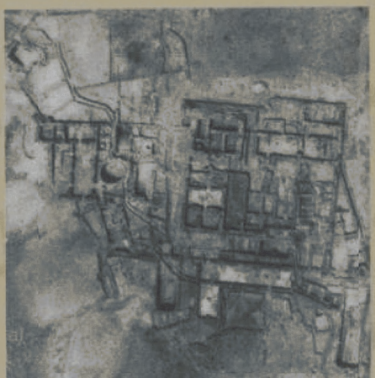
Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

The Bible at Qumran

Text, Shape, and Interpretation

PETER W. FLINT
Editor



Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

Peter W. Flint, Martin G. Abegg Jr., and Florentino García Martínez, General Editors

The Dead Sea Scrolls have been the object of intense interest in recent years, not least because of the release of previously unpublished texts from Qumran Cave 4 since the fall of 1991. With the wealth of new documents that have come to light, the field of Qumran studies has undergone a renaissance. Scholars have begun to question the established conclusions of the last generation; some widely held beliefs have withstood scrutiny, but others have required revision or even dismissal. New proposals and competing hypotheses, many of them of an uncritical and sensational nature, vie for attention. Idiosyncratic and misleading views of the Scrolls still abound, especially in the popular press, while the results of solid scholarship have yet to make their full impact. At the same time, the scholarly task of establishing reliable critical editions of the texts is nearing completion. The opportunity is ripe, therefore, for directing renewed attention to the task of analysis and interpretation.

Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature is a new series designed to address this need. In particular, the series aims to make the latest and best Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship accessible to scholars, students, and the thinking public. The volumes that are projected — both monographs and collected essays — will seek to clarify how the Scrolls revise and help shape our understanding of the formation of the Bible and the historical development of Judaism and Christianity. Various offerings in the series will explore the reciprocally illuminating relationships of several disciplines related to the Scrolls, including the canon and text of the Hebrew Bible, the richly varied forms of Second Temple Judaism, and the New Testament. While the Dead Sea Scrolls constitute the main focus, several of these studies will also include perspectives on the Old and New Testaments and other ancient writings — hence the title of the series. It is hoped that these volumes will contribute to a deeper appreciation of the world of early Judaism and Christianity and of their continuing legacy today.

Peter W. Flint
Martin G. Abegg Jr.
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THE BIBLE AT QUMRAN

Text, Shape, and Interpretation

Edited by

PETER W. FLINT

with the Assistance of
TAE HUN KIM

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Preface

The eleven essays in this volume feature two principal themes: the text and shape of the "Bible" at Qumran, and the interpretation of these Scriptures by the Qumran community or other ancient Jews. Further details of the individual essays are provided in the Introduction; the primary purpose of this Preface is to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of several individuals in bringing the volume to finalization and into print.

First and foremost, I am indebted to Tae Hun Kim, currently in Ph.D. program at the University of Notre Dame, for the great deal of time, meticulous effort, and computer expertise he spent in preparing the manuscript for publication. Thanks are also extended to Christopher Davis and Ian Spaa for their exact and patient work in preparing the indices, which are so essential to any volume of this nature. Finally, the cooperation and encouragement of the Publisher is acknowledged. This is the fifth volume in the series STUDIES IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND RELATED LITERATURE, which has enjoyed considerable recognition and success, in no small part due to the efforts of the Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. I am especially grateful to Senior Editor Allen Myers and Associate Managing Editor Jennifer Hoffman for their work on the present volume.

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Diacritical Marks, Sigla, and Abbreviations

Abbreviations of journals, reference works, and other secondary sources generally conform to the "Instructions for Contributors" in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 55 (1993) 888-97 and the *Membership Directory and Handbook* of the Society of Biblical Literature (1994) 223-40. For abbreviations of Qumran sigla, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study,* rev. ed. (SBLRBS 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 1-8.

Diacritical Marks and Sigla

(?)	Doubt exists as to the identification of a verse or reading
§	Section (e.g., Josephus, *Antiquities* 1 §93)
[Daniel]	The bracketed word is no longer extant but has been restored.
[???]	As above
Da[niel]	The bracketed part of the word has been restored.
[??]???	As above
to (his) throne	The bracketed word is added to improve the English translation.
to <his> throne	The word is a new reconstruction of the author.
[ ] or [. . .]	In transcriptions, space between fragments or where the surface of the leather is missing
] . . . [	Letters (in this case three) with ink traces remaining, but which cannot be identified

//	Two or more parallel texts (e.g., Psalm 18//2 Samuel 22)
{. . .}	Illegible text that has been erased by the copyist
דניאל	A supralinear letter inserted by the copyist or by another scribe
א	A letter that is certain
א̇	A probable letter (denoted by a dot)
א̊	A possible letter (denoted by a circlet)
{א}	Legible text that has been erased by the copyist
2:4-5	The second extant column of the manuscript, lines 4-5
10 ii 4-5	Fragment 10, column 2, lines 4-5
4QPs^{a}	The first of a series of Psalms manuscripts found in Cave 4
4QEn^{a} ar	The first of a series of Enoch manuscripts, written in Aramaic, found in Cave 4
4QpapTobit^{a} ar	The first Tobit manuscript from Cave 4, written on papyrus and in Aramaic
4Q365	Number 365 in a sequence of scrolls from Cave 4
4QDan Suzanna? ar	A scroll from Cave 4 that is alleged to contain part of Suzanna, but this identification is not certain
4QMMT	See under MMT
1 Clem	*The First Letter of Clement (1 Clement)*
ANE	Ancient Near East
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*
Ar.	Aramaic
b.	The Babylonian Talmud (Bavli)
b. Ned.	The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Nedarim*
b. Sanh.	The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Sanhedrin*
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BH or *BHK*	*Biblia Hebraica* (ed. R. Kittel)
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
CD	A copy (or copies) of the *Damascus Document* discovered in Cairo
col(s.)	Column(s)
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
Eccl. Hist.	Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*
ed(s).	Edition, editor(s), or edited
frg(s).	Fragment(s)
Fug.	Philo, *De Fuga et Inventione (On Flight and Finding)*

Gen. Rab.	*Genesis Rabbah*
HUBP	The Hebrew University Bible Project
IAA	The Israel Antiquities Authority
J.W.	Josephus, *Jewish War*
L or B^{19A}	The St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) Codex
La	The Vetus Latina or Old Latin translation of the Septuagint
LAB	Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Biblical Antiquities)*
LXX	The Septuagint
Midr. Tanaḥ	*Midrash Tanḥuma*
MasSir	The Ben Sira scroll discovered at Masada
MT	The Masoretic Text
MMT or 4QMMT	*Miqṣat Ma'aśeh Ha-Torah* from Cave 4 at Qumran
m.	Mishnah (as in *m. Yadayim*)
ms(s)	Individual manuscript(s)
Mos.	Philo, *De Vita Mosis (On the Life of Moses)*
Num. Rab.	*Numbers Rabbah*
OG	The Old Greek (original Septuagint)
p.	Pesher (e.g. $4QpPs^{a}$)
pap	Papyrus
pap7QEn gr	*1 Enoch* from Cave 7, written on papyrus and in Greek
pap7QEpJer gr	The Epistle of Jeremiah from Cave 7, written on papyrus and in Greek
Praem.	Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis (On Rewards and Punishments)*
Ps.-J.	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
repr.	Reprint(ed)
S or ℵ	Codex Sinaiticus
SP	The Samaritan Pentateuch
Syr	Syriac (Peshitta)
T12P	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
TJudah	*Testament of Judah*
TNaph	*Testament of Naphtali*
TLevi	*Testament of Levi*
TMoses	*Testament of Moses*
TQahat	*Testament of Qahat*
Tanḥ	*Tanḥuma*
Tg	Targum

Tg. Onq.	*Targum Onqelos*
Vg	Vulgate
v(v).	Verse(s)
Vorlage	The Hebrew text used by the translator of the Greek or another Version
y.	The Palestinian Talmud (Yerushalmi)

Journal and Series Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BR	*Biblical Research*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CJA	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity
ConB	Coniectanea biblica
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJDJ	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EBC	*Expositor's Bible Commentary*
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
ErIsr	*Eretz Israel*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBHS	*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*
IDBSup	F. Crim et al. (eds.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplement*
IES	Israel Exploration Society
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSJSup	*Journal for the Study of Judaism,* Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament,* Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* Supplement Series
JSPSup	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha,* Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LDSS	Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls
MHUC	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NJBC	R. E. Brown et al. (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTij	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
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
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SDSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Introduction

As the title indicates, the eleven essays that follow have been collected around two principal themes: the text and shape of the "Bible" at Qumran, and the interpretation of these Scriptures by the Qumran community or other ancient Jews. Four of these essays (by J. Bowley, E. Ulrich, J. VanderKam, and R. Wall) were originally presented as papers at the Dead Sea Scrolls Institute of Trinity Western University, and one (by B. Waltke) is reproduced with permission from *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997). The remaining essays (by M. Abegg Jr., C. Evans, P. Flint, J. Sanders, and J. Scott) were written by invitation for this volume.

Part 1 is titled THE SCRIPTURES, THE CANON, AND THE SCROLLS, and consists of five essays. In "Canon as Dialogue" James A. Sanders defines canon as a constant dialogue (or discourse) within and outside itself, and as manifested in the intertextuality of the Bible and Qumran literature. He seeks to overcome the dialogical impasse that exists among different religions that worship the one and same God (Christianity, Judaism, Islam) through intertextuality, which serves to enhance our understanding of one another's religions. In his essay "How We Got the Hebrew Bible: The Text and Canon of the Old Testament," Bruce K. Waltke provides an overview of Old Testament textual criticism and discusses the divergent interests that exist between textual and literary criticism. He then explores the main sources (the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Dead Sea Scrolls), provides a brief history of their textual transmission, and emphasizes textual criticism as an essential tool for exegesis.

In "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures Found at Qumran," Eugene

Ulrich focuses on the shape of the emerging Hebrew canon and Scripture in the late Second Temple period and discusses the new insights and information provided by the Dead Sea Scrolls. Ulrich recognizes multiple literary editions of biblical books that were preserved among — and equally respected by — various faith communities (Jewish, Samaritan, Qumranic, and Christian). He concludes that any one textual tradition is not necessarily superior to another, and that translations of the Bible should be based upon a critically established text. In "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus," Craig A. Evans discusses the canon of Scripture in Jesus' day, especially whether the traditional tripartite structure of the OT (the *Tanak*) had been established by then. Among other things, Evans argues that the whole of Scripture (the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings) testify to and support the truth of belief in Jesus.

The final essay in this section is "Noncanonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Apocrypha, Other Previously Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha" by Peter W. Flint. He begins by pleading for a stricter definition of terms, especially of *Apocrypha* (as "Jewish works of the Second Temple period that are excluded from the Hebrew Bible but included in the Old Testaments of some but not all churches"). This definition allows for the inclusion of several works that are usually termed *Pseudepigrapha* (e.g., Psalm 151, *4 Maccabees, 1 Enoch, Jubilees*) in the category *Apocrypha.* Flint then surveys three categories of writing in the Scrolls — *Apocrypha,* other previously known writings, and *Pseudepigrapha* — and considers which of these writings were regarded as Scripture by the Qumran community.

Part 2, BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS, consists of six essays. In "The Interpretation of Genesis in *1 Enoch,*" James C. VanderKam discusses the first book of Enoch and its influence and role in explaining the origin and the continued pervasiveness of sin in the antediluvian and diluvian age. The finds in the Dead Sea Scrolls now furnish the textual evidence for the earliest layer of the work, which was originally written in Aramaic but mostly survives in Ethiopic, Greek, and Latin. In "Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure," Craig A. Evans considers the figure of Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although this patriarch does not feature prominently in the Scrolls, there are a few works (especially 1QapGen) that — together with other Jewish pseudepigraphal books — provide a fuller picture of Abraham and answer questions that are not provided in the Bible. One such question is why Abraham was chosen to be the ancestor of the people of Israel.

In "Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed," James E. Bowley examines the treatment of Moses in the Qumran

corpus and outlines the towering significance of Moses and the central role that he plays in Qumranic literature. Moses dominates many of the sectarian texts of the community whose members were to abide in God's law that was given through him. In "Korah and Qumran" James M. Scott delves into the meaning of the judgment of Korah in 4Q423 fragment 5. This text harkens back to the wilderness period of Israel's salvation history and warns against schism inside the community; it may well reflect the self-understanding and the past history of the Qumran community itself. Scott suggests that the reference to Korah describes the divine judgment expected on the schismatics within the congregation and serves to urge enlightened members of the community to understand the divinely ordained plan for the future.

In "4QMMT, Paul, and 'Works of the Law,'" Martin G. Abegg Jr. examines *Miqṣat Ma'aśeh Ha-Torah* and shows how this important document can both aid and confuse our understanding of the phrase "works of the law" in the New Testament, especially in the Pauline Epistles. While it is difficult to imagine that 4QMMT and Galatians, which both employ this term, were directly related, it seems plausible that they were dealing with a common theological issue. In the final essay, "The Intertextuality of Scripture: The Example of Rahab (James 2:25)," Robert W. Wall discusses how, in an intertextual manner, James joins Abraham and Rahab as the prime examples of merciful deeds toward needy neighbors as the means of justifying one's professed faith. Abraham the great patriarch and Rahab the Canaanite prostitute — although seemingly disparate and heterogeneous — actually complement each other in demonstrating God's mercy and justification to all who believe in God and treat their poor neighbors mercifully.

The volume closes with a select bibliography and two indices (Modern Authors and Ancient Literature).

PETER W. FLINT

PART 1

THE SCRIPTURES, THE CANON, AND THE SCROLLS

Canon as Dialogue

JAMES A. SANDERS

1. Introduction

Some religions are scriptured while others are not. Within the three monotheistic religions now surviving, the Quran purports to be a record of divine revelation to an individual, while the Bible, Jewish or Christian, purports to be records of human responses to divine revelations.[1] While others must say how much dialogue there is in the Quran, the Jewish and Christian canons are replete with dialogue within a literary context of a rough, monotheizing process evident in approximately 10 percent of Israel's ancient literature, or the literature of the early churches that ended up in canons.

Within Judaism and Christianity there are multiple canons, with most books within the First Testament shared by all the canons, but they differ one from another in both structure and content — from the smallest, that is, the Jewish and Protestant canons, to the eighty books of the Ethiopian Orthodox canon. All the Christian canons betray structures, as does the Jewish, that are interpretations in themselves. All manuscripts of the Septuagint that we have came through Christian communities so that we have no idea quite how the Hellenistic-Jewish communities in pre-Christian times thought of a structure, or canon as *norma normata,* for the Greek scrolls of their Bible. While all such structures started with the Torah or Pentateuch, for that was the most stable part of the Jewish canon or the Christian First Testament, after this we

1. Cf. W. C. Smith, *What Is Scripture?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 45-91; J. A. Sanders, "Canon," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. D. N. Freedman et al. (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1.837-52.

have only theoretical clues about the LXX before its departure from surviving rabbinic Jewish hands. In the age of scrolls, before the codex came into Jewish use, the question, of course, is moot.

For these reasons, and for other equally important reasons we shall explore, the Bible is full of dialogue. In fact, Scripture, of any canon, Jewish or Christian, is a dialogical literature. Dialogue, or discourse, takes different forms within Scripture. Some were between contemporary colleagues who disagreed with each other about a major issue or crisis in the life of Israel, such as dialogues between so-called true and false prophets, or between Jesus and the religious leaders of his day. Contradictions within the text of a prophet need not necessarily be seen as stemming from different ancient sources but may indicate debates engaged with so-called false prophets who were contemporaries. Those are very interesting in part because what the false prophets said had the support of the leaders and the people of the time, but they are not the ones that made it into Scripture. For false prophets God's promises and commitments to Israel were sort of credits that they could cash in according to the need of Israel in crisis as they thought. True prophets firmly believed in God's promises and commitments but clearly taught that God, as the creator of all peoples, was free to fulfill those promises according to God's agenda, and not a human agenda; and the route to the fulfillment of the promises might be very rough and painful. True prophets always said the tough things which when remembered later, however, were very helpful for the people's later survival and existence. These pronouncements hence got on a kind of tenure track of repetition and recitation and thus became a part of canonical Scripture.

In nearly all these cases literary-historical criticism has shown that heresies or dissent often later became "orthodox." "Heresy as discourse" is rooted in understanding canon as dialogue. In Scripture's monotheizing context God is presented as sponsor of ongoing discourse.[2]

Dialogue also occurs in Scripture between two points of view that, while literally contradictory, often addressed quite different problems and situations in antiquity. This kind of silent dialogue, as it were, provides Scripture with an internal corrective device, which should prevent the reader from absolutizing one or the other, or from harmonizing away the dialogue.

Another type of ongoing dialogue in Scripture derives from Scripture's being multicultural. The Bible is an anthology of literature produced over a span of roughly twelve hundred years, from the Semitic Bronze and Iron Age

2. See J. A. Sanders, "Canonical Hermeneutics: True and False Prophecy," in idem, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1987) 87-105.

world through the non-Semitic Persian period into the European Hellenistic-Roman world. The Bible contains not only literature influenced by the cultures of those periods but also literature adapted from non-Hebrew and non-Jewish cultures. Careful study of the hermeneutics by which Israel adopted the Wisdom of others reveals a hermeneutical process of adaptation that is instructive for the canonical process. Keeping the Second Testament in Scripture, or in the canon, provides a framework for Christian dialogue with the Semitic and early non-Semitic worlds that guards against absolutizing the cultural traps and trappings of the Hellenistic age.

A fourth kind of dialogue in the Bible occurs wherever later Scripture cites, quotes, or echoes earlier Scripture within a canon. This kind of dialogue often provides a depth to the point the passage makes, which one, however, misses if one ignores the allusion or gives credence only to the interpretation of the later passage in which the citation occurs. Christians tend to do this in reading the Second Testament because they somehow believe that the Second Testament supersedes the First, which one can then safely ignore. On the contrary, the Second Testament presupposes and relies on the First; it doesn't go through all the monotheizing struggles of the First Testament that affirm belief in One Creator God who chose Israel for a purpose and a mission.

Often otherwise reputable theologians will base an idea on one passage in the Bible and then go on to assume that it is supported by the whole of the Bible. So-called conservatives especially insist that the entire Bible is totally harmonious. At the close of a century when the general population has become more and more ignorant of the contents of the Bible, such a view can be abused to persuade the faithful of one point of view — a clear violation of the third commandment, which prohibits taking God's name in vain, by calling upon God's name to support one single point of view, in court or in theological debate. The insistence that Scripture is totally harmonious is usually politically motivated.

Since the Second Testament reflects clearly the period of textual fluidity, in the history of transmission of the text of the First Testament, before full stabilization of the Hebrew text, one must first attempt to discern what form of the text is cited or echoed in the Second Testament passage. All forms must be reviewed whether in Greek, or in Hebrew and Aramaic from the Dead Sea Scrolls, or in Syriac and Latin from other early witnesses. Even then one has to allow the Second Testament writer a measure of fluidity within those forms in citations of the First, all the more so in paraphrases, allusions, and echoes of the earlier passage. (We shall later look at the seven modes of this form of intertextuality.) Then one should trace the *Nachleben* of the First Testament passage from its inception in the Tanak, through the Septuagint, the Scrolls,

and indeed all Early Jewish literature, down to the New Testament. This exercise is called *Comparative Midrash,* to which we shall also return.

2. The Scrolls and Religious Identity

There have been remarkable, even revolutionary developments in the study of Early Jewish and Christian origins as a result of fifty years of study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The intense interest on the part of the general public in the Scrolls derives from the fact that they date to the period of the birth of Early Christianity and the emergence of formative or rabbinic Judaism. Many (especially hard-media) manuscript discoveries from other sources — but important to biblical study in this century — have not yet been published, and yet there has been no such clamor calling for their release. None, however, touches so directly on existential questions of spiritual identity in the public at large.

Many Jews and Christians feel personally involved in the information the Scrolls contain about the origins of these two major faiths; theirs is apparently an existential interest. There is the fear as well as the hope that the Scrolls are going to prove or disprove their faith, or major tenets in it. One who is asked to lecture to lay and pastoral groups is steadily barraged with questions about Jesus, or James his brother, or John the Baptist, because of theories about the Scrolls that get into the popular media; and most such theories are either totally unfounded or dubious at best because of the multivalent nature of the languages of the Scrolls. The very nature of the Scrolls demands careful and scrupulous discussion by scholars fully aware of their multivalency. Along with the cry for open access, a commendable cry in itself, has gone, unfortunately, a less than scholarly rush to the popular press with preposterous or poorly founded theories that feed the hopes or fears of lay folk.[3]

One's religion is the essence of one's identity, even in the Western world which emphasizes individual worth, merit, and responsibility. Confession of faith is a confession of community identity. Some lay people have suspected for some time that their faith was not as historically well founded as they had once thought. Skepticism among Jews and Christians has been building among lay people during the course of the twentieth century, and they come

3. Otto Betz and Rainer Riesner in *Jesus, Qumran, and the Vatican: Clarifications* (New York: Crossroad, 1994) have provided solid correctives to such theories; see the author's review in *Interpretation* 49 (1995) 300-302.

to lectures on the Dead Sea Scrolls hoping to hear confirmation either of their skepticism or of their faith, their fear or their hope. Some have already decided to leave synagogue or church and want the decision bolstered; some have left the mainline religions and sought refuge in fundamentalist groups that traffic in simplistic views of biblical authority; and some are in the throes of deciding just what they should think.

That is a heavy burden to place on the Scrolls or any other archaeological find. In the 1950s, when the Scrolls were first coming to light, they appeared on a scene in which there already was an intense discussion of whether archaeology could in some way verify or falsify historically founded faiths like Judaism and Christianity. This was especially the case in the United States, where archaeology has been somewhat overvalued and even romanticized due in part to the massive influence of William F. Albright and his student, Frank M. Cross, who with immense expertise and imagination combined the fields of archaeology and philology to address the basic question of how to bridge the gap between biblical record and historical event. Albright's tendency was to date biblical sources earlier than other scholars and thus reduce the gap, apparently increasing the level of credibility of the biblical sources over what source and form criticism, developed and refined in German scholarship, had determined were their later dates in antiquity. He developed an organismic view of history that seemed to support conservative views of the historical reliability of the biblical record. It was considered fairly safe to study Bible in the Albright mode, and administrators and trustees of conservative seminaries felt it prudent to hire such scholars on their faculties; it was a mode that brought focus to the question of the relation of history and faith. It seemed to be a way to avoid heresy.

Earlier in the century the German pan-Babylonian school of biblical study had claimed that archaeological findings were showing how dependent the Bible was on extrabiblical Near Eastern sources. This apparently served in an earlier day to raise similar questions of history and faith. Paul Tillich once said that when he was a young theologian in Dresden in the late twenties he dreaded reading the paper each morning for fear that he would have to take another step backward in his faith. Such an attitude indicates that archaeology can enhance or discourage faith by affirming or denying its historical origins, and hence archaeology became a force to contend with by the beginning of this century. Today the situation has considerably changed so that one tends now to thank God for the Canaanites and others who have contributed to Scripture in various ways, and one expects considerably less from archaeology either to prove or to disprove the faith. It has become more and more difficult to define heresy.

Part of the comparatively new postmodern perspective on reality since the 1960s is a renewed interest in the Bible as canon, or what makes Scripture Scripture.[4]

3. Spinoza and Biblical Criticism

The history of biblical criticism may be viewed as a continuing response over a span of 330 years to answer Benedict or Baruch Spinoza's call (1670) to write a history of the formation of the Bible. When in 1523 Martin Luther began to translate the Hebrew Old Testament into German, he immediately encountered the necessity to engage in text criticism because of the differences in readings in the few manuscripts available to him around Erfurt, and in the First, then Second, Rabbinic Bibles. He developed a hermeneutic of text criticism he called *Res et Argumentum,* whereby the Christian text critic would choose the variant that pointed to the "gospel of Jesus Christ." Of course, this meant Luther's understanding of Paul's understanding of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He denigrated the value of the contributions of the Masoretes, including the vowel pointing, to permit revocalization of words in crucial "christological" passages. In other words, Luther allowed textual choices and emendations in order to adjust the text to point to the *Res,* or Christian gospel as he understood it. Thus was established the denigration of the work of the Masoretes and the legitimacy of emendation of the received text.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, critics and anti-critics alike had agreed that if the autographs of Moses and the prophets were available, they would be the norm, or true canon, for the text of the Hebrew Bible, indeed, of the Old Testament as well. The anti-critics held that by a special divine assistance the MT had been preserved identical, or nearly so, to the autographs. The critics maintained that the available apographs contained serious errors and corruptions in a number of readings; some also held that there was evidence of different *Vorlagen* behind the MT and LXX traditions.

The definitive contribution of the seventeenth century was that of Spinoza's programmatic *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670). His was a free spirit of dissent condemned by both synagogue and church. In the background of Spinoza's thinking were Thomas Hobbes and Isaac de La Peyrère. While Hobbes focused on what of the Pentateuch Moses actually contributed, de La Peyrère, a Calvinist who converted to Catholicism and knew Richard

4. See J. A. Sanders, "Scripture as Canon for Post-Modern Times," *BTB* 25 (1995) 56-63.

Simon at the Oratoire, dismissed any hope of finding biblical autographs, stressing that critics must be content with apographs, or copies of copies of a literature that was made up of abstracts and abbreviations of originals in the first place. De La Peyrère clearly wanted to diminish the authority of Scripture in order to put the Messiah and the salvation of the Church in bold relief. In this he followed Jean Morin's hermeneutic and searched for proof-texts to support his messianic and christological views.

Spinoza reacted not only to de La Peyrère but to all theologians who, according to Spinoza, for the most part extort from Scripture what passes through their heads. He insisted that true critics must liberate themselves from theological prejudices and develop a valid method for expositing Scripture. Such a goal required elaborating an exact history of the formation of the text in order to discern the thoughts of the original authors within their ancient contexts. Spinoza was not the first to focus on original authorial intentionality, but he did so in such a way within the Enlightenment that his influence has been felt ever since. Out of those individuals' ideas then could be extrapolated those doctrines and teachings on which they all agreed — the origins perhaps of the modern search for the "unity" of Scripture within its pluralism. Authority, for Spinoza, clearly rested in the intentions of the authors, much of which, he said, was lost in obscurity. Only that which is intelligible remains authoritative but must be deemed sufficient for the salvation, or repose, of the soul. The rest is not worth considering. Until such a history could be written, and he seriously doubted if one would ever be complete, Spinoza deemed the double commandment of love of God and love of neighbor to be the true Torah of God, and to be the common religion of all humankind. It was that which was incorruptible, and not some books called holy.

Spinoza's call was in effect programmatic for the ensuing three centuries of biblical criticism. Since Spinoza was declared a heretic, many in the seventeenth century who felt the power of his reasoning would not openly cite Spinoza or even recognize his influence. They nonetheless heeded the call to write a history of the formation of Scripture, both testaments, with the goal being to discern authorial intentionality. As the Renaissance and the Enlightenment moved into the Age of Reason, Greek classical modes of thinking about reality with emphasis on the worth and authority of the individual gradually displaced, over the next three centuries, the biblical focus on truth residing in confessional community understandings of biblical stories and traditions. The "heretic" Spinoza eventually became the father, or at least the godfather, of modern biblical criticism.

For Spinoza, if authorial intention could be recovered, it needed but to pass the further tests of intelligibility and reason to gain acceptance "for the

salvation or repose of the soul." Though Spinoza doubted that such a history could ever be fully recovered, scholarship would henceforth focus on devising the disciplines necessary to recover the historical origins of biblical literature, hoping thereby to reconstruct the actual thinking of the individuals who contributed to what became the literature of the Bible. The word *exegesis* became a byword of the focus, and the word *eisegesis* became a pejorative term largely indicating how various communities of faith had read what they wanted into the text. Thus the time-honored relation of Scripture and faith community was severed in bypassing contemporary communities, Jewish and Christian, and instead reconstructing original authorial intentionalities of the various individuals, ancient speakers, authors, compilers, and editors — precisely Spinoza's search for the truth of Scripture in the history of its literary formation.

The first efforts focused on the early sources that lay behind the larger literary units, with a quest where feasible for the individual geniuses most responsible for those sources. This became a game that, in the hands of some scholars, by the beginning of this century had become a drama of the absurd, with hypotheses about distinct sources lying behind smaller and smaller fragments of blocks of Scripture.

Form criticism entered the picture with efforts to probe behind the literary sources to the oral transmission of literary forms and their functions in the cultic and cultural life of ancient communities. Tradition criticism developed then as a discipline when it was perceived that community traditions were shaped and reshaped in the course of transmission toward the written literary texts we now possess. In this way the importance of ancient communities was recognized, though not stressed, in the history of formation of the biblical texts. Focus on the individual came once again with redaction criticism and the effort to perceive the texts received as shaped by the consistent theological thinking of individual redactors, but all the while rhetorical and audience criticism kept at least minimal focus on ancient communities.

4. Interfaith Dialogue

In April 1989 there was a conference at the University of Notre Dame titled "Hebrew Bible or Old Testament," where Jewish and Christian scholars gave papers and responses. While the Christian scholars generally expressed the need and importance of the Jewish-Christian dialogue, James Kugel and Jon Levenson, both of Harvard, insisted that there is no real base for such dialogue because when we think we agree on something it is on matters based on

common Western-cultural academic premises, that is, on biblical criticism, and not on identities as Jews and Christians.

Both sides in the discussion in effect fully recognized the common ground of critical study of religion, but Kugel and Levenson denied that this was a sound base on which to have a truly interfaith dialogue because it was not a genuine identity stance but a learned one common to us all. Social location, to use a current term from cultural anthropology, undoubtedly played a role in the positions taken. Kugel and Levenson brought the perspective of the minority to the discussion; the Christians expressed the openness facilitated by cultural dominance. There was no pretense at finally arriving at a resolution; each person stated her or his position, each hoping to be the one to break the impasse — to no avail. Heidelberg's own Rolf Rendtorff was there and made a strong presentation of the view he and I both share that Christians must learn Jewish interpretations of passages otherwise dear to them and cease the centuries-long tendency to denigrate Jewish understandings of Scripture either by supersessionism or by anti-Jewish polemic.[5]

A similar impasse had been arrived at not long after the Six-Day War in New York when Abraham Heschel and I invited professors from Union Theological Seminary, where Heschel had been Fosdick Visiting Professor the year (1965) I went on the faculty, and from Jewish Theological Seminary across the street, to engage in dialogue about Jewish-Christian relations. Some internationally visible folk gathered for the first and only meeting. It did not work. While the Christians were generally willing to agree with Reinhold Niebuhr's earlier statement that there should be no special mission to the Jews, Heschel drove so hard for a common statement from the group supporting the State of Israel that the Christians simply fell silent. They had not thought they would be asked to sign, as they later put it, a political document about Near Eastern foreign policy.

Jacob Neusner has recently put it very well, "The fusion of the ethnic, the religious, the cultural, and the political (in Judaism), to Christians presents woeful confusion." Heschel had thought he was asking for common theological support for God's fulfillment of promises made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The two sides talked past each other, and the group dissipated. There seemed no common ground on which to continue at least to explore why they thought they had different goals. I in my innocence had thought that Heschel's theology of God's incarnation in the Jewish people

5. See R. Rendtorff, *Kanon und Theologie* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991) [English: *Canon and Theology* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1994)]; note the author's review in *JSS* 42 (1997) 145-46.

would bring needed correctives to some formulations of Christian incarnational theology. I even later reiterated the hope in Jerusalem on the occasion of Heschel's *sheloshim* (memorial) service in January 1973.

Though he had earlier written and spoken in the same discouraging ways as Kugel and Levenson, Jacob Neusner has recently suggested a way out of the impasse.

> My answer commences with a necessary recognition, which is that, after all, we really do worship one God, who is the same God, and who is the only God, we and the Muslims with us. Dialogue is *required* [emphasis his] among the three faiths that claim to worship one and the same God, the only God. Within that common ground of being, a human task emerges. It is to see in the religious experience of the other, the stranger and outsider, that with which we, within our own world, can identify.

The human task that our common belief in One God necessitates, as Neusner perceives it, is ". . . to feel and so understand what the other feels and affirms in the world of that other. So the critical challenge . . . begins not with the negotiation of theological differences, or with intellectual tasks, but with the pathos of alien feeling. . . ." He notes that the concepts of Israel (as both people and land, Gen 12:2, 7) and Christ, so central to Judaism and Christianity, are each quite alien to the other. For there to be a dialogue, he contends, each side must try to understand the alien concept of the other.

Out of all these experiences, and a lifetime of dedication to Jewish-Christian dialogue, I now perceive that the lack of common ground comes from the tension between individual (Greek) and community (Semitic) views of identity and responsibility. Is there a way out of the impasse? Can there be a genuine interfaith dialogue between these two religions that, on the one hand, have so much in common, and, on the other hand, are so alien at their centers, Israel and Christ, each to the other?

5. Scripture and Intertextuality

Does one have to completely abandon one's community identity and affirm only a critical reading of traditions to have dialogue? Would that not be to create another modern believing community with the faith stance that only deconstruction of the past can address present issues? Is it possible to read the past critically from within a present, continuing, traditioning community? Our thesis is that not only is it possible but that it is the only kind of dialogue

that can truly address present and future issues, and that only dialogue, learning from dissent, can enrich the human experiment and broaden and expand human conceptuality. God is always bigger than we can think.

One of the ways in which the Scrolls have illuminated Early Jewish literature, including the Second Testament, is in their scriptural intertextuality.

There are three principal ways in which the term *intertextuality* is currently used in the literature. First, it is used to focus on the chemistry between two contiguous blocks of literature, large or small. A prime example here is the interrelationship between the two quite disparate accounts of creation in Genesis chapters one and two. In the one, God is majestic, awesome, and transcendent; in the second, God is presented as making a pastoral call on his first parishioners in Eden's bower. The two stand side by side, each making its own valid theological point: God is both transcendent and immanent, creator and redeemer, not just one or the other. Nor should one harmonize or collapse the two into one to speak of a redemptive creator God, or a creative redeemer God. They relate intertextually in a powerful hermeneutical statement by which to read all that follows. Many other examples within the Bible could be offered between quite distinct bodies of literature. This is largely what is meant by the canonical context of biblical literature.

A second way in which the term is used is recognition that all literature is made up of previous literature and reflects the earlier through citation, allusion, use of phrases and paraphrases of older literature to create newer literature, reference to earlier literary episodes, even echoes of earlier familiar literature in the construction of the later. "The texts cited (alluded to) are the generating force behind the elaboration of narrative or other types of textual expansion." "Every text is absorption and transformation of other texts."[6]

The third most common way the term is used is recognition that the reader is also a text, and that reading is in essence an encounter between texts human and written, the present and the past. The reader is a bundle of hermeneutics, as it were, engaging a text which, noting the second meaning of intertextuality, is itself a bundle of hermeneutics.

6. These are two typical remarks about intertextuality. See, for instance, J. Kristeva, *Semiotike* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969) 146, and D. Boyarin, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990) 11-19.

6. The Scrolls and Intertextuality

Aside from the strange Copper Scroll from Cave 3, there are three basic types of literature from the Qumran caves: traditional canonical, deutero-canonical or apocryphal, and previously unknown literature. About a quarter of the Scrolls are biblical, as can be clearly seen in volumes nine through sixteen of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.* So far, every book of the Jewish canon is represented, at least by a fragment or two, except Esther. Even those like the Psalms, of which there are more copies (forty at last count) than of any other biblical book, are not entirely complete; a few psalms are not represented, but this may be by accident of survival in the caves. Of the deutero-canonical or apocryphal books known heretofore only in ancient Christian-translated Old Testaments (Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, Slavonic, etc.), a number are represented for the first time in their original languages, Hebrew or Aramaic.

