glued to their screens, this engagement stimulated intense discussion about issues that we realized that really touched their lives in meaningful ways.

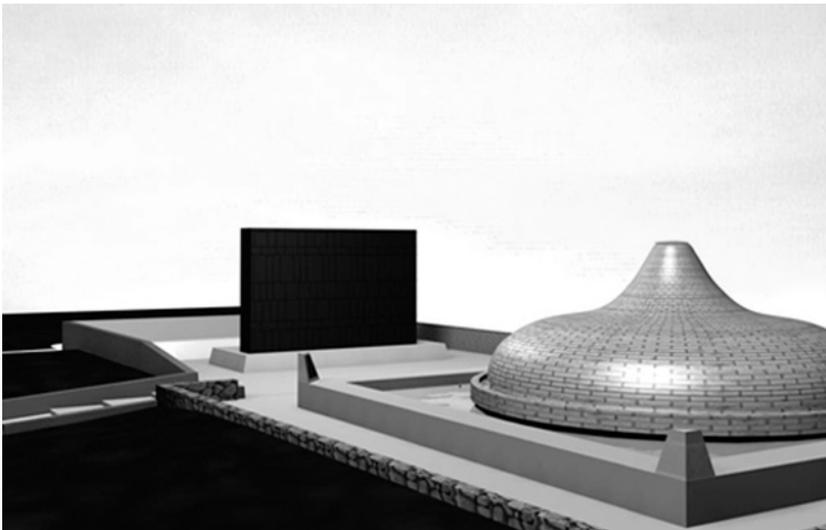


Figure 8: The Shrine Educational Experience (SEE), 2001, developed together by the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and the Politecnico di Milano, Italy

The highly structured, educational program that was geared to schools, took place during school time and in accordance with the different national curricula in Israel, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. The four weekly sessions took place in an educational and highly structured environment where students introduced themselves with their own PowerPoint presentations shown in the online interface and went on to learn about the Essenes and what it might have meant to leave their homes, to move down to the desert, and dedicate themselves to the Qumran community.

The series of challenges and quizzes brought these discussions right into their classroom, and the test sessions brought 25 classrooms from the different countries into the online Virtual Shrine and Qumran simulated environment. We were amazed to see how engaged the students became and how much they were prepared to dive into the resources and prepare their own contributions that were consequently shared with their peers in the final session. We presented our project at conferences and in academic publications, and the SEE project has since become the benchmark for virtual worlds for museums.⁷

This was a critical learning experience for us. The Politecnico and museum teams learned a lot about the technology and interaction as we developed the interface and when the program went into the test phase, we found that we also learned a great deal from the students themselves. The young adults were totally savvy online—shortcutting their way to the answers by reading the web address at the top of the page (to our dismay) and simply moving on to the next number instead of running around in the treasure hunt. However, they did discover—to their delight—a bug in the program, when an avatar flew up into the ocular on the white dome that caused the student to get stuck in the hole. In spite of the bugs and short cuts, we did realize that this was an excellent method of bringing quality content into the

⁷ Susan Hazan, "From the First Millennium to the Third, the Content is the Message!" in *Museums and the Web 2001: Selected Papers from an International Conference, ICHIM 2001, Politecnico di Milano, Milano, Italy* (ed. David Bearman and Jennifer Trant, Archives & Museum Informatics, Pittsburgh, USA, 2001) http://www.archimuse.com/publishing/ichim01_vol1/hazan.pdf; Susan Hazan, Paolo Paolini, and Nicoletta Di Blas, "The SEE Experience: Edutainment in 3D Virtual Worlds", in *Museums and the Web 2003: Conference Proceedings* (ed. David Bearman and Jennifer Trant; Charlotte, North Carolina, USA, Archives & Museum Informatics, <http://www.archimuse.com/mw2003/papers/diblas/diblas.html>

classroom, and we were encouraged by the enthusiasm of the students and their teachers who participated in the four weekly sessions.

As 3D worlds developed, the museum rebuilt the Shrine of the Book as a virtual space; a space which could be taken up by visitors online as virtual avatars, this time using the proprietary environment of Linden Labs⁸ Second Life. Faithfully modeled by Marie Rytkölä, of Kajelund Design, on the blueprint of the Shrine of the Book complex, the 3D world reproduced the physical space in virtual miniature. Much as the photorealistic virtual tours enabled visitors to move around the mirror of the Shrine complex, the 3D world offered a similar sense of “being there” but with one major difference—this space was not simply a projection on the local computer, but a fully social space where visitors traveled the campus with fellow avatars. This enabled new kinds of social interactions and, critically, a sense of sharing the visit with others in real-time.



Figure 9: The white dome and black wall at virtual sunset

⁸ Linden Labs is a commercial company based in San Francisco that runs a series of parallel servers that supports the 3D environment that encourages public participation and creativity.



Figure 10: Watching the webcast from the conference at the Shrine of the Book 3D campus

This space offered colleagues who were unable to participate in the conference in Jerusalem an opportunity to watch the conference from afar via the 3-day webcast while they (or at least their avatar) met in the virtual campus of the Shrine of the Book <http://www.imj.org.il/DSS_Conference_2008/index.html>.

5. CONCLUSION

With digital frontiers shifting at an impressive rate, so the potential for experiential, learning, and social activities are increasing incrementally. Harnessing these environments for museum activities open up many new possibilities and confront the New Media team at our museum with new challenges and new opportunities. In this way the conceptual chasms between parchment manuscript and electronic screen can be breached in a millisecond, and through these virtual environments the critical knowledge embedded in the Dead Sea Scrolls can be disseminated beyond the museum walls in new, yet meaningful ways.

THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD
MULTIMEDIA EDUCATIONAL SUITE
with an Appendix on the Ceramic and Numismatic Evidence for
Qumran's Period Ia

STEPHEN PFANN, JR.
with an appendix by Stephen J. Pfann

1. INTRODUCTION

Today the majority of higher learning educators utilize some form of computer-assisted instruction, whether making presentations using projectors and laptops, posting articles and syllabi on their institution's website, or teaching their courses completely online via Learning Management Systems, in which all teacher-student interaction and instruction takes place over the internet. Educators have been making use of computers to aid in the instruction of their students for many years. Early examples of the use of computers as teaching aids can already be found in the mid-to-late 1960s, in subjects such as mathematics and linguistics.¹ Fields of study in which computer-generated imagery was of particular assistance, such as statistics, expanded the use of this technology well through the 1970s and onwards.² However, it was in the mid-to-late 1990s, with the spread of personal computers and the mainstream adoption of the internet, that computer-assisted instruction began to be embraced on a wider scale in education with the introduction of diverse multimedia (including computer slide presentations), self-instruction, and access to online resources.³ In today's

¹ Patrick Suppes and Mona Morningstar, "Computer-Assisted Instruction: Two Computer-Assisted Instruction Programs are Evaluated," *Science* 166/3903 (1969): 343–50, at 343.

² See R. Mead and R. D. Stern, "The Use of a Computer in the Teaching of Statistics," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (General)* 136/2 (1973): 192–225; and Jane F. Gentleman, "It's All a Plot: Using Interactive Computer Graphics in Teaching Statistics," *The American Statistician* 31/4 (1977): 166–75.

³ See Piet Groeneboom, Peter de Jong, Dimitri B. Tischenko, and Bert C. van Zomeren, "Computer-Assisted Statistics Education at Delft University of Technology" *Journal of Computational and Graphical Statistics* 5/4 (1996): 386–99; Sunil Kripalani, Cooper, H. Paul, Armin D. Weinberg, and Larry Laufman, "Computer-Assisted Self-

educational world, computers have become a necessity for the majority of teachers.

The administrations of many schools of higher education often find themselves pressed into adopting these new technologies in order to meet the challenges of a growing student population, ever increasing globalization and the need to remain relevant and competitive. Oftentimes, faculty and students introduce or demand computer-assisted education of their own volition, making its adoption seemingly inevitable.⁴ However, when different technological media are introduced independently by faculty and students without collaboration or agreement, many schools find it necessary to subsequently spend a large amount of time and resources standardizing and merging the data and instructional materials. If the data and instructional materials are not standardized, it can be difficult and confusing for both instructors and students to access the materials later on. Many instructors will then need to recreate important resources already produced by others, or simply have to do without them due to time constraints. In these situations, many administrations prefer to take charge of the integration of computer-assisted learning themselves, in order to insure that it is done in a controlled and coordinated manner.

Yet another challenge for educators lies in the fact that while their own institutions can manage and organize their computerized educational resources in-house, the same cannot be said for external resources. Although the resources that educators seek outside of their institution's database may already exist in digital form, many of these may have been created and stored in an uncoordinated manner, leaving a large set of poorly documented and conflicting formats. This makes it difficult, and at times impossible, for instructors and students to access these resources. Additionally, a great many academic resources have not been digitized at all, rendering them nearly inaccessible to educators and researchers.

This situation certainly holds true within Second Temple period studies, especially in the case of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Since the discovery of the scrolls well over half a century ago, these fields have produced vast quantities of valuable material for scholars.

Directed Learning: The Future of Continuing Medical Education," *The Journal of Continuing Education in the Health Professions* 17 (1997): 114–20.

⁴ Trisha Greenhalgh, "Computer Assisted Learning in Undergraduate Medical Education," *The British Medical Journal* 322 (2001): 40–44, at 40.

However, with such a large corpus of material, and with so much of it produced before the widespread utilization of computers, much remains bound in volumes that are often difficult to find, and some data may not have been published at all. Given the difficulty of access to these materials, there is a very tangible need for an organized digitization process in order to make these resources available.

To this end, the University of the Holy Land is developing a project to bring together both old and new resources relevant to the study of the Second Temple period—with an emphasis on the Dead Sea Scrolls—in order to make them available via the world wide web. The *Second Temple Multimedia Educational Suite* will collect and interlink original sources, such as photographs of artifacts and manuscripts, as well as the writings of ancient historians and the research of modern scholars. The project will also provide a plethora of specially developed new resources, such as reconstructions of major sites from the Second Temple period and the *Comprehensive Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Using state-of-the-art technology, these resources will be interlinked in an online database. The goal of the educational suite is not only to store and organize resources, but also to enhance their use and give a multi-dimensional view of the subjects to which they pertain. This will provide educators with an unprecedented selection of tools for research and teaching purposes.

2. PROGRAM ARCHITECTURE

Given the project's goal to make data accessible, the natural platform through which to publish the database is the world wide web. This will allow researchers, instructors and students to view the materials from almost anywhere in the world utilizing a standard computer, by simply opening a web browser and logging into the database using their unique ID and password.

In order to facilitate this mode of operation, the program will incorporate a three-tiered architecture to efficiently connect users to the database.⁵ The primary tier from the user's point of view will be the "Presentation Tier" which is essentially the interface through which

⁵ See Wayne W. Eckerson, "Three Tier Client/Server Architecture: Achieving Scalability, Performance, and Efficiency in Client Server Applications," *Open Information Systems* 10 (1995).

they access the data and interact with it. In this case it will be a web page in their browser. This will make it simple for teachers to direct their students to look up various resources in fulfillment of homework assignments and projects, since as a webpage, the program can be accessed through the majority of personal computers. Issues of operating system and software compatibility are no longer relevant. There is also the potential of providing different types of interfaces to accommodate different audiences and to relate to different types of materials. Some of these interfaces will be suited to scholars who want to access the data in its purest form, while others will be geared towards high school students who need a simpler introduction to the materials and subjects at hand.

At the other end of the program architecture is the system housing the resources and materials themselves: the "Data Tier." This will take the form of a database on remote servers which will house the texts, articles, images, movies, and all other forms of data in the program. The database itself will utilize a relational model,⁶ allowing a variety of complex operations to be performed when accessing the data. This will be beneficial for linking and filtering the data during advanced searches or indexing.

The "Application Tier" connects the database and the interface. This tier receives the requests of the user, and retrieves the appropriate resources. When the user requests a specific item through the interface, a query is sent to the Application Tier. This in turn searches for the item, processes it according to the user's need, and returns it in an appropriate format. All the user has to do is interact with the program as with any normal web page. The complexities of data retrieval are managed for them by the application tier.

The strict modularity of subparts allows the three-tiered architecture to distribute its service over the internet, meeting security requirements and maintaining its information and software. As the program grows in complexity, the Application Tier may be subdivided into additional tiers in order to improve its performance.⁷ This will be especially important for maintaining the database and other components as both technology and Second Temple period research advance.