The third type of Qumran literature is previously unknown in any form and is varied and rich. It is this third type of previously totally unknown literature that takes painstaking skills to reconstruct when, as in the case of Cave 4, they survive only in fragments, most of which do not even join. This is the principal reason for the slow pace of publication of some of the Qumran materials.

The reasons it is even possible to reconstruct this third type of totally unknown ancient denominational literature are, first, that seasoned experts learn to recognize scribal handwriting as distinct to a single scribe so that it is possible to execute triage of the some ten thousand fragments from Cave 4 and get all the fragments belonging to one ancient document on one table under glass in accordance with whose handwriting each fragment belongs to. It takes experience to recognize distinctive handwritings of ancient scribes. The other reason it is possible to piece fragments belonging to the same document in proper positioning under glass is that all Early Jewish literature was largely written scripturally, that is, intertextually in the second sense noted above. In other words, Early Judaism was in constant dialogue with its past and for the most part resignified or reconceptualized its past in doing so.

The observation that all Early Jewish literature was written more or less scripturally has always been operative in study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as Josephus and Philo. Yet the Scrolls have enhanced this observation in ways that make it one of the major factors in their study. Again, it takes years of reading and knowing the whole of the Hebrew Bible, and its early Greek translations, to recognize the scriptural forms, phrases, and paraphrases with which most Early Jewish literature was composed. It underscores the fact that one cannot study Early Jewish literature, including

the Second Testament, without knowing the First Testament quite thoroughly indeed. So much of the Jewish literature of the period is composed of phrases and paraphrases of Scripture, whether in Hebrew or Greek, that the seasoned scholar is able to piece together scattered fragments having the same handwriting by discerning what Scripture passages the writer had in mind while composing the new material. The scholar truly immersed in Hebrew Scriptures can usually discern what is going on in a fragmented but heretofore unknown document and thus juxtapose unjoined fragments under glass for photography and study. Without absorption in Scripture one is reduced to constantly checking Hebrew and Greek concordances of the Bible to see what passage or passages the ancient author had in mind while composing.

The observation is generally true for all Early Jewish literature, whether composed of Hebrew biblical phrases and paraphrases or of their translated Greek forms in the case of original composition in Greek. In some instances, as with the Second Testament, one should know both the Tanak and the LXX since the books of Matthew, Mark, John, and Paul show knowledge (at one level or another of formation) of both; for Luke one must know early Greek translations of Jewish Scripture. Why? While the Second Testament is not in fragments needing triage like most of the Scrolls, it often resembles a montage or collage of scriptural fragments, rhythms, and cadences.

There are seven basic modes of the second type of intertextuality, and they all appear in most Early Jewish literature, including the Christian Second Testament. I shall simply list these; we then will look at how some of them work. They are: (1) citation with formula; (2) citation without formula; (3) weaving of scriptural phrases into the newer composition; (4) paraphrasing Scripture passages; (5) reflection of the structure of a Scripture passage; (6) allusions to scriptural persons, episodes, or events; and (7) echoes of Scripture passages in the later composition. Since the Second Testament itself was composed and shaped in the period of textual fluidity, one has to be quite discerning in locating modes of intertextuality of this sort. The most obvious constraint on a speaker or writer who echoes Scripture in these manners is the factor of recognizability; the community addressed would have to be able to recognize that the paraphrase or echo was indeed from Scripture for the reference to have authority.[7]

7. Two especially fine books exploring biblical intertextuality of the second type are M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), and R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

7. Comparative Midrash

Recognizing the intertextual nature of the Second Testament and pursuing what that means not only in terms of composition but also in terms of meaning provide many unexplored lodes of intertextuality and dialogue in the Second Testament. Most New Testament scholarship focuses on Christian sectarian sources in the formation of Gospels and Epistles and rarely mines the fuller richness of their intertextual nature. There has rather been a tendency to regret the amount of Scripture woven into the literary formation of the Second Testament, and also largely to dismiss it as proof-texting, or *dicta probantia.* Studying Early Jewish literature intertextually leads to quite other directions.

The discipline of comparative midrash permits one to discern the intertextual function of earlier literature in the later by focusing on the receptor hermeneutics by which the later Early Jewish writers caused Scripture to function in the poetry, narratives, or arguments being pursued, and to compare them in terms of the range of hermeneutics involved through the whole exercise.

The term *midrash,* like the term *intertextuality,* is used in different senses. It is used to refer to a mass of literature from the formative and classical Jewish periods as a recognizable literary genre, the tannaitic and rabbinic Midrashim. It is also used in a broader sense to mean the function of searching Scripture to seek light on new problems, as the Hebrew verb דרש (meaning "search" or "seek") indicates. In other words, it may be used to indicate a literary form, or to indicate a literary function. The midrashic function of *drash*ing goes far back into biblical times. Its earliest uses in Scripture had to do with seeking an oracle or instruction (a torah) from a prophet, priest, or other oracle. Upon the demise of prophecy, for some Jewish communities, in the sixth-fifth centuries BCE, and the introduction of the Pentateuch as Torah, edited by Ezra in Babylonia and brought to Jerusalem somewhere around 445 BCE, one then began to *drash* the Torah as text instead of *drash*ing spiritual leaders to seek light on and guidance for new and ever-changing situations and circumstances. One finds ancient traditions in some of the earliest biblical compositions as well as in later Jewish literature. One also finds international wisdom absorbed and adapted into biblical literature from the earliest scriptural compositions through to the last. One also attempts to discern the reader's or receptor's hermeneutic (view of reality) by which the later writer caused the earlier Scripture to function in the newer composition.

Comparative midrash is the exercise by which one can probe the depths of intertextuality and its significance for scriptural and other Jewish litera-

ture. One first does exegesis on the passage cited or echoed in its primary location at inception in the Hebrew Bible, noting carefully the earlier traditions and wisdom thinking borrowed and structured into the cited passage in the first place. One then traces the *Nachleben* or pilgrimage of that passage throughout Early Jewish literature, within the Tanak, through the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, Josephus, and the Second Testament — attempting always to determine the receptor hermeneutics used by the various tradents all along the path. One can pursue the exercise not only with discrete passages but also with episodes and figures.

At every instance along the pilgrimage of the earlier passage pursued one can listen in on dialogues within each later text studied by not letting the later tradent overwhelm the passage cited or echoed, but by keeping in mind the earlier meanings and modes of function in Early Jewish literature, including its "original" meanings at inception in the Hebrew Bible. One might think of a round table with the cited or echoed passage from the Tanak in the middle, and all the tradents who used it in Early Jewish literature, down through the New Testament, seated around the table in imaginary dialogue about the significance of the Scripture traced, even debating what hermeneutics were appropriate in what circumstances in reapplying the passage along its pilgrimage.[8] One might even grant the "original" meaning(s) of the Old Testament passage a place of some prominence at the dialogue table, but only limited prominence, for, after all, those earliest meanings are those assigned to the passage by modern, critical scholarship. And that meaning usually differs according to modern school of thought or *Zeitgeist.*

Reading the Second Testament itself as a part of Early Jewish literature in such a manner issues in veins of wealth of intracanonical dialogue otherwise unavailable. A crucial point to keep in mind is that early Christian communities were a part of diversified Early Judaism until the Bar Kochba revolt. In other words, not only were Jesus and the apostles, including Paul, Jews, but Christian "churches" viewed themselves as Christian Jews, including Gentile converts, until well into the second century CE. Viewing the Gospels and Paul in the light of their all being Jewish, albeit the Hellenized forms of the pluriform Judaism of the time, throws quite a different light on how to read the challenges and criticisms in the Gospels and the Epistles of Jewish leaders of the first century. The strictures attributed to Jesus of the Jewish leaders of his time are similar to, but pale in comparison with, the many challenges and criticisms the prophets leveled against the leaders of their times centuries ear-

8. See the author's "The Vitality of the Old Testament: Three Theses," *USQR* 21 (1966) 161-84.

lier. This time, however, Christian synagogues separated from Torah-centered synagogues so that the Gospels, written at the end of the first century in the language of the polemics of separation, were not included, as the prophetic books had been, in the Jewish canon, but the Jewish canon became the base, in its Greek forms, of the Christian canon. Surviving rabbinic Judaism rejected the heresy.

8. Two Testaments in One Bible

One of the remarkable traits of the Bible as a whole, however, is its self-critical component. There is no other body of literature quite like it, quite disparate yet compressed into canons. This is not just an occasional trait, it is characteristic of large portions of the Bible. Understanding Jesus' criticisms of his fellow Jewish leaders in the first third of the first century, in the light of similar prophetic criticisms in earlier times, puts them in a far different light from reading his strictures about scribes and Pharisees and others as though Jesus were somehow Gentile, a visiting foreigner, or not even human. Many Christians have read the Gospels in that way and thus totally misread them as anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic.

To read the expression "the Jews," which occurs often in Paul and especially John, as though the term referred to a totally different entity as a group, which was the case by the middle of the second century of the common era but was not in the first century, is to misread it entirely. The Jewish historian Josephus used the term "the Jews" in very similar ways. Paul insisted that he was a Jew but had become a Christian Jew. There were many Hellenized forms of Judaism in the first century, and Christian Judaism was viewed as one such form until it became so heavily influenced by the great influx of Gentiles that they no longer understood, by the middle of the second century, that they were converting to a Jewish denomination. Christianity finally was a different religion with little connection to Judaism.[9]

Reading the Second Testament within its canonical context can prevent misunderstanding it as anti-Jewish polemic. Even when the churches finally broke away from any form of Judaism, or from being part of the Hellenized branches of Judaism, they still insisted against Marcion that the Christian sectarian literature belonged to the Jewish Bible. A usefully corrective attitude

9. See the author's "The Hermeneutics of Translation," in *Removing the Anti-Judaism from the New Testament,* ed. Howard Kee and Irvin J. Borowsky (Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute, 1998) 43-62.

here would be to view the churches in the first century as daring to add the Gospels and Epistles to the Jewish Bible, and then in the mid-second century insisting on keeping the "Old Covenant" as essential and integral to the Christian Bible.

By the time of Marcion in the middle of the second century CE it was possible to think of whether to keep the First Testament in the new, developing Christian Bible, but up to that point the argument was rather that the new witnesses to what God had just done in the first century, in Christ and the Early Church, should be viewed as part of the continuing story of God's revelations that had begun in Genesis. That was *hutzpah* enough, so to speak, adding to the Bible, but other Jewish denominations of the period, notably the Jewish denomination at Qumran, apparently viewed some of their own literature with the same respect as some of the Writings, at least. It has been argued that the large *Temple Scroll* from Cave 11 was thought to have been as authoritative as the Mosaic Torah. Apparently no form of Judaism had a rigidly closed canon in the first century CE. Efforts at closure would come as Judaism became more narrowly understood to be fairly unified into rabbinic forms of Judaism only, while the various Hellenized forms of Judaism merged with the separating Christian communities or assimilated to other religions in the dominant Hellenistic-Roman culture.

Regardless of the reasons, the churches came to view the particularly Christian literature as forming a Second Testament within the Greek Jewish Bible. Or to put it in mid-second-century terms, they all kept the Greek First Testament as canonical. Eastern churches kept more Early Jewish literature than others, thus the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, which rabbinic communities scoffed at as they indeed did at the "Christian" sectarian literature.

Keeping the First Testament, in whatever form, meant that Christians would continue to understand what God did, in the first century in Christ and the Early Church, in the light of what God had been doing since Genesis. The Septuagint provided a textbook for the increasingly Gentile churches to continue to learn what it meant to believe in One God, so contrary to everything in the culture of the time. It also provided a textbook for how to live in the gap between God's promises and the apparent failure of their fulfillment. The hope for the Second Coming was directly comparable to the Jewish continuing hope for the Messiah yet to come. The First Testament provided a textbook to understand that God is the God of fallings as well as risings, of death as well as life, of what humans call failure as well as of what they call success, of what humans call evil as well as of what they call good.

It ought to have prevented what gradually came to be the way the churches read the Second Testament, namely, by a christocentric hermeneu-

tic. Yet it did not in and of itself because Christians began to fail to heed the first three commandments, which prohibit polytheism, idolatry, and co-opting God's name for one point of view (whether in court or in life). Whereas the trinitarian formula was designed to be a guard against polytheizing with its emphasis on the one Triune God,[10] it has consciously or unconsciously been understood with a polytheizing hermeneutic. Idolatry is not simply having human-form sculptures in church, or the like. Idolatry is worshipping the gift instead of the Giver, even Christ, the Christian God's most precious gift. Christianity has a penchant for making an idol of Christ, thinking of Christ as Christian, and as a god in himself, even though the Church has through the centuries denounced both idolatry and docetism (the hallmarks of Christian fundamentalism).[11]

9. Dialogue within Scripture

Rereading the Second Testament intertextually, listening in on the dialogue that occurs every time a First Testament passage is woven into the fabric of the Second, might possibly save Christianity from its perennial flirtation and dance with polytheism, idolatry, and anti-Semitism. If Christians could remember in reading the Gospels and Epistles that they speak of God's gift, of God's work in and through Christ, but never of a Christian Christ, then, in reading them, they might resist identifying with Christ but rather identify with those around him, namely, their fellow Early Jews, and thus begin to hear the Christian Bible in ways quite different from the way most Christians read the Bible and have read it for nearly two thousand years.

A first step would be to take the hermeneutical stance that the Second Testament is largely about "heretical" Jews in the first century searching Scripture to try to understand what was happening to them in their experience of Christ in their lives, and what God was doing through Christ and themselves. This would be to read it as literature mainly written and addressed by Jews to Jews.

The next step would be to take the further hermeneutical stance that the Bible is not canonically and ultimately about Jews and non-Jews. Historically, to be sure, it is about pharaohs and patriarchs, Canaanites and Israelites,

10. See C. Richardson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (New York: Abingdon, 1958).

11. Is dialogue perceived in this, with hyphenated identity, exorcism, as has been suggested? Perhaps, but no more so than other "dissenting" movements have been in the history of either Judaism or Christianity.

Philistines and Judahites, Romans and Jews, etc. Yet canonically and ultimately, at least for the Christian, it is about God and human beings. It is a paradigm of the divine-human encounter; it is a gallery of mirrors in which humans can continue today to see themselves in all their foibles and follies, strengths and weaknesses, being confronted with questions about truth, justice, grace, and righteousness.

An integral part of interfaith dialogue between Jews and Christians would be reading Scripture, and each other's traditions about it, together. Even if not, there should be a pledge on the part of all who join the dialogue, whenever Scripture is read, to imagine that the other is overhearing what is said and thinking about what is read. I have recently asked if those of us who think that interfaith dialogue is important cannot at least pretend that there is but One God, and hence read Scripture as though others were present and listening.

Hopefully the dialogue would be in a tripartite mode with Islam, but the tripartite mode should not detract from the Jewish-Christian dialogue, which needs special attention because of the origins of Christianity within Judaism and the shared First Testament. Reading Scripture together dialogically would then be supplemented by reading the other's traditions in the extended canons, the Second Christian Testament, Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash, and beyond.

Reading Scripture dialogically through intertextuality provides rich lodes within Scripture that are rarely explored. Since Scripture is transcultural and intertextual in nature, all parts of it have depths that can reach into the very essence of the human experiment. One should read Scripture intertextually, keeping in mind contributions to any given text from international wisdom as well as from Israel's and Judaism's own traditions, written and oral. The Bible as a whole comes from five cultural eras, from the Bronze Age through to the Hellenistic-Roman, and includes riches untold from all of them. *Jewish and Christian Bibles in fact may both be read as paradigms for dialogue.* Each partner in the dialogue should then consciously read the text under scrutiny both critically and faithfully — in the light of the results of the historical and analytical work on the history of formation of the text of the past three centuries, and in the light of each faith's traditioning process.

10. Reading Critically and Faithfully

If, as I firmly believe, the Enlightenment was a gift of God in due season, then we must read the Bible critically. But if, as I also just as firmly believe, faith it-

self is a gift of God, then each partner may remain faithful to his and her faith-community's traditioning process, all the while using the enduring results of biblical criticism. Recognition of such a hyphenated identity opens up Scripture and tradition from within. Just as ancient intercultural wisdom opened tradition from within for the classical prophets, so dialogue with the wisdom of today can broaden human conceptual horizons. Or, in prophetic terms, God is always bigger than humans can perceive or imagine.

Wherever an earlier "text" functions in a later text, whether it be homegrown within "Israel" or transcultural in scope, the dialogue should be pursued critically and faithfully, that is, in postmodern terms, with both suspicion and consent. Genuine interfaith dialogue requires that all partners to it admit of such hyphenated identity. In this way the understanding of a passage indicated by one's tradition would be in dialogue with both the critical reading and with the other's traditioning process about the passage. In this way Paul's or Akiba's understanding of a given passage, as well as critical understandings of its "earliest meanings," would be honored and studied, compared and analyzed hermeneutically. The earlier word must still have a voice at the round table: it has not been somehow superseded, and critical scholarship keeps it alive by constantly striving to reconstruct original settings and meanings, as well as each of the subsequent recitations and echoes of a passage in its pilgrimage through Early Judaism into Formative Judaism and Christianity. A feast of meaning can then be savored while the hermeneutic range by which each passage continued to speak to ever-changing situations is gauged in the canonical process. Dissent requires norm for its very identity, while norm invites dissent and is enriched by it, reflecting perhaps the essence of the human experiment.

How We Got the Hebrew Bible: The Text and Canon of the Old Testament

BRUCE K. WALTKE

1. The Task of OT Textual Criticism, Its Importance and Method

There is always a need in the humanities for critics to restore original texts, be they of Homer or Shakespeare, or of Moses or Isaiah. Many texts of the OT, however, were composed over centuries, not by just an original author, and thus it is too simplistic to say that OT textual criticism aims to recover the original text of the OT. Rather, as we shall argue, "original text" in the OT refers to the text-type that lies behind the MT, the received text. The reconstruction of other critical editions of portions of the OT is the task of literary criticism, not of textual criticism.

Textual criticism is necessary because there is no error-free manuscript. (Even in *BHS*, the standard representation of the MT text, printing errors can be found.) Variants occur more frequently in the medieval manuscripts of the MT tradition, but they are minuscule compared to the variants found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS). In fact, the further back we go in the textual lineage the greater the textual differences. Before the text was fixed at ca. 100 CE it was copied and recopied through many centuries by scribes of varying capabilities and of different philosophies, giving rise to varying readings and recensions (i.e., distinct text-types).

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The restoration of the original OT text is foundational to the exegetical task and to theological reflection. For instance, whether the book of Proverbs teaches immortality depends in part on deciding between textual variants in Prov 14:32b. Basing itself on the MT, the NIV renders "even in [their] death *(bᵉmôtô)* the righteous have a refuge," a reading that entails the doctrine of immortality for the righteous. The NRSV, however, basing itself on the LXX, translates "the righteous find a refuge in their integrity *(bᵉtummô)*," a reading that does not teach that doctrine. The consonants of the MT are *bmtw*, and those of the (assumed) *Vorlage* (i.e., the retroverted text lying before a translator) behind the LXX were *btmw*. The slight difference due to metathesis of *m* and *t*, however, profoundly affects the exegesis of that text and the theology of the book.

To restore the original, the text critic must know the history of its witnesses and of scribal practices and must have exegetical competence. In this essay we will consider each of these respectively. The LXX, however, is such an important witness that we treat it separately. Knowledge of the text's history will explain the varying characteristics of the textual witnesses and why we opt for the restoring of the original text behind the MT against other literary editions of OT portions, such as the differences between the MT Pentateuch versus the Samaritan Pentateuch and of the MT Jeremiah versus the Septuagint Jeremiah. We conclude the article with reflections on the reliability of the OT text.

2. History of the Text and Its Witnesses

Because of the varying fortunes of the OT text and of our sources of information about it, its history may be analyzed in six distinct periods: (1) The determinative formative period for the production of OT texts extended from the composition of the Ten Commandments (ca. 1400 BCE or ca. 1250 BCE, depending on the date of the Exodus) to Nehemiah's library (ca. 400 BCE), when, according to 2 Macc 2:13, Nehemiah founded a library and "gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts," or even to the late fourth century, if one opts for that date for the composition of the book of Chronicles. (2) The canon and text remained open from Nehemiah's library to when the canon was stabilized (ca. 100 BCE). (3) At least two centuries elapsed between the fixing of the OT canon and the fixing of its text, now sometimes called "the Proto-MT" (ca. 100 CE). (4) The labors of the Masoretes (600-1000 CE), who based their work on the Proto-MT, came to a conclusion ca. 1000 CE, when

the Masorete Aaron ben Asher produced the authoritative Masoretic Text, as recognized already on the frontispiece of the Leningrad Codex (1009 CE). (5) The medieval manuscripts of the MT were produced between 1000 CE and the invention of printing (ca. 1500 CE). (6) The Great Rabbinic Bible (ca. 1525 CE) became the standard text of the MT until 1936, when P. Kahle got back to the Ben Asher text by basing the third edition of *BH* on the Leningrad manuscript $B19^A$ (L). Since the variants that came into the text after 1000 CE are relatively insignificant, we will not discuss the last two periods. N. Sarna has superbly summarized the history of the printed Hebrew Bible.[1]

2.1. From the Ten Commandments to Nehemiah's Library

We have virtually no external, extant data regarding the OT text during its most formative period, aside from two recently discovered silver amulets, about the size of a "cigarette butt," containing the priestly benediction of Num 6:24-26 (ca. 600 BCE). From internal notices within the OT and from our knowledge of the way Ancient Near Eastern literature was composed, we can infer that during this era earlier pieces of canonical literature were collected into developing books. For example, the Bible presents the Ten Commandments as the first piece of canonical literature, that is, literature inspired by God and recognized as such by the faithful (Exod 20:1-19; cf. Deut 5:6-27). To this original core the Book of the Covenant, mediated by Moses, was added (Exod 20:22-23:33), and to this still other pieces were added to make up the book of Exodus. We do not know how or when the book of Exodus, for instance, took its final shape. In a roughly comparable way isolated hymns were collected into books, and these in turn edited to form the book of Psalms. The same dynamic processes were involved in the composition of other books of the Bible. From data both within the Bible and from knowledge of Ancient Near Eastern scribal practices we can infer that during the formation of the OT books, there was a tendency both to preserve and to revise earlier texts.

(a) The tendency to preserve the text. Elsewhere we have argued:

> The very fact that the Scripture persistently survived the most deleterious conditions throughout its long history demonstrates that indefatigable scribes insisted on its preservation. The books were copied by hand for generations on highly perishable papyrus and animal skins in the relatively

1. N. Sarna, "Bible Text," *EJ* 4 (1971) 831-35.

damp, hostile climate of Palestine. . . . Moreover, the prospects for the survival of texts were uncertain in a land that served as a bridge for armies in unceasing contention between the continents of Africa and Asia — a land whose people were the object of plunderers in their early history and of captors in their later history. That no other Israelite writings, such as the Book of Yashar (e.g. 2 Sam 1:18) or the Diaries of the Kings (e.g. 2 Chr 16:11), survive from this period indirectly suggests the determination of the scribes to preserve the books that became canonical. The foes of Hebrew Scripture sometimes included audiences who sought to kill its authors and destroy their works (cf. Jeremiah 36). From the time of their composition, however, they captured the hearts, minds, and loyalties of the faithful in Israel who kept them safe often at risk to themselves. Such people must have insisted on the accurate transmission of the text.

In addition, both the Bible itself (Deut 31:9ff.; Josh 24:25, 26; 1 Sam 10:25; etc.) and the literature of the ANE show that at the time of the earliest biblical compositions a mindset favoring canonicity existed. This mindset must have fostered a concern for care and accuracy in transmitting the sacred writings. For example, a Hittite treaty (of the Late Bronze Age), closely resembling parts of the Torah, contains this explicit threat: "Whoever . . . breaks [this tablet] or causes anyone to change the wording of the tablet — . . . may the gods, the lords of the oath, blot you out." Undoubtedly this psychology was a factor in inhibiting Israelite scribes from multiplying variants of the texts. Moreover, scribal practices throughout the ANE reflect a conservative attitude. W. F. Albright noted, "The prolonged and intimate study of the many scores of thousands of pertinent documents from the ancient Near East proves that sacred and profane documents were copied with greater care than is true of scribal copying in Graeco-Roman times."[2]

(b) The tendency to revise the text. We also argued:

On the other hand, scribes, aiming to teach the people by disseminating an understandable text, felt free to revise the script, orthography (i.e. spelling), and grammar, according to the conventions of their own times. Albright said, "A principle which must never be lost sight of in dealing with documents of the ancient Near East is that instead of leaving obvious archaisms in spelling and grammar, the scribes generally revised ancient literary and other documents periodically. . . ."[3]

2. B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [*IBHS*] Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 16-17.

3. Waltke, *IBHS*, 17.

Moreover, the many differences between synoptic portions of the OT show that authors and/or scribes, "the authorized revisers of the text" at this time, felt free to edit earlier works into new, mutually independent, literary achievements (cf. 2 Samuel 22 = Psalm 18; 2 Kgs 18:13-20:19 = Isaiah 36-39; 2 Kgs 24:18-25:30 = Jeremiah 52; Isa 2:2-4 = Mic 4:1-3; Psalms 14 = 53; 40:14-18 = 70; 57:8-12 = 108:2-6; 60:7-14 = 108:7-14; Psalm 96 = 1 Chron 16:23-33; Ps 106:1, 47-48 = 1 Chron 16:34-36; and the parallels between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles). Literary critics, not textual critics, should concern themselves with the differences between these portions of the OT.

(c) The need to emend the text. Accidental textual errors, however, probably corrupted the text during this formative period. In cases where none of the transmitted variants satisfy exegetical expectations, text critics propose a textual emendation (a conjectured variant based on the known variants). The DSS have now validated this procedure in certain instances. F. M. Cross comments: "No headier feeling can be experienced by a humanistic scholar, perhaps, than that which comes when an original reading, won by his brilliant emendation, is subsequently confirmed in a newly-found manuscript."[4] The confusion in Ezek 3:12 of the similarly formed consonants *k* and *m* in the preexilic angular script offers a good illustration of the need for emendation.[5]

All texts: *brwk kbwd-yhwh mmqwmw*
"May the glory of YHWH *be praised* in [sic!] his dwelling place" (cf. NIV).
Emendation: *brw[m] kbwd-yhwh mmqwmw*
"As the glory of YHWH *arose* from its place" (cf. NRSV).

"Be praised," *brwk,* is attested in all textual witnesses. However, the phrase is unique, awkward, and contextless. Text critics salvage the line by emending *brwk* to *brwm,* "when [it] arose." The emendation nicely satisfies exegetical expectations, Hebrew syntax, and the context of the verse (cf. Ezek 10:4, 15-18).

Scholars associated with Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP) and the United Bible Societies Hebrew Old Testament Text Critical Project disallow conjectured emendations. Their stance serves as a healthy corrective away from the extremes of B. Duhm and the "eccentricity in the later work of

4. F. M. Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts,* ed. W. D. O'Flaherty (Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979) 31-54, esp. 37.

5. J. Kennedy, *An Aid to the Textual Amendment of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1928) 83-84.

Cheyne."[6] However, it is too extreme. J. M. Sprinkle complained: "What we as students of the Hebrew Bible actually want . . . is not a later stage of the text but the original."[7]

2.2. From 400 BCE to 150 BCE

(a) An open canon. Though we possess a good knowledge of the OT's theology, we do not know when or where the OT books were first published or precisely how they gained admission into the very select group of writings that we call the OT. We do know, however, that by the time of the NT the OT canon is closed.[8] Jesus and the apostles held the same OT in hand that Protestants do today. R. Beckwith argues convincingly that Judas Maccabeus, at a date around 164 BCE, gave the OT canon its final shape.[9] The Qumran scrolls, however, reflect a Jewish community that embraced a somewhat different canon, at least to judge from the absence of Esther among them and the very different shape of 11QPs[a] from the MT.[10]

(b) During these two and a half centuries there was also a tendency both to preserve and to revise the text. We can now sketch the history of the text for this period on the basis of the DSS and the LXX (ca. 250 BCE to 150 BCE).

(i) The DSS. By the techniques of paleography, numismatics, and archaeology the DSS are dated from the middle of the third century BCE to the revolt of Bar Kochba (132-135 CE). Most manuscripts were found in the eleven mountain caves just west of Khirbet Qumran. These caves yielded over 200 scrolls of all the books of the Bible, except Esther. The other principal sites, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabba'at, yielded texts mostly from the early second century CE. Scrolls were also found at Masada, which fell to the Romans in 73 CE.

(ii) The LXX. According to the pseudepigraphic *Letter of Aristeas* (ca. 130 BCE), the Pentateuch was translated into Greek at ca. 285 BCE by seventy-

6. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 320.

7. A book review on D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 1 (OBO 50; Fribourg, Switzerland: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) in *JETS* 28 (1985) 468-70, esp. 469.

8. F. F. Bruce, *The Canon of Scripture* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1988) 28.

9. R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985) 165.

10. J. A. Sanders, "Two Non-canonical Psalms in 11QPs[a]," *ZAW* 65 (1964) 57-75.

two translators (hence its title, "Septuagint"). This tradition was later expanded to include all the OT books translated into Greek.

The Question of an Original LXX. P. Kahle argued that a great number of independent Greek translations existed for all the books, and the LXX as we know it now was a creation of the Church. We have argued that studies by M. L. Margolis on Joshua and of J. A. Montgomery on Daniel, as well as the realization that recensional activities to conform the Old Greek to the Proto-MT, which had given the illusion that all these variants could not go back to one original, have led to widening consensus that agrees with P. de Lagarde's view that all the Greek manuscripts go back to one textual tradition.[11]

Character of the LXX. It is impossible to speak generally of the character of the LXX because it is not a uniform translation. Rather, different translators with varying capabilities and philosophies of translation rendered assorted portions of the OT. Elsewhere this writer collected the conclusions of scholars about these translations:

> Swete [drew the conclusion] that the majority of the translators learned Hebrew in Egypt from imperfectly instructed teachers, and Barr . . . that these translators invented vowels for the unpointed text. . . . Except in passages such as Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 32, 33, the Pentateuch is on the whole a close and serviceable translation of a smoothed Hebrew recension. The Psalter is tolerably well done, though Ervin concluded that the theology of Hellenistic Judaism left its mark on it. About Isaiah, Seeligman concluded, "The great majority of the inconsistencies here discussed must be imputed to the translator's unconstrained and carefree working method, and to a conscious preference for the introduction of variations." He added, "We shall not, however, do the translator any injustice by not rating his knowledge of grammar and syntax very highly." Regarding Hosea, Nyberg found that "it is overly composed of gross misunderstandings, unfortunate readings and superficial lexical definitions which often are simply forced conformity to similar Aramaic cognates. Helplessness and arbitrary choice are the characteristic traits of this interpretation." Albrektson said of Lamentations: "LXX, then, is not a good translation in this book. But this does not mean that it is not valuable for textual criticism. On the contrary, its literal character often allows us to establish with tolerable certainty the underlying Hebrew text. It is clearly based on a text which was in all essentials identical with the consonants of the MT; indeed the passages where it may have contained a variant are notably few." Gerleman said of Job that the

11. *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* [*EBC*], ed. F. E. Gaebelein (12 vols.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980-82) 1.220-21.

> translator interprets the text as well as he can, and, with the help of his imagination, attempts to give an intelligible meaning to the original, which he does not understand. He added that the many deviations between the Hebrew and the Greek translations of Job are not the result of an essential difference between the original of the LXX and our Hebrew text. They have come about in the course of translation when the translator has not mastered the difficulties of the original. Swete concluded, "The reader of the Septuagint must expect to find a large number of actual blunders, due in part perhaps to a faulty archetype, but chiefly to the misreading or misunderstanding of the archetype by the translators. . . ."[12]

G. Gerleman evaluated the LXX of Zephaniah thus:

> The *Vorlage* of the Greek translator was not identical with the consonantal text of the MT but close to it. . . . The translator is very free in his interpretation of the MT. His work points to an innumerable number of wrong vocalizations, unfortunate divisions of the text, and superficial lexical definitions. . . . Finally, it seems fairly clear that the capabilities of the translator were not always up to mastering certain words and expressions that are difficult to translate.[13]

This writer reached independently a similar conclusion for Micah as T. Nyberg had for Hosea and Gerleman for Zephaniah.[14] This is not surprising, for J. Ziegler demonstrated the unity of the Septuagint in the Minor Prophets.[15]

It is well known that the LXX translator of Proverbs was influenced by Greek ethical thought, especially Stoic, along with early Jewish midrashic tradition, and that he modified a number of proverbs and made additions.[16] J. Barr says of this translation:

> In fact the term "free," as applied to a translation like the Greek Proverbs, must mean something considerably different from what we mean when we

12. B. K. Waltke, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," *EBC* 1.221-22.

13. G. Gerleman, *Zephanja textkritisch und literarisch untersuch* (Lund: Gleerup, 1942) 85-86.

14. B. K. Waltke, "Micah," in *The Minor Prophets,* ed. T. E. McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993) 2.591-764.

15. J. Ziegler, "Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," in idem, *Sylloge: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta* (MSU 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 29-42.

16. G. Gerleman, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document," *OTS* 8 (1950) 15-27; S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint,* 68, 317-18.

> speak of "free translation" in a modern context. . . . For a translator like that of Proverbs free technique meant . . . that after having translated *some* elements in the text in a rather "literal" way, he could then break loose from literality and complete the sentence with a composition so loosely related to the original that it might equally be considered as an original composition rather than a rendering. . . .[17]

However, this writer also noted: "The LXX of Samuel, parts of Kings, and Ezekiel is of special value because the text preserved by the Masoretes of these books suffered more than usual from corrupting influences."[18] With regard to the chronology from Omri to Jehu, J. D. Shenkel concluded that the Old Greek, represented in several manuscripts, preserves the original chronology better than the recensional developments, represented in the majority of manuscripts.[19]

(c) The tendency to preserve the text. Some of the oldest manuscripts of the DSS show a striking similarity with the MT. Their silent testimony shouts out the achievement of scribes to preserve faithfully the OT text. This text-type undoubtedly existed before the time of these scrolls. The many archaic forms within the MT confirm the inference. The studies of M. Martin show that the DSS reveal a conservative scribal tendency to follow the exemplar both in text and in form.[20]

(d) The tendency to revise the text. Though the author of 1 Maccabees (ca. 125 BCE), for example, recognized that prophecy had ceased in Israel years before his time (cf. 1 Macc 9:27), the text of the OT was still open during this period. Scribes of this era were still the authorized revisers of the text, not just copyists. They continued to expand portions of the OT and to alter it to such an extent that their productions might equally be considered as distinct literary editions rather than as copies. In addition, they continued to revise older texts philologically to make them more intelligible to younger generations.

As a result of their literary achievements the line between literary criticism and textual criticism has become attenuated. The texts of some portions of the OT have come down to us in two forms, attested in both the DSS and in the LXX. There is, for instance, a short form of Jeremiah preserved in 4QJer^{b}

17. J. Barr, "*B'RS-MOLIS:* Prov XI.31, 1 Pet IV.18," *JSS* 20 (1975) 149-64, esp. 158.

18. Waltke, "Textual Criticism," 210-28, esp. 222.

19. J. D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).

20. M. Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols., Bibliotheque du Museon 44-45; Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1958).

and in the LXX, and a long form preserved in 4QJer[a] and the MT. In the following example the additions in the long text are noted with italics:

> This is what the *Lord Almighty, the God of Israel,* said to me: "I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two years I will bring back to this place *all* the articles of the house of the Lord *that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon removed from this place and took to Babylon,* and Jeconiah *son of Jehoiakim king of Judah* and *all* the exiles from Judah *who went to Babylon, I am going to bring back to this place," declares the Lord.* (Jer 28:1-4a; 35:1-4a)

One is reminded of the editorial comment in Jer 36:32:

> So Jeremiah took another scroll and gave it to the scribe Baruch son of Neriah, and as Jeremiah dictated, Baruch wrote on it all the words of the scroll that Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire. And many similar words were added to them.

E. Tov established on the basis of the ancient texts and versions the existence of two editions of Joshua, 1 Samuel 16–18, Ezekiel, and Proverbs.[21] The different literary editions of Daniel and Esther are well known. This scribal practice was entirely consistent with known practices of composing books in the ANE. From cuneiform texts (ca. 2000 BCE) to Tatian's *Diatesseron* (ca. 200 CE) one can observe that ANE literatures were composed by supplementing earlier editions of a text with later materials.[22] We drew the conclusion elsewhere that the major contribution of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) to biblical studies is to literary criticism, not to textual criticism.[23] For example, it involves the insertion of material from Deuteronomy into Exodus and the extensive repetition of other texts.

The scribal editors not only effected literary changes, they also altered the text for both philological and theological reasons. We noted elsewhere:

> They modernized it by replacing archaic Hebrew forms and constructions with forms and constructions of a later age. They also smoothed out the text by replacing rare constructions with more frequently occurring constructions, and they supplemented and clarified the text by the insertion of

21. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1992) 314-19.

22. See, for instance, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism,* ed. J. H. Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976); cf. R. P. Gordon, "Compositions, Conflation and the Pentateuch," *JSOT* 51 (1991) 57-69.

23. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* [*ABD*], ed. D. N. Freedman et al. (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 5.938-39.

> additions and the interpolation of glosses from parallel passages. In addition, they substituted euphemisms for vulgarities, altered the names of false gods, removed the phrases that refer to cursing God, and safeguarded the sacred divine name or tetragrammaton (YHWH), occasionally by substituting forms in the consonantal text.[24]

Philological alterations were already taking place at the time of Malachi, the last representative of mainstream OT prophecy. The book of Chronicles in its synoptic parallels with the Pentateuch and Former Prophets as preserved in the MT exhibits similar revisions.[25] Ezra-Nehemiah explicitly states that as Ezra read from the Book of the Law of God, he made it clear and gave the meaning so that the people could understand what was being read (Neh 8:8).

2.3. From 150 BCE to 135 CE

The bulk of the DSS belong to the period between the closing of the canon and the closing of its text. During this time, the Samaritan Pentateuch began a life of its own.

(a) Samaritan Pentateuch. At ca. 110 BCE scribes of the Samaritans, a sect similar to the Jews apart from its worship on Mount Gerizim instead of at Jerusalem (John 4:19-22), adopted and adapted a distinct recension of the text attested as early as the Chronicler to constitute the SP. They probably accepted only the Pentateuch as their canon because its second division, the Prophets, and its third, the Writings, celebrate Jerusalem.

(b) The tendency to preserve the text. In addition to the evidence adduced above for the tendency to conserve the text, there is a Talmudic notice that the scribes attempted to keep the text "correct" (*b. Ned.* 37b-38a). Moreover, the MT itself preserves the following remnants of scribal concern with preserving the text probably from this era: (i) the fifteen extraordinary points either to condemn the Hebrew letters as spurious or to draw attention to some peculiar textual feature; (ii) the four suspended letters to indicate intentional scribal change or scribal error due to a faulty distinction of gutturals; and (iii) the nine inverted *nuns* apparently to mark verses thought to have been transposed.[26]

24. Waltke, *IBHS*, 19.

25. A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des hebräischen* (BZAW 16; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909).

26. B. K. Waltke, "Samaritan Pentateuch," in *ABD* 5.932-40; for inverted *nuns* also see 6.397.

(c) The tendency to revise the text. The text was not fixed, however, and continued to be revised. Tov classifies the DSS into five different text-types.[27]

(i) There are the *Proto-Masoretic* texts, which others call "the rabbinic text," during this period. About 60 percent of the Scrolls belong to this type and may reflect their authoritative status.[28]

(ii) The *Pre-Samaritan* texts have the same characteristic features of the SP, aside from the thin layer of ideological and phonological changes the Samaritans added. Basing himself on W. Gesenius (1815), the first to classify the variants between the SP and MT in a thorough and convincing way, the present writer hoped to demonstrate from recent philological and textual research that the SP presents a secondarily modernized, smoothed-over, and expanded text.[29] The theological changes imposed on this text by the Samaritans, though thin, are significant. For example, they were able to make the worship on Mount Gerizim the tenth commandment by combining the first two commandments into one and by inserting texts about Mount Gerizim (Deut 11:29a; 27:2b-3a; 28:4-7; and 11:30) after Exod 20:17, numbering the material from Deut 28:4-7 and 11:30 as the tenth commandment.

(iii) About 5 percent of the DSS are *Septuagintal* in character. Some DSS scrolls, most notably Jeremiah (4QJer^{b,d}), bear a strong resemblance to the LXX's *Vorlage.*

(iv) The many *nonaligned* DSS are not exclusively close to any one of the types mentioned so far. Tov explains: "They agree, sometimes insignificantly, with MT against the other texts, or with SP and/or LXX against the other texts, but the non-aligned texts also disagree with the other texts to the same extent. They furthermore contain readings not known from one of the other texts."[30]

(v) Tov identifies a group of texts that reflect a distinctive *Qumran practice* with regard to orthography (i.e., spelling, similar to "favor" versus "favour"), morphology, and a free approach to the biblical text visible in content adaptations, in frequent errors, in numerous corrections, and sometimes in negligent script.[31] Tov thinks that only these scrolls were produced at Qumran.

These variant recensions also find parallels in Jewish and Christian literature originating during the time in question, such as the book of *Jubilees*

27. Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 114-17.
28. Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 115.
29. *ABD* 5.936-38.
30. Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 116.
31. Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 114.

(either early or late postexilic) and, most importantly, the NT (50-90 CE). For example, Stephen's sermon (Acts 7) and Hebrews (chap. 9) are based on the pre-Samaritan recension.

The fall of the Second Temple (ca. 70 CE), the debate between Jews and Christians, and Hillel's rules of hermeneutics all contributed to produce a stable text by about 100 CE. The Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabba'at DSS, which date between 100 CE and 135 CE, attest to the Proto-MT.

2.4. From 135 CE to 1000 CE

(a) Other early versions. From ca. 100 CE to ca. 500 CE the official Aramaic Targums (Tg), the Syriac Peshitta (Syr), various recensions of the LXX, and the Latin Vulgate (Vg) were produced. They all have as their common denominator the Proto-MT and so are not as useful witnesses to the early stages of the still open text as are the DSS and the LXX. We need to note here only that the Syriac has been influenced both by the LXX and the targums. Nevertheless, each of these versions sometimes contains an original (i.e., an uncorrupted) reading.

(i) "Targum" means specifically a translation into Aramaic. When knowledge of Hebrew decreased among the Jewish people during the postexilic period, targums were created orally and later committed to writing. The targum fragments found at Qumran show that both free and literal targums were made. Scholars are divided about their dates (first to fifth century CE) and their places of origin (Babylon or Palestine). These more or less paraphrastic Targums are of more value for understanding the way Jewish people understood their OT than for textual criticism. For example, the Targum of Isa 52:13 reads: "Behold, my servant, the Messiah."

(ii) Early recensions of the LXX. Some scribes deliberately revised the original LXX, known as the Old Greek (OG), according to the Proto-MT. Prior to Origen (200 CE), who brought this process to completion in his famous Hexapla, Aquila (125 CE), Symmachus (180 CE), and Theodotion (180 CE) revised the OG and/or earlier recensions of it according to this principle. A Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets recovered at Naḥal Ḥever shows that this process had already begun by the middle of the first century BCE. Its distinctive translation techniques enabled scholars to link it up with other texts bearing witness to an early stage of the OG. Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue* complains against the Jew Trypho about the attitude the rabbinate had taken toward the LXX in order to remove an essential arm from the Christian apologist. D. Barthélemy, who brilliantly edited this text, showed

that Justin forced himself to use this revision in order to be acceptable to his adversaries.[32]

(iii) Vulgate. Pope Damasus I commissioned Jerome (Hieronymus, 345-420 CE) to produce a uniform and reliable Latin Bible. Jerome based his original translation of the Psalms *(Psalterium Romanum)* on the *Vetus Latina,* namely, Old Latin texts based largely on the LXX. His second translation of the Psalms was based on the Hexapala *(Psalterium Gallicanum).* Dissatisfied with these translations, Jerome finally translated *The Vulgate* ("the common one") from, as he put it, "the original truth of the Hebrew text." However, the Vulgate also includes the Gallican Psalter.

(b) The MT. The Masoretes (600-1000 CE) were groups of Jewish families who produced the final form of the OT text. They added four features to the inherited Proto-MT.

(i) They "hedged in" the consonantal text with a Masorah, consisting of scribal notes in the margin with instructions to assure its precise transmission. Scribal precision in transmitting the consonants before the Masoretes is reflected in the Talmud. R. Ishmael cautioned: "My son, be careful, because your work is the work of heaven; should you omit (even) one letter or add (even) one letter, the whole world would be destroyed" (*b. Soṭa* 2a).[33]

(ii) They added vowel points above and below the consonants to preserve as perfectly as possible the accompanying tradition of pronunciation. These points supplemented the early consonants *(', h, w,* and *y),* known as the *matres lectionis* ("mothers of reading"), which were used to mark vowels in the prevocalized stage of the text. A Talmudic anecdote illustrates an acute awareness of the importance of an accurate oral tradition. David reprimanded Joab when he killed only the men of Amalek and not the "remembrance" *(zēker)* of them. Joab defended himself, noting his teacher taught him to read "all their males" *(zākār).* Joab subsequently drew his sword against his teacher who had taught him incorrectly (*b. Bathra* 21a-b).

A complex body of evidence indicates the MT could not, in any serious or systematic way, represent a reconstruction or faking of the vocalization. Among other things we have argued:

> On the whole the grammar [which depends heavily on vocalization] of the MT admirably fits the framework of Semitic philology, and this fact certifies the work of the Masoretes. When in the 1930s Paul Kahle announced

32. D. Barthélemy, "Redecouverts d'un chainon manguant de l'histoire de la LXX," *RB* 60 (1958) 18-29.

33. Cited by Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 33.

> his theory that the Masoretes made massive innovations, Gotthelf Bergsträsser sarcastically observed that they must have read Carl Brockelmann's comparative Semitic grammar to have come up with forms so thoroughly in line with historical reconstructions.[34]

J. Barr demonstrates that the Masoretes were preservers of the oral tradition, not innovators like the LXX translators, by contrasting Jerome's earlier version of the Psalter based on the LXX and his later one based on the Hebrew.[35] The consonants of Ps 102:23-24a [24-25a] are:

> *'nh bdrk kḥw [Qere kḥy] qṣr ymy: 'mr 'ly*

The LXX and the Gallican Psalter read this as:

> *'ānāh[û] b^{e}derek kōḥô qōṣer yāmay ^{e}mor 'elāy*

"He replied to him in the way of his force; the fewness of my days report to me" (no major English version). The MT and Psalter, "Juxta Hebraeos," however, vocalize:

> *'innāh badderek kōḥî qiṣṣar yāmāy: 'ōmar 'ēlî*

"He broke the strength on the way, he cut short my days. I said, My God . . ." (cf. English versions).

(iii) The Masoretes added a system of conjunctive and disjunctive accent signs to mark the chant or music.[36] These diacritical marks serve to beautify, to add dignity, to denote the stress of the word, which can be as meaningful as the difference between English "pre-sént" and "prés-ent," and, most importantly, to denote the syntactical relationship of words. It makes some difference where one places the accents in Isa 40:3:

> The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare . . . (KJV).
>
> A voice of one calling: "In the desert prepare . . ." (NIV).

Here, too, the Masoretes are preservers, not innovators, unlike the LXX, whose translators seem to have been flying by the seat of their pants. E. J.

34. Waltke, *IBHS*, 28.

35. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 213.

36. S. Haik-Vantoura, *The Music of the Bible Revealed* (Berkeley: BIBAL; San Francisco: King David's Harp, 1991).

Revell suggests that the punctuation was the first feature after the consonantal text to become stabilized in the Jewish biblical tradition.[37]

(iv) The Masoretes also added various paratextual elements — the verse and paragraph divisions and ancient textual corrections. Its variants known as *Kethiv* (K, the consonants of the Proto-MT) and *Qere* (Q, the text they read aloud) are the most important among these last-named. At first the Q readings were optional corrections of the text, but by the time of the Masoretes they had become obligatory. We already noted a preferred Q reading in Ps 102:23 [24]. However, sometimes the K is preferred. Prov 17:27b K (+ the LXX, Syr, Vg) reads *wᵉqar-rûaḥ*, "and cool of spirit," but Q (+ Tg) reads *yᵉqar-rûaḥ*, "precious of spirit," which was variously and dubiously understood to mean "heavy in spirit" (Tg), "sparing of words" (Rashi), and "of worthy bearing" (Saadia).[38] Both K and Q are *hapax legomena.* K now finds support from the Egyptian side. L. Grollenberg showed the Egyptians used "hot" and "cold" in a metaphorical sense of two distinct personality types.[39]

The title page of L, the diplomatic text of *BHK* and *BHS*, reads: "Samuel Jacob copied, vowel-pointed, and Masoretically annotated this Codex of the Sacred Scripture from the correct manuscripts that the teacher Aaron b. Moses Ben-Asher redacted (his rest is in paradise!) and that constitute an exceedingly accurate exemplar." In fact, however, L probably contains too many corrections and errors to have served as a synagogue scroll.

2.5. Conclusion

In the light of this history we can now restrict the aim of OT text criticism to that of recovering the original text that lies behind the Proto-MT recension. The witnesses show such diverse text-types for some portions of the OT, like Joshua, Proverbs, and Esther, that they are best regarded as either distinct, literary stages in the development of the text or as distinct compositions. Tov summarizes: "The differences between the textual witnesses show that a few books and parts of books were once circulated in different formulations representing different literary stages, as a rule one after the other, but possibly also parallel to each other."[40] In Tov's view the text critic ought to reconstruct the edition represented in the Proto-MT. Socio-religious and historical rea-

37. E. J. Revell, "Biblical Punctuation and Chant in the Second Temple Period," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 181-98, esp. 181.

38. Cited by Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 353.

39. L. Grollenberg, "A propos de Prov. VIII,6 et XVII,27," *RB* 59 (1962) 42-43.

40. Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 177.

sons validate his view. That recension became the authoritative text within both Judaism and the Church. Tov argues this case for Judaism, but he failed to note that both Origen and Jerome, the two most formative OT text critics in Church history, also established the MT recension for the Church. Our English versions are based on it. "This history," we said, "should not be underestimated in deciding the question, 'What is the original text?' The MT inherently commended itself to both the synagogue and the church. As the canon of the OT emerged in the historical process, so also the MT surfaced as the best text of that canon."[41] B. Childs reached a similar conclusion.[42]

We do not agree with the theory of P. R. Ackroyd[43] and of J. A. Sanders[44] that the different recensions enjoy equal canonical status. That view is unsatisfying from both a theologian's and historian's point of view. A serious theologian will want to know whether or not the Tenth Commandment prescribes worship on Mount Gerizim, and a resolute historian needs to know whether the biblical historian recorded in Exod 12:40 that Israel spent 430 years before the Exodus in just Egypt (MT) or in Egypt and Canaan (LXX, SP). Both theology and history demand that the critic decide upon an original text.

3. The Practice of Textual Criticism

Texts critics traditionally distinguish between *external criticism* (i.e., the evaluation of the textual witnesses) and *internal criticism* (i.e., the transcriptional and intrinsic probability of the readings themselves). For the former critics need to know the history of the witnesses; for the latter, the kinds of errors scribes make along with a sensitivity to exegetical expectations.

3.1. External Criticism

Before critics can evaluate the variants, those variants must first be collected and collated. Unfortunately, the apparatus in *BHS* still swarms with errors of commission and omission. True variants, we said, are restricted to

41. B. K. Waltke, "Old Testament Textual Criticism," in *Foundations for Biblical Interpretation,* ed. D. S. Dockery, K. A. Mathews, and R. B. Sloan (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994) 175-76.

42. B. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 96-97.

43. P. R. Ackroyd, "An Authoritative Version of the Bible?" *ExpTim* 85 (1973) 374-77, esp. 376.

44. J. A. Sanders, "Text and Canon: Concepts and Methods," *JBL* 98 (1979) 5-29.

those that pertain to the editing of the Proto-MT, not to the literary achievements of earlier scribes. For example, the shorter readings of Jeremiah should be passed over. This also applies to Joshua. Compare these variants of the MT and the LXX in Josh 1:1. The MT reads *'ḥry mwt mšh 'bd yhwh,* "After the death of Moses servant of YHWH," but the LXX reads *'ḥry mwt mšh,* "After the death of Moses." The MT of Joshua 1 has more than twelve additional words or phrases that are not found in the LXX, and the LXX rendering of Joshua is about 4-5 percent shorter than the MT. Plausibly the LXX reflects an earlier, shorter stage of the text and in this case should be ignored. Radically dissimilar to his NT counterpart, the OT text critic does not prefer the earlier and shorter readings! In fact, he turns them over to the literary critic.

3.2. Intrinsic Criticism

(a) Unintentional errors. Following are a few illustrations of some kinds of unintentional scribal errors. In each case we retrovert the LXX to its Hebrew *Vorlage.*

(i) Confusion of consonants: Scribes confused *b/k, b/m, b/n, g/w, g/y, h/ḥ, w/z, w/y, w/r, k/n, m/s,* and *'/ṣ.* Javan's sons are called *ddnym* ("Dodanim") in Gen 10:4 of the MT, but *rdnym* in Gen 10:4 of the SP, LXX, and in 1 Chron 1:7 of the MT.

(ii) Haplography ("writing once") as a result of homoioteleuton (i.e., words with similar endings), or homoiarcton (words with similar beginnings). The MT for Gen 47:16 reads *w'tnh lkm bmqnykm,* "I will give you for your cattle" (cf. KJV), but the SP and the LXX read *w'tnh lkm lḥm bmqnykm,* "I will give you bread for your cattle" (cf. NIV, NRSV). The scribe may have skipped *lḥm* "bread" not only due to words with similar beginnings and endings but because of the similar sound of *k* and *ḥ.*

(iii) Metathesis (the accidental exchange or transposition of two adjacent letters within a word). The MT of Deut 31:1 reads *wylk mšh,* "and Moses went" (cf. NIV), but 4QDeut^{n} and the LXX read *wykl mšh,* "and Moses finished" (cf. NRSV).

(iv) Different concepts of word and verse division. The MT of Hos 6:5 reads *wmšptyk 'wr yṣ',* "and your judgments, light goes forth" (cf. KJV, NASB), but the LXX reads *wmšpty k'wr yṣ',* "and my judgments went forth as light" (cf. NIV, NRSV).

(v) Dittography ("writing twice"). Isa 30:30 in the MT, the LXX, the Tg, the Syr, and the Vg reads *whšmy' yhwh,* "and YHWH will cause to be heard,"

but 1QIsa[a] reads *whšmyʿ hšmyʿ yhwh,* "and YHWH will cause to be heard, to be heard."

(vi) Doublets (conflation of two or more readings). The MT of 2 Kgs 19:9 reads *wyšb wyšlḥ ml'kym,* "and he again sent messengers," and the MT of its synoptic parallel in Isa 37:9 reads *wyšmʿ wyšlḥ ml'kym,* "and when he heard it, he sent messengers." The LXX and 1QIsa[a] of Isa 37:9 read *wyšmʿ wyšb wyšlḥ ml'kym,* "and when he heard it, he again sent messengers."

(b) Intentional changes. Following are a few illustrations of some kinds of intentional scribal changes in the text.

(i) Linguistic changes. Scribes sometimes modernized archaic features of a verse. In Num 15:35 the SP replaces the old infinitive absolute construction of the MT *(rāgōm)* for probably the imperative, *rigmu,* stone.

(ii) Contextual changes. In Gen 2:2, according to the MT, the Tg, and the Vg, God completed his work on the seventh day, but according to the SP, the LXX, and the Syr, he finished on the sixth day to avoid making it appear that God worked on the Sabbath.

(iii) Euphemistic changes. In Gen 50:23 the SP changes *ʿl-brky ywsp,* "upon the knees of Joseph," into *ʿl-bymy ywsp,* "in the days of Joseph," because it seemed improper that Joseph's grandchildren should be born upon his knees.

(iv) Theological changes. We have already noted how the SP altered the Ten Commandments. Better known are the changes of early names with the theophoric element *baʿal,* "lord," by the derogatory element, *bōšet,* "shame" (cf. 1 Chron 8:33 and 2 Sam 2:8). On the whole, however, theological changes are rare in the MT. G. R. Driver noted: "Theological glosses are surprisingly few, and most are enshrined in the *tiqqunê sōp[e]rîm,* which are corrections of the text aimed chiefly at softening anthropomorphisms and eliminating the attribution of any sort of impropriety to God."[45]

4. Textual Criticism and Exegesis

Variants often impact the exegesis of the text and ultimately, to a greater or lesser extent, Old Testament theology. At the same time, however, the critic must decide between them on the basis of exegetical expectations.

45. G. R. Driver, "Glosses in the Hebrew Text of the OT," in *L'Ancien testament et l'Orient : études présentées aux VIes Journées bibliques de Louvain (11-13 septembre 1954)* (Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia 1; Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1957) 123-61, esp. 153.

The basic canon for deciding between variants is: That reading is preferable which would have been more likely to give rise to the others. To say this in another way: The variant that cannot be explained away is more probably the original. To apply this canon effectively demands extensive knowledge of the textual witness, scribal practices, exegetical factors, and common sense. P. K. McCarter wisely counsels the text critic to: (1) keep a clear image of the scribe in mind; (2) look first for the unconscious error; (3) know the personalities of your witnesses; and (4) treat each case as if it were unique.[46] Regarding the last he cites A. E. Housman's memorable metaphor: "A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motion of the planets; he is much more like a dog hunting fleas. . . . They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique."[47]

Let us illustrate the practice of textual criticism by returning to the metathesis in Prov 14:32b: *wᵉḥōseh bᵉmôtô ṣaddîq,* "and the righteous is *ḥōseh* in his death" (MT) versus *wᵉḥōseh bᵉtummô ṣaddîq,* "and the righteous is *ḥōseh* in his blamelessness" (LXX). The key to deciding the original text lies in a correct understanding of the *qal* participle of *ḥsh.* The lexeme occurs thirty-seven times and always with the meaning "to seek refuge," never "to have a refuge" (*pace* NIV) nor "to find a refuge" (*pace* NRSV). Thirty-four times, not counting Prov 14:32b, it is used with reference to taking refuge in God or under the shadow of his wings (cf. Prov 30:5). The two exceptions are Isa 14:32 and 30:2. In 14:32 the afflicted take refuge in Zion, a surrogate for God; in 30:2 Isaiah gives the expression an exceptional meaning because he uses sarcasm: *laḥsôt bᵉṣēl miṣrāyim,* "to take refuge in the shadow of Egypt!" His intended meaning is that the Jerusalemites should have sought refuge in the Lord. The *qal* participle of *ḥsh* or the occurrence *ḥsh* in a relative clause denotes a devout worshipper, "one who seeks refuge in the Yahweh." One other time besides Prov 14:32b the *qal* participle is used absolutely: "[Show the wonder of your love], O Savior of those who take refuge" (*môsîaʿ ḥôsîm,* Ps 17:7). NIV here rightly glosses, "Savior of those who take refuge in you."

46. P. K. McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 22-24.

47. McCarter, *Textual Criticism,* 24.

48. J. Gamberoni in *The Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 5.71.

49. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)* (BKAT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981) 176.

50. A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche* (Züricher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991).

J. Gamberoni agrees that the *qal* participle has the same "religio-ethical" sense in Prov 14:32b as in Ps 17:7.[48] O. Plöger[49] and A. Meinhold[50] independently also reached the conclusion that YHWH is the unstated object of *ḥōseh* in Prov 14:32b. W. McKane, citing A. Barucq,[51] recognizes this as the meaning of the MT.[52] The LXX, NIV, NRSV, however, misunderstood the term. The unequivocal meaning of *ḥōseh* nicely satisfies the exegetical expectation of "in his death," but not of "in his righteousness." McKane rejects the MT because, as he says, "I do not believe that the sentence originally asserted this [a belief in the afterlife]." He follows the LXX and renders: "But he who relies on his own piety is a righteous man." His interpretation, however, violates both the lexical expectations of this word and the exegetical expectation of the book as a whole. Proverbs consistently encourages faith in the Lord (cf. 3:5; 22:19), never faith in one's own piety. In sum, the exegetical expectations of *ḥsh* and of the book favor the MT, suggesting that the corruption occurred in the LXX tradition.

In this treatment we have focused on scholarly competence. Exegetical competence also entails spiritual virtues, as we have argued elsewhere.

5. The Reliability of the OT Text

In the light of the OT text's complex history and the welter of conflicting readings in its textual witnesses, can the Church still believe in an infallible OT? Can it still confess with the Westminster divines: "by His singular care and providence" the text has been "kept pure in all ages" (Westminster Confession of Faith, 1.8). We argue that in fact this history of the text and its witness and other reasons give the Church good reason to continue to confess *ex animo* both the reliability of the OT text and its purity.

1. In every era there was a strong *tendency to preserve the text,* as argued above.

2. The *antiquity of the MT* can be inferred from both the DSS and from comparative Semitic grammar. There is a continuous witness to the received text-type that lies behind some of the oldest biblical manuscripts at Qumran to the whole versional tradition (apart from some portions of the OG) that stretches from ca. 100 CE to the most modern translations into English and a host of other modern languages and dialects. Moreover, the grammar of this text-type admirably fits the framework of ancient Semitic philology. In fact, it accurately preserves *hapax legomena,* such as *qar-ruaḥ,*

51. A. Barucq, *Le Livre des Proverbes* (Paris: Gabalda, 1964).

52. W. McKane, *Proverbs* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970) 475.

"cool of spirit," even though they were not understood later on in the text's transmission.

3. *The MT recension can be distinguished* from the scribal activity that in effect produced other literary editions of OT materials. If the Church confesses that the Holy Spirit superintended the selection of books that comprise the canon of the OT, why should it not confess that the Holy Spirit also superintended the selection of the MT recension? To be sure, the NT authors exhibit the Septuagintal and pre-Samaritan recensions and unique readings, but they also had a freedom in citing noncanonical religious literature. Even though the canon was closed, they felt free to cite noncanonical literature for theological reasons. How much more should we expect them to use texts freely before the text was finalized?

4. One needs to *keep the data in perspective.* A quick count of the textual variants in *BHS* shows that on average for every ten words there is a textual note. The humanists that produced its text-critical notes for recovering an original eclectic text infer that 90 percent of the text in hand is unquestioned. Textual criticism focuses on the problem readings, not on uncontested readings, giving a sense of disproportion to the amount of contaminated text.

5. *The significance of these variants* must be kept in view. In this essay we featured significant variants to make our points, but in truth most variants, including the 10 percent collated in *BHS,* are insignificant and do not affect doctrine. Most text-critical work is boring because the differences are inconsequential. If we restrict ourselves to the MT recension, D. Stuart rightly observes: "It is fair to say that the verses, chapters, and books of the Bible would read largely the same, and would leave the same impression with the reader, even if one adopted virtually every possible *alternative* reading to those now serving as the basis for current English translations."[53] Even if we accepted the earlier and/or other literary editions of portions of the OT, no doctrinal statement within the Protestant tradition would be affected. S. Talmon notes regarding the variants both within and between textual traditions:

> The scope of variation within all textual traditions is relatively restricted. Major divergences which intrinsically affect the sense are extremely rare. A collation of variants extant, based on the synoptic study of the material available, either by a comparison of parallel passages within one Version, or of the major Versions with each other, results in the conclusion that the an-

53. D. Stuart, "Inerrancy and Textual Criticism," in *Inerrancy and Common Sense,* ed. R. R. Nicole and J. R. Michaels (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 97-117, esp. 98.

cient authors, compilers, tradents and scribes enjoyed what may be termed a controlled freedom of textual variation.[54]

6. Paradoxically, *the variety of texts bears witness to an original text.* Even in those portions of the OT that have been preserved in different literary editions there is still a relatively large consensus and close genetic relation between the manuscripts. This is best explained by a schema that commences with an *Ur*-text. Within the MT tradition, of course, there is a much greater agreement and closer genetic connection. The variants within this tradition point unmistakably to an original text from which they sprang. With respect to this agreement R. L. Harris provides an apt illustration of the reliability of the text, in spite of there being no perfect witness to it.[55] He notes how the loss or destruction of the standard yard at the Smithsonian Institution would not enormously affect the practice of measurement in the United States, for a comparison of the multitudinous copies of that yard would lead us to something very close to the original standard.

7. *The correctability of the text* must also be kept in view. Normally an error in the transcriptional process is subject to human correction. In the same way that an average reader can normally correct errors in a book or manuscript, the text critic can correct a textual error in the OT. A good exegete can reduce the number of problematic readings considerably. Moreover, we are the heirs of the work of many competent text critics. Just as electrical engineers can remove unwanted static from a telecommunication signal, so text critics can remove scribal corruptions by their knowledge of the text's history and character and by their exegetical expectations.

8. *The variants in the NT are similar to those found in the DSS.* Our Lord and his apostles confronted OT variants qualitatively similar to the ones that confront us, yet they did not hesitate to rely on the authority of Scripture. These differences did not prevent Jesus from saying that Scripture cannot be broken (John 10:35), nor Paul from confessing that "all Scripture is God-breathed" (2 Tim 3:16). Why should the contemporary Church, which is built upon Christ and his apostles, hesitate any more than they to confess the reliability and inspiration of Scripture?

9. *The variants in the DSS are not qualitatively different from those already known.* The Westminster divines knew the variants in the Samaritan

54. S. Talmon, "Textual Study of the Bible," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text,* ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975) 321-400, esp. 326.

55. R. L. Harris, *Inspiration and Canonicity of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1957) 88-89.

Pentateuch and the ancient versions, which are qualitatively the same as those in the DSS, and yet did not hesitate to confess their conviction that the same Spirit who inspired the OT also preserved it. There are no new data to change this confession.

10. *The preserved OT achieves the work of the Holy Spirit.* Paul says: "All Scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness, so that the man of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good work" (2 Tim 3:16-17). The OT we have in hand does just that.

The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures Found at Qumran

EUGENE ULRICH

1. Introduction

The first statement to make about the Bible at Qumran is that we should probably not think of a "Bible" in the first century BCE or the first century CE, at Qumran or elsewhere. There were collections of Sacred Scriptures, of course, but no Bible in our developed sense of the term. Then, just as now, the precise list of books that were considered "Scripture" varied from group to group. When we say the word "Bible," there are at least three shapes to the idea — presuming that Christians would add a number of books (the New Testament) that Jews would not, that Catholics would add a number of books (the Apocrypha or deutero-canonical books) that Protestants would not, and that Greek Orthodox would add more.

This paper will attempt to offer a sharper and more accurate understanding of the Scriptures at Qumran, or our Bible in the shape it had during the Qumran period, from two perspectives. The first is the external shape of the collection, or collections, of Scripture in the late Second Temple period in Judaism, at the time of the origins of rabbinic Judaism and Christianity. What did the collection of the unrolled books of the Scriptures look like? The second is an internal perspective: once the scrolls are unrolled and read, what do we learn from their contents? What are the results — as we can see them now — of the analysis that my colleagues and I have done on the biblical scrolls so far? I will then conclude with some reflections upon the significance of these new data for a sharper view of our Bible today.

I must preface this discussion with a few preliminary remarks. First, here I am speaking primarily as a historian. I hasten to add that I think all that follows is also easily compatible from a religious perspective. The attempt here, however, is to describe the nature of the Bible as it was in this crucial period of religious history — as seen through the ancient window and bathed in the new light provided from Qumran.

Second, some of what follows could be interpreted as less than respectful to the traditional *textus receptus* of the Hebrew Bible, called the Masoretic Text (MT). That is not my intent. I have high respect for this most important of witnesses to the ancient Hebrew Bible. However, the evidence from the ancient world — and not just that of the Scrolls, but also that of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) and the Septuagint (LXX, i.e., the Greek translation of the Hebrew) — makes us see things a bit more clearly than we used to, and I have found that sometimes this new knowledge comes at the cost of some uneasiness or defensiveness concerning our time-honored views, whether those views are entirely accurate or not.

Third, it is important to stick to our coign of vantage: to look at the evidence concerning the Scriptures that we actually find at Qumran, at times aided by evidence from the New Testament and the Mishnah and Talmud. We must look with first-century eyes, not retrojecting later perspectives without warrant back onto first-century reality.

2. The Scrolls and the External Shape of the Collection(s) of Scripture

2.1. The Corpus of Scrolls of Scripture Found at Qumran

From the eleven caves at Qumran fragments of more than 800 manuscripts were recovered.[1] Of these about 200, or 25 percent, were scriptural manu-

1. For principal publications and lists of the manuscripts, see: *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery,* ed. M. Burrows (vol. 1; New Haven: ASOR, 1950); *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, the Order of the Community, the* Pesher *to Habakkuk;* from photographs by John C. Trever, ed. F. M. Cross et al. (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the Shrine of the Book, 1972); E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes, 1955); D. W. Parry and E. Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a): A New Edition* (STDJ 32; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Also D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumrân Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955); P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les Grottes de Murabba'at.* 1. *Texte.* 2. *Planches*

scripts. Cave 4 was by far the richest cave, with some 575 manuscripts, of which 127 were classified as "biblical," though as usual that designation needs some fine-print distinctions.[2] About 65 biblical manuscripts were recovered from the other ten caves combined. At least one copy of each of the books of the traditional Hebrew canon, except for Esther and Nehemiah, was found at Qumran, as were some of the books of the wider canon.[3] The three books represented by the most manuscripts were the Psalms (37 total from all the caves, including 23 manuscripts from Cave 4), Deuteronomy (32 total, including 21 manuscripts from Cave 4), and Isaiah (22 total, including 18

(DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, eds., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân. 1. Textes. 2. Planches* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962); J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965); M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); E. Tov in collaboration with R. A. Kraft, *The Seiyâl Collection,* vol. 1: *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXII gr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995); E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: The Writings* (DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000); F. M. Cross with D. Parry and E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.XII: Samuel* (DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon [in preparation]); F. García Martínez, J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); E. Ulrich, P. Flint, and M. Abegg, Jr., *Qumran Cave 1: The Isaiah Texts* (DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon [forthcoming]); P. Alexander et al., *Miscellaneous Texts from Qumran and Other Sites* (DJD 38; Oxford: Clarendon [in press]); S. Talmon, "Fragments of a Psalms Scroll from Masada, MPs^b (Masada 1103-1742)," in *Minḥah le-Naḥum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday,* ed. M. Brettler and M. Fishbane (JSOTSup 154; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993) 318-27; Y. Yadin, S. Talmon et al., *Masada, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989-).

Also *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert, Companion Volume,* ed. E. Tov, with S. Pfann (Leiden: Brill, 1993); F. García Martínez, "Lista de Manuscripts procedentes de Qumran," *Henoch* 11 (1989) 149-232; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (rev. ed., SBLRBS 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); E. Tov, "The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11," *BA* 55 (1992) 94-104.

2. For a list and description of the biblical manuscripts from Cave 4, see E. Ulrich, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran Cave 4: An Overview and a Progress Report on Their Publication," *RevQ* 14/54 (1989) 207-28. See also idem, "Index of Passages in the Biblical Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years,* ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 2.649-65.

3. For instance, Sirach, Tobit, *Jubilees, 1 Enoch,* the Epistle of Jeremiah, etc.

manuscripts from Cave 4). It is interesting, but not surprising, that these three books are also the most frequently quoted in the New Testament.