⁶ Edgar F. Codd, "A Relational Model of Data for Large Shared Data Banks," *Communications of the ACM* 13/6 (1970): 377-87.

⁷ Jeremy Peterson, "Benefits of Using the N-Tiered Approach for Web Applications." 13 Feb. 2009. Online: <http://www.adobe.com/devnet/coldfusion/articles/ntier.html>

3. A COMPREHENSIVE DATABASE WITH MULTIPLE INTERFACES

Because of the central role the Presentation Tier plays in providing access to the different types of resources, it may be useful to explore the program and its features through a number of its interfaces.

3.1. *Explorable reconstructions of ancient sites*

One of the central resources unique to the database is the reconstruction of various archaeological sites and museums related to the Second Temple period. Not only do these reconstructions allow the user to view the sites as they originally appeared, but they also serve as a focal point for connecting to other data contextually related to the locations being explored. This includes articles, photographs, excavation notes, and the objects found at the site. Similarly, users can explore museums and gain access to the artifacts on display and related information. This feature will allow educators to take their students on virtual tours of a site or museum, and elaborate on its themes, features and uses by accessing the appropriate materials.



Fig. 1: Exploring a virtual reconstruction of the site of Qumran

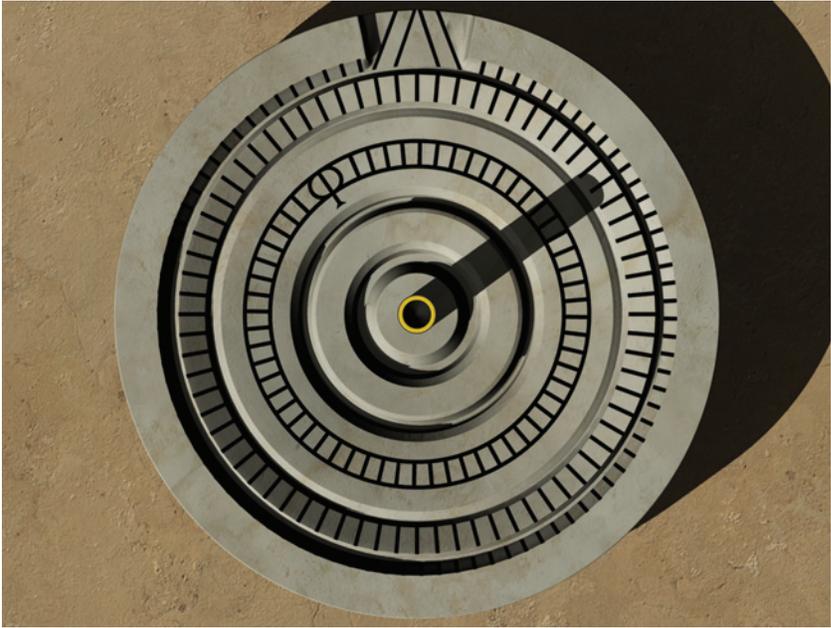


Fig. 2: Demonstration of the use of the Qumran sundial during the equinox

For example, by navigating to the eastern gate of the settlement of Qumran, the teacher can bring up Roland de Vaux's excavation notes as well as the artifacts found there, such as the sundial. The sundial then provides links to videos illustrating its use at different periods of the year and to articles on the calendrical systems practiced by the community that made it. These in turn connect to broader topics, such as the concept of "Sacred time and sacred space in the ancient world." In addition to being accessible from the locus in which it was found, the sundial may also be accessed from its display in the virtually reconstructed Shrine of the Book as well, thematically linking the two locations in the database structure.

The program currently utilizes panoramic imagery to allow the user to navigate around the sites and museums. This interface allows users to explore a site by freely rotating the panoramas and clicking on hotspots connecting one location to another.

Work is underway to eventually replace these panoramas with a web-browser plug-in that will allow the user to navigate through the site with complete freedom of movement and enhanced interactivity in real time.

The reconstructions allow the user to explore the sites both spatially and chronologically. Sites feature different occupation layers, faithfully reconstructed from the archaeological records, as well as a representation of how they appear today. By navigating through a site such as Qumran during different periods, the user will have access to resources contextually linked to the groups that lived there at each period. They will be able to explore the material culture and libraries of these different communities, and even interact with their virtual representatives.

3.2. Contextual maps of Judea and its surroundings

The interactive map interface will provide maps of Judea and its surrounding areas during the Second Temple period, as well as archaeological plans of the various sites. Closely linked to the reconstructions interface, the maps will grant the user a complementary form of navigation and provide access to relevant materials such as excavation notes and photos. Like the reconstructions interface, it will provide a view of the sites during their different periods of occupation. The map interface will illustrate the use of a site as well as significant events that took place there, such as battles, ultimately providing a more comprehensive picture of the site and its place within the Second Temple period context.



Fig. 3: Contextual map of Qumran and the Dead Sea region

The designers intend that the map interface will incorporate Google Earth in the near future, utilizing the recently released web-browser plug-in. This will enable a three-dimensional overview of the sites, further enhancing the educational potential.

3.3. *The Interactive Timeline*

The interactive timeline illustrates the development, interaction and fate of the different religious groups of the Second Temple period. The user can focus on specific individuals, groups, years or events and gain access to relevant resources. The timeline essentially serves as a dynamically-generated chronological index based on historical, archaeological, paleographic, and scientific sources such as radio-carbon dating. Through the timeline, the students have links to various literary sources relating to these religious communities and historical figures, including articles by modern scholars, the writings of ancient historians, and the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves. The timeline thus provides educators with a powerful teaching tool that is able to focus on specific sects, figures and events, while at the same time illustrating their place in the larger historical context (see Fig. 4 below).

3.4. *Sectarian Libraries*

The library interface presents a suggested reconstruction of the libraries of various sects of the Second Temple period. To the fullest extent possible based on surviving literary sources, it presents each library in its entirety, and shows its development in relation to the evolution of the beliefs and practices of its respective groups.

The texts and aids made available through these libraries can be tailored to the individual level of expertise of the users. Instructors of high school or college students will be able to design assignments for their students in the virtual libraries, confident that the material will be suited to their students' needs. For example, at the beginner or "Novice Level", the library assignments can present the texts in the mother tongue of the students. These texts can be accompanied by introductory readings about the manuscripts and history of the Second Temple period. Such an assignment will serve as a stepping stone for the student to expand their knowledge through subsequent use of the program.



Fig. 5: A portion of the reconstructed *Yahad* library

The library interface will provide more advanced resources for students and researchers who are already familiar with the subject matter and wish to study the manuscripts at a deeper level. These “Member Level” users will be able to view side-by-side the translation of a text together with its transcription, with the added option of vocalization for easier reading (see Fig. 6 below).

They will also be provided with other research aids, such as the *Comprehensive Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, and articles covering specific documents within the library. The concordance itself is nearing completion after more than a decade of development by the University of the Holy Land. It is based on the readings of the original editors of the *editio princeps* of the scrolls and has been proofread by leading Semitic scholars (see Fig. 7 below).

For the most experienced users, the “Scribe Level” of the program will provide access to the photographic index of the manuscripts, cross-linked to the relevant transcriptions and concordance. This index allows the scholar to view the complete photographic history of a manuscript and includes everything from the archival images to the most recent photos, all with their respective inventory numbers.



Fig. 6: Side-by-side comparison of text and translation with grammatical forms

אָב	1 nm father, family head, ancestor	père, chef	
1Q19 Noah 3,4	1	אָבִיָּה וּכְאֲשֶׁר רָאָה לְמַךְ אָתָּה	4 a] son pere. Et lorsque Lamech a vu le [. . .
1Q22 DM 13	1	פְּשׁוֹר לְרֵאשִׁי אֲבֹת לְלוֹיִם וְכוֹל הַכֹּהֲנִים	Donne des expli[cations aux chefs des familles levitiques ainsi qu'a tous les [pretres]
1Q22 DM iii10	1	בְּמִדְבַר אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם /	[In the wilderness you fa]thers
1QS 1,25	SMM	חַטָּאֵנוּ הִרְשַׁעְנוּ אֲנִי וְאֲבוֹתֵינוּ מִלְּפָנָיו	we have sinn[ed], we have been wicked, we [and our fa]thers before us.
1QS 1,26	SMM	וְעַדְכָּ [מִשְׁפָּטוֹ בָנוּ וּבִּאֲבוֹתֵינוּ]	And just is God who has fulfilled His judgement against us and against our fathers
1QS 2,9	SMM	וְלֹא יִהְיֶה לְבָה שְׁלוֹם בְּפִי כּוֹל אוֹהְבֵי אֲבוֹת /	and may there be for thee no (word) of peace on the lips of all who cling (to the Covenant) of the Fathers!

Fig. 7: The Comprehensive Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls

The user will be able to view the photographs of the manuscripts side-by-side with their transcriptions, allowing the viewer to make their own observations and judgments as to the meaning of the texts. They will also be able to utilize the editors' notes, an advanced search engine, extended bibliography, and statistical data pertaining to the manuscripts.

3.5. Natural History Taxonomies

The taxonomical natural history interfaces help fill out the comprehensive view of the Second Temple period in keeping with the program's overall goal. The lives of Second Temple period Judea's inhabitants were intrinsically connected to the land. Their interactions with the environment can be seen in both their agricultural work and the locations



Fig. 8: The oasis of Ein Feshka

they chose to inhabit. To understand their lifestyles and worldviews, it is necessary to appreciate the natural environment in which they lived. To this end, the database provides abundant information about the flora and fauna of the region, as well as the agricultural practices of the time.

Instructors can explore with their students the environment, geology and natural history of the region, and show them how issues of climate, water supplies, soil, and plant and animal communities influenced daily life in the Second Temple period. They will be able to bring up menus that show the taxonomical data of the local plants and animals, their uses, their phytogeographic zones and references to them in scripture and other ancient sources.

3.6. *Assignment Creation Tools*

The assignment creation interface is a tool of particular interest to educators, enabling book-marking, organization, and sharing of resources. Should a user of the program find a resource to which they wish to return often or easily, they can use the “drag and drop” assignment tool to create a personalized list of resources. This will allow them to instantly access important resources in future study sessions.



Fig. 9: Item being added to resource list via the drag and drop interface

Instructors can use this tool to create homework or self-study assignments for their students by sending them the lists they have compiled. When the students log into their accounts within the program, it will notify them that they have an assignment and guide them to the resources collected by their teacher. The program will then keep track of their progress and notify the instructor when the students have completed the assignment.

3.7. *Advanced Search Mechanisms*

Scholars and students will have access to an advanced search system that will be beneficial in both finding resources and conducting research. The relational model applied to the database will allow users to execute filtered searches interrelating a number of different sources at one time. They will be able to easily search for needed data, such as manuscripts with textual parsing, artifacts found within specific loci at a site during a specific period, plants native to a region, individuals and events mentioned in the writings of the ancient historians, and more.

The user will be able to search for key terms and conditions in a number of resources simultaneously, apply a variety of different filters in order to find the specific items for which they are looking, and apply additional filters to their results to highlight variations and trends.

The results can be displayed in a number of different formats depending on the nature of the search and resources utilized. By tying into the different interfaces of the program, the search results can be displayed as lists, on maps, throughout timelines, in reconstructions, etc.

3.8. *Customizable Indices*

The customizable indices help to achieve one of the main goals of the database, namely, to make the information easily accessible. This interface will provide indices that allow users to easily browse and access the contents of the database. The user will be able to filter the contents of the indices based on a large number of criteria, such as topic, author, or resource type. The indices may also be ordered by a number of systems, such as alphabetical or chronological ordering. They will provide search capabilities which allow the user to reach specific resources quickly, thus saving instructors, students and researchers precious time and effort.

4. RESEARCH EXAMPLE

By bringing the major sources together, the Multimedia Educational Suite will serve as an invaluable tool for researchers and students of Qumran and the Second Temple period. For example, should a scholar desire to accurately date de Vaux's elusive Period Ia,⁸ the program would make the necessary resources available, searchable and cross referenced, greatly simplifying the process. The necessary information would be readily available as opposed to being scattered across multiple rare and out of print publications.