2.2. The Collection of Books of Scripture

The Qumran scrolls tell us many new and exciting things about the Scriptures. Why do I say Scriptures and not Bible? What is the difference? The Scriptures are a collection of sacred works that are considered authoritative for belief and practice within a religious community. The term "Bible," in the singular, adds the extra factor — linked with the idea of a "canon" — of inclusivity and exclusivity: these books are "in," those books are "out." From a visual perspective, the Bible is a single book that has a front and a back cover and a definite table of contents.

During the Qumran period, however, and more broadly during the closing centuries of the Second Temple period in Judaism, there were "volumes," not "books." Literary works were written on scrolls, not in codices. Our word "volume" comes from the Latin word *volumen,* "a rolled thing," from *volvo,* "to turn or roll." The codex, a stack of leaves or pages bound together, did not become the normal format for literary works until the third or fourth century CE.[4] Our early large manuscripts of the Greek Bible, for example, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries of the Common Era, are codices.[5]

Thus, during the period of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the late Second Temple period, the time of Hillel and Christ, and several centuries beyond, our visual imaginations must conjure up books of the Scriptures inscribed on individual scrolls. When the pious community of the Covenant at Qumran studied the Scriptures, they unrolled individual scrolls. When Jesus stood up in the synagogue at Nazareth, the Gospel According to Luke narrates (4:16-20) that he unrolled a scroll of Isaiah — a scroll perhaps not too different from the Great Isaiah Scroll, found virtually intact in Cave 1 at Qumran and on display at the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem. Although the entire Bible can be printed within a single book, it was impossible to copy all the Scriptures on a single scroll. Thus, we must imagine a collection of scrolls.

Exactly how many scrolls would have been included in this collection? It may help to envision a large jar of scrolls or a shelf of scrolls. Then, just as

4. E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912) 51-53.

5. The Septuagint manuscripts from Qumran, however, are scrolls, not codices; see DJD 3 and 9.

now, the precise list of books that were considered "Scripture" varied from group to group within Judaism. Which scrolls belonged in the jar? Which were relegated to outside the jar? Which scrolls were to be shelved on the main shelf of "Scripture," as opposed to the lower shelf marked (proleptically) "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha"? We have no clear evidence that anyone was explicitly asking these questions at that time. To be sure, the Samaritans seem to have settled conservatively on the five books of Moses alone as their authoritative Scriptures.[6] Yet what appears to have been the dominant view — shared by the Pharisees, the Qumran community, and the early Christians — included the Prophets as well.

1. So we come to our first conclusion: there was *no canon* as yet, no clearly agreed-upon list of which books were "Scripture" and which were not. This was the situation at least up to the fall of the Second Temple in 70, probably as late as the end of the first century, and arguably even up to the Second Revolt against Rome in 132-35, since we find Rabbi Akiba having to argue strenuously that, yes, the Song of Songs is in fact Scripture.

2. The *order* of the books was also unclear. This was usually no problem as long as the Scriptures are written on discrete scrolls. To be sure, the five books of Moses had achieved a recognized order; of the few Dead Sea manuscripts in which we find more than one book written on a single scroll, only one may possibly preserve the physical connection between two books of the Torah, and it appears to be in the traditional order.[7] Their fixed order, however, is partly set by the chronological structure of the story from creation down to Moses.

It was a different matter for the Prophets, however. I am unaware of any scroll that contains more than one prophetic book,[8] and so our evidence at Qumran is limited. Nonetheless, the Former Prophets most likely maintained the fixed order (Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings), since, as for the Torah, the order is primarily determined by the chronological structure of the story that the books narrate. For the Latter Prophets, however, Jewish and Christian

6. Some would conclude, on the basis of Josephus, the same position for the Sadducees. Yet James VanderKam (*From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* [JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000) argues that Josephus's statement must be interpreted "in a context in which he is distinguishing sources of authority for practice. . . ."

7. 4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l} probably contains the end of Genesis, plus one partly blank and three fully blank lines, then the beginning of Exodus. The physical join between the end of one book and the beginning of the next is not preserved on 4QGen-Exod^{a}, 4QExod-Lev^{f}, or 4QLev-Num^{a}.

8. The Twelve Minor Prophets evidently were considered to comprise one book.

lists[9] from antiquity display varying orders, and as late as the Talmud (fourth-fifth century CE), the rabbis tell us "the order of the Prophets is . . . Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. . . ."[10]

3. What is more important is that it was unclear *which books* were included among the Prophets. One of the primary names for the Scriptures both at Qumran and in the New Testament is "The Law and the Prophets."[11] The *Rule of the Community* from Cave 1 at Qumran begins with the goal "that they may seek God with a whole heart and soul, and do what is good and right before him as he commanded by the hand of Moses and all his servants the Prophets."[12] Yet which books were considered among the Prophets? Was Daniel? Were the Psalms? The *Florilegium* specifically mentions the "book of the prophet Daniel,"[13] and the Gospel According to Matthew calls Daniel a prophet.[14] Moreover, Josephus and Melito also think of him as a prophet, and in fact the first written evidence that places Daniel not among the Prophets but among the Ketubim or Writings is the much later Talmud. So, Daniel was among the Prophets in Judaism generally in the first century.

The Qumran community produced continuous *pesharim,* or commentaries, evidently only on prophetic books. That a few *pesharim* exist on the Psalms[15] and that 11QPs[a] speaks of David as having composed the Psalms through prophecy[16] suggests that Psalms was considered a prophetic book. The New Testament also interprets the Psalms as part of the prophetic corpus.

4. What is more, apparently the category of "Prophets" was gradually perceived as being *stretched too far.* Though "the Law and the Prophets" (or "Moses and the Prophets") was a frequent designation for the Scriptures at Qumran and in the New Testament, 4QMMT at one point speaks of "Moses, the Prophets and David," a phrase parallel to Luke's "the Law and the Prophets and Psalms" (24:44). So the book of Psalms, which had been counted among the Prophets, began to establish a new category that eventually would be called the Ketubim or the Hagiographa. Other books as well, such as *Jubilees, 1 Enoch,* Sirach, and a number of the other Apocrypha or deutero-canonical works, were

9. A number of lists are reproduced in H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (rev. by R. R. Ottley; New York: Ktav, 1968) 198-214.

10. *b. Baba Batra* 14b.

11. See, for instance, Luke 16:16, 29, 31; 24:27; Acts 26:22; 28:23.

12. 1QS 1:1-3; trans. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd ed.; London: Penguin, 1987) 62.

13. 4Q174 2:3 (DJD 5.54).

14. Matt 24:15; see also Mark 13:14.

15. 1Q16, 4Q171, 4Q173; 4Q172?

16. כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון, 11QPs[a] 27:11 (DJD 4.48).

also being quoted or alluded to both at Qumran and in the New Testament in the same manner and the same contexts as other scriptural works.[17] And these, or some of these, became the Ketubim or the Hagiographa.

In short, though the books constituting the inner core of the collection, namely, the Torah and the main prophets, were clearly considered authoritative works of Scripture, and their order was largely but not fully set, works nearer the periphery were still finding their place.

3. The Individual Books of Scripture as Seen from Qumran

3.1. The Text Encountered in the Individual Scrolls

What do the books of Scripture look like from within? When the individual books were unrolled in antiquity, did they look exactly like the text of the Hebrew Bible that we read or translate today? A healthy presumption is that no two manuscripts of any book in antiquity were ever exactly alike. Before the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century and more recent photographic and electronic means of mass production of books, every copy of every book was indeed a copy, made individually by a more or less careful, but fallible, human being. There are individual minor variants and errors that populate every text. There are also differing practices of orthography or spelling; much as in Elizabethan England, where spelling seems more a creative art than a linguistic science, so too in the Scrolls (just as in the MT) we find a variety of orthographic styles. These two categories of variation between manuscripts — individual minor variants and orthographic dissimilarities — usually do not make much of a difference in meaning, but there has emerged a third and more important category that teaches us much about the composition and transmission of the ancient biblical text, namely, multiple literary editions of biblical books and passages.

3.2. Multiple Literary Editions of Biblical Books and Passages

Although in the traditional, pious, and popular imagination the books of Scripture were composed by single holy men from earliest times (Moses and

17. *Jub* 23:11 is quoted as authoritative in CD 10:8-10, and its exact title, "The Book of the Divisions of the Times in Their Jubilees and Weeks," occurs in CD 16:3-4. In addition, allusions to *1 Enoch* occur fourteen times in the New Testament.

Isaiah, for example), critical study of the text of Scripture demonstrates that the books are the result of a long literary development, whereby traditional material was faithfully retold and handed on from generation to generation, but also creatively expanded and reshaped to fit the new circumstances and new needs that the successive communities experienced through the vicissitudes of history. So the process of the composition of the Scriptures was organic, developmental, and contained successive layers of tradition. Ezekiel (3:1-3) was commanded to eat a scroll and found that it was sweet as honey. So perhaps I can be allowed to use the image of baklava for the composition of scriptural texts: many layers laid on top of one another by successive generations over the centuries, as the traditions were handed on faithfully but creatively adapted and formed into a unity by the honey — sometimes heated — of the lived experience of the community over time.

At Qumran, as in wider Judaism, we can see the scribes and their predecessors at work along two lines. Often the books of the Scriptures were simply copied as precisely as possible. Sometimes, however, the scribes intentionally incorporated new material that helped interpret or bring home to their contemporary congregation in a new situation the relevance of the traditional text. These creative biblical scribes were actively handing on the tradition, but they were adding to it, enriching it, making it adaptable, up-to-date, relevant, multivalent. We must assume that by and large they knew explicitly what they were doing. Insofar as the scribes were handing on the tradition, they became part of the canonical process: handing on the tradition is a constitutive factor of the canonical process. James Sanders refers to this aspect as "repetition."[18] The repetition, in a sense, works like a hammer, pounding home again and again that this material is important. The texts were authoritative texts, and through the traditioning process they were being made more authoritative.

The scribes were also updating the tradition, contemporizing it, and making it relevant. That is, sometimes when the tradition was not adaptable, these scribes *made* it adaptable, thus giving it another of its canonical characteristics, a complementary factor that Sanders terms "resignification." That is, the tradition, important in its original setting and important in itself beyond its importance for that original concrete situation, is found also to be important to us here and now in our present situation. The tradition proves adaptable, capable of having new significance in this new particular situation. The resignification — insofar as the tradition has proved useful or true — shows that indeed the tradition is *important in itself* (thus genuinely in the category

18. J. A. Sanders, *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 22.

of "tradition") and that it is *important to us* (thus genuinely in the category of "adaptable tradition"). The "authority" of such tradition is not an extraneous characteristic (authority imposed) but an intrinsic one (the community recognizes the life-giving power of the tradition).[19]

Thus, we have shed new light on the ancient world and the biblical text in the making. The Qumran manuscripts and the versions document the creativity of religious leaders and scribes who produced revised literary editions of many of the books of Scripture. Yet, as is often the case with new knowledge, this new illumination reveals complications. If this was the way the Scriptures were composed, how do we isolate "the original text"? What level do we translate in our modern Bible translations? We will touch on those problems later. Here, let us simply note that such *composition-by-stages* is the method by which the Scriptures were produced from the beginning, and that for some of the latter stages we now have manuscript evidence documenting two or more literary editions of some of the biblical books. We will describe these as we review the books at Qumran one by one.

3.3. A Review of Individual Books

The text of *Genesis* starts us off slowly and gently, like the beginning of a roller-coaster or Ferris-wheel ride, though the ride will become more textually interesting soon. It appears that the text of Genesis had become basically stable by the late Second Temple period. All our manuscripts exhibit basically the same text-type; most of the variants are only minor or unintentional.[20]

The book of *Exodus,* however, provides a clear example of two editions of a biblical book. The different edition preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch has been known since the seventeenth century, but its significance was capable of being dismissed because the major differences were considered the work of the marginalized Samaritans. With the discovery of 4QpaleoExod^{m},[21] however, we

19. E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon,* ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov with W. W. Fields (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 267-91, esp. 288-89.

20. An exception seems to be the chronological system; see R. S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 61-80. For editions of the Cave 4 manuscripts of Genesis see James R. Davila in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers,* ed. E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

21. For the publication of 4QpaleoExod^{m} see P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, DJD 9.53-130. For preliminary publication and analyses see P. W. Skehan, "Exodus

see that the book of Exodus circulated in Judaism in two editions. One was the form traditionally found in the MT and translated in the LXX, and the other was an intentionally expanded version with most of the features characteristic of the Samaritan version except the two *specifically* Samaritan features (namely, the addition of an eleventh commandment to build an altar on Mount Gerizim, and the systematic use of the past, and not the future, of the verb in the formula "the place that the Lord has chosen" [not "will choose"]).[22]

The book of *Leviticus*, perhaps because it was a work containing specific cultic regulations, also seems to have stabilized early, and, to my knowledge, we have only one major textual tradition.[23]

The book of *Numbers* again exhibits variant editions. 4QNum^{b}, edited by Nathan Jastram, shows a number of expansions shared by the Samaritan text of Numbers, but it is not specifically Samaritan.[24] Again, it seems that there were at least two editions of Exodus and Numbers that circulated within Judaism in the Second Temple period, and the Samaritans simply took one of those (the expanded version) and used it as their Torah, making only a few changes in accordance with their beliefs.

The book of *Deuteronomy* is one of the three most popular books at Qumran, just as it is in the New Testament.[25] It is too early to be able to give a definitive account of the textual nature of Deuteronomy, but there is a wide variety of textual variants preserved in the manuscripts from Qumran, including in some *nonbiblical* manuscripts that contain biblical excerpts used for liturgical purposes.[26]

Once past the book of Deuteronomy, the number of scrolls preserved for each book diminishes. For some books, either such a small percentage survives at Qumran, or the analyses are so recent, that it is hazardous to proffer judgments about them, since such judgments would undoubtedly be quoted and passed on as "the assured results of scholarship" in settings that

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in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955) 182-87; idem, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *JBL* 78 (1959) 21-25, esp. 25; J. E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^{m} and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); idem, "The Contributions of 4QpaleoExod^{m} to Textual Criticism," *RevQ* 13/49-52 (Mémorial Jean Carmignac, 1988) 547-60; idem, "The Old Greek of Exodus in the Light of 4QpaleoExod^{m}," *Textus* 14 (1988) 87-104. For the remaining editions of Exodus, see DJD 9 and DJD 12.

22. Cf. Exod 20:17 and Deut 12:5, 11, 14, 18, etc.

23. For the publication of the Cave 4 Leviticus scrolls, see DJD 12.

24. N. Jastram in DJD 12.205-67.

25. For the editions of the Deuteronomy manuscripts see: S. W. Crawford and J. A. Duncan, DJD 14.7-13b; Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, DJD 9.131-54.

26. For instance, 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{n}.

would only cause disinformation. Of the book of Esther, for example, nothing survives (if this book had been there at all). Nothing survives of the book of Nehemiah, unless Nehemiah was — this early — always considered as part of a single book of Ezra-Nehemiah. From the following books only small amounts survive, and judgment — beyond that given in the preliminary editions — should be held in abeyance until sufficient analysis has been completed: the books of *Judges,*[27] *Kings,*[28] *Ruth, Canticles, Qoheleth,*[29] *Lamentations,*[30] *Ezra,*[31] and *Chronicles.*[32] The book of *Ezekiel* survives in only three small manuscripts,[33] the book of *Job* in only three,[34] and *Proverbs* in only two;[35] the text in these manuscripts appears to be generally similar to that of the traditional *textus receptus.*

The text of *Joshua* survives in only two manuscripts that are clearly the book of Joshua. In addition, 4QpaleoParaJoshua (4Q123) is a manuscript with only four fragments surviving. These are so small that the work is difficult to identify, but the text is more reminiscent of the book of Joshua than of any other known work, and it is conceivable that this may be a variant textual

27. J. Trebolle Barrera, "Textual Variants in *4QJudg*^{a} and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges (1)," *RevQ* 14/54 (1989) 229-46.

28. J. Trebolle Barrera, "A Preliminary Edition of 4QKings (4Q54)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991,* ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (2 vols., STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill; Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992) 1.229-46. Trebolle has developed a methodology for recovering an alternate edition of the books of Kings; see his "Redaction, Recension, and Midrash in the Books of Kings," *BIOSCS* 15 (1982) 12-35.

29. E. Ulrich, "Ezra and Qoheleth Manuscripts from Qumran (4QEzra, 4QQoh^{a,b})," in *Priests, Prophets, and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honor of Joseph Blenkinsopp,* ed. E. Ulrich et al. (JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992) 139-57.

30. F. M. Cross, "Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Verse: The Prosody of Lamentations 1:1-22," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN: ASOR/Eisenbrauns, 1983) 129-55.

31. Ulrich, "Ezra and Qoheleth Manuscripts."

32. J. Trebolle Barrera, "Édition préliminaire de 4QChroniques," *RevQ* 15/59 (1992) 423-29.

33. See the provisional transcription of 4QEzek^{a} and 4QEzek^{b} by Johan Lust, "Ezekiel Manuscripts in Qumran: A Preliminary Edition of 4QEzek a and b," in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Interrelation,* ed. J. Lust (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986) 90-100.

34. For 4QpaleoJob^{c}, see DJD 9.155-57.

35. See P. W. Skehan, "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu,* ed. M. Delcor (BETL 46; Paris: Éditions Duculot; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978) 163-82, esp. 163.

form of the biblical book.[36] Furthermore, 4QJosh[a] appears to present a variant edition of the text of that book; it is probable, though not certain, that this scroll contained an intentionally different order of the narrative in a highly significant matter — the building of the first altar in the newly entered Promised Land. The passage that occurs at the end of chapter 8 in the traditional MT (though suspiciously after 9:2 in the LXX) is placed before chapter 5 in 4QJosh[a]. What is more, one of our earliest witnesses to the biblical text, Josephus, similarly attests that Joshua built an altar at Gilgal immediately after crossing the Jordan and entering the Land.[37] The placement of the passage in the MT is admittedly odd, entailing the curious detour up to the otherwise insignificant Mount Ebal. It is quite possible that 4QJosh[a] and Josephus retain the original story and that it has been changed in the MT tradition due to anti-Samaritan polemic.

The book of *Samuel* is somewhat more complex.[38] There do not appear to have been two separate editions of the entire book (or pair of books), but there are variant editions of certain passages. Insofar as Stanley Walters's analysis of 1 Samuel 1 is accepted, the argument can be made for a second, intentionally developed and changed edition of that narrative, perhaps due to theological and misogynist factors.[39] For the David-Goliath narrative in 1 Samuel 17–18 there are also two quite contrasting variant editions.[40]

36. E. Ulrich, DJD 9.201-203.

37. Josephus, *Ant.* 5 §20.

38. For 4QSam[a], see F. M. Cross, "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint," *BASOR* 132 (1953) 15-26; idem, "The Ammonite Oppression of the Tribes of Gad and Reuben: Missing Verses from 1 Samuel 11 Found in 4QSam[a]," in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel: 1980 Proceedings IOSCS — Vienna,* ed. E. Tov (Jerusalem: Academon, 1980) 105-19; E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); a list of contents of the manuscript is given on p. 271. See also E. Tov, "The Textual Affiliations of 4QSam[a]," *JSOT* 14 (1979) 37-53; repr. in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel,* 189-205; J. Trebolle Barrera, "El estudio de 4QSam[a]: Implicaciones exegéticas e históricas," *Estudios bíblicos* 39 (1981) 5-18; and A. van der Kooij, "De tekst van Samuel en het tekstkritisch onderzoek: historisch overzicht en stand van zaken [LXX and 4QSam[a]]," *NTTij* 36 (1982) 177-204.

For 4QSam[b], see F. M. Cross, "The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955) 147-72; and for 4QSam[c], see E. Ulrich, "4QSam[c]: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14–15 from the Scribe of the *Serek Ha-yaḥad* (1QS)," *BASOR* 235 (1979) 1-25; repr. in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel,* 166-88.

39. S. D. Walters, "Hannah and Anna: The Greek and Hebrew Texts of 1 Samuel 1," *JBL* 107 (1988) 385-412.

40. For the detailed characteristics of the two editions, see D. Barthélemy, D. W. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov, *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism: Papers of a Joint Research Venture* (OBO 73; Fribourg, Switzerland: Éditions Universitaires;

The book of *Isaiah* is one of the three most richly attested books at Qumran.[41] The textual character of this book and its many manuscript witnesses from Qumran is too complex to summarize adequately here. The scrolls do not seem to preserve evidence of different editions, but the multivalent poetic text shows at a number of points that the LXX faithfully translated an existing Hebrew text and was not "free," if free means tendentious or inventive.[42]

The book of *Jeremiah,* however, does provide evidence of two literary editions,[43] and this appears to be widely recognized. The LXX preserves the earlier, shorter edition, documented in Hebrew in 4QJer^{b}, and the MT preserves a subsequent, longer edition, with rearranged text.

The Hebrew manuscripts of the *Twelve Minor Prophets* do not offer strong signs of significantly diverse textual traditions,[44] but the Greek scroll from Naḥal Ḥever displays a systematic revision of the Old Greek translation toward the Hebrew text of the proto-rabbinic tradition (MT).[45]

The book of *Psalms* is again rich but difficult to summarize. More manuscripts of this book are preserved both at Qumran and in the Judean Desert generally than of any other work.[46] 11QPs^{a} is an extensively preserved manu-

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Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). I agree with the position of Tov and Lust and disagree with that of Barthélemy and Gooding. The correctness of either position, however, should not distract one from the main point that there are two editions of the biblical text.

41. For bibliography, see note 1 above. Also see D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, DJD 1.66-68; J. Muilenburg, "Fragments of Another Qumran Isaiah Scroll," *BASOR* 135 (1954) 28-32; P. W. Skehan, "Qumrân et découvertes au désert de Juda: IV. Littérature de Qumrân — A. Textes bibliques. B. Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament," *DBSup* 9 (1979) cols. 805-28; esp. cols. 811-12. See also P. W. Skehan, "The Text of Isaias at Qumrân," *CBQ* 17 (1955) 158-63; F. J. Morrow, Jr., "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1973).

42. See, for instance, P. W. Flint, "The Septuagint Version of Isaiah 23:1-14 and the Massoretic Text," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988) 35-54.

43. E. Tov, "The Jeremiah Scrolls from Qumran," *RevQ* 14/54 (1989) 189-206; idem, "Three Fragments of Jeremiah from Qumran Cave 4," *RevQ* 15/60 (1992) 531-41; idem, "The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism,* ed. J. H. Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 213-37; J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973) 173-84; F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980), 186-87 and nn. 37-38.

44. See R. E. Fuller in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets,* ed. E. Ulrich et al. (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 221-318.

45. E. Tov, DJD 8.

46. P. W. Skehan, "A Psalm Manuscript from Qumran (4QPs^{b})," *CBQ* 26 (1964) 313-22; "Qumrân et découvertes," *DBSup* 9 (1979) cols. 805-28, esp. cols. 815-16; J. T. Milik, "Deux documents inédits du désert de Juda," *Biblica* 38 (1957) 245-68, esp. 245-55. For anal-

script. It both includes nine compositions not found in the MT edition of the Psalter and exhibits an order partly identical with the traditional order of the MT but also significantly at variance with it. One of the additional compositions is drawn from another Davidic section of the Hebrew Bible, four were psalms preserved in the Greek and Syriac Bibles, and the remaining four were hitherto unknown. Significantly, all (except "David's Compositions") are composed like other biblical psalms; they stand in marked contrast to the *Hôdāyôt,* which sound postbiblical and reflect the theology of the Qumran commune. In "David's Compositions" a clear claim for the revelatory, and thus scriptural, character of the work is made by proclaiming that David composed all these psalms through God-given prophecy, as mentioned in part 2.2 above.

Thus there are arguably (at least) two major editions of the Psalter. One is that found in the MT and more or less reflected in the LXX, though there are numerous minor variants as well as the single major variant that the LXX concludes with Psalm 151, whereas the MT ends with Psalm 150. A second Psalter — a second edition of the scriptural book of Psalms — is partly preserved in 11QPs^{a}. This assertion is supported by the fact that a second manuscript (11QPs^{b}) and perhaps a third (4QPs^{e}) also seem to exhibit this edition, whereas there is "only one scroll from Masada (MasPs^{b}), and none from Qumran, whose order *unambiguously* supports the received Psalter against the 11QPs^{a} arrangement."[47] It should also be noted that 11QPs^{a} ends with Psalm 151, as does the LXX.

Finally, the eight manuscripts of the book of *Daniel* from Qumran teach us a great deal about the text, language, and orthography of the book.[48] Though the scrolls themselves do not, the Old Greek in comparison with the MT does exemplify variant literary editions of Daniel.[49]

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ysis, see G. H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985); and P. W. Flint, "The Psalters at Qumran and the Book of Psalms" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993).

47. Flint, "The Psalters," 147. Also see, idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 157.

48. See the editions of 1QDan^{a} and 1QDan^{b} by D. Barthélemy in DJD 1.150-52, and that of pap6QDan by M. Baillet in DJD 3.114-15 + pl. XXIII. For 4QDan^{a,b,c}, see E. Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan^{a}," *BASOR* 267 (1987) 17-37; idem, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 2: Preliminary Editions of 4QDan^{b} and 4QDan^{c}," *BASOR* 274 (1989) 3-26. See also Ulrich, "Orthography and Text in 4QDan^{a} and 4QDan^{b} and in the Received Masoretic Text," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin (College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990) 29-42.

49. D. O. Wenthe, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 1–6" (Ph.D. diss., Univer-

4. Conclusions

1. Fifty years ago we had the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint, and our predecessors wrote "the history of the biblical text" on the basis of that evidence. Today we have a great deal of new information about the shape of the Bible before 135 CE. From a general perspective one could say that not much on the grand scale has changed, but when the focus is sharpened, some serious advances can be seen. Lines that were once obscure or perceived incorrectly are now noticeably clearer, though we could wish for yet greater clarity. Our knowledge has advanced, and so concomitant changes in our explanations will soon have to filter down.

2. The Scriptures were pluriform (as was Judaism and Christianity) at least until 70 CE, probably until 100, and quite possibly as late as 135 or beyond. Thus, we must revise our imaginations and our explanations. Neither the external shape nor the internal shape of the Scriptures at that time has changed, but our knowledge of them has. We can now know significantly more, and know it more precisely. Externally, we know more about which books were "in" and which "out," and which books were in which category. Internally, we can now see more clearly that there were multiple literary editions of many of the biblical books. We can understand that, for example, the book of Jeremiah or Daniel was considered among the books of Scripture, but the specific textual form was not a consideration. The process of the composition of the Scriptures was layered; some of the latter stages of that process — multiple literary editions of the books of Scripture — are demonstrated by our new extant evidence.[50]

3. Because the text of each book was produced organically, in multiple layers, determining "the original text" is a difficult, complex task; and theologically it may not even be the correct goal. How do we decide which of the many layers that could claim to be the "original reading" to select? Often the richer religious meanings in a text are those that entered the text at a relatively late or developed stage. Do we choose the earlier, less rich reading or the later, more profound one? In contrast, if a profound religious insight in an early stage of the text is toned down later by a standard formula or even a vapid

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sity of Notre Dame, 1991), demonstrates that the edition of the book in the MT is the earliest complete edition available, but not the first edition of the biblical book of Daniel, and that the MT and LXX exhibit variant editions.

50. I have not yet studied 4Q364-67 in detail, but in light of this documented pluriformity of the developing text of the Scriptures, it may turn out that such works are more properly classified as "biblical" (i.e., scriptural) works rather than "paraphrases" or "reworked" biblical texts.

platitude, which do we select? And must we not be consistent in choosing the early or the later edition or reading?

4. The Samaritans, the Jews, and the Christians ended up with three texts (not text-types) and three collections of books because they each survived with a certain set of texts. Though their respective lists of books were due to their religious principles and beliefs, the specific textual forms of the individual books were accidental.

5. The Masoretic Text, like the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, is not a univocal term or entity but a collection of disparate texts, from different periods, of differing nature, of differing textual value, etc. There is no reason to think of the Masoretic collection as a *unit* (a codex, a "Bible"), or as a *unity.* The collection is like the Septuagint, a collection of varied forms of the various books.

6. Thus, finally, the situation has changed concerning translations of "The Holy Bible." The New Revised Standard Version now contains a number of improved readings based on the biblical manuscripts from Qumran and can even claim to be the first Bible to contain a paragraph missing from all Bibles for 2000 years! It contains between chapters ten and eleven in 1 Samuel a paragraph found at Qumran and attested by Josephus, but absent from all other Bibles over the past two millennia.

We still need to revise our approach toward translating the Bible. On the one hand, I have argued elsewhere that it is legitimate for a specific religious community or a specific scholarly project to produce a translation of a specific collection of texts as received within a faith tradition (e.g., the MT, the LXX, or the Samaritan Pentateuch).[51] On the other hand, a Bible translation that claims to be a scholarly or academically sound translation of the Hebrew Bible must be based on a critically established text, not just a diplomatic text (such as the MT or the LXX). While saying this, I must note that this is a statement of principle; it is very difficult in practice, and we are just getting to the point of being able to articulate the need; we may not yet be at the point of implementing it.

Qumran has begun to teach us a great deal about the Bible and the history of its text. There is a great deal still ahead to be learned.

51. E. 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. J. L. Crenshaw (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988) 101-16, esp. 111-13.

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus

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When the risen Jesus tells his disciples that all that is written of him "in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled" (Luke 24:44), we rightly wonder if he has alluded here to the three well-known divisions of the Hebrew Bible (i.e., the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings),[1] and, if he has, we may also wonder what scriptures in these three divisions he had in mind.

The emergence of the Jewish canon of Scripture was a complicated process that took place over a long period of time. In this essay it is not our purpose, beyond a brief overview, to review this process. This task will be left to others.[2] Our interest lies chiefly with the evidence of the "threefold" dimension of the canon and in early Christianity's interest in showing how all three of the divisions of Scripture bore witness to Jesus. A recently published document from Qumran sheds significant light on this concern.

The rest of this essay is divided (appropriately) into three parts: (1) a brief overview of the movement from divine oracles to sacred books, (2) the emergence of the threefold formation of the canon of Scripture, and (3) the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms as witnesses to Jesus.

1. See, for example, J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV* (AB 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985) 1583. Fitzmyer asserts that the "psalms scarcely stand for all the *Ketubim*." More will be said on this below.

2. See especially Eugene Ulrich's essay "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures Found at Qumran" elsewhere in this volume.

1. From Divine Oracles to Sacred Books

In the most ancient portions of Scripture we read about dreams, visions, and oracles, through which God spoke and made his will known to human beings. Yet in some instances we are not told exactly how God spoke with people. It appears that God spoke directly, much as one human being might speak with another. For example, God commands Adam not to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:16-17), and after Adam and Eve ate from this tree, God converses with them (Gen 3:9-19). Indeed, it is said that Adam and Eve could hear "God walking in the garden in the cool of the day" (Gen 3:8). God speaks with Cain, who is angry (Gen 4:4-7), and then speaks with him again after he murders his brother (Gen 4:9-15). God speaks to Noah (Gen 6:13-21; 7:1-4; 8:16-17; 9:1-17), Abraham (Gen 12:1-3; 13:14-17; 15:1-16; 17:1-21; 18:1-15, 22-32; 21:12-13; 22:1-2, 11-12, 15-18), Hagar (Gen 16:8-12; 21:17-18), Rebekah (Gen 25:23), Isaac (Gen 26:2-5, 24), and Jacob (Gen 35:1, 10-12). In none of these stories are we told in what manner God speaks to these people. We do not know if it is through dreams, or through an oracle, or through a vision. As the Genesis narrative progresses, we begin to encounter stories in which God does speak through dreams to various persons, such as Abimelech (Gen 20:3-7), Jacob (Gen 28:13-15; 31:11-13), and Laban (Gen 31:24). In the case of Joseph, God provides insight into the meaning of dreams (Gen 37:5-9; 40:12-19; 41:14-32).

In the story of Moses and the deliverance from Egypt we begin to read about the "words of the Lord" being *written.* Following the dramatic victory over the Amalekites (Exod 17:8-13), God commands Moses to write down the event "in a book as a memorial and recite it in the ears of Joshua" (Exod 17:14). Later, Moses writes down the words of God spoken at Sinai (Exod 24:4; God himself writes upon the tablets of stone, Exod 24:12; 34:1; cf. Deut 4:13; 5:22; 10:2, 4). Elsewhere we read of Moses writing the words of God (e.g., Exod 34:27-28; Num 33:2; Deut 31:9).

In obedience to the Mosaic command (Deut 27:2-3, 8) Joshua writes a copy of the Law of Moses upon a stone (Josh 8:32). At the end of his life Joshua writes down his own covenant (Josh 24:26). Samuel the priestly prophet also writes down the ordinances of the Lord (1 Sam 10:25). In these traditions we may have glimmers of the beginnings of what later would be called the "former prophets" (i.e., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings).

Although it would not be until the postexilic period that the five "books of Moses" would take the shape by which we know them today, the editing of this material took important steps forward during the period of the monarchy. We are told that during the reign of Josiah a "book of the Law" was found

in the temple (2 Kings 22:8-13). Deuteronomy, as we have it today, may well have been written during this time and could very well be the book discovered in the temple. The composition of a book of this nature in all probability was related to the Mosaic command that the king write out a copy of the Law (Deut 17:18). Its "discovery" was probably part of the reforms credited to King Josiah.

In the postexilic period the process of editing the five books of Moses continued. Tradition associates Ezra the scribe with the preservation, if not editing, of these books (Ezra 7:10; Neh 9:38 [MT 10:1]; 13:1). After the exile, and as part of the nation's religious renewal, "all of the people gathered . . . and they asked Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the Law of Moses, which the Lord had given to Israel" (Neh 8:1). The book was read to and interpreted for the people. It was also studied by students of a school founded by Ezra (Neh 8:1-18). In later rabbinic tradition Ezra, who was regarded as a sort of second Moses, is given a great deal of credit for preserving and interpreting Torah and for restoring Israel's worship.[3]

The prophets, like Moses before them, were also commanded of God to speak. Unlike Moses, who had spoken to God "face to face" (Exod 33:11; Deut 34:10), the prophets received visions and were prompted to speak by the Spirit of God. One thinks of Isaiah's terrifying, yet sublime, vision of God seated upon his throne "high and lifted up" (Isa 6:1-5). One also thinks of the diffident Jeremiah, who responds to God's summons: "Ah, Lord God! Behold, I do not know how to speak, for I am only a youth" (Jer 1:6). But God will have none of this, touches Jeremiah, and says, "Behold, I have put my words in your mouth" (Jer 1:9).

The prophets, again like Moses, were also commanded to write. During the Syro-Ephraimite crisis Isaiah is told to "bind up the testimony, seal the teaching" (Isa 8:16). Later, during the Assyrian crisis, Isaiah is commanded to "write it before them on a tablet, and inscribe it in a book" (Isa 30:8). Jeremiah is told on many occasions to "write in a book all the words" of the Lord (Jer 30:2; cf. 36:2, 4, 17, 18), and with the help of his associate Baruch, he did just that (Jer 45:1; 51:60). After his vision of the heavenly temple, Ezekiel was commanded to ". . . portray the temple . . . write it down in their sight . . ." (Ezek 43:11). The minor prophets, too, wrote their oracles. Habakkuk was told to "write the vision; make it plain on tablets, so he may run who reads it" (Hab 2:2). The books that make up the third division of the Hebrew Bible, the

3. For a convenient summary of traditions relating to Ezra, see L. Ginzburg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967-69) 4.354-61, 6.441-50.

"Writings," do not provide evidence of divine commands to write. David is remembered to have composed approximately one half of the Psalms.[4] His son Solomon is credited with many of the proverbs (cf. Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1; 1 Kings 4:32; Sir 48:17) and with Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs (Eccles 1:1; Song 1:1). God was remembered to have been with David and Solomon in special ways.

There are some traditions where prophetic and Davidic ideas converge. In both the Hebrew and Greek versions of 1 Sam 16:13 we are told that, following his anointing, the "Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward." Although the biblical text says nothing about prophecy, the retelling of this story by the first-century Jewish historian Josephus does: "Then, in the sight of David, he (Samuel) took oil and anointed him and spoke softly into his ear, explaining that God had chosen him to be king . . . and the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy" (Josephus, *Ant.* 6 §165-66). A similar tradition is preserved in one of the Psalms Scrolls of Qumran: "All these (psalms) he (David) spoke through prophecy, which was given to him from before the Most High" (11QPs^a col. 27:11).

In rabbinic traditions David and Solomon are numbered among the "first" prophets (*b. Soṭa* 48b). In several places in the Targum — the Aramaic paraphrase of the Hebrew Bible — David and Solomon are said to have possessed the spirit of prophecy and to have prophesied (*Tg.* 2 Sam 22:1; 23:1-4; *Tg.* 1 Kings 5:13; 6:11; *Tg.* Isa 11:1-2 [in some mss]; *Tg.* Ps 72:1). In my opinion, David and Solomon are said to have possessed the prophetic gift, in part, to help explain, perhaps even justify, their involvement in the composition of many of the books that make up the "Writings" of the Bible. These traditions may also have their roots in a much earlier idea in which the Psalms were viewed either as an extension of the Prophets or at least as in some way related to the Prophets. Further evidence for this understanding is seen at Qumran, where we have commentaries (the *pesharim*) on the Prophets and on Psalms 37 and 129,[5] and in the New Testament (cf. Acts 2:25, 30), where David is viewed as a prophet.[6]

4. As seen in the superscriptions in Psalms 3–9, 11–29, 31–32, 34–41, 51–70, 72, 86, 101, 103, 108–110, 122, 124, 131, 133, 138–44; cf. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.26.14: "Psalms of David."

5. Note the study of these writings by M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979).

6. See J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (London: SPCK; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 45-46.

2. The Emergence of the Tripartite Canon of Scripture

Possibly the earliest hint of a tripartite form of the canon comes from the Wisdom of Yeshua ben Sira (ca. 180 BCE),[7] also known as Ecclesiasticus: "He who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High will seek out wisdom of all the ancients, and will be concerned with prophecies" (Sir 39:1). The "law of the Most High" and the "prophecies" are unmistakable references to the first two divisions of the Hebrew Bible.[8] But is "wisdom" here a reference to the third division of the canon of Scripture? It is possible, but doubtful. Not only is the reference to wisdom out of proper sequence (appearing in second position, instead of third), but nowhere else is the third division of Scripture called "wisdom." It has been suggested that Yeshua ben Sira referred to the third division of Scripture in this way because of his concern with wisdom, but that is no more than a guess.

The next possible reference to the tripartite form of the canon is found in the recently published 4QMMT (ca. 150 BCE): "We [have written] to you, so that you will understand the Book of Moses [and] the book[s of the Pr]ophets and of Davi[d, along with the chronicles of every] generation. In the Book it is written. . . . [It is written in the book] of Moses and in [the books of the Prophets] that [blessings and curses] will come [upon you . . ." (4Q397 14-21 ii 10-12).[9] The "book of Moses," the "books of the Prophets," and "David" could be references to the three divisions of Scripture. This question will be taken up below.

The next possible reference to the tripartite form of Scripture is provided by Yeshua ben Sira's grandson, who translated his grandfather's work into Greek and added a preface. In this preface (ca. 132 BCE) the grandson states: "My grandfather Jesus (i.e., Yeshua) . . . very much gave himself to the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and other books of our fathers. . . . Not only this work, but even the Law itself, the Prophecies, and the rest of the books differ not a little as originally expressed" (v. 7).[10] Not only is it clear that Yeshua's grandson understood the canon as consisting of three group-

7. The Greek title is "Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach."

8. In his praise of the fathers, ben Sira lauds the prophets Isaiah (48:22), Jeremiah (49:6), Ezekiel (49:8), and the Twelve (49:10).

9. For reconstruction of this text, see E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'aśe ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 58-61. Qimron and Strugnell (DJD 10.121) date the compostion of 4QMMT to 159-152 BCE, while the extant fragments themselves are dated to 75-50 BCE.

10. Here I follow the versification introduced by P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987) 131-32.

ings of writings, it is also clear that the third grouping had no agreed-upon name. The first group is called the "law" or "Moses" (or "Book[s] of Moses," or "Law of Moses"); the second group is called the "Prophets" (or "Prophecies," or "books of the Prophets"); but the third group has no particular name. Yeshua's grandson calls it the "other books" and the "rest of the books." This certainly appears to be a tripartite reference, with these various descriptions (in vv. 1, 3, 7) referring to those writings outside of the Law and the Prophets that the rabbis would eventually call the *Ketubim,* or "Writings."[11]

The author of 4QMMT refers to "David," by which he might have meant only the Psalms and not necessarily the other books that make up this portion of the canon of Scripture. Yeshua himself, if he referred to these writings at all, may have called them "wisdom," but this is doubtful.

In the intertestamental period there are no other references to the tripartite division of Scripture. Other writings from Qumran (ca. 120-50 BCE) refer to the first two divisions of Scripture. The *Community Rule* (or "Manual of Discipline") enjoins members to "do what is good and right before him as he commanded by the hand of Moses and all his servants the prophets" (1QS 1:3). This document later refers to these divisions in the same manner: "This (path) is the study of the Law which he commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit" (8:15-16). The *Damascus Document* refers to "the commandments of God given by the hand of Moses and his holy anointed ones" (CD 5:21–6:1 = 6Q15 3 4). Finally, the Words of the Heavenly Lights recalls divine punishment, "of which Moses wrote, and (God's) servants the prophets" (4Q504 3:12).[12]

In the second letter that appears in the beginning of 2 Maccabees (ca. 100 BCE) we are told that Nehemiah "founded a library and collected the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and letters of kings about votive offerings" (2 Macc 2:13). It is probable that books of the Bible are among these writings "about the kings and prophets" and "David," but it is impossible to infer the tripartite canon from this passage. At best we have a reference to the second and third divisions of Scripture, but given the absence of mention of Moses or the Law, one cannot draw any firm conclusions from this text.

11. So also Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira,* 133.

12. On the canon at Qumran, see G. J. Brooke, "'The Canon within the Canon' at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After,* ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans (Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 242-66. In the same volume, see the study by J. Jarick, "The Bible's 'Festival Scrolls' among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 170-82.

In all of the writings from Qumran, with the possible exception of 4QMMT, we have references only to the first two divisions of the canon of Scripture. Only 4QMMT potentially refers to all three; the only other early, potential witness to the tripartite form of Scripture comes from the grandson of Yeshua ben Sira.

By the first century CE the third division of the canon of Scripture began to be recognized, but the order and contents of this division were uncertain. In describing the Therapeutae, a Jewish sect in Egypt, Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BCE–45 CE) tells us that they possessed "laws and oracles delivered through the mouths of prophets, and psalms and anything else which fosters and perfects knowledge and piety" (*On the Contemplative Life* 25). Here we probably have an adumbration of the tripartite form of the canon (i.e., "laws," "prophets," and "psalms"). The words of the risen Christ, in which reference is made to the "Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms" (Luke 24:44), may also adumbrate the tripartite form of the Hebrew Bible (but more on this below).

Two or three centuries later, the tripartite division of Scripture is presupposed by the early rabbis, as the following discussion illustrates: "Our rabbis taught: 'It is permissible to fasten the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings [תורה נביאים וכתובים] together.' This is the opinion of Rabbi Meir. Rabbi Judah, however, says that the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings should each be in a separate scroll; while the Sages say that each book should be separate" (*b. Baba Batra* 13b).

The *contents* of the second and third divisions of the Bible presented problems of their own. In some manuscripts *Jubilees* refers to "twenty-two books" (*Jub* 2:23-24), but in the earliest copies that we have (from Qumran), the reference is not to be found.[13] Yet this number is also attested by Josephus (ca. 90 CE), who perhaps is dependent on *Jubilees:*

> Our books are twenty-two (in number). . . . Of these, five are the (books) of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the lawgiver. This period falls only a little short of three thousand years. From the death of Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life." (*Apion* 1.37-43)

We have here "Moses," the "Prophets" (including the historical books, known as the "former prophets"), and "four books" that contain "hymns" (such as

13. See J. C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "The First *Jubilees* Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *JBL* 110 (1991) 243-70, esp. 259-60, 267-68.

Psalms and the Song of Solomon) and "precepts" (such as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes), by which is meant the third division of Scripture, the "Writings."[14]

The author of *4 Ezra* refers to "twenty-four books," which may be made public, and "seventy books,"[15] which are reserved for the wise and the worthy (*4 Ezra* [= *2 Esdras*] 14:45-46). Scholars assume that the "twenty-four" refer to the contents of the Old Testament,[16] while the "seventy" refer to books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[17] Curiously enough, the second-century collection of sayings of Jesus found in the *Gospel of Thomas* contains what appears to be a parallel tradition. Jesus' disciples say to him: "Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel, and they all spoke in you," to which Jesus responds: "You have forsaken the one who is alive before your eyes, and you have spoken of those who are dead" (§52). Although it has been suggested that "twenty-four" here derives from the twenty-three prophets of the pseudepigraphical work entitled *Lives of the Prophets* plus John the Baptist, it is probably better to see this as a negation of the Jewish Scriptures.[18] Because of the presence of Jesus (the "living one") there is no use in referring to Israel's dead prophets.

The contents of the great Greek codices offer some help, though we meet with considerable diversity, especially when it comes to the books that

14. H. St. J. Thackeray (*Josephus I* [LCL 186; London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926] 179) suggests the following breakdown: The "thirteen books" are (1) Joshua, (2) Judges + Ruth, (3) Samuel, (4) Kings, (5) Chronicles, (6) Ezra + Nehemiah, (7) Esther, (8) Job, (9) Isaiah, (10) Jeremiah + Lamentations, (11) Ezekiel, (12) Minor Prophets, and (13) Daniel. The "four books" are given above.

15. The Syriac, Ethiopic, and other versions read "ninety-four" (i.e., twenty-four plus seventy), but the Latin tradition reads "nine hundred and four." Evidently this arose from confusion due to the similarity between *nongenti* ("nine hundred") and *nonaginta* ("ninety"). See J. M. Myers, *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (AB 42; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974) 320.

16. In this case we have the five books of the Law (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy), eight books of the Prophets (the "former": Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; the "latter": Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve), and eleven books of the Writings (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles).

17. There are, in fact, a great many more apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books than seventy. The Old Testament Apocrypha comprise some eighteen books and additions, while there are more than sixty Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. This number grows considerably if we add to it the many dozens of apocrypha and pseudepigrapha found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. *4 Ezra*'s reference to "seventy" is probably partly symbolic.

18. See the brief but helpful discussion in F. F. Bruce, *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 133-34.

make up the Writings.[19] In the later writings of the rabbis the exact contents and order of the second and third groupings continue to be discussed. "Our rabbis taught: 'The order of the Prophets is Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the Twelve (Minor Prophets).' . . . The order of the Writings is Ruth and the Book of Psalms, and Job, and Proverbs, Qoheleth, Song of Songs and Lamentations, Daniel and the Scroll of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles" (*b. Baba Batra* 14b). Sometimes the discussion of the order of books gives way to discussions of authorship:

> Who wrote the Scriptures? Moses wrote his book and the portion of Balaam [i.e., Num 23–24] and Job. Joshua wrote his book and (the last) eight verses of Torah. Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the Book of Psalms, including in it the work of ten elders, namely, Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Yeduthun, Asaph, [15a] and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his book, Kings, and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his colleagues wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Qoheleth. The Men of the Great Assembly wrote Ezekiel and the Twelve (Minor Prophets), Daniel and the Scroll of Esther. Ezra wrote his book and the genealogies of Chronicles up to his own time. This confirms the opinion of Rab, since Rab Judah has said in the name of Rab: "Ezra did not leave Babylon to go up to the land of Israel until he had written his own genealogy." Who then finished (Chronicles)? Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah. (*b. Baba Batra* 14b-15a)

Christians, too, were keenly interested in the question of what belonged in the Bible. An early discussion is preserved in Melito's letter to Onesimus (as quoted by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.26.13-14):

> Since you often desired, in your zeal for the true word, to have extracts from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Savior, and concerning all our faith, and, moreover, since you wished to know the accurate facts about the ancient writings, how many they are in number, and what is their order, I have taken pains to do thus. For I know your zeal for the faith and interest in the word, and that in your struggle for eternal salvation you esteem these things more highly than all else in your love towards God. Accordingly when I came to the east and reached the place where these things were preached and done, and learned accurately the books of the Old Testament [τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία], I set down the facts and sent them to you. These are their names: five

19. For additional discussion of the formation and contents of the Hebrew Bible, see L. M. McDonald, *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* (rev. ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995) 25-133, 310-13; and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today,* 142-58.

> (books) of Moses — Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy — Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four (books) of Kingdoms, two (books) of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs and Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve (Minor Prophets) in a single book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. From these I have made extracts and compiled them in six books.

As in the case of Jewish discussion, the greatest amount of variation in Christian discussion of the canon involved the Writings. In my opinion, when the New Testament was written, we have at best adumbrations of the third division of the Scripture. There were "other" writings, whose contents and order were still very much in early stages of formation, but we really cannot talk about an established or widely recognized third division of Scripture (as in the rabbinic designation *Ketubim,* the "Writings").

3. The Law, the Prophets, and Psalms as Witnesses to Jesus

What is of special interest for this study is 4QMMT's reference to the "books of Moses," the "books of the prophets," and "David." As already mentioned, it is far from clear that "David" refers to the third division of Scripture (and even if it was, we could not be sure of the precise contents), or just the Psalter. The same question confronts interpreters of Luke 24. The risen Jesus explains to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus the things concerning himself in "Moses," in "all the Prophets," and in "all the Scriptures [γραφαῖ]" (v. 27). In the later appearance before all of the disciples, Jesus again explains how "all things written about" him "in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled" (v. 44). Here again we have a reference to the Psalter. As in the case of 4QMMT, we are not sure if the Lucan evangelist was referring to the third division of Scripture or to the Psalter and nothing else. In my opinion, both the Lucan evangelist and the author of 4QMMT appealed to the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalter, in order to muster the fullest scriptural support possible. The author of 4QMMT believed that consideration of the whole body of Scripture would convince his readers of the truth of the position for which he has argued: "Think of the kings of Israel and contemplate their deeds: whoever among them feared [the To]rah was delivered from troubles; and these were the seekers of the Torah whose transgressions were forgiven" (4Q398 C 23-25).[20] Similarly, the risen Christ appeals to the whole

20. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10.61, 63.

of Scripture as support of the gospel proclamation, which, if heeded, will lead to forgiveness of sins.

However, this "whole" scriptural witness was probably not quite tripartite. In all probability "David" or the "Psalms" were understood to be in some sense prophetic and thus in some way an extension of the Prophets. This idea is supported by the observation that at Qumran David's utterances were viewed as "prophecy" (11QPs^a 27:11) and by observing that Qumran's *pesharim,* which are eschatological and prophetic, are based on several Prophets and Psalms.[21] Finally, even when the risen Jesus appeals to Scripture, his appeal is entirely prophetic. He does not claim to fulfill specific laws or legal requirements; rather, he claims to have fulfilled the prophecies of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. We may have here evidence that Christianity understood the Psalter, as had Qumran also, as in some sense an extension of the Prophets.

The second time that the risen Jesus appeals to all three parts of Scripture he summarizes the salient features of his experience to which the scriptures speak: "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke 24:46-47). What passages of Scripture attest the various things mentioned by the risen Christ? Where in Scripture is it "written that the Messiah should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead"? Where in Scripture is it written that "repentance should be preached in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem"? "It is impossible," Joseph Fitzmyer has remarked, "to find any of these elements precisely in the Old Testament, either that the Messiah shall suffer, or that he is to arise, or that it will happen on the third day."[22] Fitzmyer is correct in noting that nowhere in the Old Testament are such things stated *precisely.* However, a review of Acts, Luke's sequel that describes the preaching and activities of Jesus' disciples, might enable us to deduce just what scriptures were presupposed by Luke 24:46-47.

The idea of the suffering of the Messiah in all probability comes from Isaiah 53, part of which is quoted in Acts 8:32-33: "As a sheep led to the

21. The book of Acts especially testifies to David's status as prophet: "Brethren, the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit foretold by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who became a guide to those who arrested Jesus" (Acts 1:16); "And so, because he [David] was a prophet, and knew that God had sworn to him with an oath to seat one of his descendants upon his throne, he looked ahead and spoke of the resurrection of the Christ . . ." (Acts 2:30-31); "who by the Holy Spirit, through the mouth of our father David your servant, said . . ." (Acts 4:25).

22. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV,* 1581.

slaughter or a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so he opens not his mouth. In his humiliation justice was denied him. Who can describe his generation? For his life is taken up from the earth" (Isa 53:7-8a; see also Luke 22:37, where Jesus is "numbered with the transgressors"; cf. Isa 53:12). This tradition is not unique to Luke; it is widespread and, in my opinion, derives from the historical Jesus. We are reminded of Jesus' prediction of suffering and being treated with contempt (Mark 9:12; cf. Isa 53:3: "He was despised and rejected") and of his saying about giving his life as a ransom "for many" (Mark 10:45; 14:24; cf. Isa 53:11-12: "for many"). The Matthean evangelist applies Isaiah's Suffering Servant tradition to Jesus' ministry of healing (Matt 8:17; cf. Isa 53:4: "He has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows").

The idea of the Messiah rising from the dead, for Luke, probably was seen as a fulfillment of Ps 16:8-11, a portion of which is cited by Peter in the Pentecost sermon: "For you will not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let your Holy One see corruption" (Ps 16:10, as cited in Acts 2:27; cf. Acts 13:35). Yet the prediction of resurrection "on the third day" derives from Jesus himself, a prediction that in my opinion alludes to Hos 6:2: "After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, that we may live before him."[23] Dreading the death that lay before him (cf. Mark 14:36: "remove this cup from me!"), Jesus nonetheless firmly believed in his resurrection and found in the prophet Hosea scriptural support for this confidence.

That repentance and forgiveness of sins must be preached to all the nations probably reflects Joel 2:32, which again Peter cites in the Pentecost sermon: "Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved" (Acts 2:21). This prophetic passage, in combination with Isa 49:6, quoted by the Lucan Paul in Acts 13:47 ("I have made you a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth"), probably constitutes the principal scriptural witness.

Finally, that the proclamation of the gospel was to begin in Jerusalem was probably inspired by a passage such as Isa 2:2-3, where it is prophesied that "It shall come to pass in the latter days that . . . all the nations . . . and many peoples shall come. . . . For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (cf. Mic 4:1-2). The importance of Jerusalem, as the place from which the gospel message would spread, is an item of great importance for the Lucan evangelist (cf. Acts 1:4, 8, 12; 2:14; 4:6; 5:28; 6:7; 8:27; passim).

23. In the Targum, Hos 6:2 is explicitly eschatological and refers to the resurrection: "He will give us life in the days of consolations that will come; on the day of the resurrection of the dead he will raise us up and we shall live before him."

For Luke, every element of the Christian gospel was attested in all parts of the scriptures of Israel. Likewise, as far as the author of 4QMMT was concerned, the truth of his faith received support in all parts of Scripture. Both writers, who no doubt reflect the concerns and beliefs of many people of faith in Israel in this period of time, sought the confirmation of Scripture. In the words of Paul, another important character in Luke's second volume, they appealed to the testimony of the "whole counsel of God" (Acts 20:27).

Noncanonical Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Apocrypha, Other Previously Known Writings, Pseudepigrapha

PETER W. FLINT

Because the words "Apocrypha" and "Pseudepigrapha" are ambiguous, this essay begins by pleading for a stricter definition of terms. The second, and most extensive, section surveys three categories of writing in the Scrolls — apocrypha, other previously known writings, and pseudepigrapha. The third and final section considers which of these writings were regarded as Scripture by the Qumran community.

1. The Problem of Terminology

1.1. The Need for a Stricter Definition of Terms

The terms "apocrypha" and "pseudepigrapha" each have several layers of meaning, which gives rise to ambiguity and imprecision for both scholars and the general reader. The most common use of "Apocrypha," for instance, de-

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For a far more technical treatment of this topic, including extensive bibliographical details for each of the compositions discussed, see P. W. Flint, "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 2.24-66.

notes those books or parts of books that appear in Roman Catholic Bibles but not in Jewish or Protestant ones. However, when we take into account the additional books found in the Septuagint and those used by the various Orthodox churches, the definition becomes more complex. These larger canons not only include some works with which some biblical scholars are quite unfamiliar (e.g., the Prayer of Manasseh) but also have differing names for the same books (e.g., the 1 Esdras of English Bibles is known as 3 Ezra in the Latin Vulgate and as 2 Esdras in the Slavonic Bible). Further confusion may arise when we find the term "apocrypha" used in an entirely different sense for names of certain books found at Qumran, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon* or the *Apocryphal Psalms.*

The term "Pseudepigrapha" is also complex. The most general sense denotes virtually all the ancient Jewish works outside of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and a few other writings that were known to us prior to the discovery of the Scrolls (Philo and Josephus). The two most familiar collections are that of R. H. Charles which was published in 1913, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,*[1] and the collection edited by James Charlesworth that appeared in the 1980s, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.*[2] A most useful definition of "Pseudepigrapha" in this sense has been proposed by Moshe Bernstein:

> Jewish and Christian writings dating from the last centuries BCE to the first centuries CE which did not become part of the canon in either religion.[3]

Yet when we consider the literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls, a quite different sense emerges: pseudepigrapha as a literary genre or group of falsely attributed writings. Biblical scholars, of course, are familiar with this category in the Old Testament itself, where the primary example is Daniel. So when discussion extends, for example, to the *Pseudo-Daniel* documents at Qumran, this is no great surprise; but the reader needs to be aware that a shift in meaning has taken place: pseudepigrapha no longer as "previously known writings" but as the genre of "falsely attributed writings."

1. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

2. J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85).

3. M. J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January 1997,* ed. E. G. Chazon and M. Stone, with the collaboration of A. Pinnick (STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 1-26.

Most scholars are aware of the ambiguities in the key terms but have tended not to opt for stricter language. One who has written extensively on the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in the Scrolls is James VanderKam, who speaks of "traditional Apocrypha"[4] while also pointing out that the "boundaries of this group of texts have been fluid throughout history."[5] The problem of terminology in this area has been most thoroughly treated by Michael Stone,[6] who concedes that the term "Pseudepigrapha" has become too entrenched to be discarded[7] but also discusses the difficulties raised by both "Apocrypha" and "Pseudepigrapha."[8] Concluding that "there is no simple formula according to which we may categorize the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period,"[9] Stone proposes that "Pseudepigrapha" be used in a loose sense, as encompassing both apocrypha and pseudepigrapha,[10] and suggests that previous criteria for determining these categories (e.g., the channel of transmission) may have to be abolished and replaced with others:

> We may question, however, whether this is a sensible way of thinking about the Jewish literary production of the Greco-Roman period at all. Another option, for example, would be to abolish these categories determined by the chance of transmission, and to classify the works by genre, time or place of origin, source, or some other group of criteria.[11]

There is thus an urgent need for clarity and stricter terminology with respect to the words "apocrypha" and "pseudepigrapha." Even if certain terms and language are very entrenched in scholarly literature or the public mind, these need to be modified or even abandoned when they form stumbling blocks to accurate discussion. In view of their different mean-

4. For example, in VanderKam's "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium Held at Princeton University, November 1997*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al. (N. Richland Hills, TX: Bibal [in press]). I am grateful to Professor VanderKam for making available to me a prepublication copy of this important article.

5. J. C. VanderKam, "The Scrolls, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha," *Hebrew Studies* 34 (1993) 35-47, esp. 37.

6. For example, M. E. Stone, "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," *AbrN* 24 (1986) 167-77.

7. M. E. Stone, "Pseudepigrapha," *IDBSupp*, 710-12, esp. 710.

8. Stone, "Categorization and Classification," 169.

9. Stone, "Categorization and Classification," 168.

10. M. E. Stone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," *DSD* 3 (1996) 270-95, esp. 271.

11. Stone, "Categorization and Classification," 169.

ings, both Qumran experts and biblical scholars alike will surely benefit from a careful and nuanced definition of categories such as apocrypha and pseudepigrapha.

Before we differentiate them, it would be helpful to note that these two categories share several elements in common. First, the terms "Apocrypha" and "Pseudepigrapha" have arisen in Western scholarship, not from the Hebrew tradition;[12] Jewish writers refer to all this literature as the חיצונים ספרים or "exterior books."[13] Second, virtually all the compositions involved have been transmitted by Christian sources, since they were not accepted into the rabbinic canon that was finalized in the second century CE. Third, in view of this means of transmission, we should not be surprised that the surviving forms of most or all even of these books have been altered or interpolated by later Christian editors.[14]

1.2. Defining the Apocrypha

This term (from the Greek ἀπόκρυφα)[15] originally denoted "hidden" or "secret" writings, which were to be read only by initiates into a given Christian group. However, it was eventually used for works that were similar to biblical books in content, form, or title, although not accepted into a particular canon of Scripture.[16] Some writers accordingly define "apocrypha" in a rather negative manner as "quasi-scriptural" or "noncanonical" books of doubtful authorship and authority.[17] Yet such a pejorative sense seems to betray a degree of bias or one-sidedness on the part of the definers, since the books involved are included in the Bibles of Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians for whom they qualify as Scripture and are known as the *Deutero-Canonicals.*

The term "apocrypha" should be understood in relation to the canonical process. The basic meaning of "canon" (κανῶν) is a "reed," but its two extended meanings in classical Greek, "norm" and "list," are significant for bib-

12. Cf. Stone, "Categorization and Classification," 167.

13. I.e., books that are exterior to the canon of the Hebrew Bible; see Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 270.

14. With reference to the Pseudepigrapha, Stone comments: "There is scarcely a book without some Christian touch" ("Categorization and Classification," 172).

15. The neuter plural form of ἀπόκρυφος, "hidden" or "secret"; cf. ἀποκρύπτειν, "to hide away."

16. See R. E. Brown and R. F. Collins, "Canonicity," *NJBC* 1035-36 (§66.9-10).

17. See A. Oepke, "κρύπτω, . . . ἀπόκρυφος," *TDNT* 3.957-78.

lical studies.[18] The term "canon" came to have a twofold meaning in later theology: "norm" for the Church, and "list" of sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments.[19] Both meanings imply a reflexive judgment on the part of the Church authorities and compilers, who declared certain lists to be normative and sacred. A "canon" is thus to be regarded as a technical term with several distinct components,[20] and may accordingly be defined as the "closed list of books accepted retrospectively by a group as authoritative and binding for religious practice and doctrine."[21] This definition clearly allows for the fact that different groups have different canons, whether in the ordering of materials (Jews versus Christians) or in the inclusion or exclusion of specific books (Roman Catholics/Orthodox versus Jews/Protestants).

Since the apocrypha feature in the canons of some churches, it is clear that the pejorative definition suggested above is unacceptable. A more neutral and accurate definition is offered by Michael Stone, who describes them as "Jewish works of the period of the Second Temple not included in the Hebrew Bible but which are to be found in the Greek and Latin Old Testaments."[22] This

18. "Canon" transliterates the Greek κανῶν, which derives from a Semitic word for "reed" (cf. Greek κάννα, Hebrew קָנֶה and Arabic *qanāh*. Note also the English term "cane"). In classical usage, the basic sense of "reed" yields to that of "straight rod" or "bar," with the literal meaning of a measuring tool (e.g., as used in building). Metaphorically, the term becomes a "norm" or "ideal" or "standard" of excellence (e.g., to denote the perfect human figure in sculpture or the basis for knowing what is true or false in philosophy). Finally, the term can signify a "table" or "list" (e.g., a chronological timetable or a mathematical series). See Brown and Collins, "Canonicity," 1035 (§66.5); and H. W. Beyer, "κανῶν," *TDNT* 3.596-602.

19. In the early fourth century (in his letter to Carpian) Eusebius uses κανόνες for chronological timetables and for lists of Gospel references, although he refers to his own listing of New Testament books as a κατάλογος (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.25; 6.25). Our earliest extant list is in the Muratorian Fragment (late second century), but it is only with lists from the later fourth century — those of Athanasius, Augustine, and the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage III (397) — that general agreement with respect to their contents becomes apparent in most of the Church. Athanasius, for instance, distinguishes between the κανονιζόμενα ("canonical books") and the ἀπόκρυφα ("apocrypha").

20. See E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 267-91, esp. 269-70; and J. Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983) 50.

21. Compare the important definition offered by Sid Leiman: "A canonical book is a book accepted by Jews as authoritative for religious practice and/or doctrine, and whose authority is binding upon the Jewish people for all generations" (in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew Bible. An Introductory Reader*, ed. S. Leiman [New York: KTAV, 1974] 14).

22. Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 270.

definition is certainly an improvement, but needs one major qualification: even confining the apocrypha to the Greek and Latin Bibles may be too restrictive. It is true, of course, that virtually all the apocrypha are to be found in these Bibles — yet the possibility of additional such works in other ancient Christian Bibles cannot automatically be ruled out. When we take into account the entire ancient Church, not just the Western and Greek Orthodox churches, different streams of Christianity, and perhaps somewhat different canons, may emerge. Two traditions that come to mind are the Syriac and Ethiopic churches, who do not use the Greek or Latin Bible; if distinctive Second Temple Jewish writings are to be found in their scriptures, there seems to be no sound reason for not including these among the Apocrypha.

Some of the apocrypha are accepted by all Christian groups, excluding Protestants,[23] as Scripture. Seven of these are entire books (Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch [with the Letter of Jeremiah = Baruch 6]).[24] Two more apocrypha constitute longer endings to other canonical books (the Additions to Esther, and the Additions to Daniel [i.e., the Prayer of Azariah, Song of the 3 Young Men, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon]). However, there are several other works that are included in the canons of some Orthodox churches but not of others:

Greek Orthodox Canon	*Slavonic Orthodox Canon*	*Ethiopian Narrower Canon*
Prayer of Manasseh	Prayer of Manasseh	Prayer of Manasseh[25]
Psalm 151	Psalm 151	Psalm 151[26]
1 Esdras	2 Esdras (= 1 Esdras)	1 Esdras
3 Maccabees	3 Esdras (= 2 Esdras)	2 Esdras 3–14[27]
4 Maccabees (in appendix)	3 Maccabees	3 Maccabees
		1 Enoch
		Jubilees

23. Even this statement requires qualification, since some Anglicans (mainly Anglo-Catholics) may dispute that the Apocrypha are excluded from the Anglican canon of Scripture.

24. In its Ethiopian form this book consists of Baruch 1–5 plus the *Sāqoqawä Ēremyas,* comprising Lam 1:1–7:5 and "the rest of the words of Baruch" (i.e., 4 Baruch and Lam 7:6–11:63). See R. W. Cowley's short but important study, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today," *Ostkirchlichen Studien* 23 (1974) 318-23, esp. 321.

25. The Prayer of Manasseh appears in this Ethiopian canon as thirteen numbered verses following 2 Chron 33:12 (Cowley, "Biblical Canon," 321).

26. The sources (Cowley, "Biblical Canon"; Roger Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985]) do not specify whether Psalm 151 was included, but it most likely was since the Ethiopic Psalter was translated from the Septuagint.

27. I.e., the Ezra Apocalypse as in some editions of the Vulgate, where chaps. 3–14

Each of these lists represents the end of a process that took centuries to complete, and each has a prehistory. In the case of the Ethiopian canon, for example, R. W. Cowley distinguishes between the two modern forms of the canon, which he terms the "broader" and "narrower" ones.[28] Roger Beckwith has attempted to identify the probable form of the most ancient Ethiopian canon[29] and arrives at some interesting conclusions: that the book of *Jubilees* was most likely included, that several Old Testament books[30] were regarded as "disputed/doubtful," and that several other books were deemed "uncanonical."[31]

Such a truncated Old Testament canon, which lacks several standard books such as Job and Proverbs, makes it clear that the concept of apocrypha is not primarily concerned with books that were excluded from the most ancient forms of the canon in various churches, nor with the prehistory of these canons. Instead, we may offer the following definition that builds upon, but is at the same time broader than, the one offered earlier by Michael Stone:

> The *Apocrypha* are Jewish works of the Second Temple period that are excluded from the Hebrew Bible but are included in the Old Testaments of some but not all churches.

This definition allows for a list of apocrypha that is longer than the one familiar to most scholars by including works found in Bibles other than Greek or Latin ones. One important control, however, is necessary to exclude later esoteric or exotic books from being added to the list: the stipulation that apocrypha must be Jewish works of the Second Temple period, and thus of ancient origin. Even if these works were later altered or interpolated by Christian editors, this proviso prevents originally Christian or other late writings from being included among the Old Testament Apocrypha. For example, the broader Ethiopian canon includes Joseph ben Gorion's (or Pseudo-Josephus's) *History of the Jews and Other Nations,* which was only composed in the tenth century CE.[32] According to our definition, this work must be excluded from the Apocrypha. The full list of Apocrypha, then, may be given in two parts, the

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are known as 4 Ezra. In these editions, chaps. 1–2 are then designated as 5 Ezra and chaps. 15–16 as 6 Ezra.

28. Cowley, "Biblical Canon," 319-20.

29. Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon,* 494-500, 504-5.

30. Chronicles, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs.

31. Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras (= 4 Ezra), Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, *1 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, 4 Baruch.*

32. Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon,* 495.

first of which includes works that are common to all Catholic and Orthodox Bibles (with their approximate dates of composition):[33]

Book	*Date*
Tobit	4th or 3rd century BCE
Judith	2nd or 1st century BCE
Wisdom of Solomon	ca. 40 CE or earlier
1 Maccabees	late 2nd or early 1st century BCE
2 Maccabees	124 BCE
Ecclesiasticus	ca. 180 BCE; prologue ca. 132 BCE
Baruch	somewhere between 200 and 60 BCE
Letter of Jeremiah [= Bar 6]	4th to late 2nd centuries BCE
Additions to Esther	2nd or 1st century BCE
Additions to Daniel	3rd to 2nd centuries BCE

The list is completed with any other books that were included in one or another of the historic Christian canons (with approximate dates of composition):

Book	*Date*
Prayer of Manasseh	probably 1st century BCE
Psalm 151	Hellenistic period
1 Esdras	probably 2nd century BCE
2 Esdras	late 1st to 3rd centuries CE*
3 Maccabees	Roman period (30 BCE to 70 CE)
4 Maccabees	1st century BCE to late 1st century CE**
1 Enoch	1st century BCE to late 1st century CE
Jubilees	2nd century BCE

*Although the Hebrew original of 2 Esdras was only completed ca. 100-120 CE, it may loosely be classified as Second Temple literature in view of its focus on the temple and its destruction.

**There is disagreement among scholars as to the precise date of 4 Maccabees.

Since each became part of an historic Christian canon through the canonical process, none of these entries should be deemed superior or less valid than others; in at least one branch of the Christian Church each came to be re-

33. For dates, see the introductions to the various books in W. Meeks et al., eds., *The HarperCollins Study Bible.* New Revised Standard Version, *With the Apocryphal/ Deuterocanonical Books* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

garded and used as Scripture. From a scholarly point of view all these books (or parts of books) qualify as Apocrypha as long as they are Jewish works of the Second Temple period, even if it is difficult to recover their original form or if their present forms have been altered by subsequent Christian editors.