In order to date Period Ia, the researcher would first need to find the sealed loci from that period and ascertain the dates of the artifacts found within them. To accomplish this, the scholar would utilize the program's Map Interface and create a search for any loci that have stratigraphic significance (i.e., for the "sealed" loci). The user

⁸ See the Appendix below.

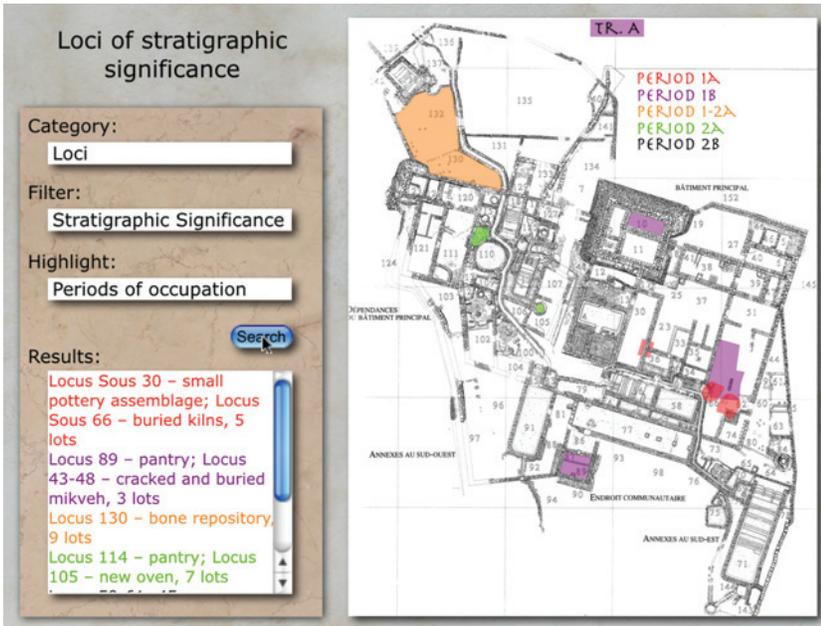


Fig. 10: A search for sealed loci at Qumran highlighting the results by period of occupation via the map interface

could request that the program highlight or filter the results based on the periods assigned to the loci by the excavators. The results would appear both as a list and also as highlighted regions on the map. In this case, two sealed loci are found for Period Ia: Locus sous 30 and Locus sous 66 (“sous” being French for “under,” used to indicate an area under the locus), and are represented by the red highlight in the list and map above (Fig. 10).

The next step would be to examine the artifacts found in each of these loci and ascertain their date of manufacture. By clicking on Locus sous 30 in the list produced by the search or on its location on the map, the user is brought to a page in the program dedicated to that locus. Depending on the level of expertise of the user, the page would provide important information relevant to their knowledge and needs. In the case of this research example, the page would be set to the scholarly “scribe” level and contain resources such as the original excavation notes and photographs, maps, and an inventory list of all the items found within the locus (see Fig. 11 below).

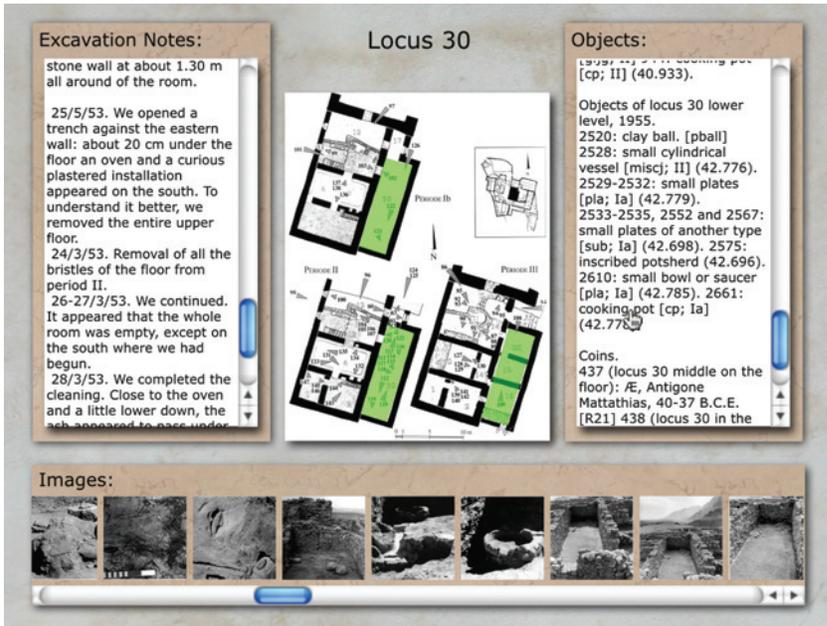


Fig. 11: The Locus 30 information page with the associated maps, photographs, excavation notes and object lists

One of the most interesting artifacts found in Locus sous 30 for dating purposes is object number 2661, a cooking pot. If the user clicks on its name in the object list, they will be brought to its specific information page (see Fig. 12). This page provides the user with information regarding the object such as its category, material composition, and the excavation season in which it was found, as well as maps of where it was found, the archival photos, excavator's drawings of the cooking pot, and its three dimensional reconstruction. By seeing the collected photos, it is clear that the object is a typical example of a cooking pot from the second century B.C.E. Since it was found in a sealed locus of Period Ia, it would indicate that the period at the site can be dated to that time in history. The user can further confirm this date by looking at other artifacts from the sealed loci of that period made available through the program.

Having established the date of the Period Ia occupation layer, the researcher may want to explore the nature and identity of the groups living at the site during that time. If the user returns to the information page of Locus 30 and examines some of its other artifacts, they



Fig. 12: Object no. 2661 information page with original photographs, reconstructions, maps and excavation data

would encounter a clay ball, one of the lots of Qumran. Such lots have been tied to the Essene movement,⁹ and subsequently if a number of sealed loci from a single period contain such artifacts, it would indicate that the site was occupied by members of that movement at some point during that period. In order to confirm that Period Ia had an Essene occupation, the user would want to see if any lots were found in other sealed loci from that phase in the site's history. To accomplish this, the researcher would use the program's database search window to look for all clay lots found in sealed loci from Period Ia. They would then be presented with a window containing a list of sealed loci from Period Ia with a sublist of lots, each with detailed excavation information allowing for immediate comparison (see Fig. 13 below).

The user will find that in addition to Locus 30, the other sealed locus of Period Ia, Locus 66, contains a number of lots. By clicking on its title in the list, the user is brought to the specific information

⁹ See the Appendix below.

Distribution of lots

<p>Category: <input type="text" value="Objects"/></p> <p>Filter: <input type="text" value="Lots"/></p> <p>Filter: <input type="text" value="Period 1a"/></p> <p>Filter: <input type="text" value="Stratigraphic Loci"/></p> <p>Sort: <input type="text" value="Locus"/></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="button" value="Search"/></p>	<p>Locus 30 sous, lower level: Object 2520 (type pball) - ball of clay. 20+ holes; Found 23/03/1955 during the 1955 dig season;</p> <p>Locus 66 sous, on the floor of the kiln: Object 1298 (type pball) - ball of clay. 16 holes; Found 08/03/1954 during the 1954 dig season; PAM photo no. 42.682; Object 1299 (type pball) - ball of clay. 17 holes; Found 08/03/1954 during the 1954 dig season; PAM photo no. 42.682; Object 1300 (type pball) - ball of clay. 19 holes; Found 08/03/1954 during the 1954 dig season; PAM photo no. 42.682; Object 1301 (type pball) - ball of clay. 18 holes; Found 08/03/1954 during the 1954 dig season; PAM photo no. 42.682;</p>
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Fig. 13: General Search Interface creating a query for all objects that are lots from period Ia found in loci of stratigraphic significance while sorting the results by locus number

page of the locus. This page contains a list of the artifacts found in Locus sous 66 during the excavation, including the lots themselves. The photographs provided help illustrate the use of the site during that period as well as the area in which the lots were found (Fig. 14).

If the researcher becomes interested in these lots and their distribution at the site throughout all of its periods, they can return to the map interface used to find the sealed loci and change the search parameters to locate lots, while still highlighting the periods of occupation. This would create a map showing the location where each clay lot was found within the site of Qumran while color coding them for the different periods to which they belong. Such a map could serve as a basis to find recurrent patterns and variations in the site's use under the Essene movement (Fig. 15).

The multidimensional nature of the program's database allows for complex and flexible research. It greatly expedites the process of data and source collection for the scholar, allowing them to focus on the research itself while making new connections and discoveries that would not have been possible using more traditional means.

Excavation Notes:

removed the stone pavement of locus 48 in order to excavate it. It appears that there was an identical structure immediately to the east of the first. It was badly destroyed by the pavement of locus 48. Since both structures were earlier than the establishment of cistern 49 and of its associated area, might they be Israelite? We completed the excavation of the round structure: it certainly reminds one of a pottery kiln, with its opening on the north and a central pillar. The upper floor was destroyed, but its mark on the periphery is clear.

Locus 66

Objects:

Objects of locus 66.
 1134: goblet. 1148: bowl (42.670). 1149: jug and 1150: goblet . 1172: clay ball. 1235: handle stamped LMLK (42.683). 1298-1301: four clay balls (42.682). 1670: jug.

Coins.
 1087 (upper level): Æ, Procurator under Claudius [R134]. 1173 (upper level): Æ, Procurator under Tiberius 30/31 or 31/32 C.E.. 1174 (upper level): Æ, Alexander Jannaeus (?).

Images:

Fig. 14: The Locus 66 information page with the associated maps, photographs, excavation notes and object lists

Distribution of lots

Category:

Filter:

Highlight:

[Search](#)

Results:

no. 2458; Locus 130: objects no. 2272, 2279.1, 2279.2, 2299, 2300.1 & 2300.2; Trench A: object no. 168;
 Locus 2: object no. 140; Locus 28: object no. 428; Locus 33: object no. 755; Locus 86: object no. 1434; Locus 104: objects no. 2036 & 2067; Locus 105: objects no. 2020.1-2020.7; Locus 107: object no. 2521; Locus 111: objects no. 2075, 2110 and 2134;
 Locus 10 - objects no. 407, 422

Fig. 15: A search for the locations where lots were discovered at Qumran highlighting periods of occupation via the map interface

5. CONCLUSION

The Multimedia Educational Suite is a program and database designed to meet the needs of educators, students and researchers of the Second Temple period. Its goal is to collate the major existing data in the field with new data created specifically for the database and to make it easily accessible. To this end, it provides a number of different interfaces suited to the needs and various levels of ability of diverse users. Users who are novices in the field will receive introductory materials, while scholars will have access to the primary sources in digital form. Thus, the Educational Suite will help in the process of digitization and dissemination of Second Temple period research, allowing scholars and students to conduct their research efficiently.

APPENDIX

BY STEPHEN J. PFANN

PERIOD IA AND THE *TERMINUS A QUO* OF DE VAUX'S PERIOD IB,
ESSENE OCCUPATION

Recent treatments of the stratigraphy of the site of Qumran have taken issue with a second century date for the beginnings of the Hellenistic occupation of the site. This thesis, based solely upon early published materials from the site, proposes that Period I begins with the reign of Alexander Jannaeus in the first or second quarter of the first century B.C.E. and queries the existence of de Vaux's Period Ia at the site altogether.¹⁰ In light of such conclusions, a number of scholars have recently shifted their work on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran to reflect a later beginning for the occupation of the site by the Essenes (or "Qumran Community," as some prefer). Others have gone so far as to ascribe the origins of the group to a date not earlier than the early first century B.C.E.¹¹

In the following essay the author presents evidence of artifacts documented in currently available resources, which typify the strata and phases of de Vaux's historical periods of the late Second Temple period spanning the years, in particular, from the second half of the

¹⁰ One of the scholars most vocal in her criticism of de Vaux's early stratigraphy is J. Magness. While supporting de Vaux's stratigraphy on most details she has dismissed the existence of second century B.C.E. remains altogether. In her 2002 book, Magness contends that, "there is no clear or convincing evidence for de Vaux's Period Ia" (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 63). She also states, "There are no assemblages of whole vessels associated with it [Period Ia]" (*ibid.*, 64). As a result, Magness presents a revised chronology of the site of Khirbet Qumran. See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 63–66, and her discussion, *ibid.* 49–50.