1.3. Defining the Pseudepigrapha

Scholarly and more popular writings indicate that the term "Pseudepigrapha" is being used in two very different senses. First, it denotes ancient Jewish works — apart from the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and writers such as Philo and Josephus — that were known to us prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Most articles on the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, whether they involve the Scrolls or not, presuppose this sense by focusing on writings that were previously known. Second, there is an increasing tendency in literature on this topic to view pseudepigrapha as a literary genre or group of falsely attributed writings, and accordingly to include among these material such as the *Pseudo-Daniel* or *Pseudo-Ezekiel* documents found in Cave 4 at Qumran.

With respect to the Dead Sea Scrolls, this article takes both meanings into account in a somewhat radical way. The discussion of previously known works (section 2.2) simply eliminates the first sense of "pseudepigrapha" altogether by substituting "other previously known writings." This liberates the term "pseudepigrapha" to denote a literary genre or group of falsely attributed writings (section 2.3).[34] Such an approach departs from almost all previous studies on the subject, in the quest for a new method of classification that is more appropriate for the materials being considered.

In terms of genre or a group of falsely attributed writings, "pseudepigrapha" may be defined narrowly or broadly. In the narrow sense, as Moshe Bernstein has stated, it denotes "texts falsely ascribed to an author (usually of great antiquity) in order to enhance their authority and validity."[35] Bernstein, who prefers the term "pseudepigraphy" over "pseudepigrapha," distinguishes between works that are "genuinely" pseudepigraphic, and those more loosely so in that their editors have attached to them the term "pseudo-."[36] His broader definition has three categories:

34. However, the term "genre" seems too restrictive, since pseudepigrapha includes different genres of writing.

35. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 1.

36. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 3.

- "Authoritative pseudepigraphy," in which the speaker of the work is a purported ancient figure.
- "Convenient pseudepigraphy," where the work is anonymous but individual pseudepigraphic voices are heard within it.
- "Decorative pseudepigraphy," where the work is associated with a name without particular regard for content or to achieve a certain effect.[37]

Under this broader definition of pseudepigraphy, Bernstein proceeds to offer a wide-ranging list of literary forms, including: rewritten Bible (both narrative and legal, such as in *Jubilees*), expansions of biblical stories (as in *1 Enoch* and similar books), testaments, prophetic visions, sapiential literature, prayer, and poetry. Turning specifically to Qumranic writings, Bernstein points out that many are actually anonymous rather than pseudonymous, three examples being the *Community Rule,* the *War Scroll,* and the *Damascus Document.*[38]

Bernstein's approach is most commendable by offering a comprehensive view that takes seriously pseudepigraphy as a type of writing among all the compositions found at Qumran, including the apocrypha, other previously known works, and compositions that were previously unknown. Moreover, as is also proposed in the present essay, he clearly moves away from the earlier notion of the Pseudepigrapha as simply denoting previously known works, towards a definition that is based on genre or attribution.

2. Three Categories of Writing in the Dead Sea Scrolls

2.1. Apocrypha

Note: For a full index of passages from the books traditionally regarded as apocrypha and pseudepigrapha in the Scrolls, see the appendix at the end of this article. For bibliographical details of the Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, or Ethiopic editions of various books (including texts found at Qumran and Masada), see P. W. Flint, "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment,* ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 2.24-66, esp. 34-48.

37. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 3.
38. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls," 8.

a. Tobit

For an English translation of Tobit based on the Qumran scrolls, see M. Abegg, Jr., P. Flint, and E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999) 636-46; for an English translation from the Greek, consult any Bible that includes the Apocrypha. Five manuscripts of the book of Tobit were discovered at Qumran, all of which were found in Cave 4. Four of these scrolls are written in Aramaic, and the other in Hebrew:

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*[39]	*Date Copied*
4QpapTobit^{a} ar	4Q196	1:17 to 14:7	ca. 50 BCE
4QTobit^{b} ar	4Q197	3:6 to 9:4	ca. 25 BCE–25 CE
4QTobit^{c} ar	4Q198	14:2 to 14:10?	ca. 50 BCE
4QTobit^{d} ar	4Q199	7:11 to 14:10	ca. 100 BCE
4QTobit^{e}	4Q200	3:6 to 14:2	ca. 30 BCE–20 CE

Because of damage and deterioration, none of these scrolls is fully extant, but all fourteen chapters of Tobit are represented. The best preserved manuscript is 4QpapTobit^{a} ar, whose nineteen identified fragments contain portions of chapters 1–7 and 12–14. In contrast, very little text is preserved in two scrolls: 4QTobit^{c} ar (14:2-6, 10?) and 4QTobit^{d} ar (7:11; 14:10).

What form of Tobit is found in the Scrolls? In the official edition of the Qumran copies,[40] Joseph Fitzmyer provides extensive details of the various Greek, Latin, and other versions of Tobit and observes that both the Aramaic and Hebrew forms in the Scrolls generally agree with the longer recension that is preserved in several later manuscripts.[41] He concludes, however, that neither the Greek nor the Latin is directly translated from an Aramaic form such as the one in the Qumran texts. This is because both the Greek and Latin versions contain inverted phrases, expanded expressions, and words that were misunderstood by the Greek and Latin translators.[42]

Another issue on which scholars have disagreed is whether Tobit's origi-

39. *Note:* In this and subsequent tables, *Content Range* denotes the first and last preserved verses in the manuscript. It should not be assumed that all the intervening text is extant.

40. J. Fitzmyer, "A. Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2,* ed. J. VanderKam (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 1-76 + pls. i-x. See especially pages 2-4.

41. I.e., the fourth-century text of Codex Sinaiticus (abbreviated ℵ or S), in the eleventh-century minuscule 319 (Vatopedi 513, dated 1021 CE), and in Old Latin (La) manuscripts.

42. Fitzmyer, "A. Tobit," 4.

nal language was Aramaic, Hebrew, or Greek. Many authorities now regard it as Aramaic: J. T. Milik, for instance, points to the tendency at Qumran — as part of a literary and nationalist renaissance — of translating works that were originally composed in Aramaic into Hebrew, but not vice versa.[43] Another indication that the Aramaic text of Tobit was most likely earlier, and that the Hebrew was translated from it, is that the Aramaic text is attested from ca. 100 BCE in the Scrolls — whereas the only Hebrew copy is ca. 30 BCE at the earliest.[44] An Aramaic original is also supported by apparent Aramaic influences in the only Hebrew copy, which seems to suggest that the Hebrew translator was using an Aramaic base text.[45]

b. The Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sirach or Ecclesiasticus)

For an English translation from the Hebrew Qumran scrolls, see Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 576, 597-606. For an English translation from the Greek, see "Ecclesiasticus" in any Bible that includes the Apocrypha. Only three scrolls with text from the Wisdom of Ben Sira remain, two of which were found at Qumran and the other at Masada:

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
2QSir	2Q18	1:19?* to 6:31	2nd half of 1st c. BCE
11QPs^{a}	11Q5	51:13 to 51:30	30-50 CE
MasSir	Mas 1h	39:27 to 44:17	1st third of 1st c. BCE

*The critical edition of Ben Sira from Cave 2 indicates that it is not clear whether frg. 1 contains text from Sir 6:14-15(?) or — on the basis of retroversion of the Greek text — from Sir 1:19-20.

In view of its size (fifty-one chapters) and comparative prominence in later Christianity, it is surprising that so little of this book was found in the Dead Sea Scrolls: just portions of three chapters at Qumran, and parts of six more at Masada.

43. J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959) 139-40.

44. See VanderKam, "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

45. See J. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 (1995) 655-75, esp. 669-70. For the complex arguments for and against this position, see VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran"; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) 134; and M. Wise, "A Note on 4Q196 (papTob Ar^{a}) and Tobit i 22," *VT* 43 (1993) 566-69.

The Qumran evidence is particularly interesting since it is of two different types. The Cave 2 material, whose script according to editor M. Baillet is very similar to that of 1QIsa^{b},[46] is fragmentary but apparently comes from a scroll that contained some or all of Sirach. The Cave 11 text, however, which originally contained the entire second canticle after the epilogue of Sirach (Sir 51:13-30) in columns 21-22, is actually part of the great Psalms scroll and was copied later than 2QSir. This piece is clearly presented as a distinct work in 11QPs^{a}, where it is separated from the preceding psalm (138) and from the one that follows (the *Apostrophe to Zion*) by substantial intervals. Its inclusion in a collection of psalms shows that this canticle was still being used as an independent unit in the first century CE, long after its presumed incorporation into the book of Ben Sira.

The canticle is an acrostic poem, with an extra twenty-third *(pe)* verse at the end,[47] but is not written stichometrically in 11QPs^{a}. The poem was previously known in ancient Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions, as well as a medieval Hebrew one. Comparison with the Greek text reveals substantial differences (e.g., the Greek has no text corresponding to the second parts of the Hebrew *ḥet* and *ṭet* verses; and for the second part of the *'alep* verse, the Greek has a longer, more pietistic text).[48] The Greek translation, which is followed by the other versions and the medieval Hebrew text, has most likely revised the poem by substituting pious ideas to replace the many erotic images in the original work represented by the text in 11QPs^{a}.[49]

The Masada fragments of Ben Sira were discovered by Yigael Yadin's team on 8 April 1964. These form the oldest of all the Sirach scrolls; if this book was composed in the first third of the second century BCE,[50] the Masada scroll is only about 100 years later than the original. Moreover, this form of the text confirms that the medieval manuscripts of Ben Sira that were discov-

46. See M. Baillet, "Grotte 2: 18. Ecclésiastique (Texte hebreu)," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran: Exploration de la falaise des grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q, Le rouleau de cuivre,* by M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (2 vols., DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 75-77, esp. 75.

47. For an explanation of this extra verse, see VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

48. For discussion and facing Hebrew-Greek texts, see J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* [11QPs^{a}] (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 79-85; idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967) 112-17.

49. See Sanders, *Psalms Scroll,* 83-85; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 113, 116-17.

50. See Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada: With Introduction, Emendations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1965) 5.

ered in the Cairo genizah basically represent the original Hebrew version, but with numerous corruptions and later changes.[51]

c. The Letter of Jeremiah

An English translation of the Greek Qumran scroll is found in Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 628-29. For an English translation from the Septuagint, see Baruch 6 or the Letter of Jeremiah in any Bible that includes the Apocrypha. This single small fragment is unusual because of both the material that was used (papyrus) and the language in which it is written (Greek):

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
papEpJer gr	7Q2	vv. 43-44	ca. 100 BCE

In the Septuagint the Letter (or Epistle) of Jeremiah is a separate work that follows Baruch and Lamentations. However, the Authorized (King James) Version follows the Vulgate by printing it as chapter 6 of Baruch. Unfortunately, in 7Q2 very little text has survived: only two complete words ("therefore" and "them" in v. 44)[52] and parts of seven others. Because of the paucity of text, the identification of 7Q2 as representing the Letter of Jeremiah is not completely assured, but appears likely in view of the relative positions of letters in successive lines. The lineup of words requires an interesting textual variant in verse 44: "So how can anyone suppose that they are gods, or claim them as gods?"[53] as opposed to the Septuagint's "So how can anyone suppose or claim that they are gods?"[54]

d. Psalm 151A and B

For an English translation from the great Psalms scroll from Cave 11 at Qumran, see Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 585-86. English translations from both the Qumran scroll and the Greek, in adjoining columns, appear in J. A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967) 89, 97, 99. At Qumran this psalm occurs as two

51. Yadin, *Ben Sira Scroll,* 1.

52. The Greek words are οὖν and the second αὐτούς.

53. Greek: πῶς οὖν νομιστέον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοὺς θεοῦς ἢ κλητέον αὐτοῦς θεούς; (thus also the Lucianic and Syriac).

54. Greek: πῶς οὖν νομιστέον ἢ κλητέον ὥστε θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχειν;

separate pieces, and in a form very different to that known previously in the Greek Septuagint (and in the Latin and Syriac translations, which are based on the Greek):

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
Psalm 151A	11Q5	151A:1-7	30-50 CE
Psalm 151B	11Q5	151B:1-2	30-50 CE

It is well known that the Greek Psalter ends not with Psalm 150 but with Psalm 151, which also concludes the Psalter used by Orthodox Christians today. Many scholars were thus very intrigued to find that Psalm 151 is preserved in column 28 of 11QPs^a. When the Greek and Hebrew versions are compared, several striking differences emerge. For example, while Psalm 151 is a single composition in the Septuagint, 11QPs^a contains two distinct Psalms (151A and 151B), each with its own superscription. It seems that the large Psalms scroll represents the original Hebrew with its two originally separate psalms, which the Greek translator (or the text he was copying) then reworked and synthesized into a single psalm.[55]

A second feature is that Psalms 151A and 151B are the only truly "autobiographical" psalms in that they unequivocally relate to actual events in David's life. The following excerpts tie these psalms directly to David: "He made me shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kids" (151A:1); "He sent his prophet to anoint me, Samuel to make me great; my brothers went out to meet him" (151A:6); "Then I [saw] a Philistine uttering defiances from the r[anks of the enemy]" (151B:2). Although similar statements appear in some of the superscriptions to the canonical psalms (e.g., 51, 52, 54, 57, 60), such direct references to David never appear in any of Psalms 1–150 proper.

Third, with respect to the finalization of the Psalter, these two compositions conclude the foremost representative of the book of Psalms at Qumran,[56] which I have elsewhere termed the "11QPs^a-Psalter."[57] The existence of this Psalter shows that the traditional one that ended with Psalm 150 (i.e., the "MT-150 Psalter") is only one ancient edition of the Psalms.[58]

55. See Sanders, *Psalms Scroll,* 59-60; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 95 ("The Greek translation was made from a truncated amalgamation of the two Hebrew psalms").

56. P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 227; idem, "The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *VT* 48 (1998) 453-72, esp. 467-69.

57. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls,* 159 etc.

58. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls,* 168-70; idem, "Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 463.

Finally, the superscriptions for Psalms 151A and 151B are especially interesting:

A Hallelujah of David, son of Jesse	Ps 151A	11QPs^{a}
This psalm is truly written by David, although it is outside the number, after he had fought with Goliath in single combat.	Ps 151:1	LXX
[not included in the MT]	Ps 151:1	MT
At the beginning of David's power, after the prophet of God had anointed him	Ps 151B	11QPs^{a}

11QPs^{a} contains a superscription for each of the two psalms, the first in line 3 of column 28, and the second in line 13. However, the Septuagint has only one, very different, heading: "This psalm is truly written by David, although it is outside the number (i.e., of 150 Psalms), after he had fought with Goliath in single combat." Such language seems to reflect the concerns of later editors about the place of Psalm 151 in the Greek Psalter at a time when the proto-Masoretic Psalter[59] of 150 compositions had become normative for Judaism.

e. Psalms 154 and 155 (Syriac Psalms II and III)

For an English translation, see Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 572-73, 579-80. The Hebrew text, with a facing English translation, appears in Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 104-7, 110-11. Both of these psalms are found only in the great Psalms scroll from Cave 11:

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
Psalm 154	11Q5	154:3-19	30-50 CE
Psalm 155	11Q5	155:1-19	30-50 CE

Psalm 154, which is written in excellent biblical-style poetry, has been described as a "call to worship,"[60] while Psalm 155 — which contains a large amount of biblical vocabulary — is a psalm of thanksgiving with a plea for deliverance embedded in it.[61] The *Book of Discipline* by the tenth-century Nestorian Bishop Elijah of al-Anbar includes Psalm 151 as Syriac Psalm I, and these two compositions as Syriac Psalms II and III. However, our two psalms

59. I.e., the earlier textual form that is now represented by the Masoretic Psalter.
60. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 108.
61. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 109.

are included as Psalms 154 and 155 in a manuscript from Mosul, which is of Nestorian origin and is the oldest extant Syriac document to contain these two compositions.[62] For Psalms 154 and 155 the Mosul text contains significant variant readings against later manuscripts in the Syriac tradition, but on the basis of comparison with the Qumran evidence we can now state with confidence that it is the "most faithful Syriac version of the psalms available to date."[63] According to their editor James Sanders,[64] Psalms 154 and 155 in 11QPs[a] comprise the *Vorlagen*[65] of the Syriac text that is preserved in the Mosul manuscript, since about 95 percent or better of the translation corresponds to the Hebrew.

In this essay, the two psalms are listed under the apocrypha since they feature in the oldest Syriac manuscript of the Psalter, and thus were presumably used as Scripture in some Syrian churches. However, they are not included in Greek or Latin Bibles or in most other Syriac biblical manuscripts. If it can be shown that Psalms 154 and 155 were not in fact used as Scripture by any early churches, they would be included in the following section ("Other Previously Known Writings").

f. 1 Enoch

The Aramaic text and an English translation of the Qumran fragments appears in J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). For a translation of *1 Enoch* from the Ethiopic, see E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85) 1.5-89. Material from *1 Enoch* is found in twelve scrolls, eleven from Cave 4 and one from Cave 7:

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
4QEn[a] ar	4Q201	1:1 to 12:6	1st half of 2nd c. BCE
4QEn[b] ar	4Q202	5:9 to 14:6	mid 2nd c. BCE
4QEn[c] ar	4Q204	1:9 to 107:2	last third of 1st c. BCE
4QEn[d] ar	4Q205	22:13 to 89:44	last third of 1st c. BCE

62. For further details, see Sanders, *Psalms Scroll,* 53. The location of the Syriac manuscript is at Mosul/Baghdad, Library of the Chaldaean Patriarchate 1113.

63. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 53. For a comparison of the Qumran and Syriac texts (the latter retroverted into Hebrew) and an English translation, see Sanders, *Psalms Scroll,* 64-65, 70-72; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 104-7, 110-11.

64. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 103.

65. I.e., the Hebrew text that was used by the translator of the Syriac version.

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
4QEn^{e} ar	4Q206	18:15? to 89:30	1st half of 1st c. BCE
4QEn^{f} ar	4Q207	86:1-3	3rd quarter of 2nd c. BCE
4QEn^{g} ar	4Q212	91:10 to 94:2	mid 1st c. BCE
4QEnastr^{a} ar	4Q208	73:1* to 74:9*	ca. 200 BCE
4QEnastr^{b} ar	4Q209	73:1* to 82:13	early 1st c. CE
4QEnastr^{c} ar	4Q210	76:3 to 78:8	mid 1st c. BCE
4QEnastr^{d} ar	4Q211	following 82:20**	2nd half of 1st c. BCE
pap7QEn gr	7Q4, 8, 11-13	98:11? to 103:15	ca. 100 BCE

*4QEnastr^{a} ar and 4QEnastr^{b} ar contain material from the "synchronistic calendar," whose resumé is found in *1 Enoch* 73:1–74:9. While not preserving the precise text as indicated, they contain material akin to it.

**4QEnastr^{d} ar continues (with a description of winter) after the existing conclusion of the Ethiopic version.

1 Enoch (or *Ethiopic Enoch*) survives in full only in Ethiopic, while some Greek fragments are cited by ancient authors or known from papyri.[66] As preserved in the Ethiopic tradition, the complete work consists of five sections of "booklets": the Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1-36), the Similitudes or Parables (37-71), the Astronomical Book (72-82), the Book of Dreams (83-90), and the Epistle of Enoch (91-107). All twelve copies of *1 Enoch* among the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered at Qumran. According to their first editor J. T. Milik,[67] five manuscripts preserve "exactly" 50 percent of the Book of the Watchers,[68] nothing is preserved from the Similitudes, four scrolls contain 26 percent of the Book of Dreams,[69] and two scrolls preserve 18 percent of the Epistle of Enoch.[70] Some 30 percent of the Astronomical Book is represented by four separate scrolls, none of which overlaps with the other Enoch scrolls.

A welcome addition to Enochic corpus, which was only recently identified, is a Greek scroll of *1 Enoch,* which some scholars had erroneously identified as a New Testament text.[71] Following the work of W. Nebe,[72]

66. Cf. Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 277.

67. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 5.

68. 4QEn^{a} ar, 4QEn^{b} ar, 4QEn^{c} ar, 4QEn^{d} ar, 4QEn^{e} ar.

69. 4QEn^{c} ar, 4QEn^{d} ar, 4QEn^{e} ar, 4QEn^{f} ar.

70. 4QEn^{c} ar, 4QEn^{g} ar.

71. Following J. O'Callaghan, "¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumrân?" *Biblica* 53 (1972) 91-100.

72. W. Nebe, "7Q4 — Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation," *RevQ* 13/49-52 (Carmignac Memorial, 1988) 629-33. Nebe proposed that 7Q4.1 is part of *1 Enoch* 103:3-

É. Puech,[73] and the amateur sleuth Ernest A. Muro,[74] it now seems all but certain that 7Q4.1, 7Q8, and 7Q12 are from *1 Enoch* 103:3-4, 7-8; that 7Q11 is part of 100:12; and that 7Q13 is part of 103:15. The text of 7Q4.2 is less certain, but this scrap seems to come from *1 Enoch* 98:11 or 105:17. The identification of these fragments is significant since it affirms the existence of a Greek copy of *1 Enoch* at Qumran and provides a new classification (pap7QEn gr) for the previously unidentified group of fragments 7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q11, 7Q12, and 7Q13.[75]

Analysis of the Enochic corpus has given rise to several theories and much discussion.[76] One controversial proposal by Milik is that the Qumran Enochic corpus comprised a "pentateuch" modeled after the five books of Moses, to which the compiler had added chapters 106-107.[77] Another is that this collection did not include the Similitudes but instead the Book of Giants; in the Christian era, Milik adds, the Similitudes replaced the Book of Giants due to the use of the latter in Manichaean circles.[78] This theory is dependent

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4, that 7Q4.2 is from *1 Enoch* 98:11, and — with more reservation — that 7Q8 is from 103:7-8.

73. É. Puech, "Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105," *RB* 103 (1996) 592-600; idem, "Sept fragments de la Lettre d'Hénoch," 313-23. In his 1997 article Puech shows that 7Q14 contains text from *1 Enoch* 103:4 and suggests that 7Q11 is part of *1 Enoch* 100:12 and 7Q13 part of 103:15. In keeping with his 1996 article, Puech disagrees with Nebe's contention that 7Q4.2 is part of *1 Enoch* 98:11, stating rather that it belongs to 105:1.

74. Employed by the Disney organization as a carpenter, Mr. Muro has confirmed the identification of the Greek fragments 7Q4.1, 7Q8, and 7Q12 as belonging to *1 Enoch* 103:3-8. A key feature of his analysis is the unique characteristics of the papyrus fragments (i.e., horizontal fibers with a characteristic downward slope to the right). See E. A. Muro, "The Greek Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8, & 7Q12 = 7QEn gr = Enoch 103:3-4, 7-8)," *RevQ* 18/70 (1997) 307-12. Muro has also posted a full report, including the text of his own piece and an English summary of Puech's 1997 article on his website at: http://www.netcom.com/~emuro/7qenoch/ index.html.

75. For further details, see Flint, "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha,'" 42-43.

76. For an overview, see J. VanderKam, "Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4*," *Maarav* 3 (1982) 85-97; F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Books of Enoch (1 Enoch) and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran," *RevQ* 14/53 (1989) 131-46; idem, "1 Enoch and the Figure of Enoch: A Bibliography of Studies 1970-1988," *RevQ* 14/53 (1989) 149-74. For a recent study on the use of *1 Enoch* in the New Testament, see L. van Beek, "The Letter of Jude's Use of 1 Enoch: The Book of the Watchers as Scripture" (D.Th. diss., Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1997).

77. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 183-84.

78. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 4, 54, 57, 76-79, 91-106, 109, 183-84, 227, 310.

on 4QEnGiants[a] (4Q203) belonging to the same scroll as 4QEn[c] ar. However, James VanderKam is characteristically cautious on this proposal, pointing out that even if the same scribe wrote the two scrolls, this does not prove "they were part of the same literary collection."[79] One important study on the Book of Giants is that by John Reeves in the early 1990s.[80] Another very recent and comprehensive study is that of L. T. Stuckenbruck,[81] who affirms that the handwriting of 4QEnGiants[a] and 4QEn[c] ar are "identical." Despite some reservations about the two scrolls having an "identical arrangement of the text," Stuckenbruck concludes:

> [U]nless further evidence to the contrary is produced, the extant materials all point in the direction of Milik's thesis. It is thus likely that BG [i.e., the Book of Giants] was included in a manuscript which also contained the Enochic *Book of the Watchers, Book of Dreams,* and the so-called *Epistle of Enoch.*[82]

Several interesting conclusions may be reached with respect to this material: (a) With the exception of pap7QEn gr, all these scrolls are in Aramaic, which suggests that this, not Hebrew, was the original language of composition.[83] (b) Comparison of the Qumran scrolls with the Ethiopic and Greek translations shows that these versions are "basically faithful and reflect the original,"[84] except for the Astronomical Book, which according to Milik was substantially longer in the Cave 4 scrolls than in the Ethiopic version.[85] (c) The fact that none of the Astronomical scrolls overlaps in content with the other eight (i.e., all preserve material only from chaps. 72–82) confirms the separate existence or circulation of this booklet that was later combined with the others to make up *1 Enoch.*[86] (d) The absence of material from the Similitudes

79. VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

80. John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (MHUC 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992).

81. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997). Stuckenbruck (pg. XII) lists the following materials as belonging to the Book of Giants: 1QEnGiants[a] ar (1Q23), 1QEnGiants[b] ar (1Q24), 2QEnGiants ar (2Q26), 4QEnGiants[a] ar (4Q203), 4QBk of Giants[b] ar (4Q530), 4QBk of Giants[c] ar (4Q531), 4QBk of Giants[d] ar (4Q532), 4QEnGiants[e] ar (4Q556), 4QEnoch[e] ar (4Q206 2-3), and 6QpapGiants (6Q8).

82. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran,* 67.

83. See Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 277.

84. Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 277. This assessment, of course, excludes the Similitudes (chaps. 37–71), which are not found in the Enoch scrolls.

85. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 7-8.

86. Milik (*The Books of Enoch,* 4) states that at the beginning of the first century BCE the Astronomical Book was copied on a separate scroll.

(chaps. 37–71) is surely significant. The most logical explanations are either that this material was composed later than the other booklets (thus Milik),[87] or — if it was earlier as some scholars believe — that the Qumran community had little interest in its contents.

(e) According to Milik, apart from 4QEnastr^b ar and some copies of the Book of Giants, the dates of all the Enoch scrolls are relatively early,[88] with none written "in the beautiful 'classical' writing of the Herodian era or from the last period of the Essene occupation of Ḫirbet Qumrân."[89] This leads to the probable conclusion that Qumran scribes and readers gradually lost interest in compositions attributed to Enoch, or at least that the booklets were not extensively used at Qumran in the first century CE. As James VanderKam notes, it may well be that the Enochic literature was most influential at Qumran in the earlier period of the community's history.[90] Recently one scholar, G. Boccaccini, has gone further by viewing the Essenes as an offspring of Enochic Judaism — but more specifically as a radical and minority group within that Judaism which then split from the main Enochic heritage just before the composition of the Qumran sectarian texts.[91]

g. Jubilees

For an English translation (and the Hebrew text) of the Cave 4 fragments, see J. M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4:I* [4Q158-4Q186] (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 65; and J. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "A. Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1,* ed. J. VanderKam (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 1-185. The Cave 11 texts, with an English translation, appear as "12. 11QJubilees," in F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 207-20. For a translation from the Ethiopic, see O. S. Winermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 2.35-142.

87. Milik (*The Books of Enoch,* 4, 78, 94-98) suggests a date as late as the third century CE, which most scholars regard as too late (cf. VanderKam, "Scrolls, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha," 41).

88. At least two scrolls (4QEnastr^a ar and 4QEn^a ar) were copied before the settlement at Qumran.

89. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 7.

90. VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

91. G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998) 185-89; cf. 160-62.

Five caves at Qumran yielded copies of the book of *Jubilees,* all of which were written in Hebrew, and at least one on papyrus:

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
1QJub[a]	1Q17	27:19-21	early Herodian
1QJub[b]	1Q18	35:8-10	late Hasmonean
2QJub[a]	2Q19	23:7-8	Herodian
2QJub[b]	2Q20	46:1-3	1st c. CE
3QJub	3Q5	23:6 to 23:13	1st c. CE
4QTanḥ frgs. 19-21	4Q176	23:21 to 23:31	Herodian
4QJub[a]	4Q216	Prologue to 2:24	mid-1st c. BCE
pap4QJub[b](?)	4Q217	1:29?	50 BCE or earlier
4QJub[c]	4Q218	2:26-27	ca. 30 BCE-20 CE
4QJub[d]	4Q219	21:1 to 22:1	late Hasmonean
4QJub[e]	4Q220	21:5-10	early Herodian
4QJub[f]	4Q221	21:22 to 39:9	1st c. BCE
4QJub[g]	4Q222	25:9 to 48:5?	late Hasmonean
pap4QJub[h]	4Q223-24	32:18 to 41:10	ca. 75-50 BCE
11QJub	11Q12	4:6 to 12:29	ca. 50 CE

The number of *Jubilees* manuscripts found at Qumran is not certain, since 1QJub[a] and 1QJub[b] may belong to the same scroll,[92] the Cave 3 fragments may represent more than one manuscript,[93] and the precise identification of 4Q217 is uncertain.[94] A total of fifteen scrolls are listed above, but the correct total may be as low as thirteen or as high as sixteen. In earlier DJD editions 3QJub was misconstrued as 3QapProph, while 4Q176 was incorrectly identified as fragments 19-21 of 4QTanḥumim.

At least six more manuscripts are related in some way to the book of *Jubilees,*[95] but in some cases the link seems to be speculative. These scrolls are: 4QPseudo-Jubilees[a, b, c] (4Q225-27);[96] 4QText with a Citation of Jubilees

92. Milik, "17-18. Livre des Jubilés," in *Qumran Cave I,* by D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 82-84, esp. 83.

93. VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

94. J. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "A. Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1,* ed. J. VanderKam (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 24.

95. Cf. J. VanderKam, "The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March 1991,* ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (2 vols., STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 2.635-48, esp. 643-44.

96. See VanderKam and Milik, "A. Jubilees" (DJD 13) 141-75 + pls. x-xii.

(4Q228);[97] a "Work Similar to Jubilees" from Masada (Mas 1j);[98] and MasJub (Mas 1i). The last mentioned work is viewed by its editor, S. Talmon, as possibly part of a *Pseudo-Jubilees* composition.[99] One more relevant scroll is pap4QJubilees? (4Q482), which appears to refer to *Jub* 13:29 or Gen 14:22-23.

With Moses as its pseudonymous author, *Jubilees* is usually categorized as "rewritten Bible." Both the large number of copies and the several works related to it show that this book was much used at Qumran. As an influential pre-Qumranic writing, composed in the first third of the second century BCE,[100] *Jubilees* has frequently been compared by scholars to *1 Enoch.* James VanderKam observes that the extant copies are distributed over five caves (as well as at Masada), whereas the Enochic fragments, apart from the Book of Giants, are all from Cave 4.[101] It is also interesting to note that none of the preserved copies is as early as several Enochic exemplars from the second century BCE,[102] and that those preserved range from the first half of the first century BCE to ca. 50 CE (see table above). It has been suggested[103] that Qumran scribes and readers gradually lost interest in compositions attributed to Enoch, or that the Enochic booklets were not extensively used at Qumran in the first century CE. Could the reverse statement be made with respect to *Jubilees* — that the sort of exegesis and biblical interpretation represented in this book became increasingly important to the Qumran community during their later history?

Is the form of *Jubilees* found in the Scrolls similar to the one that is preserved in the later Ethiopic version? On comparing the Judean desert fragments with the Ethiopic text, VanderKam reaches the following conclusion:

> In general, it is fair to say that the Hebrew fragments confirm once again that the ancient translators of Jubilees performed their task with great care and literalness. Naturally there are exceptions to this statement. . . .[104]

97. VanderKam and Milik, "4Q228. Text with a Citation of *Jubilees*" (DJD 13) 177-85 + pl. xii.

98. S. Talmon, "קפעי כבים כתובים עברית ממצדה" ["Fragments of Writings Written in Hebrew at Masada"] *ErIsr* 20 (Yadin Memorial, 1989) 278*-86*, esp. 278*-79*.

99. S. Talmon, "Hebrew Written Fragments from Masada," *DSD* 3 (1996) 168-77, esp. 172.

100. Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 278-79.

101. VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

102. 4QEn^{a} ar, 4QEn^{b} ar, 4QEn^{f} ar, 4QEnastr^{a} ar.

103. See section f above.

104. VanderKam, "Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," 644. On pp. 645-50 VanderKam offers a detailed comparison of *Jub* 21:22-24 as found in two overlapping scrolls (4Q219 + 220) and the Ethiopic text.

Scholars find *Jubilees* especially significant in view of its relationship to several of the sectarian texts from Qumran. Prominent themes include: its espousal of the 364-day calendar, its division of the course of history into 94-year jubilee periods,[105] and its practice of dating covenants to the third month (especially the fifteenth day), which may have inspired the practice at Qumran of renewing the covenant annually on the Festival of Weeks.[106] Two important studies of the book are those of James VanderKam (1977)[107] and John Endres (1987).[108] The authoritative status of the book of *Jubilees* at Qumran will be discussed below.[109]

2.2. Other Previously Known Writings

The definition of terminology employed in part 1 virtually eliminates the present category, since several items that scholars would otherwise be including here (Psalms 154 and 155, *1 Enoch, Jubilees*) are absent. The inclusion of those compositions in one or more historic Christian canons means they were viewed as Scripture by one or more early communities and are thus better classified as apocrypha. For a listing of preserved contents for material in this section, see the appendix towards the end of this article. For bibliographical details of the editions, see Flint, "'Apocrypha,' Other Previously-Known Writings, and 'Pseudepigrapha,'" 48-51.

a. Material Related to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

For English translations and editions of the Qumran fragments, see J. Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. J. C. VanderKam (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 1-72; and M. Stone, "B. Testament of Naphtali" (DJD 22) 73-82; R. A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from* Aramaic Levi *to* Testament of Levi (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

The term "testaments" has been defined as works that either "mention their speakers as figures from Israel's ancestral period" or are "assigned to

105. Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 278.

106. See VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

107. J. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

108. J. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1987).

109. Section 3, "Were These Writings Viewed as Scripture at Qumran?"

such persons . . . at one time or another."[110] A total of ten manuscripts are listed below. The *Content Range* column found in the tables in section 2 for previous books is excluded since correspondences to some "standard" document are often confusing or nonexistent.[111] However, some contents are listed in the appendix to this essay.

Manuscript	*Number*	*Date Copied*
1QLevi ar	1Q21	uncertain
3QTJudah?	3Q7	Herodian
4QLevi^{a} ar	4Q213	mid–1st c. BCE or later
4QLevi^{b} ar	4Q213a	late Hasmonean
4QLevi^{c} ar	4Q213b	late Hasmonean
4QLevi^{d} ar	4Q214	late Hasmonean
4QLevi^{e} ar	4Q214a	late Hasm/early Herodian
4QLevi^{f} ar	4Q214b	Hasmonean
4QTNaph	4Q215	30 BCE to 20 CE
pap4QTJudah?	4Q484	mid–1st c. CE

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (abbreviated "T12P") is an originally Jewish work of which the surviving later copies have been reworked by Christian editors. No copy of this work or of any single testament has come to light among the Scrolls, but several fragmentary manuscripts seem in some way related to the T12P or to traditions about the patriarchs upon which the author/compiler of T12P later drew.

The main group of seven scrolls are from an Aramaic work where the speaker or main character is Levi. This *Aramaic Levi Document,* or a form of it, was previously known from leaves found in the Cairo genizah. While much of the Qumran material overlaps with the genizah copy, some fragments contain text from previously unknown parts of the document. Comparison with the Greek *Testament of Levi* (one of the T12P) reveals striking differences between the two works: for instance, *Aramaic Levi* most likely never included a testament[112] and contained only one vision, not the two now found in the

110. R. A. Kugler, "Testaments," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 2: 933-36.

111. For example, some parts of the *Aramaic Levi Document* correspond to sections of the Cairo genizah text, some parts to the Greek *Testament of Levi,* and some have no equivalent in these later texts.

112. Cf. M. Stone and J. Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3,* ed. J. VanderKam (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 1-72, esp. 2; H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (VTSup 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 21.

Greek composition. It appears that *Aramaic Levi* was composed in the third century BCE and is a source for the exaltation of Levi as found in both the Greek *Testament of Levi* and *Jubilees* 30–32.[113] These and other issues were extensively investigated in Robert A. Kugler's study in the mid-1990s.[114]

Two very fragmentary texts, 3Q7 and 4Q484, are purported to be from the *Testament of Judah.* While this is possible, both of these scrolls are too fragmentary to permit a positive identification: hence the question mark after each.

An edition of the *Testament of Naphtali,* written in Hebrew and comprising three fragments from the upper right-hand part of a column, was recently published.[115] In his summary of the contents, editor Michael Stone states that the eleven surviving lines of text deal with two separate narrative units and are separated by a blank line. The first unit (lines 1-5) is the birth and naming of Bilhah, and the second (lines 7-11) deals with Laban's giving of Hannah (Bilhah's mother) to Jacob, and also with the birth of Dan.[116] While the first narrative unit is parallel both in general and in detail to the Greek *Testament of Naphtali* (1:6-8), the second unit has no counterpart in the Greek text. However, the eleventh-century work *Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* includes both the first unit and details of the second.[117]

A survey yields several other scrolls with sigla or titles reminiscent of one or another of the Testaments: 4Q537 (AJa ar, Apocryphon of Jacob); 4Q538 (AJu ar, Apocryphon of Judah); 4Q539 (AJo ar, Apocryphon of Joseph); 4Q540 (TLevi^{c}? ar); 4Q541 (TLevi^{d}? ar); 4Q542 (TQahat ar); and 4Q543-48 (Visions of Amram ar). This material was recently published by Émile Puech in DJD 31.[118]

2.3. Pseudepigrapha in the Dead Sea Scrolls

As already implied in section 1 above, only a break between the "previously known" and the "genre/falsely attributed" aspects of pseudepigrapha will en-

113. See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document" (DJD 22) 2 n. 3; VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran."

114. R. A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from* Aramaic Levi *to* Testament of Levi (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

115. Stone and Greenfield, "B. Testament of Naphtali" (DJD 22) 73.

116. Stone and Greenfield, "B. Testament of Naphtali" (DJD 22) 73.

117. Stone and Greenfield, "B. Testament of Naphtali" (DJD 22) 74.

118. É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XXII: Textes en Araméen* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

able scholars to investigate with clarity and confidence the materials at hand. The discussion of apocrypha and previously known materials in the Scrolls is one area of discourse, which scholars such as James VanderKam and Michael Stone have unfolded so well, and one to which they have generally confined their attentions. The treatment of pseudepigrapha is fundamentally a different area of discourse, one that is being explored in expert fashion by scholars such as Devorah Dimant[119] and Moshe Bernstein, and this only of late since many Qumran texts have become accessible to scholars relatively recently.

Reflecting such a bifurcated area of discourse, this essay so far has grouped previously known works found in the Scrolls as apocrypha and other previously known writings. The result is no less than a liberation of sorts for the category pseudepigrapha to denote a literary genre or group of falsely attributed writings. As proposed in Moshe Bernstein's earlier study,[120] we can now concentrate on those writings that are falsely ascribed to an ancient author, or where the work is associated with a noteworthy ancient name.

a. Pseudepigrapha among the Apocrypha and Other Writings

Which of the works found in the Scrolls, as described in sections 2.1 and 2.2 above, qualify as pseudepigrapha? Among the Apocrypha several candidates seem obvious choices, since they are falsely ascribed to an author or a speaker of great antiquity. One such work is *1 Enoch,* which features the Enoch of Gen 5:18-24, and another is *Jubilees,* with Moses as its pseudonymous author. Other pseudepigrapha in this sense are Psalms 151A and 151B — in view of their Davidic superscriptions and unambiguous references to events in David's career — and the Letter of Jeremiah, which is purportedly written by the prophet to the exiles. While Tobit is not attributed to an ancient famous figure (e.g., Enoch or Moses), it may also qualify since it is similar to Job and Daniel by featuring a pious Jew of earlier times who remains faithful to God in the face of suffering or persecution. Among other previously known writings, *Aramaic Levi* seems to be a pseudepigraphon with Levi as the protagonist, and the *Testament of Naphtali* may also qualify. But since the latter texts are very fragmentary, caution is in order.

Several other compositions *may* qualify as pseudepigrapha. Psalms 154 and 155 in themselves do not on the surface seem to be pseudepigraphic,

119. For example, D. Dimant, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," *DSD* 1 (1994) 151-59.

120. See section 1.3 ("Defining the Pseudepigrapha").

since unlike 151A and 151B they describe no events in David's life, and no Davidic superscription appears in 155.[121] However, since many biblical psalms also lack these features, such absence does not disqualify these two psalms from any association with David. More helpful is David's Compositions, the extended prose "epilogue" in column 27 of 11QPs^a, which states that "David, the son of Jesse, was wise" (line 2), that he wrote 3,600 psalms and other compositions for a total of 4,050 (lines 5-10), and that "all these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High" (line 11). The clear implication is that all the compositions found in 11QPs^a, including Psalms 154 and 155, are attributed to David.

At least one work, the Wisdom of Ben Sira, does *not* qualify as a pseudepigraphon. We are told in the epilogue who the author is (50:27), and this is confirmed in the prologue by his grandson, who states that his grandfather Jesus (ben Sira) wrote down what follows. The second canticle (Sir 51:13-30), however, could conceivably qualify independently as a pseudepigraphon at Qumran since its inclusion in 11QPs^a links it with David in the light of David's Compositions.

Finally, it is not possible at present to decide whether several further works are pseudepigrapha or not, since too little text survives for any firm conclusion to be reached. These include 3Q7 and 4Q484, which are purported to be from the *Testament of Judah,* as well as 4Q538, 4Q539, 4Q540, 4Q541, and 4Q542.[122]

b. Groups of Pseudepigrapha: Writings Associated with Daniel

A survey of the Dead Sea Scrolls yields many examples of pseudepigrapha. As we have already seen, some of these writings are centered around a key figure such as David (e.g., Psalms 151A, 151B, 154, and 155), while other scrolls feature an ancient biblical figure (e.g., Moses).[123] The following paragraphs will deal with only one group of pseudepigrapha, those relating to Daniel, as a paradigm for treating this type of material. Rather than restricting the mate-

121. The first line of Psalm 155, without any superscription, is preserved in 11QPs^a 24:3. Unfortunately, the first few lines of Psalm 154 have been lost from the bottom of col. 17.

122. For the fuller titles of these works and discussion, see section 2.2 above.

123. See, for example, J. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin,* ed. L. Schiffman (JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990) 221-56; and idem, "Apocryphon of Moses" (DJD 19) 111-36 + pls. xiv-xv.

rial to categories such as previously unknown texts, this section adopts an holistic approach by seeking to explore all the pseudepigraphic writings in the Scrolls that relate to Daniel.

(i) The Biblical Scrolls of Daniel. For an English translation, see Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 482-501. Any full treatment of the group of Daniel pseudepigrapha should include the best-known work of this genre or category, the book of Daniel. A total of eight Daniel scrolls were discovered at Qumran; none have come to light so far at other sites in the Judean desert:

Manuscript	*Number*	*Content Range*	*Date Copied*
1QDan^a	1Q71	1:10 to 2:6	Herodian
1QDan^b	1Q72	3:22-30	Herodian
4QDan^a	4Q12	1:16 to 11:16	mid–1st c. BCE
4QDan^b	4Q13	5:10 to 8:16	ca. 20-50 CE
4QDan^c	4Q14	10:5 to 11:29	late 2nd c. BCE
4QDan^d	4Q15	3:23 to 7:23?	ca. mid–1st c. BCE
4QDan^e	4Q16	9:12-17?	1st half of 2nd c. BCE
pap6QDan	6Q7	8:16? to 11:38	ca. 50 CE

One of these manuscripts, 4QDan^c, has the distinction of being closer to its autograph than any other book among the biblical scrolls. According to the critical edition in DJD 16,[124] 4QDan^c is inscribed in an early semicursive script that is dated by F. M. Cross to the late second century BCE, "no more than about a half century younger than the autograph"[125] of that book (ca. 168-165 BCE).[126]

Every chapter of Daniel is represented in the eight manuscripts, except for Daniel 12. Yet this does not mean that the book lacked the final chapter at Qumran, since Dan 12:10 is quoted in fragments 1-3 ii 3-4^a of the *Florilegium* (4Q174), which explicitly tells us that it is written in the book of Daniel the Prophet.

What form of Daniel is found in these manuscripts? Despite their frag-

124. Eugene Ulrich, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 217.

125. See F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 43.

126. Note, however, that more recently Cross listed 4QDan^c at ca. 100-50 BCE: "Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Flint and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years,* 379-402 + pls. 9-14, esp. pl. 12 line 2.

mentary state, we may conclude that the Daniel scrolls reveal no major disagreements with the Masoretic Text, although individual readings differ on occasion. When fully extant, seven originally contained the entire book of Daniel in a form very much like that found in the received text, not the longer form found in the Septuagint. However, one manuscript, 4QDan^{e}, may have contained only part of Daniel, since it only preserves material from Daniel's prayer in chapter 9.[127] If this is the case — which seems likely but not possible to prove — 4QDan^{e} would not qualify as a copy of the book of Daniel.

(ii) Other Traditions about Daniel. For English translations of the Qumran fragments, see F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 138-39, 288-90. Several Aramaic texts with English translations appear in J. J. Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus" (DJD 22) 83-93; and J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel" (DJD 22) 95-164. As many as nine scrolls, all written in Aramaic, are associated with the book of Daniel or with traditions about Daniel:[128]

Manuscript	*Number*	*Date Copied*
PrNab ar	4Q242	72-50 BCE
psDan^{a} ar	4Q243	early 1st c. CE
psDan^{b} ar	4Q244	early 1st c. CE
psDan^{c} ar	4Q245	early 1st c. CE
Apocalypse ar	4Q246	last 3rd of 1st c. BCE
papApocalypse ar	4Q489	ca. 50 CE
DanSuz? ar	4Q551	late 1st c. BCE
Four Kingdoms^{a} ar	4Q552	ca. early 1st c. CE
Four Kingdoms^{b} ar	4Q553	ca. early 1st c. CE

The Pseudo-Daniel Scrolls. Since the three *Pseudo-Daniel* scrolls contain the clearest references to Daniel, these are discussed first. The first composition is represented by 4Q243 and 4Q244, with at least one overlapping passage.[129] When the two manuscripts are viewed together the main components of the

127. Cf. E. Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran, Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan^{a}," *BASOR* 268 (1987) 17-37, esp. 18.

128. For additional details, see the following articles in Flint and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years:* G. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Biblical Narratives," 1.271-301, esp. 290-97; and J. Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 2.403-30 (esp. section 2.2, "Danielic Writings").

129. Frgs. 13 of 4QDan^{a} and 12 of 4QDan^{b}; see Collins and Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel" (DJD 22) 142.

composition may be divided into five sections: (1) The Court Setting, where Daniel addresses King Belshazzar and his court and explains a writing or book that probably contained the overview of biblical history that follows. (2) The Primeval History, dealing with the events or material found in Genesis 5–11 (including Enoch, the flood, and the tower of Babel). It appears that the creation and fall did not feature in Daniel's survey of history. (3) From the Patriarchs to the Exile, including the time in Egypt, crossing the Jordan, the tabernacle, Nebuchadnezzar's conquest, and the exile. (4) The Hellenistic Era, which is distinguished from the preceding ones by the presentation of events as yet to come and by the presence of Greek proper names (*Balakros,]rhos son of,* and *]rhos*). (5) The Eschatological Period, which specifies a time of oppression, but then how God will save them "with his great hand." Several further terms connote the destruction and restoration associated with the eschatological age.

The second *Pseudo-Daniel* composition is in 4QpsDan^{c} (4Q245). Despite no physical overlap with the first *Pseudo-Daniel* composition (4Q243-44), earlier commentators tended to regard both as part of the same work since "Daniel" occurs in all three scrolls. Yet any attempt at integrating 4Q245 into the first document is untenable,[130] since the common occurrence of Daniel's name is no solid basis for a relationship. On the contrary, the reference to Daniel and a book in fragment 1.3-4 suggests that 4Q245 is presenting a new revelation, rather than simply continuing the one found in the first document.

Only two fragments are preserved, the first of which mentions Daniel and presents a list of priests and a list of kings:

1. [ ].
2. [ ].. and what
3. [ ] Daniel
4. [ ]a book/writing that was given
5. [Lev]i, Qahath
6. [ ] Bukki, Uzzi
7. [Zado]k, Abiathar
8. [Hi[l]kiah
9. [ ]. [ ] and Onias
10. [Jona]than, Simon
11. [ ] and David, Solomon
12. [ ] Ahazia[h, Joa]sh
13. [ ].[

130. Cf. P. W. Flint, "4QPseudo-Daniel ar^{c} (4Q245) and the Restoration of the Priesthood," *RevQ* 17/65-68 (Milik Festschrift, 1996) 137-50.

The piece consists mostly of a list of names, which were apparently contained in a book given to Daniel, or which Daniel is reading aloud. The following comments may be noted: (1) In lines 1-4, Dan 10:21 refers to the "Book of Truth," whose contents are disclosed to Daniel by Gabriel. These are a survey of Hellenistic history, ending with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the resurrection of the dead. (2) Lines 5-10 present the names of several priests or high priests ranging from Levi (?) and Qahath to Onias, Jonathan, and Simon in the Hellenistic period. The missing text contained other names, most of which occur in the priestly list in 1 Chron 6:1-15 (Heb 5:27-41), and probably extended to Jehozadak, Judah's last high priest before the exile (cf. 1 Chron 6:15 [Heb 5:41]). The extant text suggests that Onias followed in the line of Zadokite high priests. (3) Lines 11-13 contain royal names that are even more fragmentary than the priestly ones; however, "David," "Solomon," and "Ahaziah" are clearly legible, with traces of "Joash" and presumably one later name also visible. In view of the royal list found in 1 Chronicles 10–16, we may reasonably conclude that the list continued beyond line 12 down to Zedekiah, the last king of Judah.

Fragment 2 seems to present an eschatological conclusion to the work:

1. [ ]..[
2. [ ]to exterminate wickedness
3. [ ]these in blindness, and they have gone astray
4. [th]ese then will arise
5. [ ]the [h]oly [ ], and they will return
6. [ ]. iniquity

The preserved text may contain the end of the document or must be very near the end since this column is followed by a blank one. The language is clearly eschatological and describes two groups of people. Five observations may be made. (1) In line 2, extermination of wickedness is clearly an eschatological theme. An interesting comparison appears in 1QS 4:18: "But in the mysteries of his understanding, and in his glorious wisdom, God has ordained an end for evil, and at the time of the visitation he will destroy it for ever." (2) In relation to line 3, the notion of a blind man losing his way is common in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Deut 27:18; 28:29; Isa 59:10; Zeph 1:17; Lam 4:14). Also compare CD 1:10-11: "And they were like the blind and like those who grope their way," referring to the remnant of Israel. For twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way, and subsequently they sought God with a perfect heart. He then raised up for them a teacher of righteousness.

(3) In lines 3-4 two groups ("these . . . [th]ese") seem to be contrasted,

with two explanations possible: either these groups must be understood in the context of final judgment, or this contrast simply reflects the parting of the ways when an elect group arises in the end time.[131] (4) Line 4 preserves the words "[th]ese then will arise (יקומון)," in which some commentators find an allusion to Daniel 12 and the resurrection of the dead, although Dan 12:2 uses a different verb (יקיצו, "they will awake"). Moreover, in Daniel the other group will awake "to shame and everlasting contempt," while in 4Q245 (line 3) they are in blindness and have gone astray — which is scarcely a postresurrection condition. It seems here that contrast is not between two groups who are resurrected, but between some who persist in error and others who rise and walk in the way of truth (cf. CD 1:11-15). (5) Although lines 5-6 are fragmentary, the references to the "holy kingdom" and a return have strong eschatological connotations. "Iniquity" may well be the last word in the manuscript, which suggests that the composition ended with the extermination of wickedness (cf. line 2).

Two issues that emerge are the inclusion of Hasmonean names, and the relationship between fragments 1 and 2. The inclusion of Jonathan and Simon in the list of priests in fragment 1 is surprising, since the Qumran covenanters were generally opposed to the Hasmoneans. After considering various other explanations, I have suggested elsewhere[132] that Jonathan and Simon were accepted by the author of 4Q245 as legitimate high priests, and the Hasmonean line only incurred blame when it combined the offices of high priesthood and kingship. This solution is favored in that the priestly list is followed by a separate list of kings. The Qumran covenanters appear to have insisted on the distinction between royal and priestly offices, hence their expectation of two Messiahs rather than a single one.[133] The author of 4Q245 was not specifically anti-Hasmonean but accepted a "mixed" line of priestly succession as long as the priestly and kingly offices remained separate. The tenure of Simon (142-135 BCE) was thus acceptable to him, but the increased proximity of these offices in the period that followed was not acceptable because the boundary between priesthood and kingship had been transgressed.

131. Compare É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993) 569; and Collins and Flint, "Pseudo-Daniel" (DJD 22) 163.

132. Flint, "4QPseudo-Daniel ar^{c} and the Restoration of the Priesthood," 141-42; and idem, "The Prophet Daniel at Qumran," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint (SDSRL 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 41-60, esp. 53-54.

133. See John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday, 1995) 74-101.

As to the relationship between the fragments, the lists in fragment 1 must be understood in light of the eschatological conclusion in fragment 2. That one group will return at the end suggests a reversal of the course of history, as in apocalyptic and pseudo-prophetic texts (e.g., the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 Enoch* and Daniel 10–12). The list of legitimate priests in 4Q245 must have ended with Simon, suggesting that subsequent ones were unacceptable since the boundary between priesthood and kingship had been transgressed. Thus fragment 2 anticipates the eschatological restoration in accordance with the divine order, including a priesthood that was legitimate in the eyes of God.

4Q242 (4QPrNab ar, "The Prayer of Nabonidus"). This text does not mention Daniel as such but is related to parts of the book of Daniel. Although the list of scholarly writings on 4Q242 is extensive,[134] it is not as significant as the *Pseudo-Daniel* documents in the context of pseudepigraphy; its relevance is rather to the literary prehistory of Daniel 4.[135] Common themes include: a Babylonian king who is afflicted for seven years, his recovery due to the intervention of a Jewish exile, a king who speaks in the first person, a written proclamation in praise of the true God, and possibly the king becoming like a "beast" (line 3, restored).[136] The text opens with "The words of the pray[er] which Nabonidus, king [of Baby]lon, the [great k]ing, prayed [when he was smitten] with a bad disease by the decree of [Go]d in Teima. . . ." Although 4QPrNab ar is thus pseudonymous, it probably does not qualify as a pseudepigraphon in the sense used elsewhere in this essay since it is not presented in the name of an ancient Israelite sage or pious hero.

4Q246 (4QApocalypse ar, "The Son of God Text").[137] This text describes a powerful figure who will appear in a time of tribulation, be called "son of God" and "son of the Most High," and be obeyed by all nations. Similar language is found in the Gospels with respect to Jesus, especially in the angel's message to Mary:

> He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High . . . and of his kingdom there will be no end . . . therefore the child to be born . . . will be called Son of God (Luke 1:32, 33, 35).

134. See the bibliography in Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus" (DJD 22) 83.

135. See Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre," 410-11.

136. See Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus" (DJD 22) 85-87.

137. See Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives," 271-301, esp. 294-96; and Collins, "Apocalypticism and Literary Genre," 413-15.

The "Son of God" in 4Q246 is viewed by some scholars as a messianic figure, but by others as a wicked usurper (i.e., a Syrian king) who is subsequently overthrown by the "people of God." This is not a Danielic text since the prophet is never actually named, but the themes and language are reminiscent of those found in Daniel. It also appears that the contents are being uttered (by a seer?) in the presence of a Gentile king, as in Daniel and the *Pseudo-Daniel* scrolls.[138]

4Q489 (pap4QApocalypse ar). For this text, which was published by M. Baillet in 1982,[139] only eight small fragments survive. A possible relationship with Daniel is based on two Aramaic words: וחזואתה in fragment 1.1 (cf. Dan 4:8, "and it [i.e., the tree] *was visible* to the ends of the whole earth," 4:17); and וחזיאתה in fragment 1.2 (cf. Dan 2:41, "As *you saw* the feet and toes, . . . as *you saw* the iron mixed with the clay"). Yet, since so little text survives and Baillet also refers the reader to *1 Enoch* 14:18 for וחזואתה and to *1 Enoch* 25:3; 46:4; 52:4 for וחזיאתה, any firm relationship seems most tenuous.

4Q551 (4QDaniel Suzanna? ar). The story of Susanna (Daniel 13 in the Greek version) is one of the Additions to Daniel in the Apocrypha and features Daniel as a young man (e.g., vv. 45, 51). J. T. Milik has proposed that 4Q551, which mentions a figure who seems to be a judge and who plays a prominent role at court, may be an Aramaic counterpart to the story of Suzanna.[140] Were this so it would be very significant, since besides the book of Daniel itself all the pseudepigrapha related to Daniel found at Qumran mentioned so far were previously unknown to scholars. However, the fragmentary state of the scroll renders any relationship with one of the Danielic writings very tentative.

4Q552-53 (4QFour Kingdoms$^{a, b}$ ar). In this work a seer narrates his vision of an angel and four trees, which symbolize four kingdoms. The tree is a common metaphor for a king or kingdom in the Hebrew Bible. For example, the parable of the different trees in the book of Judges (9:7-15) represents different types of rulers, and the king of Egypt is compared to a great tree cut down in Ezekiel 31, as is Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4. In our text the seer interro-

138. Brooke, "Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives," 296.

139. M. Baillet, "489: Un apocalyptique en araméen (?)," in his *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) 10-11 + pl. ii.

140. J. T. Milik, "Daniel et Susanne à Qumrân," in *De la Tôrah au Messie: Mélanges Henri Cazelles,* ed. M. Carrez, J. Doré, and P. Grelot (Paris: Desclée, 1981) 337-59.

gates each of the trees in succession. The name of the first is still preserved and is Babylon-Persia:[141]

> [5]and I asked it, "What is your name?" And he said to me, "Babylon." [And I said to him], [6]"You are the one who rules over Persia" (4Q552 col. 2).

Details of the second tree are fragmentary, but it is apparently Greece:

> And [I saw] [7]another tree [that] extended to the Great Sea, to [. . .] and I spoke [8]to the second one, and I asked him, "What is your name?" [. . .] [9]And I said to him, "You are the one who [rules over all] [10]the waves of the sea and over the port [. . .]" (4Q552 col. 2).

The only extant detail of the third tree is that it looks "different," as does the fourth kingdom in Daniel (7:23). This may well represent the power of Syria, although Rome has also been proposed.[142]

> [And I saw] [11]the third tree and I said to him: "[. . . why is] [12]your appearance [different? . . .]" (4Q552 col. 2).

The fourth tree is higher than all the others since it represents a mighty power. The majestic and idyllic language suggests that it represents the eschatological rule of Israel or the kingdom of God,[143] although this is admittedly unusual. Another option is that the final tree represents the Roman empire.

> [1][. . . a fourth tree whose] summit reached to the heavens, ruling [over . . .] (frg. 6) [1][. . .] a place of water [2][. . .] calves and lambs [. . .] (4Q553 frg. 4).

4QFour Kingdoms[a, b] ar is thus a fascinating, though incomplete, text. There are important similarities to the book of Daniel, including the four kingdoms theme and references to God as Most High (cf. Dan 7:18, 22, 25, 27). There are significant differences as well: in Daniel, the four kingdoms are Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece; in our document they extend from Babylon-Persia to either Rome or the eschatological kingdom of God.

(iii) Daniel at Qumran and in the Apocrypha. Circulating in the late Second Temple period were several writings, whether in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek,

141. This and the following translations are by E. Cook in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation,* by M. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., and E. Cook (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996) 440-41.

142. Cook, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 440.

143. Thus Cook, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 441.

that were attributed to Daniel or connected with him (some scholars speak of a "Daniel cycle"), and most of which may be termed pseudepigrapha.

Only one edition of the book of Daniel became part of the Bibles used by Jews and all Christians. Other Danielic writings, the Greek "Additions to Daniel" (the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon) were accepted into the Septuagint and the Bibles of Roman and Orthodox Christianity. There seems to be no firm relationship between the Danielic writings found at Qumran and this material preserved in the Greek. The only possibility may be 4QDaniel Suzanna? ar, which is very tenuous as we have seen. Still other writings, which are only known to us from the Dead Sea Scrolls, must have been important in some ancient circles but were not transmitted beyond the Second Temple period and never became part of any Jewish or Christian Bibles.

3. Were These Writings Viewed as Scripture at Qumran?

This final section considers which of the works discussed above were viewed as especially authoritative, that is, as Scripture, at Qumran. Since no single approach is sufficient for determining scriptural or authoritative status at Qumran, the following categories are proposed:

3.1. Formal Indications of Scriptural Status

The "formal" category involves explicit terms or statements in the community's writings that show that they regarded particular writings as authoritative or Sacred Scripture. Examples include "the Torah," in which all things are strictly defined (CD 16:2), and "Moses and all [God's] servants the Prophets" (1QS 1:3).

Of the works surveyed, Daniel is formally indicated as Scripture in 4Q174 2:3: כתוב בספר דניאל הנביא[ר <כ אש>] ("As it is written in the book of Daniel the Prophet").[144] Two more significant passages are in 4QText with a Citation of Jubilees (4Q228), although the passage is very fragmentary. Fragment 1 i 1 seems to denote *Jubilees* by its Hebrew title במחל[ק[ו]ת העתים ("[in the Divisi]ons of the Times"), and fragment 1 i 9 appears to in-

144. See Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4:I* (DJD 5) 54. Daniel was apparently included among the Prophets by Josephus (*Ant.* 10 §§249, 266-67), and in the New Testament (Matt 24:15; Mark 13:14[A]). See also Ulrich, "Canonical Process," 8.

troduce the first word of the title by a citation formula: כי כן כתוב במחלקות ("For thus it is written in the Divisions [of the Times]").[145]

3.2. The Appeal to Prophecy

Associating a book or writing with prophecy points to authoritative or scriptural status. An important example occurs in Jude 14-15, which tells us that Enoch "prophesied" (προεφήτευσεν), and then quotes from *1 Enoch:*

> [14]It was also about these [false teachers] that Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied, saying, "See, the Lord is coming with ten thousands of his holy ones, [15]to execute judgment on all, and to convict everyone of all the deeds of ungodliness that they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things that ungodly sinners have spoken against him." (*1 Enoch* 1:9)

A comparable case occurs in David's Compositions, the extended prose "epilogue" in column 27:2-11 of 11QPs[a]:

> [2]And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate, [3]and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the Lord gave [4]him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote [5]3,600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt [6]perpetual offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364; . . . [11]All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High.[146]

The key statement "all these he composed through prophecy (בנבואה) which was given him from before the Most High" clearly implies that all the compositions found in 11QPs[a], including the canticle in Sir 51:13-30 and Psalms 151A, 151B, 154, and 155, are products of Davidic prophecy.

3.3. Claims of Divine Authority and Davidic Superscriptions

Several of the works that were surveyed are attributed to biblical figures and/or claim their message is from God or an angel (e.g., *1 Enoch* 1:2; 10:1–11:2;

145. See VanderKam and Milik, "4Q228: Text with a Citation of *Jubilees*," 177-85.
146. Translation by Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 87.

Jub 1:5-18, 22-28, 26-29; 2:1) or from heavenly tablets (e.g., *1 Enoch* 81:1-2; 93:1; *Jub* 3:8-14, 31).[147] However, such claims are often characteristic of pseudepigraphical writings and may not be a reliable indicator of a composition's scriptural or authoritative status among those who used it.

Yet Davidic superscriptions form a separate category since one of their functions in the book of Psalms is to associate particular pieces with David, the psalmist *par excellence.* Moreover, there are very few instances among the Scrolls of Psalms not found in our Psalter that contain Davidic titles, which indicates that adding such titles for purposes of lending authority was not practiced among the compilers of the different Psalters found at Qumran. Two rare examples are the autobiographical Psalms 151A and 151B, whose superscriptions are clearly Davidic and thus denote the authoritative nature of the two psalms:

> A Hallelujah of David the Son of Jesse (Ps 151A).
> At the beginning of David's power after the prophet of God had anointed him (Ps 151B:1).

3.4. Quantity of Manuscripts

Works represented by a large number of manuscripts were extensively used at Qumran, which is indicative of their popularity and most likely their authoritative status. Of the works discussed above, the foremost are *Jubilees* (ca. fifteen scrolls) and *1 Enoch* (twelve scrolls). Of the biblical books at Qumran, only the Psalms, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Exodus, and Genesis (in descending order) are represented by more manuscripts. Other well-attested works among those surveyed are Daniel (eight scrolls), Aramaic Levi (six scrolls), and Tobit (five scrolls).

3.5. Translation into Greek

Very few of the Qumran scrolls are in Greek, and most of these contain Septuagint material (e.g., pap4QLXXLev^{b} and 4QLXXNum). The translation of a Hebrew work into Greek seems indicative of its importance and authorita-

147. On *Jubilees,* for instance, VanderKam writes: "Jubilees . . . advertises itself as divine revelation" ("Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," 648).

tive status,[148] which suggests that pap7QEn gr was viewed as Scripture by its scribe or users.

3.6. Quotations, Allusions, Dependence

With respect to identifying authoritative writings,[149] ways in which a book was used in later writings are frequently, though not invariably,[150] indicative of its special authority or scriptural status.[151]

Quotations and Allusions

Noting that definite allusion and general scriptural imagery are often difficult to distinguish,[152] several examples may be given:

(a) 4Q247 may comprise a commentary on a section of *1 Enoch,* the Apocalypse of Weeks (thus J. T. Milik).[153] Caution is advised, however, since 4Q247 is very fragmentary.[154]

(b) CD 16:2-4, which cites *Jubilees* as the source of information (the precise passage is not clear) concerning the times when Israel would be blind to the law of Moses:

> 2. . . But the specification of the times during which all Israel is blind to 3all these rules is laid out in detail in the "Book of Time Divisions by 4Jubilees and Weeks."[155]

(c) CD 10:7-10 may well be based on *Jub* 23:11, which refers to people's loss of knowledge in their old age:[156]

148. I am grateful to Eugene Ulrich for this observation (personal communication).

149. A most useful study from the late 1990s is J. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 5 (Ulrich dedication, 1998) 382-402.

150. Writers can use earlier texts in illustration or to buttress their own views.

151. An important early study is I. H. Eybers, "Some Light on the Canon of the Qumran Sect," in Leiman, *Canon and Masorah,* 23-36.

152. For example, with reference to the *Hôdāyôt,* Bonnie Kittel posits four degrees of the use of scriptural language, ranging from definite quotations to the "free use of biblical idiom and vocabulary" (*The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* [SBLDS 50; Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1981] 48-55).

153. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 256.

154. Cf. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 398.

155. Translation by Cook, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 66.

156. Cf. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 399. Translation by Cook, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 68.

> 7. . . No one above the age 8of sixty shall hold the office of judge of the nation, because when Adam broke faith, 9his life was shortened, and in the heat of anger against the earth's inhabitants, God commanded 10their minds to regress before their life was over.

(d) *Jub* 3:8-14, which grounds the legislation of Leviticus 12 (concerning a woman's impurity) in the story of Adam and Eve, may be the source for the same material in 4Q265 (4QSD 7 ii 11-17).[157]

(e) An apparent quotation in CD 4:15 from the *Testament of Levi,* although no such passage seems to be extant in TLevi:[158]

> 14. . . The true meaning of this verse (i.e., Isa 24:17) 15concerns the three traps of Belial about which Levi son of Jacob said 16that Belial would catch Israel in, so he directed them toward three kinds of 17righteousness.

Dependence

Some Qumranic texts show a more general dependence on particular earlier works:

(a) The lunisolar calendar of *1 Enoch,* which combines a 364-day solar year with a schematic 354-day one, served as the model for the Qumran calendars.[159]

(b) While the 364-day calendar in *Jubilees* was followed at Qumran, it is corrected or fine-tuned in at least one text. Both *Jubilees* and 4Q252 tell us that the flood lasted 150 days, but *Jubilees* says that it lasted from 2/17 until 7/17[160] which works out to 152 days. 4Q252 1 i 7-10 corrects this number to 150 days by indicating that the flood ended on 7/14:[161]

> 7. . . The waters prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifty days 8until the fourteenth day of the seventh month, on Tuesday. And at the end of one hundred and fifty 9days, the waters decreased for two days — Wednesday and Thursday — and on 10Friday the ark came to rest upon Mount Ararat.

157. Cf. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 399.

158. Cf. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 395. Translation by Cook, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 55.

159. See J. VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature," 398; idem, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (LDSS; London: Routledge, 1998) 17-27, 71-90; Stone, "Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pseudepigrapha," 277-78.

160. I.e., from the 17th of the second month until the 17th of the seventh month.

161. Translation by M. Abegg, Jr., in *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 275.

This does not detract, however, from *Jubilees'* authoritative status for its readers, since the same practice is evident in the Hebrew Bible, where Chronicles, for instance, presents a very different portrait of David than the one found in Samuel and Kings.

(c) *Jubilees* may well be the source for dating covenants to the third month, especially the fifteenth day, as well as the Qumranic idea that the covenant was to be renewed on the Festival of Weeks.[162]

3.7. Concluding Statement

Of the works that have been treated in this essay, the following are provisionally listed as having scriptural status at Qumran:

Daniel, Psalm 151A, Psalm 151B, Psalm 154, Psalm 155, the canticle (Sir 51:13-30) found in 11QPs[a], *1 Enoch,* and *Jubilees.*

The following compositions were probably also regarded as Scripture: Tobit and the Letter of Jeremiah. This conclusion, however, is reached with recourse to less evidence than the first group.

I have found no evidence for the scriptural status of several other works at Qumran, without denying that some were authoritative or important in other ways. Most notable is the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sirach), since hardly anything remains of this large book at Qumran, where it appears to have had little impact. Others are the *Aramaic Levi Document,* the *Testament of Naphtali,* the *Pseudo-Daniel* scrolls, the *Prayer of Nabonidus,* the "Son of God Text" (4QApocalypse ar), and 4QFour Kingdoms[a, b] ar.

Numerous other works have been discussed in this essay, but these are too fragmentary for any detailed assessment to be made. Furthermore, the obscure contents of most of these pieces indicate that none of them was very popular or viewed as Scripture by the Qumran community.

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[Note: Details of translations and some editions are given under the respective headings.]

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162. See VanderKam, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran"; idem, "Authoritative Literature," 399.

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APPENDIX

Index of Passages from the Apocrypha and Previously Known Writings ("Pseudepigrapha") in the Scrolls

For previous listings, see U. Gleßmer, "Liste der Biblischen Texte aus Qumran," *RevQ* 16/62 (1993) 153-92, esp. 189-92; and P. W. Flint, "Appendix II: Index of Passages from the Apocrypha and Previously-Known Writings ('Pseudepigrapha') in the Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 666-68. Some passages relating to the Testaments are listed with the understanding that the *Aramaic Levi Document* and others are not *Vorlagen* (i.e., Hebrew texts used by the translator) of the T12P, but Hebrew or Aramaic compositions that were extensively reworked by later Christian editors.