¹¹ One should note, however, that this proposed late dating of the remains at Qumran is not relevant to the question of the date of the "Teacher of Righteousness" or the group's origins since, according to their own literature, Qumran was not the first place that they settled. See Stephen J. Pfann, "Historical Implications of the Early Second Century Dating of the 4Q249–250 Cryptic A Corpus," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 183–85. Others accept this late dating while rejecting the connection between the scroll caves and the site of Qumran. See Michael O. Wise, "Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the Floruit of His Movement," *JBL* 122/1 (2003) 53–87.

second century B.C.E. until the site's destruction and abandonment in the year 68 C.E.

THE SEALED LOCI OF PERIOD IA

Stratigraphic layers from archeological sites are best dated by definable areas, or "loci", which contain datable materials from only one period, and are termed "sealed" or "clean" from extraneous materials from later periods. The primary sealed locus, for dating purposes, from Period Ia lies under the eastern wall of locus 30 where an oven and some vessels were uncovered. It was there that a cooking pot that can be comfortably dated to the second half of the second century B.C.E. and a local variety of fish plates, slightly later but from the same phase, were found, which parallel similar forms found at Maresha and Beth Zur (see Figs. 16–19 below). Both sites were destroyed during the reign of John Hyrcanus I before 104 B.C.E., which precludes the notion that such forms must be dated to the first century B.C.E.

Corroborating the evidence from the sealed loci, Hellenistic kite and delfniform lamps were also found in the early dumps of the site, again, deriving from a second century material culture. There are a relatively significant number of coins from the third quarter of the second century, further supporting de Vaux's attribution of Period Ia to the second century B.C.E. (See further below, on coins).

There are few loci which Roland de Vaux considered to contain potential evidence for Period Ia. Among these were loci 9A, 10A, 28/29, sous 30, sous 66 and 110. To these J.-B. Humbert added loci 141 and 147. To these should be added finds from under the floor of locus 26.

In almost all cases, the rationale for these identifications was based upon stratigraphic sequencing and not upon datable material remains found within the loci. Only in the case of loc. sous 30 is the locus sealed from the intrusion and mixing of later pottery. In this case the locus was partially sealed by the eastern wall of the locus that was built above it during renovations of the following period. The cooking pot was sealed under an oven whose ash penetrated under the wall.

Concerning loc. sous 30 de Vaux writes:

25/5[?]/53. We opened a trench against the eastern wall: about 20 cm under the floor an oven and a curious plastered installation appeared on the south. To understand it better, we removed the entire upper floor.

24/3/53. Removal of all the bristles of the floor from period II.

26–27/3/53. We continued. It appeared that the whole room was empty, except on the south where we had begun.

28/3/53. We completed the cleaning. Close to the oven and a little lower down, the ash appeared to pass under the eastern wall.

30/3/53. Cleaning of the interior of the oven and of the ash pit between the oven and the wall. The ashes descend only slightly lower and penetrate a little under the wall.

4/4/53. We removed a Roman (sic)¹² cooking pot which had been under the oven.¹³

The following objects are listed in the English edition along with the above account:

Objects of locus 30 lower level, 1955.

2520: ball of clay. 2528: small cylindrical vessel. 2529–2532: small plates. 2533–2535, 2552 and 2567: small plates. 2575: inscribed potsherd. 2610: saucer. 2661: cooking pot.

This list of objects from this important locus should reflect the material culture of Period Ia if de Vaux is correct. One can gain immediate access to photos of these objects on microfiche in the often overlooked publication of the manuscript and other material finds from Qumran, published in 1993.¹⁴ This publication provided photos of 70 to 80 per cent of the 1707 registered objects from de Vaux's excavations of Qumran with accompanying object numbers. Among these, photos of most of the registered objects of locus sous 30 are provided. These include: KHQ 2528 (on PAM 42.776); 2530–2532, 2534 (PAM 42.779); 2552 (PAM 42.698); 2610 (PAM 42.785); 2661 (PAM 42.778).

A comparison of the cooking pot and plates from Khirbet Qumran loci sous 30 and 26 with certain cooking pots from Beth Zur and pseudo fish plates from Maresha (Figs. 16–19) is illustrative. The cooking pots of the third and second centuries B.C.E. tend to have tall flaring rims and steep sloping shoulders and handles which start slightly above the rim. The process of the development of pronounced shoulders,

¹² This form (obj. 2661) well predates the Roman Period.

¹³ De Vaux's excavation notes are cited from *The Excavations of Qumran and Ein Feshkha* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon; rev. and annotated Eng. ed. by Stephen J. Pfann; NTOA Series Archeologica 1B; Fribourg: University Press, 2003), 24. The text of the locus descriptions and object lists were rechecked, corrected, and updated with information from the original dated account of the excavations and against the information provided in the original object catalogue and card files.

¹⁴ *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: a Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts From the Judaean Desert* (ed. Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann; Leiden/New York: Brill/IDC, 1993), 134 microfiches.

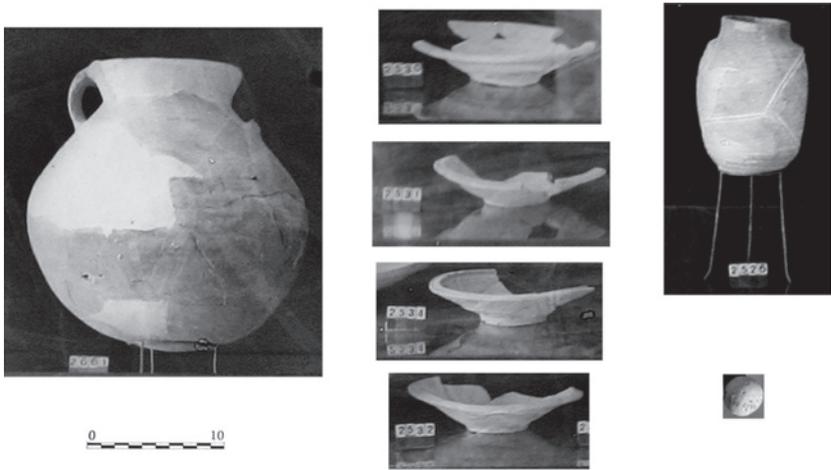


Fig. 16: Palestine Archeological Museum (PAM) Photos of the cooking pot, bowls, pseudo fish plates and a small cylindrical jar published in 1993. To the right is a recent photo of KhQ 2520, the lot found in locus sous 30



Fig. 17: Cooking pot and plates from Kh. Qumran's locus sous 30

reduced rim size, and lowering of the handles, while it may have begun toward the end of the second century B.C.E., was only established in the first century B.C.E. The fact that there is such an early style, exclusive to second century B.C.E., is very telling. Although the low bowls or pseudo fish plates continue into the first century B.C.E., the style of those from locus sous 30 is most similar to those of the second century.¹⁵ The parallel forms to the cooking pot and pseudo fish plates

¹⁵ Amos Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report I: Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70* (IAA Reports 17. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority 2003), 82.

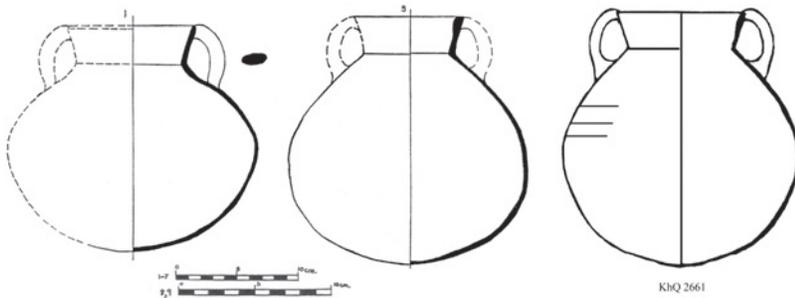


Fig. 18: Cooking pots from second century B.C.E. Beth Zur (left) and Qumran loc. sous 30 (right)

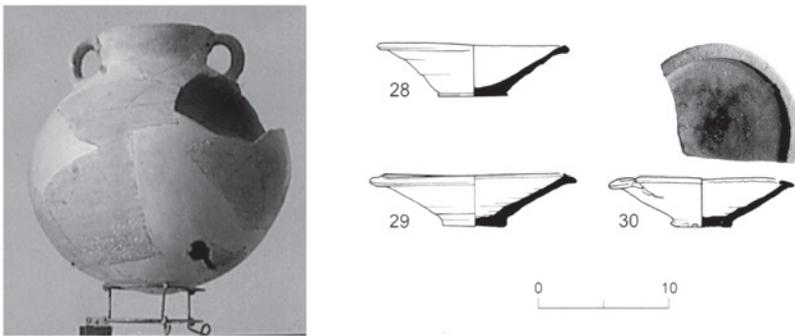


Fig. 19: Cooking pot from Qumran’s locus 26 (left) and pseudo fish plates from second century B.C.E. Maresha (right).¹⁶

illustrated above from Beth Zur and Maresha cannot be dated to the first century, since both sites were destroyed under John Hyrcanus whose reign ended in 104 B.C.E.¹⁷ A date in the second half of the second

¹⁶ Amos Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report I*. Fig. 6.2 undecorated plain ware bowls 28–30.

¹⁷ Kloner firmly dates the destruction to 112/111 B.C.E. Cf. *Maresha Excavations Final Report I*. 5. A number of years after the reign of Hyrcanus I, some time subsequent to the reign of Jannaeus, a small settlement was evidently reestablished at Beth Zur. This large hiatus in occupation and the meager Roman character of the subsequent settlement does not affect the dating of the Hellenistic layers at the site. This is supported by the small number of coins of Jannaeus and the Roman period pottery that was found in unstratified contexts from “a date near the end of the pre-Christian era.” P. and N. Lapp “Iron II–Hellenistic Pottery Groups” in O. Sellers, et al., *The 1957 Excavations at Beth Zur*, (AASOR 38; Cambridge, MA: ASOR, 1968), 75–79.

At Hasmonean Jericho, an early pottery assemblage containing similar items to those of locus sous 30, was found in two loci along with the majority of the site’s

century B.C.E. for the cooking pot KhQ 2661 and the pseudo fish plates from Khirbet Qumran—a period when these forms predominate—would then be quite plausible.

KILN LOCUS SOUS 66 AND THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF DE VAUX'S PERIOD IA

Does Period Ia contain the first stages of Essene occupation? The answer to this question requires an examination of the kiln found at locus 66, pictured below.

Concerning Locus sous 66, de Vaux records:

1/4/54. A round structure of baked clay appeared in the north of locus 66; we removed the stone pavement of locus 48 in order to excavate it. It appears that there was an identical structure immediately to the east of the first. It was badly destroyed by the pavement of locus 48.

Since both structures were earlier than the establishment of cistern 49 and of its associated area, might they be Israelite?

We completed the excavation of the round structure: it certainly reminds one of a pottery kiln, with its opening on the north and a central pillar. The sleeper was destroyed, but its mark on the periphery is clear.¹⁸

From the excavation's object catalogue:

KhQ 1298–1301: Quatre boulettes sphériques percées incomplètement de trous; argile; 1298: Diam. 30 (cm), 16 trous. 1299: Diam. 28, 17 trous. 1300: Diam. 29, 19 trous. 1301: Diam. 27, 18 trous. Niv. au fond du "four".

Hyrchanus I coins. The loci were dated stratigraphically and historically to the reign of Hyrchanus I (134–104 B.C.E.) by the excavator E. Netzer. Although the ceramicist R. Bar Nathan acknowledges the initial building of the palace in the second century B.C.E. under Hyrchanus I, she ascribes no pottery from the site as going back to his reign. Instead, she ascribes the earliest pottery as pointing "to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), or at the end of the reign of John Hyrchanus, the earliest, as a certain date for the Jericho material." Based upon available parallels to the pottery at other sites, she assigns the pottery to Jericho's first level HS I as being 100–95/85 B.C.E., which is an unrealistically short period for the full duration of any pottery form. Therefore, this does not provide a date for this pottery repertoire's entire history at the site, which should include the time of Hyrchanus I, but, does perhaps indicate the potential culmination of its history occurring in one or two areas at the site.

See Rachel Bar Nathan, "The Pottery" in *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces of Jericho III* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 193–94, Appendix II, pl. I.

¹⁸ Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, eds. (Pfann, rev. Eng. ed.), *The Excavations of Qumran and Ein Feshkha*, NTOA Series Archeologica 1B, 35.

¹⁹ Humbert and Chambon, eds., *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha I*. NTOA Series Archeologica 1, photos 176 and 174.

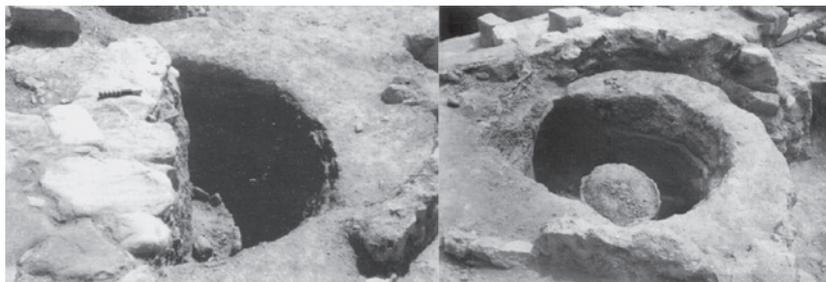


Fig. 20: Left: Kiln Loc. 66 showing the upper steps of mikveh loc. 48/49 sealing the locus from above. Right: Kiln loc. 66 with the pavement removed.¹⁹

“Four spherical balls, partially pierced with (shallow) holes. clay.; 1298: Diam. 30 (cm), 16 holes. 1299: Diam. 28, 17 holes. 1300: Diam. 29, 19 holes. 1301: Diam. 27, 18 holes. Level: On the bottom of the ‘oven.’” All other objects were in the upper fills.²⁰

The material character of Period Ia appears, in most respects, to be quite ordinary and domestic. The cooking pots and fish plates in locus sous 30, which are similar to mid-to-late second century Maresha²¹ and Beth Zur, are the normal domestic kitchen and tableware of the period. On the other hand, both locus sous 30 and especially locus 66 have items that are unique and typical to Qumran in its later Periods Ib and II. The one lot²² in loc. sous 30 and the four²³ in kiln 66 are similar in most ways to the lots of the succeeding periods but differ, as a group, from the latter, in that they are significantly larger and have whitened surfaces, but with smaller holes. Since the first Hellenistic buildings were constructed to be a farmstead, the most reasonable assessment would be that the subsequent owners, the Essenes, began their occupation of the site by utilizing the buildings pretty much as they were—only introducing certain religious paraphernalia in the form of lots which

²⁰ Thanks to Jean-Baptiste Humbert and the École Biblique for their kind permission to consult the original catalogue of objects compiled by de Vaux and his team which provided preliminary drawings, measurements and other details for each object that was registered and restored.

²¹ Amos Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report I*. For parallels to the cooking pot see fig. 6.6:70–71; for the pseudo fish plates, see fig. 6.2:28–30. Also, elsewhere at the site from loc. 10 inf.: a small disk-based in-turned bowl KhQ 418 = Maresha, fig. 6.2.39.

²² KhQ 2520. It was pierced with 27 holes.

²³ KhQ 1298–1301. The “floor” refers to the bottom of the fire pit and not to the platform on which the pottery was fired.

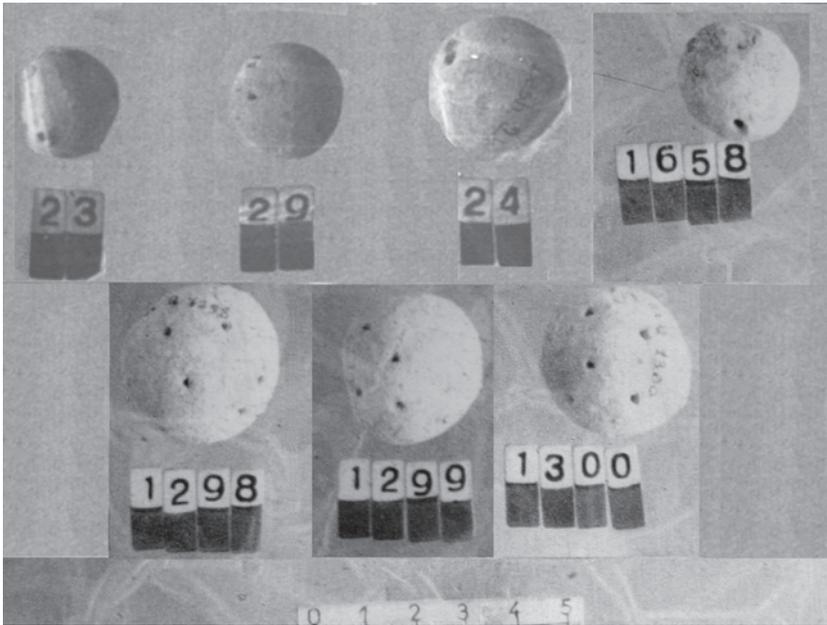


Fig. 21: Early photos of pierced lots from Ein Feshkha (AF23, 24, 29 from PAM 42.869) and Qumran (KhQ 1298, 1299, 1300, 1658 from 42.682); Period Ia exemplars on bottom row²⁴

signal their presence in the latter years of Period Ia—until they began renovations during Period Ib.

FROM ELSEWHERE AT THE SITE

There are also lamps and other pottery forms which have been found in the dumps, which bear witness to life in the second century. Other second century pottery forms were found buried under the surfaces of courtyards.

This includes at least one other cooking pot of particular interest which was found just outside what was then the northernmost wall below the floor and ash layer of locus 26, illustrated above (Fig. 19).

²⁴ From Emanuel Tov, ed., in collaboration with Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, PAM 42.869 is on fiche 59; PAM 42.682 is on fiche 55.

THE CORROBORATIVE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

Bronze coinage from the second century B.C.E., which had been minted in Jerusalem during the reigns of Antiochus VII (1.2%) and John Hyrcanus I (1.0–1.8%), was found in de Vaux's excavations, elsewhere at the site, and in the settlement's dumps.²⁵ These percentages become significant when compared to the percentages of those coins found in Jerusalem: Antiochus VII (0.4%) and Hyrcanus I (2.6%).²⁶ The existence of any quantity of these coin issues in other sites is widely taken as a fair indicator of a site's existence during the reigns of these two rulers and is often corroborated by historical or material evidence.²⁷ The remarkable coincidence of the relative quantities of coins at Qumran, Jericho, and Jerusalem (Fig. 24) contrasts with the percentages of coins from sites elsewhere in the Judean wilderness and Dead Sea region (Fig. 22). This provides a compelling argument for the simultaneous and continuous existence of the three localities from the late second century B.C.E. until the end of the Second Temple Period.

Certain bronze coin issues are associated with the rule of John Hyrcanus I: in particular, the lily/anchor bronze coins of Antiochus VII Euergetes from the early years of Hyrcanus's reign and subsequently,

²⁵ At present the coins from the excavations of Qumran cannot be located in order to examine them individually. However, we can consult the card catalogue for those coins, compiled by A. Spijkerman. The author would like to thank J.-B. Humbert for providing access to this catalogue. Spijkerman identified with certainty 5 coins of John Hyrcanus I by cross references to Reifenberg's plates or by the "A" mint mark found on certain of Hyrcanus's coins. Four other coins were listed as "John Hyrcanus (?)." Although this question mark might be due to the poor state of preservation of the coins, it also might be raising some question as to whether the coins should be identified as those of Hyrcanus I or those of Hyrcanus II (67/63–40 B.C.E.). At the time that Spijkerman compiled his catalogue, there was a tendency to identify virtually all Hyrcanus coins as being of Hyrcanus II. Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Trans. I. L. Levine; Tel Aviv: Am Hasefer and Masada, 1967) 41–43; "The Beginning of Hasmonean Coinage," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 59–61. This trend was later proven to be in error. In fact, there is now considerable doubt as to whether Hyrcanus II minted any coins at all. D. Barag and S. Qedar, "The Beginning of Hasmonean Coinage," *INJ* 4 (1980) 8–21.

²⁶ H. Gitler, "A Comparative Study of Numismatic Evidence from Excavations in Jerusalem," *LA* 46 (1996) 317–62.

²⁷ S. J. Pfann, *The Character of the Early Essene Movement in the Light of the Manuscripts Written in Esoteric Scripts from Qumran* (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University, 2001), Appendix C, "The Beginning of Essene Occupation at Qumran."

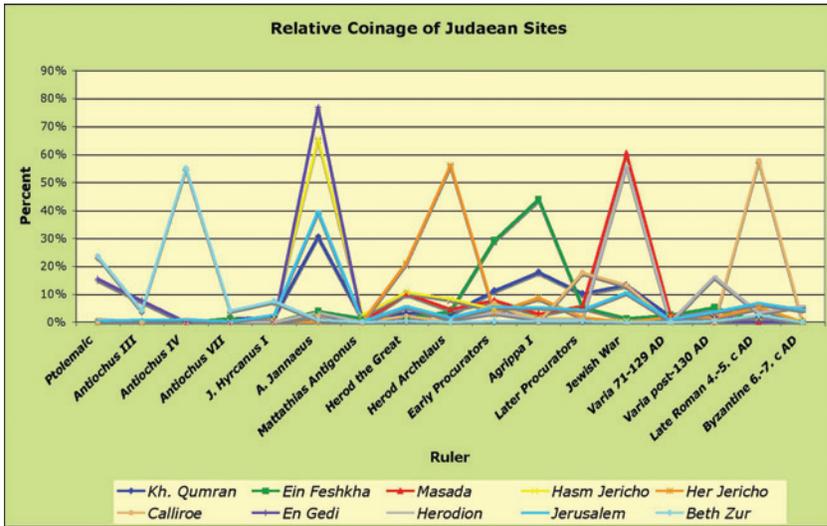


Fig. 22: Relative percentages of coins of various rulers in Judea and the Dead Sea area

coins bearing his own name “Yehohanan.”²⁸ One coin of his successor Judas Aristobulus I (who ruled for only one year, 104 B.C.E.) was also found (KhQ 1318). Virtually all of the coins associated with these second century rulers were found within the confines of the original building which de Vaux ascribed to the pre-Essene phase, or at least before the walls of the building were expanded to the east.

A brief survey of the statistics of the Hyrcanus I and Jannaeus coins from sites within and bordering on the Judean Wilderness reveals certain noteworthy patterns.

1. Beth Zur, a site which is known historically to have been occupied and destroyed during the reign of John Hyrcanus I, yielded substantial

²⁸ Aside from the 37 coins of Antiochus VII (with dates between 139 to 129 B.C.E.) and 48 coins of Demetrius II (from 129 to 126 B.C.E.) derived from Qumran’s three coin hordes (KhQ 2543, 2545, 2547), 3 bronze and 4 silver coins of Antiochus VII were found elsewhere among the deposits of Qumran (KhQ 693, 772, 994, 1308, Tr. A) and Ein Feshkha (AF 6). Small bronzes of Antiochus VII Euergetes (e.g., KhQ 547) were produced by Hyrcanus I during the early years of his rule. Subsequently, after the death of Antiochus VII, Hyrcanus I minted coins bearing his own name (KhQ 203, 396, 402, 2427, 2568; likely KhQ 505, 560, 561, 644). Cf. Y. Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (Jerusalem and Nyack, NY: Yad Ben-Zvi and Amphora, 2001), 30–31.

Figure 23: Inventory of Coinage of Judaean Sites according to Ruler²⁹

	Jerusalem	Has Jericho	Kh. Qumran	Ein Feshkha	Her Jericho	Callirois Gedi	En Gedi	Masada	Herodion	Beth Zur
Ptolemaic	38	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	1	56
Antiochus III	65	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	10
Antiochus IV	72	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	131
Antiochus VII	33	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
J. Hyrcanus I	220	15	5-9	0	0	0	0	4	0	18
A. Jannaeus	3359	549	152	3	0	1	10	84	3	2
Mattathias Antigonus	24	21	6	1	0	0	0	3	0	0
Herod the Great	472	90	16	1	12	1	0	395	5	1
Herod Archelaus	137	70	15	3	32	0	0	177	1	0
Early Procurators	462	38	56	22	2	3	0	298	3	1
Agrippa I	454	12	89	33	5	0	0	114	1	1
Later Procurators	378	13	51	4	1	8	0	223	1	1
Jewish War	896	3	66	1	0	6	0	2329	48	0
Varia 71-129 A.D.	78	2	10	2	1	0	0	102	0	0
Varia post-130 A.D.	318	2	9	4	1	0	0	0	14	1
Late Roman 4.-5. c A.D.	572	15	8	0	3	26	0	2	3	6
Byzantine 6.-7. c A.D.	369	5	2	0	0	0	0	3	5	0

²⁹ The following publications are the sources utilized to compile charts for the relative percentages of various coin issues found at Judean sites. *Qumran and Ein Feshkha*: R. de Vaux, with J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I* (NTOA: Series Archaeologica 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); updated and corrected by S. Pfann (from the card files for Kh. Qumran and Ain Feshkha compiled by A. Spijkerman) in *The Excavations of Qumran and Ein Feshkha (English Edition)* (NTOA Series Archaeologica II, 2003). *Hasmonean Jericho*: Y. Meshorer, "The Coins" in *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces of Jericho II* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2004) 289-312; pls. 1-5. *Herodian Jericho*: J. B. Pritchard, "The Excavations at Herodian Jericho, 1951," *AAASOR* 32-33 (1958) 24-31 and pls. 60-62. *Callirois*: C. Clamer, *Fouilles archéologiques de 'Ain ez-Zâra/Callirrhoe: ville légendaire hérodienne* (Bibliothèque, Archéologique, et Historique CXLVII; Beirut: Institut français d'archéologie du Proche-Orient, 1997) 91-3 and pls. 30-31. *En Gedi*: B. Mazar, T. Dothan, and I. Dunayevsky, *En-Gedi: The First and Second Seasons of Excavation 1961-1962* ('Atiqot V; Jerusalem: Dept. of Antiquities, 1966) 51-2 and pl. xxviii. *Masada*: Y. Meshorer, *The Coins of Masada* (Masada I; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1991) pls. 61-81. *Herodion*: Y. Meshorer, "The Coins," in E. Netzer, ed., *Greater Herodion* (Qodem 13; Jerusalem: Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology, 1981) 75. A. Spijkerman, *Catalogo delle monete* (Herodion III; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1972). *Jerusalem*: H. Gitler, "A Comparative Study of Numismatic Evidence from Excavations in Jerusalem," *LA* 46 (1996) 317-62. *Beth Zur*: O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth Zur* (Philadelphia, 1933); Sellers, et al. "The 1957 Excavations at Beth Zur," *AASOR* 38 (1968); R. W. Funk, "Beth Zur" in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993) 261.

- percentages of Antiochus VII coins (4.2%) and Hyrcanus I coins (7.6%) during its excavations. Coins of later squatter settlement: negligible.
2. Sites which are known historically to have been occupied from the reign of Hyrcanus I onward produced significant percentages of his coins (Qumran, 1.8% or more; Jerusalem, 2.6%, Jericho Hasmonean Palace, 1.8%), but far less of Antiochus VII (Qumran, 1.2%; Jerusalem, 0.4%; Jericho Hasmonean Palace, none).
 3. At sites known historically *not* to have been occupied during the reigns of Alexander Jannaeus's immediate predecessors, the coins of Hyrcanus I, along with those of Antiochus VII and Judas Aristobulus I, not only diminish in number but virtually disappear. For example, Antiochus VII coins are completely absent at Masada. Hyrcanus I coins, found only at Masada among these sites, amount to a mere tenth of a percent (.1%), that is, only 4 of 3,856 coins found there.
 4. Coins of Alexander Jannaeus generally predominate at sites which are historically, or by ceramic evidence, known to have been occupied during Alexander Jannaeus's reign, whether preceded by John Hyrcanus or not. Substantial percentages of 30% or more were recovered at En Gedi (76.9%), Jerusalem (39.7%) and Jericho Hasmonean Palace (65.6%), while Qumran yielded 30.6% in de Vaux's excavations and *c.* 56% in Magen's excavations.³⁰
 5. Sites known to have been uninhabited during Jannaeus's reign, or to have been initially occupied by Herod the Great or later rulers, contain considerably lower percentages of Jannaeus's coins, specifically, 4% or less (Ein Feshkha, 4.0%; Herodion, 3.5%; Masada, 2.2%; Callirois, 2.2%; Beth Zur, 0.8%; Jericho Herodian Palace, none).

The discernible patterns noted above are linked to the periods of site occupation and are observable in sites that are separated by many kilometers, from Jericho in the north to Masada in the south, and from Jerusalem in the west to Callirois in the east. The profiles can be seen from the above survey, from a percentage per ruler standpoint, as

³⁰ The coins of Alexander Jannaeus were produced in the millions, primarily during the later years of his reign. The economy of the first century B.C.E. was instantly flooded with coins bearing his name. For example, an estimated 300,000+ Alexander Jannaeus coins were found in a horde at Kh. Mazin alone. See Y. Hirschfeld and D. Ariel, "A Coin Assemblage from the Reign of Alexander Jannaeus Found on the Shore of the Dead Sea," *IEJ* 55 (2005): 66-89, esp. p. 69, n. 5. This stands in striking contrast to the more modest numbers produced by his predecessors.

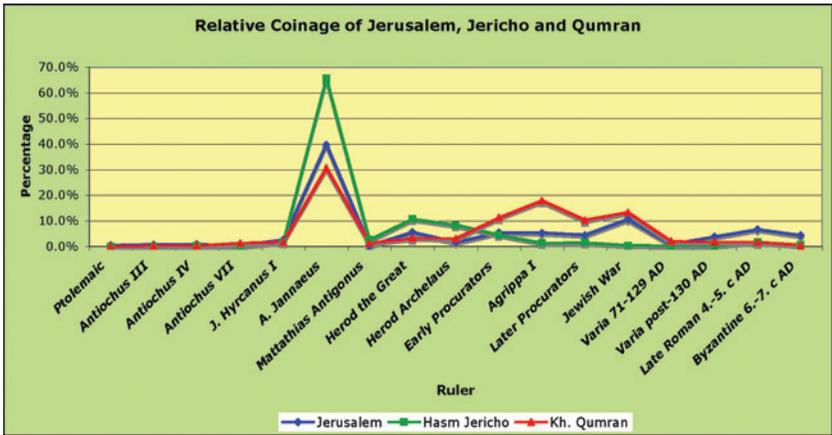


Fig. 24: Relative percentages of the coins of various rulers from Jerusalem, Hasmonean Jericho and Kh. Qumran.

varying widely depending upon the history of the settlement of each site. The profile of Khirbet Qumran most closely resembles those of Jerusalem and Hasmonean Jericho, both of which were active continuously from the second century B.C.E. until the first Revolt against Rome. The number of coins of Hyrcanus I and Antiochus VII, though relatively small, are considered in each case to be a significant indication of the site’s existence during the second half of the second century B.C.E. This provides compelling support to de Vaux’s chronology of Hellenistic Kh. Qumran as beginning during that period.

Moreover, a similar chronological distinction is markedly observable in the two Jericho sites which are distinguished by period. A comparison of the distribution of these coins at Hasmonean Jericho and Herodian Jericho, sites which were built adjacent to one another, reveals the same distinctive distribution pattern as in the larger survey. The coins of Hasmonean Jericho reflect the relative percentages found at sites which were inhabited continuously from the time of Hyrcanus I until First Revolt against Rome. On the other hand, the American excavations of Herodian Jericho which was only built during King Herod’s reign, produced no coins of Herod’s predecessors but significant percentages of his own coins and of his descendants. These chronological distinctions are also observable in the stages of building and expansion at Qumran. The second century bronze coins of Hyrcanus I, generally found in “lower level” strata according to de Vaux’s notes

(including also the coin of Aristobulus I, 104/103 B.C.E.), were found only within the original central and western areas of the settlement. This core area was judged by the excavator to have already existed during the decades preceding the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.³¹

In the light of de Vaux's excavations and the more recent excavations of Magen and Peleg, it is evident that the earlier pottery (treated above) is lacking in the later eastern additions to the original structure, i.e., in the pottery workshop and eastern dumps. These same areas lack the second century coins of Hyrcanus I and Aristobulus I but have significant numbers of the first century B.C.E. coins of Alexander Jannaeus.³² The dual testimony of the pottery and the coins bear witness to a gradual expansion of the site to the east during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, sometime after modifications had been made to the western and central areas of the site during the reign of John Hyrcanus I.³³

CONCLUSIONS: IN SUMMARY

We have examined in this paper the materials de Vaux provided from Qumran in general and especially from the lowest stratified and coherent loci at the site (especially loci sous 30 and sous 66) which he understood to provide ample evidence to support a presence at Qumran during the second half of the second century B.C.E.³⁴ It has been

³¹ R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1959, (rev. ed.; London: OUP, 1973) 5.

³² During de Vaux's excavations, 18 coins of Alexander Jannaeus were found in the eastern sectors but none of his predecessors. In their preliminary report, Magen and Peleg noted that 180 coins were excavated but exact numbers of coin issues were not provided. As a result, these coins have not been included in the statistical charts in this article. Magen and Peleg did, however, note the following: "Most of the eighty Hasmonean coins date from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. None were found from the reign of John Hyrcanus I." Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations 1993–2004: Preliminary Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007) 22.

³³ J.-B. Humbert, "Reconsideration of the Archeological Interpretation," in J.-B. Humbert, and J. Gunneweg, eds., *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie*. NTOA Series Archaeologica 3 (Göttingen, 2003) 421–22.

³⁴ I would like to express my thanks to other ceramic specialists who have examined the pottery remains and have largely concurred on the early dating of the ceramic forms found by de Vaux from the early loci. Special thanks are extended to Sy Gitin, Director and Professor of Archaeology at the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and editor of the forthcoming *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors: From the Neolithic through the Hellenistic Period* and Andrea Berlin, who wrote the

concluded that the cumulative witness from the pottery and coins does in fact provide more than enough evidence to support de Vaux's proposal for the occupation of the site of Qumran during the second half of the second century, coinciding with the excavator's Period Ia (ca. 150–130 B.C.E.)³⁵ and the early part of Period Ib (c. 130–103 B.C.E.). The lots discovered in the earliest sealed loci confirm the religious character of Qumran already by the end of Period Ia.³⁶

THE BURDEN OF PROOF

Based upon his excavations throughout most of the 1950s, Roland de Vaux proposed that the Second Temple Period occupation of Qumran was initiated with a mid to late second century Hasmonean farmstead built—after a hiatus of several centuries—over the remains of an Israelite building. This predated the arrival of the Essenes, who possibly expanded the complex to some extent during the reign of Hyrcanus I and certainly during Jannaeus' reign. De Vaux held that the site continued in use from, and was expanded during, the following periods—from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus until the Bar Kokhba Revolt. His dating of the earliest Hellenistic-Hasmonean layers was based upon a select number of stratigraphically sealed loci which he labeled Period Ia. Period Ia preceded the other, better known, Hellenistic Essene phase of Period Ib at Kh. Qumran which, according to de Vaux's stratification, likely began some time during the reign of Hyrcanus I. The sealed loci of Period Ia contained a pottery assemblage and objects which typologically parallel pottery and objects found in clear second century contexts at both Beth Zur and Maresha, sites which were both

chapter on Hellenistic pottery. They examined the pottery included in this article and gave me permission to publish their assessment. They concur that: "There are materials from both the second and first centuries B.C.E., that is, from the early and late phases of Period I, as represented in this article."

³⁵ De Vaux, in his last assessment stated "Phase Ia—which was of short duration—may possibly have begun under John Hyrcanus himself, or more likely, during the reign of one of his immediate predecessors, his father Simeon (142–134 B.C.) or his uncle Jonathan (152–142 B.C.)." See "Khirbet Qumran," in Michael Avi-Yonah and Ephraim Stern, eds., *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. IV (English ed. Jerusalem, 1978) 978.

³⁶ I am also grateful to Dr. Donald Ariel, numismatist of the Israel Antiquities Authority, for sharing his own thoughts on the potential importance of the bronze coins of Hyrcanus I and Antiochus VII, when considered corroboratively with the ceramic evidence, for understanding the stratigraphic history of the site.

destroyed during the reign of John Hyrcanus I and not inhabited subsequently during the first century. The relatively significant percentage of coins from the reign of Hyrcanus I also tends to confirm de Vaux's attribution of these first layers at Qumran to the second century B.C.E.

In spite of the existence of pottery forms excavated by de Vaux that in fact fit best in the late second century B.C.E., and the site's corroborative numismatic finds, challengers of de Vaux's second century B.C.E. strata at Qumran may continue to make a case against his conclusions by claiming that much of the material culture of that period continued into the early years of the first century B.C.E. with little development. However, the onus is on de Vaux's critics to provide clear and compelling evidence that the Period Ia materials excavated by de Vaux did not come from, nor could have come from, strata and loci originating from a second century occupation of Qumran. In the absence of such evidence, de Vaux's interpretation of Qumran's early strata remains a viable and potentially compelling explanation of the site's history during the late Second Temple Period.

The story does not end here. As further excavation reports and radiocarbon tests become available, it is hoped that it will be possible to provide additional evidence concerning the character of the second century B.C.E. occupation at Qumran and the nature of the transition from Period Ia to Period Ib.³⁷

³⁷ This article is dedicated to the memory of Hanan Eshel z"l, who encouraged me to publish the material contained in this appendix.

THE QUEST FOR NEW STRATEGIES IN TEACHING AND POPULARIZING THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

ADOLFO ROITMAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the discovery of the first Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, scholars have devoted most of their efforts to publishing the scrolls, excavating Qumran and the surrounding areas, and presenting the new literary and archaeological data. In the past, new information was communicated to the academic and non-academic world alike by means of written materials (books, articles, encyclopedia entries, magazines, catalogues),¹ visual materials (photographs, slides and microfiches),² oral presentations (academic courses, scholarly conferences, and public lectures), media coverage (newspapers, TV news, documentary films),³ archaeological tours, and permanent and temporary exhibitions.⁴ Thanks to the major technological breakthroughs of the last two decades, novel methods have been developed to disseminate knowledge regarding the scrolls and related topics, such as electronic-digital

¹ For a bibliographical list on the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah, 1970–95* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Avital Pinnick, *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1995–2000)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Ruth A. Clements and Nadav Sharon, *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature (2000–2006)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

² For example, Emanuel Tov, with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, with a *Companion Volume* (2d ed; Leiden: Brill and IDC, 1995).

³ See Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Inverting Reality: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Popular Media,” *DSD* 12.1 (2005): 24–37; Jaqueline S. du Toit and Jason Kalman, “Great Scott! The Dead Sea Scrolls, McGill University, and the Canadian Media,” *DSD* 12.1 (2005): 6–23; George J. Brooke, “The Scrolls in the British Media (1987–2002)” *DSD* 12.1 (2005): 38–51.

⁴ On the history of Dead Sea Scrolls exhibitions, see Adolfo Roitman, “Exhibiting the Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations,” in *Archaeology and Society in the 21st Century. The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Case Studies* (ed. Neil Asher Silberman and Ernest S. Frerichs; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/The Dorot Foundation, 2001), 41–66.

databases,⁵ Internet websites,⁶ and, most recently, virtual reconstructions of Qumran.⁷ Some scholars have even adopted a less formal approach, using the fictional-literary medium as an indirect channel for transmitting information.⁸

Ironically, however, the explosion of information has not necessarily improved the general public's understanding of the issues. To the contrary, a misinformation has flourished in recent decades, due to several factors:

1. As argued by Schiffman, misconceptions, as well as a great number of related false information, result from the nature of the press coverage of the scrolls. Strictly speaking, Schiffman says that "the media have tended to invert reality, and to portray the scrolls as relevant to Christianity and not Judaism, as remaining unpublished (or hidden) due to alleged threats to Christian (or even Jewish) faith, and as still under the control (although they never were) of the Vatican."⁹
2. Grossman has also shown that the oversimplifications and falsehoods present in popular presentations of the scrolls are in many cases grounded in a process of decontextualizing. As she has stated, "[w]hen the coded language of academic discourse is taken out of context and read in light of the straightforward language-assumptions of the popular realm, what results is often a reinterpretation that makes very different sense (including, at times, non-sense) of the original claims."¹⁰

⁵ Timothy H. Lim, in consultation with Philip S. Alexander, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); *The Dead Sea Scrolls Database (Non-Biblical Texts)* (ed. Emanuel Tov; The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999); *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (ed. Emanuel Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁶ As the website designed by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Hebrew University: <http://orion.mssc.huji.ac.il/>.

⁷ As the recent Qumran Visualization Project directed by William M. Schniedewind, and produced at UCLA (2007). For details, see <http://www.nelc.ucla.edu/qumran/images.html>.

⁸ For example, César Vidal, *El maestro de Justicia. La epopeya de los rollos del Mar Muerto* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 1997).

⁹ Schiffman, "Inverting Reality," 24–25.

¹⁰ Maxine L. Grossman, "Mystery or History: The Dead Sea Scrolls as Pop Phenomenon," *DSD* 12.1 (2005): 73.

Another issue underscored by Grossman's research is the redefinition of the content of the scrolls themselves. According to her view, these ancient parchments have taken on the role of an open signifier. She argues that the scrolls are presented as having artificially contemporized interpretations—i.e., mystery, controversy, and spirituality.¹¹ Concerning the spiritual interpretation of the scrolls, Grossman stresses the fact that people from different denominations look for a contemporary significance in the scrolls. On the one hand, Christians were concerned right from the beginning about the implications of the scrolls for modern Christian belief.¹² On the other hand, Jews were interested in the relevance of the scrolls for modern Jewish identity.¹³ And finally, modern spiritual-seekers, from diverse religious backgrounds, are also interested in the scrolls as a source of ancient and hidden wisdom.¹⁴

Although this cultural phenomenon has brought about, in many instances, a real distortion of the historical, archaeological and literary facts, it stems from a legitimate concern to focus on the significance of the scrolls for present-day audiences. According to Mahan, the proliferation of unfounded popular theories about the scrolls came about because of the vacuum created by the general inability or unwillingness of scholars to communicate the contents of the scrolls, and articulate their relevance to the lives of real people. And therefore, in his opinion, the only way to change such a situation is for the scholars "to make a greater effort to understand the mass media world where the meaning of the scrolls is being contested."¹⁵ He suggests that scholars develop a clear, brief, and pithy communication and a pragmatic focus, giving "time and attention to thinking seriously about the news

¹¹ On mystery and controversy in modern fictional novels, see Brenda Lesley Segal, "Holding Fiction's Mirror to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 906–12.

¹² *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith* (ed. James H. Charlesworth and Walter P. Weaver; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 1998).

¹³ See Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls* (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1957).

¹⁴ On the Dead Sea Scrolls as pop-spiritual icons, see Neil Asher Silberman, "The Scrolls as Scripture: Qumran and the Popular Imagination in the Late Twentieth Century," in Schiffman et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, 919–26.

¹⁵ Jeffrey H. Mahan, "The Dead Sea Scrolls in Popular Culture: 'I can give you no idea of the contents'," *DSD* 12.1 (2005): 92.

and entertainment media, or about how to communicate effectively within them.”¹⁶

The situation described above has created an urgent need to develop innovative languages and strategies to help communicate a range of meaningful messages grounded in the scrolls to the lay public. As, for centuries, scholars devoted thought and efforts to transform the Scriptures and Rabbinical literature into meaningful sources for non-experts,¹⁷ it has become truly necessary to start developing systematically a new field of expertise, with its own theory and methods: the teaching and popularization of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

2. SCROLLS AND EDUCATION: PAST AND PRESENT STRATEGIES

Certainly, right from the beginning, the educational dimension of the scrolls was a matter of interest. An example of this concern is the question formulated by the then-Israeli Minister of Education, Zalman Aranne, on the occasion of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Shrine of the Book Fund in April 1966, just a year after the dedication of the Israel Museum: “What can we do to impart special value to the visit of young people [to the Shrine of the Book]?” Yigael Yadin’s answer was the following:

As for our young people, there is no cause for worry or concern: they have the suitable background. They know about Bar Kokhba and when they see a letter from Bar Kokhba, this enriches their awareness and inspires them to go home and read again.¹⁸ All the more so biblical manuscripts. As for foreign visitors, I think the Shrine offers the best

¹⁶ Idem, 93.

¹⁷ See *The Bible and Us* (ed. Uriel Simon; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1979) (Hebrew); *Understanding the Bible in Our Times: Implications for Education* (ed. Marla L. Frankel and Howard Deitcher; Studies in Jewish Education, vol 9; Jerusalem: The Melton Center for Jewish Education/The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003); *Teaching Classical Rabbinic Texts* (ed. Asher Shkedi and Marc Hirshman; Studies in Jewish Education 8; Jerusalem: The Melton Center for Jewish Education/The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002).

¹⁸ In 1965, Bar Kokhba’s letters and other findings from the Cave of Letters discovered by Yigael Yadin in Naḥal Hever in 1960–1961 were on display in the Shrine of the Book along with the Dead Sea Scrolls. For details, see Adolfo Roitman, “Archaeology, Museology, and Identity. The Display of the Cave of Letters Materials in the Shrine of the Book (1965–2003),” in *Cave of Letters Volume* (ed. Harry M. Jol; STDJ; Leiden: Brill) (forthcoming).

information about the State of Israel and Zionism in general... When they view the Book of Isaiah and other finds in the main hall, written in the same language that every Israeli child uses today—this is true Zionism.¹⁹

In spite of this true and sincere interest in the educational aspects of the scrolls, and except for some occasional written materials produced by the Israel Museum Youth Wing and the Center of Educational Technology,²⁰ in the past there were just a few sporadic initiatives promoted in Israel to develop formal and non-formal educational strategies for teaching the Dead Sea Scrolls to the younger generation, and dealing with their contents, values, and contemporary relevance. One example is the guide plan for youth movements written by A. Shamosh in 1964.²¹

In this work, the writer summarized in general terms different topics concerning the scrolls and the sect, providing some basic information on the story of the discovery and the identity of the community to be discussed in informal meetings. For the last one, Shamosh formulated a crucial educational question to be considered: “What about the Community can be studied and is worthy of study?” In his answer to such a question, he revealed the ideological agenda lying behind his guide plan, according to which the Qumran community was a predecessor of the modern kibbutz movement: “Acquaintance with the sect, its practices and history, reinforced our conviction that we are on the right path. We were convinced by the tremendous significance of the original partnership, ‘The Community’; we saw that the common meal is a uniting experience; that the hard-living conditions purify and unite; that the simple country-life style is better for humans; that living in the desert is purifying.”²² In his quest for relevance to his audience, Shamosh wanted to grant legitimacy to the kibbutz movement on the basis of the scrolls and the *Yahad* Community. In his opinion, the

¹⁹ From the minutes of the meeting, p. 20. Quoted in: Adolfo Roitman, “Yigael Yadin and the Shrine of the Book,” *The Israel Museum Journal* 19 (2001): 41.

²⁰ Nehama Foerster, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, n.d.) (Hebrew); Mathia Kam, *The Treasure in the Jars* (Tel Aviv: The Center of Educational Technology, 1990) (Hebrew).

²¹ Amnon Shamosh, *The Essenes, the Community, and the Kibbutz* (Jerusalem: The Ministry of Education and Culture [Youth Department]/Szold Institute for the Child and Youth, 1964) (Hebrew).

²² Shamosh, *The Essenes, the Community, and the Kibbutz*, 51.

value of the study of such a topic lay in the fact that “it imparts values, enriches knowledge, and develops understanding.”²³

More recently, a multidisciplinary educational project for high school students, called “The Qumran Community and Its Writings,” was developed by the Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and directed by Dr. Lea Mazor. The program was conducted in 1995, with 240 students from the Dekel-Vilnay High School in Ma’ale Adummim, a city close to Jerusalem. They participated in five meetings held at the Hebrew University, rounding out the experience with a visit to the Shrine of the Book and Khirbet Qumran. This educational program had several aims: 1) to gain knowledge on the sect and its writings; 2) to study Second Temple sectarianism; and 3) to develop rational tools to evaluate and judge the present. Each of the meetings was divided into two parts. In the first part, a full lecture was given by a Hebrew University scholar;²⁴ and in the second one, the students took part in a workshop run by graduate students. As could be expected from a program organized by an academic institution, the emphasis of this educational undertaking was laid more on the academic and intellectual aspects than on experiential ones, except for the visit to the Shrine of the Book and Qumran. Regrettably, the program ended in the nineties and was never revived.²⁵

Since my appointment as Curator of the Dead Sea Scrolls in November 1994, the educational dimension of the scrolls has become an important part of our agenda. As reported by *Biblical Archaeology Review* on the occasion of my nomination: “Roitman told BAR, ‘Although many people visit the Shrine, they often don’t understand the real meaning of what they’re looking at. They know the scrolls are important, but they don’t know why.’ The main problem, Roitman said, lies in the conception of the museum in years past as a shrine—a holy place where visitors were expected to worship, to maintain a respectful

²³ Idem, 5.

²⁴ These lectures were gathered in a book. See *On a Scroll of a Book: Articles on The Dead Sea Scrolls: Lectures from Meetings on The Dead Sea Scrolls, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Institute of Jewish Studies, November–December 1995* (ed. Lea Mazor; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1997) (Hebrew).

²⁵ For details, see Lea Mazor, “The Dead Sea Scrolls—An Educational Program Inspired by the Shenhar Commission,” *Al Ha-Perek* 11 (1986): 116–23 (Hebrew); idem, “Meditations on the Recommendations of the Inspection Commission of Jewish Studies in State Education. Ideology and Action,” *Judaism and Humanism* 6 (Jerusalem, 1996): 129–37 (Hebrew).

silence and an attitude of awed reverence. Roitman envisions a 'living museum,' where children are as welcome as scholars, and where visitors can talk informally and exchange information without feeling that they are violating the decorum of a temple. The paramount obligation of the Shrine of the Book, he believes, is to educate the public about the rich and varied history of Second Temple Judaism.²⁶

Already in 1995, a half-day experiential program was created as a joint project of the Shrine of the Book and the Museum's Youth Wing, and ran for about four years. Groups from Israel, like the above-mentioned groups from the Hebrew University educational project, as well as Jewish young students from abroad (i.e., the Tapuz program) participated in this initiative.²⁷ The program, designed and implemented by the then-Youth Wing curator Aliza Bezael, was structured as follows: When the group arrived at the Shrine, an actor, dressed as an archaeologist, gave the young people an explanation about the sect and its writings. When the group reached the inner hall of the Shrine, the actor changed his clothes and became Flavius Josephus, telling the students about his own experience of living with Banus in the Judean Desert (as told by Josephus himself in his *Vita*).²⁸ Then, once the young students had gained the basic knowledge about different topics related to the scrolls, they participated in several workshops on Hebrew script and writing, and on ceramic restoration techniques. At the end of the activity, the group convened in a sect-like refectory, and in the framework of a Qumran-style meal, held a closing session discussing topics related to modern Jewish identity.²⁹

A few years later, inspired by the international conference held at the Israel Museum in 1997, and with the endorsement and support of the Dorot Foundation, the Shrine of the Book started developing formal educational programs for teaching the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, a fifth matriculation unit in Bible Studies, entitled "The Desert Motif in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls" was produced and ran as a

²⁶ BAR 21.1 (1995): 20–21.

²⁷ "Tapuz" was a program organized by the Jewish Agency in the 1980s, which subsidized travel to Israel for Jewish youth from South America to enhance Jewish identity and education and ties between Israel and Diaspora.

²⁸ The play was written by Tzivia Alter.

²⁹ Recently, a family activity called "Scripts and Scrolls" was conceived and developed by my associate curator Galit Bennett Dahan. Since December 2008, this project is being regularly implemented by the Museum's Youth Wing.

pilot project for a couple of years in several Jerusalem high schools.³⁰ In addition, the virtual 3D “Shrine Educational Experience” (SEE), jointly created by the Israel Museum and the Politecnico di Milano of Italy, was developed and implemented in the years 2001–2003 as a pilot project in schools in Israel and Italy.³¹ In a different vein, in 2005, a Jewish-Christian seminar was held at the Israel Museum to study the shared roots of the two religions, and to enhance mutual understanding and promote interfaith dialogue. On that occasion, twenty-two Christians and Jews from Ottawa spent two days at the Shrine, studying the scrolls and their meaning for Judaism and Christianity. Besides this academic aspect of the program, the group visited the Old City of Jerusalem, Qumran and the Galilee.

At the same time, in our search for new methods to popularize the Dead Sea Scrolls, a new artistic language was conceived, in order to broaden the general community’s understanding of the spiritual and cultural significance of the scrolls, and to rediscover the human dimension hidden within the dry parchments and mute archaeological artifacts and sites. The subject of the scrolls was addressed in a number of creative works.³²

1. On March 21, 2000 (the very day Pope John Paul II arrived in Israel), a performance, *From the Profane to the Sacred: The Judean Desert Community*, took place at the Shrine of the Book.³³ It was designed as a unique event, on the occasion of the reception at the Shrine of a large delegation from the American universities involved in the Bethsaida excavation project. The concept of the production was to tell a story through music and dance. On that occasion, the Shrine of the Book became a kind of theater, exploiting the theatrical features of the building’s extraordinary architecture.³⁴

³⁰ This unit was written and implemented by Ornit Levy.

³¹ This virtual project was developed by Dr. Susan Hazan, Delilah Hizmi, and Ornit Levy (Israel), and Prof. Paolo Paolini and Nicoletta Di Blas (Italy). For details, see Nicoletta Di Blas, Paolo Paolini, and Susan Hazan, “The SEE Experience: Edutainment in 3D Virtual Worlds,” in *Pervasive Computing and Communications Workshops, 2005. PerCom 2005 Workshops. Third IEEE International Conference on 8–12 March 2005*, 291–295 (<http://www.archimuse.com/mw2003/papers/>). For more details, see Susan Hazan’s paper in this volume.

³² From the very beginning, all these artistic projects were coordinated by my assistant Tirza Deutscher.

³³ This performance was written and directed by Yshai Dan and Orly Avidor.

³⁴ On the architecture and symbolism of the Shrine of the Book, see Adolfo Roit-

2. In 2004, an audio-play entitled “A Journey to the Desert” was launched.³⁵ This work tells a story of two young men, who were considering becoming members of the Community. The rationale of this project was that during their visit to the permanent exhibition at the Shrine, visitors would listen to the audio-play, and while viewing the artifacts on exhibit, would “run the movie” in their minds.
3. Also in 2004, another exciting and innovative project was set in motion, in conjunction with the Khan Jerusalem Theater: to write a play on the Qumran sect. The task was assigned to the well-known Israeli writer, the late Batya Gur. Under the responsibility and guidance of the renowned director Michael Gurevitch, she worked on the project for a few months, before being overtaken by illness. The project has not moved forward since Ms. Gur’s death in 2005.
4. In 2006, on the occasion of the dedication of the Dorot Foundation Information and Study Center in Memory of Joy Gottesman-Ungerleider and the installation of the former Holyland Model of Second Temple Jerusalem in the grounds of the Shrine of the Book, two major projects were undertaken. In the first, based on passages from the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the designer Ariel Malka created a three-dimensional animated real-time 3D work called *JavaScriptorium*, in which he charts the journey of the People of the Book in a never-ending loop of dynamic micro-calligraphy inspired by Jewish scribal art.³⁶ In the second, Ron Assouline directed and produced a short film called *A Human Sanctuary*. This dramatic film about the Judean Desert Sect, based on information drawn from ancient texts and archaeological finds, tells a fictional story of three young men—two future members of the *Yaḥad* Community and one young priest from Jerusalem, who lived in the Land of Israel at the end of the Second Temple period. The film presents their trials and tribulations, their hopes and dreams.³⁷

man, “The History, Architecture and Symbolism of the Shrine of the Book,” *The Israel Museum Journal* 15 (1997): 15–34.

³⁵ The writer was Yosefa Even-Shoshan; the producer of the Hebrew version and voice director—Kobi Eshel; and the music composer—Yubal Messner.

³⁶ This digital art work is regularly shown at the Information and Study Center in the Shrine of the Book. For details, see <http://www.chronotext.org./scriptorium/>. Also on this, see Susan Hazan’s article in this volume.

³⁷ More recently, a more traditional documentary film was released at the Shrine of the Book called *Rebirth: The Story of the Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

5. In 2006 and 2007, vocal concerts were held in the main hall of the Shrine of the Book, making use of the cathedral-like features of the dome. This musical experience was the first stage of a future exciting development: to have Musica Sacra performances at the Shrine, recreating the “angelical” atmosphere prevailing in Qumran with the singing of *Shirot ‘Olat Ha-Shabbat*.

3. INSIGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

To conclude this paper, I would like to share a few insights and make several suggestions that have emerged from our accumulated experience. These could serve in the future as a basis and an outline for the development of both formal and informal educational programs in the field of the scrolls:

1. It is not enough to transmit information by traditional means. In an age with so high a threshold of stimulation, it is recommended to employ methods that produce an *experience*. Artistic forms like film, theater, and music, for example, or digital virtual technologies, can excite emotion, interest and curiosity in the visiting public.³⁸
2. The artistic experience has an additional advantage: It allows the visitor to “touch” the human dimension of the ancient writings and the silent artifacts. Cinematic or theatrical techniques, for example, can bring to life the members of the ancient sect and their spiritual world, and transform an unengaged and indifferent audience into one that understands and empathizes.
3. Personal involvement is a crucial condition for a deeper experience. For example, young people respond favorably to activities that force them to grapple personally with research issues like deciphering writings or repairing artifacts. The experience gives them a concrete understanding of the challenges facing researchers, and allows them to develop analytical tools and comprehension.

³⁸ The development of a DSS discovery animation film-strip, intended for audiences in the age range of 7–12, is currently getting underway at the Shrine of the Book, due to the initiative of Rotem Arieli, the recently appointed director of the Information and Study Center.

4. The study of the world of the scrolls, and of Second Temple Judaism in general, not only creates a familiarity with and an understanding of the past, but provides tools for examining the present as well. For some visitors, for instance, exploring the phenomenon of the sects, gender questions and the polemics in the Second Temple period may help put their own cultural reality in an appropriate historical perspective.
5. Educational programs need to be adapted to the sensitivities, the ideology and the values of specific groups of visitors. For example, in teaching the subject of the scrolls to people who believe in the sanctity of the Masoretic text as the Word of God, one must be aware of the potential threat that the scrolls pose to their worldview, since the scrolls contain passages of the Hebrew Bible that are not identical to, and sometimes even contradict, the Masoretic text. Similarly, the fact that the members of "*Yahad*" were interpreters who were in bitter conflict with the Pharisees, and that the scrolls were not transmitted "organically" through the rabbinic tradition, makes the sectarians apostates and unacceptable role models in the eyes of devout Jews today. In such cases, an educational program has to be developed which strongly stresses the historical continuity of the customs, the beliefs and the literature of the world of the scrolls with those of the ancient mainstream sages. From personal experience, I can report that such an approach lowers resistance, and arouses interest and even amazement.

In the case of the non-religious community, the emphases need to be entirely different. In my opinion, one has to play down blatantly religious topics like purity, faith, and sanctity, which are alien to their conceptual world. More relevant to them are questions of a life-style characterized by a commitment to community, frugality, and sensitivity to nature and the environment.

6. Students should be introduced to the entire spiritual world of the sect, with all its complexities and contradictions. They need to appreciate its positive values (like mutual help, antipathy to wealth, and the search for an inner truth) and be aware of its negative ones (like an ideology of hate and religious radicalism). One should not give a romantic picture of the sect, but rather the students should be encouraged to take a critical and discriminating approach to the past.

7. The study of the scrolls can significantly advance interfaith dialogue. The Judean Desert Sect and the Dead Sea Scrolls are testimony to a time before the birth of Christianity and the emergence of Rabbinic Judaism. That fact can highlight the common heritage of Jews and Christians before their ways parted.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the intellectual efforts of scholars have been devoted to understanding the data in their original historical context. Until now, our attention was directed towards the past. However, after sixty years of research, and even though many riddles still remain to be solved, I think scholars have to start looking at the ancient documents in a new way. As the Teacher of Righteousness, Rabbi Akiva, and Origin combined true scholarship with midrashic interpretations in their teachings and writings, to make the Scriptures relevant for their generations, so the present Dead Sea Scrolls scholars must also examine the ancient parchments for relevance and meaning for our present generation.

For the first time, an entire session at an international conference is being devoted to the educational approach. I see this historical event as the best expression of the dramatic changes that have taken place in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls research in the past twenty years. From an esoteric, almost sectarian scholarly domain, it has been transformed into public and open discourse. Now, let us go a step further. Instead of letting the non-professionals distort the true spiritual significance of the ancient writings, it is our moral obligation, as suggested by Mahan, “to communicate the contents of the scrolls and articulate their relevance to the lives of real people.” As it is written in the *Community Rule*: “The Master shall instruct all the Sons of Light” (1QS 3:12).

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