Tobit

1:17, 19-22	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
2:1-3, 10-11	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
3:5, 9-15, 17	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
3:6-8	4QTobit^{b} ar
3:3-4?, 6, 10-11	4QTobit^{e}
4:2, 5, 7	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
4:3-9	4QTobit^{e}
4:21	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
4:21	4QTobit^{b} ar
5:1, 9	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
5:1, 12-14, 19-22	4QTobit^{b} ar
5:2	4QTobit^{e}
6:1-18	4QTobit^{b} ar
6:6-8, 13, 15-19	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
7:?	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
7:1-6, 13	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
7:1-10	4QTobit^{b} ar
7:11	4QTobit^{d} ar
8:17-19, 21	4QTobit^{b} ar
9:1-4	4QTobit^{b} ar
10:7-9	4QTobit^{e}
11:10-14	4QTobit^{e}
12:1, 18-22	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
12:20-22	4QTobit^{e}
13:1-4, 13-14, 18	4QTobit^{e}
13:3-18	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
14:1-2	4QTobit^{e}
14:2-6, 10?	4QTobit^{c} ar
14:1-3, 7	4QpapTobit^{a} ar
14:10	4QTobit^{d} ar

Ben Sira (Sirach)

1:19-20(?) or 6:14-15(?)	2QSir
6:20-31	2QSir
39:27-28c, 29-32	MasSir
40:10-19, 28-30	MasSir
41:1-22	MasSir
42:1-25	MasSir
43:1-25 (>26-28), 29-30	MasSir
44:1-17	MasSir
51:1-11, 23 [LXX 13-20, 30]	11QPs^{a}

Epistle of Jeremiah

43-44	papEpJer gr

"Apocryphal" Psalms

Psalm 151A	
151A:1-7	11QPs^{a}
Psalm 151B	
151B:1-2	11QPs^{a}

Psalm 154	
154:3-19	11QPs^{a}
Psalm 155	
155:1-19	11QPs^{a}
1 Enoch	
1:1-6	4QEn^{a} ar
1:9	4QEn^{c} ar
2:1-3	4QEn^{a} ar
2:1-3	4QEn^{c} ar
3:1	4QEn^{a} ar
3:1	4QEn^{c} ar
4:1	4QEn^{a} ar
4:1	4QEn^{c} ar
5:1	4QEn^{c} ar
5:1-6	4QEn^{a} ar
5:9	4QEn^{b} ar
6:1-4, 7-8	4QEn^{b} ar
6:4-8	4QEn^{a} ar
6:7	4QEn^{c} ar
7:1-6	4QEn^{a} ar
7:1-6	4QEn^{b} ar
8:1, 3-4	4QEn^{a} ar
8:1-4	4QEn^{b} ar
9:1-3, 6-8	4QEn^{a} ar
9:1-4	4QEn^{b} ar
10:3-4, 21-22	4QEn^{a} ar
10:8-12	4QEn^{b} ar
10:13-19	4QEn^{c} ar
11:1	4QEn^{a} ar
12:3	4QEn^{c} ar
12:4-6	4QEn^{a} ar
13:6-10	4QEn^{c} ar
14:1-16, 18-20	4QEn^{c} ar
14:4-6	4QEn^{b} ar
15:1?[1]	4QEn^{c} ar
18:8-12	4QEn^{c} ar
18:15?	4QEn^{e} ar
21:2-4	4QEn^{e} ar
22:3-7	4QEn^{e} ar
22:13-14	4QEn^{d} ar
23:1-4	4QEn^{d} ar
24:1	4QEn^{d} ar
25:7	4QEn^{d} ar
26:1-6	4QEn^{d} ar
27:1	4QEn^{d} ar
28:3	4QEn^{e} ar
29:1-2	4QEn^{e} ar
30:1-3	4QEn^{c} ar
31:1-3	4QEn^{c} ar
31:2-3	4QEn^{e} ar
32:1	4QEn^{c} ar
32:1-3, 6	4QEn^{e} ar
33:3-4	4QEn^{e} ar
34:1	4QEn^{e} ar
35:1	4QEn^{c} ar
36:1-4	4QEn^{c} ar
73:174:9 (similar)	4QEnastr^{a} ar
73:174:9 (similar)	4QEnastr^{b} ar
76:3-10, 13-14	4QEnastr^{c} ar
76:13-14	4QEnastr^{b} ar
77:1-4	4QEnastr^{b} ar
77:1-4	4QEnastr^{c} ar
78:6-8	4QEnastr^{c} ar
78:9-12, 17	4QEnastr^{b} ar
79:1, 3-5	4QEnastr^{b} ar
82:9-13	4QEnastr^{b} ar
after 82:20	4QEnastr^{d} ar
86:1-3	4QEn^{f} ar
88:3	4QEn^{e} ar
89:1-16, 26-30	4QEn^{e} ar
89:11-14, 29-31, 43-44	4QEn^{d} ar
89:31-37	4QEn^{c} ar
91:10?, 11-17, 18-19	4QEn^{g} ar
92:1-2, 5	4QEn^{g} ar
93:1-4, 9-11	4QEn^{g} ar
94:1-2	4QEn^{g} ar
104:13	4QEn^{c} ar
105:1-2	4QEn^{c} ar
106:1-2, 13-19	4QEn^{c} ar
107:1-2	4QEn^{c} ar
Jubilees	
Prologue	4QJub^{a}
1:1-2, 4-15, 26-28	4QJub^{a}

1:26-29(?)	pap4QJub^{b}(?)
2:1-4, 7-24	4QJub^{a}
2:14? or Gen 1:28?	pap4QJub? (4Q483)
2:26-27	4QJub^{c}
3:25-27? or 14:4-6?	11QJub
4:6-11, 11-12 (or 16-17), 13-14, 17-18?, 29-30, 31	11QJub
4:17-24 (similar)	4QpseudoJub^{c}
5:1-2	11QJub
12:15-17, 28-29	11QJub
13:29? or Gen 14:22-23?	pap4QJub? (4Q482)
14:4-6? or 3:25-27?	11QJub
21:1-2, 7-10, 12-16, 18-26	4QJub^{d}
21:5-10	4QJub^{e}
21:22-24	4QJub^{f}
22:1	4QJub^{d}
22:22, 30?	4QJub^{f}
23:6-7, 10, 12-13, 23a	3QJub
23:7-8	2QJub^{a}
23:21-23	4QTanḥ
23:10-13	4QJub^{f}
23:30-31	4QTanḥ or 4QJub^{f}
25:9-12	4QJub^{g}
27:6-7	4QJub^{g}
27:19-21	1QJub^{a}
32:18-21	pap4QJub^{h}
33:12-15	4QJub^{f}
34:4-5	pap4QJub^{h}
35:7-22	pap4QJub^{h}
35:8-10	1QJub^{b}
36:7-23	pap4QJub^{h}
36:12?	1QJub^{b}
37:11-15	4QJub^{f}
37:17-25	pap4QJub^{h}
38:1-13	pap4QJub^{h}
38:6-8	4QJub^{f}
39:4-9	4QJub^{f}
39:9-18	pap4QJub^{h}
40:1-7	pap4QJub^{h}
41:7-10, 28?	pap4QJub^{h}
46:1-3	2QJub^{b}
48:5?	4QJub^{g}

Material Related to the Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs

To the Testament of Levi	
2:4 (similar)	4QLevi^{b} ar
8:11?	1QLevi ar
9:4 et passim	1QLevi ar
chap. 8 (similarities)	4QLevi^{b} ar
12:7	4QLevi^{a} ar
13:1-4, 6, 8-9	4QLevi^{a} ar
19:1 (alleged)	Visions of Amram^{f}? ar
To the Testament of Judah	
12:2 (similar)	pap4QTJudah?
25:1-2 (similar)	3QTJudah?
25:2 (similar)	pap4QTJudah?
To the Testament of Naphtali	
1:6-8	4QTNaph
To the Testament of Joseph	
17:1	4QAJo ar

PART 2

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch

JAMES C. VANDERKAM

We have very few sources of information about the Jewish people, whether in the land or the diaspora, between the time of Nehemiah and the rise of the Maccabees — say, from ca. 430 to 165 BCE. One of the reasons for this dearth of information is naturally the lack of Jewish texts that date from this period, and one of the exciting developments in recent times has been the recovery of fragments from the Jewish literature that was produced during those centuries.

1. Manuscripts of the Book

1 Enoch is one of the books that at least in part belongs in those poorly attested centuries. It is a long work — 108 chapters in its present form — and one that is often difficult to understand or even to read through. For a long time its existence was known only from the facts that the Epistle of Jude cites one verse from it and other early Christian writers referred to it. We now know that most if not all of *1 Enoch* had been written in Aramaic, was subsequently translated into Greek, and from Greek was rendered into Ethiopic and perhaps other languages. The text of the book, however, went the way of a number of Jewish works that failed to qualify for either the Jewish or Christian scriptures: scribes felt little need to copy the extended work, and authors

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The following essay was originally delivered to a diverse audience. The printed form retains something of the oral and semipopular character of the original address.

saw no profit in quoting from a book that was not a recognized authority. The Abyssinian Church in Ethiopia, however, preserved *1 Enoch* as an authoritative work and as an object of commentary and theological reflection.[1] A copy of the Ethiopic version had been brought to Europe by the Scotsman J. Bruce in 1773, but Western scholars did not have ready access to the book until Richard Laurence published first an English translation in 1821 and then the text of one Ethiopic manuscript in 1838.[2] In the intervening years many other Ethiopic copies of *1 Enoch* have been found, more of the Greek translation is available, and small pieces of the book are represented in languages such as Latin, Syriac, and Coptic. The Dead Sea Scrolls have now topped these discoveries by offering us fragments of the original Aramaic layer of the text.

The early reports about what was contained in Cave 4 at Qumran included the news that parts of the Book of Enoch had been identified among its thousands of scraps. J. T. Milik has written:

> At the beginning of September 1952 I was thrilled to identify the first Aramaic fragment of Enoch, which was found among a heterogeneous mass of tiny fragments unearthed by the Ta'amrê Bedouins in a cave hollowed out of the marl bank above which rise the ruins of Ḫirbet Qumrân. Towards the end of the same month I had the satisfaction of recognizing other fragments, while I was personally digging them out of the earth which filled Cave 4 and before they had been properly cleaned and unrolled. In the course of the years which followed, successive purchases progressively enriched this precious Enochic material, with the result that I was able to recognize in it seven manuscripts identifiable with the first, fourth, and fifth sections of the Ethiopic text, and four other manuscripts corresponding approximately to the third, astronomical, section.[3]

Milik himself was to publish a substantial part of the Enoch material from Qumran in his 1976 monograph *The Books of Enoch.* As Milik's comments suggest, the book designated *1 Enoch* consists of five parts:

Chaps. 1–36 = the Book of the Watchers
37–71 = the Book of Parables
72–82 = the Astronomical Book

1. See R. Cowley, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today," *Ostkirchlichen Studien* 23 (1974) 318-23.

2. See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) xxvii, xxix.

3. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) vi.

83–90 = the Book of Dreams
91–108 = the Epistle of Enoch

Milik found fragments corresponding more or less closely to four of these five sections; only the Book of Parables, the part of *1 Enoch* that has been of interest to New Testament scholars because it focuses on someone called the Son of Man, is not represented among the scroll fragments and presumably was not part of the Qumran version of the Enochic collection.

Paleographical study of the Enoch manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 has produced important results. Milik proposed (with some hesitation) that 4QEnoch^{a} ar, which contains several sections of the Book of the Watchers, was copied in the first half of the second century BCE; and 4QEnastr^{a} ar, which contains material that seems to have been part of the much longer original form of the Astronomical Book, was copied at "the end of the third or the beginning of the second century."[4] If these dates are correct, the Astronomical Book was certainly in existence in the third century BCE, and the Book of Watchers very likely was as well. In other words, at least these two parts of the later five-part *1 Enoch* would have come from those dark centuries that were mentioned earlier.

2. Biblical Interpretation in *1 Enoch*

The subject of this presentation is a study of aspects of biblical interpretation in *1 Enoch.* In a sense, the entire work is heavily indebted to the Hebrew Scriptures, though the authors wrote in Aramaic. While it is obvious that the different authors in the Enochic tradition knew and used diverse parts of what we know as the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament, Genesis 5–9 held a special fascination for them. Or, more precisely, within those chapters one particular story lies at the base of the special form of Judaism that finds expression in the Enochic booklets.[5] That story is the one found in Gen 6:1-4, together with its scriptural context. We will examine the ways in which the Enochic writers read that story and the purposes for which they employed it.

4. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 7.

5. See the brief statement about Enochic Judaism in J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995) vii; and the more detailed treatment in G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998). Cf. also P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

In other words, we will be devoting most of our attention to the Book of the Watchers, which is probably the most familiar part of *1 Enoch.*

1 Enoch 1–36 (the Book of the Watchers) introduces the larger work and is itself composite. It is customary to distinguish at least these parts; whether they were written by different authors is another point:[6]

1–5 = introduction focusing on the final judgment
6–11 = the story about the angels who sinned with women
12–16 = Enoch and the angels
17–19 = Enoch's first cosmic journey
20 = a list of angel names
21–36 = Enoch's second cosmic journey

Within this work, chapters 6–11 seem to be the core because they present the story that becomes the fundamental starting point for the explanation of human history in *1 Enoch.* That starting point is the tale about illicit unions between angels and women, marriages that produced horrific results for mankind and for the earth itself. In order to understand what is happening in the account, we will first look at Gen 6:1-4 and then at the ways in which the Genesis passage was interpreted in *1 Enoch.* Finally we will ask the larger question about the goals of the writer(s), about what he (or they) hoped to accomplish by reworking the curious biblical text.

Gen 6:1-4[7]

[1]When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, [2]the sons of God saw that they were fair; and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose. [3]Then the Lord said, "My spirit shall not abide in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be one hundred twenty years." [4]The Nephilim were on the earth in those days — and also afterward — when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown.

These words offer a series of exegetical problems, and the role played by the paragraph within the primeval stories in Genesis is not obvious from the text. Yet this seemingly odd pericope served as the authoritative base from which several authors extrapolated — or possibly related to a larger tradition be-

6. See, for example, J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984) 110.

7. Biblical quotations are from the NRSV.

hind Genesis — in order to present a convincing explanation of why things had turned out so badly and what was going to happen as a result.

When we start reading *1 Enoch* 6–11, it becomes clear immediately that there is some sort of connection between these chapters and Gen 6:1-4. In fact, the Enoch passage begins with the very words of Gen 6:1 and continues to follow the text, but modifies it by adding substantial blocks of material so that the import of the lines in Genesis, as our author understood them, becomes more evident. Let me quote a few lines from it.

> 6:1 And it came to pass, when the sons of men had increased, that in those days there were born to them fair and beautiful daughters. 6:2 And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them. And they said to one another: "Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the children of men, and let us beget for ourselves children."[8]

These verses show that the writer was dealing with the passage from Genesis, or do they? No less an authority than Milik himself has argued that the Enoch passage is earlier than Gen 6:1-4 and that the author of this part of Genesis was the one doing the quoting, not vice versa:

> The very close interdependence of En 6–19 and Gen 6:1-4 is perfectly obvious; the same phrases and analogous expressions are repeated in the two texts. . . . The ineluctable solution, it seems to me, is that it is the text of Gen 6:1-4, which, by its abridged and allusive formulation, deliberately refers back to our Enochic document, two or three phrases of which it quotes verbatim. . . . If my hypothesis is correct, the work incorporated in En 6–19 is earlier than the definitive version of the first chapters of Genesis.[9]

It may not be possible to disprove what Milik writes, but the Enochic text is considerably longer than the one in Genesis, a condition suggesting that *1 Enoch* is the later of the two. That is, *1 Enoch* 6–11 is a more likely candidate for being dependent on Genesis than Genesis is for being dependent on *1 Enoch.*

One explicit distinction between Genesis and *1 Enoch* in this passage is that *1 Enoch* refers to "the angels, the sons of heaven," whereas Genesis mentions "the sons of God." As is well known, the phrase "sons of God" is a designation for angels elsewhere in the Bible (e.g., Job 38:7), and the Enochic author has applied this fact to the passage in question. Hence we have angels

8. Translations of *1 Enoch* are from M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 2.67.

9. Milik, *The Books of Enoch,* 31.

mating with women, or, in the contrasting language of Genesis 6, the sons of God mating with the daughters of men. Actually, the exegetical inference drawn by the writer of *1 Enoch* 6 is slightly different than simply equating the phrase "sons of God" with "angels." There is evidence that when writers in this tradition saw the Hebrew word for God with the definite article (האלהים) they took it to mean "the angels." This occurs very clearly in the short paragraph about Enoch in Gen 5:21-24. There it is said that Enoch walked with *God,* according to our English translations, but ancient expositors noted that the word there was האלהים, and they understood it to mean "the angels." From this they developed their elaborate stories about Enoch's sojourns with angels. It is interesting that in Gen 5:24, when it speaks of Enoch's being taken at the end of his earthly life, the text uses the anarthrous form אלהים, which expositors understood as referring to God himself.[10]

3. Summary of *1 Enoch* 6–11

Let me summarize the course of the story as it develops in *1 Enoch* 6–11. Once the angels announce their decision to marry the lovely daughters of humanity and have children with them, we meet their leader Shemihazah, who becomes anxious about their plan: he fears that they will change their minds and that he alone will bear the responsibility for what he calls "this great sin" (6:3). His two hundred angelic followers reassure their nervous leader and all utter curses to carry out the deed. Their curses and the fact that they descended via Mt. Hermon in the days of Jared, Enoch's father, allow for two puns: Hermon is related to "curse/oath" and gets its name from this act, and "Jared" is taken to mean "descended." We also learn the names of the leading angels among them (chap. 6).

Once on earth the angels marry women and also became promiscuous with them. Furthermore, they taught them "charms and spells, and showed to them the cutting of roots and trees" (7:1). The children born to these unions were giants (the characters mentioned in Gen 6:4: "the heroes that were of old, warriors of renown") who had to be fed. With their enormous appetites, they consumed entire crops and, when they had finished them, became cannibals. "And they began to sin against birds, and against animals, and against reptiles, and against fish, and they devoured one another's flesh and drank the blood from it" (7:5). That is, they violated all laws of that time governing what could be eaten. Complaints ensued.

10. Cf. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,* 31.

At this point we get a small surprise: at the beginning of chapter 8 we are introduced to an angel Asael who "taught men to make swords, and daggers, and shields and breastplates. And he showed them [metals] and the art of making them: bracelets, and ornaments, and the art of making up the eyes and of beautifying the eyelids, and most precious and choice stones, and all (kinds of) colored dyes" (8:1). Great impiety followed; the account borrows some phrases of Genesis for describing the corrupt situation immediately before the flood. After another list of angel names that are related to the subjects they taught (often having to do with astrological topics), we again learn about the complaints caused by the evil imported onto the earth.

The celestial response comes next. Four angels who had remained in heaven saw the evil done on the earth and brought the cries of the earth and humanity to heaven. In the complaint they conveyed, they specified what had been done: "See then what Azazel[11] has done, how he has taught all iniquity on the earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were made in heaven. And Semyaza has made known spells, (he) to whom you gave authority to rule over those who are with him. And they went in to the daughters of men together, and lay with those women, and became unclean, and revealed to them these sins. And the women bore giants, and thereby the whole earth has been filled with blood and iniquity" (9:6-9).

The divine response is measured and fair. Each of the four angels is given an assignment to mete out justice.

1. Uriel is to warn "the son of Lamech" (= Noah) about the coming destructive flood ("the end which is coming") and how he is to escape it and thus allow for offspring on the earth afterward.
2. Raphael is to bind Azazel and throw him into darkness, in a hole in the desert. There he is to remain confined until the day of judgment when he is to be thrown into fire. Raphael is also to heal the earth that has been ruined by Azazel's teachings.
3. Gabriel is to "proceed against the bastards and the reprobates and against the sons of the fornicators, and destroy the sons of the fornicators and the sons of the Watchers from amongst men. And send them out, and send them against one another, and let them destroy themselves in battle for they will not have length of days" (10:9-10). Their fathers' petition that their sons would have eternal life (identified as 500 years) was to be denied.

11. The name is a form of Asael and shows that at some point in the tradition this Asael was assimilated to the Azazel of Leviticus 16. On this, see P. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977) 197-233.

4. Michael is to go to Semyaza and his followers and, after they have witnessed the mutual destruction of their sons, is to bind them for seventy generations until the judgment, at which point they will be led to the abyss of fire forever.

It should be noted that Gabriel and Michael seem to have similar assignments, a point that suggests a doubling or blending of traditions. The descriptions of the punishments draw a clear distinction between the angels and their offspring: the angels are assumed to be immortal; hence, it is impossible to execute them. Their sons the giants share the human nature of their mothers as well as the heavenly one of their fathers, but they are not immortal. They are just big. As a result, they could be killed (in this case through mutual slaughter).

The last part of chapter 10 (vv. 13-22) and chapter 11 predict that, after the earth has been cleansed of evil and pollution, a new and blissful age of righteousness, purity, and plenty will arise.

4. *1 Enoch* 6–11 and Gen 6:1-4

That in brief is the central story in *1 Enoch* 6–11. It is ironic that this has become identified as the Enochic story *par excellence* despite the fact that Enoch himself plays absolutely no role in it. He is brought into connection with the angels only in chapters 12–16. Scholars have pointed out that more than one original account has been combined to produce the present text. The generally accepted suggestion has been that there were two original stories: one in which Shemihazah is the leader, and one in which Asael is the chief of the angels.[12] Devorah Dimant, who has written the most detailed and impressive study of these chapters, has shown that the situation is more complex than this. According to her analysis, we have several very different pictures of what happened before the flood:

1. A story about angels who became impure with women, had gigantic children, and sinned. This tale, based on Gen 6:1-4, had no connection with the flood.
2. A story in which angels teach magic and secrets to humanity and

12. See, for example, Charles, *The Book of Enoch,* 13-14. There is a summary of the various source divisions in VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,* 123-25.

thus lead them into sin (they father demons). The story is connected with the flood, which punishes the sin that people do as a result of these teachings.

3. The story of Asael who teaches arts to humanity and in so doing leads them into sin (see Gen 6:11-12). This explains the corruption on the earth before the flood, which then becomes the punishment for it.[13]

Dimant thinks that, first, versions 1 and 2 were combined, and that the third one was then attracted to the composite version by the shared feature of angelic teaching.

Although there is debate about which sources may be present in *1 Enoch* 6–11, the way(s) in which they came to be combined, and the problems produced by the combination, the finished account presents a message (or messages) about the nature of the universe and context in which people live. Why were writers in this tradition drawn to this puzzling passage in Genesis and what did they hope to accomplish by reworking and elaborating it as they did? What led authors to turn to verses and characters from antediluvian times as the foundation for their teachings?

In order to find answers to these questions, we should look at the context in which *1 Enoch* sets the composite story about the angels and humanity. The first five chapters of the book were once regarded as an introduction to the entire 108-chapter work,[14] an introduction written after the other parts of the book had been drawn together by an editor. The Qumran finds now show that to be virtually impossible. Fragments from 4QEnoch^a ar contain parts of this section, and this shows that they were part of the Book of the Watchers from a very early time. They were apparently written to provide a setting for the story about the sons of God and the daughters of men as understood in the earliest Enochic tradition.

The central theme of *1 Enoch* 1–5 is the final judgment. The book opens by identifying Enoch and his book as addressing "the chosen and righteous who must be present on the day of distress (which is appointed) for the removal of all the wicked and impious" (1:1). The vision that the angels showed to Enoch was "not for this generation, but for a distant generation which will come" (1:2). The remainder of chapter 1 is a description of God's descent to

13. D. Dimant, "The Angels Who Sinned" (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1971) 65 (for example). She works out the details of the different forms of the stories on pp. 23-72.

14. See Charles, *The Book of Enoch,* xlviii, lvii, and esp. p. 2: "They look like an introduction to the entire book written by the final editor."

the earth in judgment: he will come down on Mt. Sinai, the earth will tremble, the watchers will shake with terror, and conditions much like the flood will recur: "And the earth will sink and everything that is on the earth will be destroyed, and there will be judgment upon all, and upon all the righteous. But for the righteous he will make peace, and he will keep safe the chosen, and mercy will be upon them. They will all belong to God, and will prosper and be blessed, and the light of God will shine upon them" (1:7-8). The words that Jude quotes follow in *1 Enoch* 1:9; they contain another prediction that God will contend with all flesh because of their sins. Chapters 2:1–5:3 call on the audience to contemplate or consider the different parts of God's creation: all of them obey the laws established by the creator for them. *1 Enoch* 5:4-6 contrasts this obedience with sinners' disobedience to God's law for them. The following verses 7-9 hold out a different future for the chosen: once enlightened with wisdom they will no longer do wrong or be judged. Rather, "they will not die of (the divine) wrath or anger. But they will complete the number of the days of their life, and their life will grow in peace, and the years of their joy will increase in gladness and in eternal peace all the days of their life" (5:9).

It is apparent that the editor of *1 Enoch* 6–11 has sandwiched the composite story about the angels between two sections having to do with eschatological judgment for the sinners and blessings for the righteous, that is, between chapters 1–5 and 10:13–11:2. These were the brackets within which he wanted readers to see his tale about angels, women, and giants. That story was not merely an account of an ancient episode that, while being entertaining, was no longer relevant. That episode was to be read in connection with the final judgment of the wicked and reward of the righteous. The writer explicitly refers to the flood as "the end which is coming" (10:2); the final judgment is its counterpart. The two events must be seen together; the episode of the angels shows the connection between them. The sin of the angels, however that was understood, led to the flood; those angels will remain imprisoned until the time of the final judgment when only the form of their punishment, not its substance, will change.[15]

If an expositor was so interested in the final fates of the wicked and the righteous, why would he take such an interest in chapters 5–9 of Genesis? What do they contain that would be of relevance to the subject? Paul's letters show that the Enochic writers were not the only ancient Jewish expositors

15. See the summary in Charles, *The Book of Enoch,* 3-4; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,* 119. For the biblical sources of this section, see L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (ConB 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979).

who found that much was explained by the primeval stories. Paul of course appealed to the story about the transgression of Eve and Adam in Genesis 3 as the first sin that led all their offspring to be guilty of death, a situation remedied by the divine promise fulfilled in Christ (Rom 5:12-21). Our Enochic writer did not appeal to the story of Eve and Adam but to a different one from Genesis to provide his explanation for the human predicament.

If we followed Milik in thinking that parts of *1 Enoch* are older than Genesis, we could say that the writer did not appeal in Pauline fashion to the garden of Eden story because he was writing before that story appeared in Genesis. That explanation, however, does not work because there is clear evidence that the Enochic authors knew Genesis 2–4, including the story about the first sin. The best example of this in the Book of the Watchers is found in chapters 24–26, part of Enoch's second tour of the cosmos. There he sees seven mountains, with the one in the middle surrounded by trees. Among these trees was an especially fragrant and fruitful one; according to the angel Michael, "no (creature of) flesh has authority to touch it until the great judgment when he will take vengeance on all" (25:4). Then its fruit will give life to the chosen, "and they will live a long life on earth, as your fathers lived, and in their days sorrow and pain and toil and punishment will not touch them" (25:6). This section is heavily indebted to Genesis 2–3 and its untouchable tree of life; at the end, according to the Enochic writer, the life it gives to the chosen will remove the types of suffering caused by the sin of the first parents. In other words, our author knew the Eden story. Why did it not serve for him as the foundational tale of human sin, as it did for Paul?

The writer does not tell us, but it is likely that he and others perceived a deficiency in the text of Genesis. After God had created the universe and had set the first people in a wondrous garden, they disobeyed him by eating forbidden fruit and were banished from any possibility of approaching the tree of life (Genesis 1–3). Chapter 4 continues with the murder of Abel by his brother Cain and later with Lamech's boast about killing a man (4:23). Other than Gen 6:1-4, these are the only biblical accounts of sin before the flood. A reader might be forgiven for wondering whether the flood was not something of an overreaction or that there must be something missing from the text when Genesis 6 claims that humanity's thoughts were evil continually and that the earth was thoroughly corrupt (vv. 5, 11-12). If such were the case, how did things get that way? Could eating the forbidden fruit in Eden cause such an epidemic of evil in ten generations, even if they were long ones?

Such thoughts may have coursed through the minds of Enochic thinkers as they pondered the sacred text. Their musings may have made them cu-

rious about what could possibly be meant by the enigmatic words of Gen 6:1-4 that immediately precede the flood story. Was there a basic connection of some sort between the two sections? Was there more to Gen 6:1-4 than meets the eye? What do the various expressions in it mean? That is, the Enochic scholars may have had a particular exegetical interest in the possibilities in Gen 6:1-4. Another way of looking at it is to say that there may have been a tradition behind Gen 6:1-4 that was familiar to the writer of *1 Enoch* 6–11 and that he reproduced it in order to show the real significance of these four verses.

If one reads Gen 6:1-4 in light of *1 Enoch* 6–11, the reason why God sent the flood becomes much clearer. If angels had married women and engendered giants who committed sins and ravaged the earth and humanity, they would be deserving of extraordinary punishment. Or, if humanity had learned secret and forbidden arts from angels and continually performed evil deeds as a result, this too would provide a more adequate explanation for the flood. What is essential to see is that the Enochic story is able to explain the outlandish nature of sin before the flood by attributing it to a supernatural origin. Angels descended from heaven and gave the modest evil present on the earth a celestial boost. Evil that was so potent deserved a supernatural punishment in the form of the flood.

Yet, if the Enochic story could offer a plausible explanation for why God took the drastic step of sending the deluge, it also had to deal with the problem of sin after the flood. Genesis seemingly gives little thought to this: humanity's nature was not changed by the flood; God simply resolved never to send another one. Problems developed almost immediately with Noah's drunkenness, with his sons' responses to it, and with whatever led to the curse of Canaan (Gen 9:20-27). Later the tower of Babel represented a social challenge to the supremacy of God. Evil simply continued to exist within people, much as it did before the deluge.

5. *1 Enoch* 12–16

The Enochic tradition developed a more elaborate account of why evil survived without a break after the flood. We find the explanation in another section of the Book of the Watchers, in chapters 12–16, which are now editorially attached to the central section in chapters 6–11. Here for the first time we find Enoch brought into connection with the angels who had sinned. The whole section is an intriguing one. It uses the framework of Genesis' short paragraph about Enoch (5:21-24) and assumes a form of the angel story;

however, it also formulates a series of contrasts between Enoch and the angels in which Enoch plays a role greater than that of any angel while the angels fall lower than any human being and are permanently banished from the presence of God.[16]

Chapters 12–16 are set during one of Enoch's sojourns with the angels (since Genesis twice mentions that Enoch walked with האלהים, it was assumed he was with the angels twice, once for 300 years during his 365-year life and once after it). While the text mentions Azazel only briefly, it is clear that the story about angels who sinned with women and thus became impure with them is the central one in the author's mind. The heavenly watchers, the angels who remained in heaven, order Enoch, "the scribe of righteousness," to tell the watchers who had sinned that they would have neither peace nor forgiveness (12:4-6). That is, Enoch, a human being, was to announce to the angels what their punishment would be. The sinful watchers asked Enoch to present their petition for forgiveness to God; they themselves could not raise their eyes to heaven because of their sin (13:3-6). Enoch received the message for them in a spectacular vision that he relates in detail (14:8–16:4). For the first time in Jewish literature, we are allowed to watch a seer go into heaven in his vision. There he saw two temple-palaces made of alternating fiery and icy substances. In the second house he saw the Great Glory, God himself, seated on his throne. Though many angels ministered to him, none could come near him, and Enoch himself lay prostrate until God summoned him into his presence. In other words, Enoch does here what neither the sinful watchers nor the heavenly angels were able to do.

God himself commented on the anomaly that a man, Enoch, was interceding for angels, who should normally intercede for humans. He also criticized the angels for leaving heaven and defiling themselves with women, noting that marriage was meant for perpetuating a mortal population, not for immortal angels.

All of this is the setting for a new theme that is expressed in this section: here we learn that evil spirits emerged from the bodies of the giants (15:9; 16:1). These spirits not only do wrong themselves but also cause people to sin until the time of the great judgment. This new element provides an explanation for postdiluvian evil. The flood did not entirely cleanse the earth from sin, as Genesis makes patently clear. *1 Enoch* 12–16 traces the cause of this evil to the maleficent emanations from the bodies of the giants, the children of the angels who sinned with women.

16. For the Enoch-angels contrast, see VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition,* 130-33.

6. Exploring the Focus on Early Themes

At this point, we should return to the larger questions that were asked earlier. Why did writers in the Enochic tradition find the material in the antediluvian and diluvian age so agreeable to their theology and philosophy of history? An attentive reader of *1 Enoch* soon becomes aware that the law of Moses plays almost no role in the book. In a sense that is only natural, since Enoch and Noah lived long before the time of Moses and hence long before the law was revealed. Yet the Enochic tradition, even when dealing with Moses and his time, has little to say about the Torah. For example, in the Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 85–90) the writer surveys biblical history. While he does mention Adam and Eve, Enoch, Noah, and the patriarchs, when he comes to the time of Moses, he never mentions the revelation of the law on Mt. Sinai. He refers to the mountain but not to the law, unless "the way which he had shown them" in 89:32 alludes to it. Why should the law of Moses, which some Jewish writers (such as the author of *Jubilees*) tried to read back into much earlier times, be left out of the picture and be replaced by material such as the story about the angels?

One reason for the author's choice of Enoch as his main character, and thus of his historical period, may have been that the time just before the flood was universal in the sense that God's people had not yet separated from the nations. The first chapters of Genesis include all peoples in their purview and do not evidence the same narrowing of focus that we find in Genesis 12–50 and Exodus with the election of the ancestors and eventually of Israel to be God's own people. The story in *1 Enoch* applies to all nations, not just to the Jewish people. The laws violated by the people living before the flood were not the statutes of Moses, which were meant for Israel, but were a version of the Noachic laws, which were meant for all. Dimant has argued that the three offenses for which the angels were punished (shedding blood, illicit sexual intercourse, and idolatry) are part of the Noachide list and lie behind the later seven-member enumeration of such laws.[17] Thus the story explains the reason why they were condemned: they violated the most basic laws that God had given his creatures. In other words, we again have a universal theme: all are guilty of violating the laws that God had given to all humanity. Sin is not reckoned by failure to conform to Moses' Torah, which was meant for Israel; the sin involved disobedience to the fundamental divine laws of existence. The Enochic tradition, as it comes to expression in this and in later texts, finds its cornerstone not in the Sinaitic covenant and law but in events

17. Dimant, "The Angels Who Sinned," 55.

around the time of the flood. It would be impossible to reconstruct the pentateuchal legislation from *1 Enoch* and to infer anything about its cultic law. The primary revelations to which the tradition appealed were those disclosures given to Enoch before the flood. At that time, an extraordinary wisdom and an understanding of the course of human history were disclosed to him. On the basis of those disclosures the pious person in this tradition was to live.

7. The Angelic Motif

The story of the watchers in its various permutations is a strange one, but it was once popular with the learned Jews who resided at Qumran. The Book of the Watchers was composed before the Qumran settlement was established, and it was brought there by people who appreciated its teachings. This conclusion is favored by the early date of some Enochic manuscripts. Certainly within this tradition the story about the angels remained strong, and it also influenced a number of other texts found among the Scrolls.[18] Its fairly widespread distribution suggests that the angelic motif, in some strands of Judaism, bore the stamp of authority. We should now examine some ways in which it continued to exercise its sway over later writers, whether directly in the Enochic tradition or not.

One text that serves as a good example is a section of the Epistle of Enoch, the last part of *1 Enoch.* In chapters 106–107 we find what may be an independent unit that centers around the birth of Noah and the meaning of the event. In this story, the theme about the watchers, the angels who descended, is worked into the biblical story line by means of wordplays and other devices. It is probably significant that this story appears not only in a book contained within the corpus that we call *1 Enoch* but also in the *Genesis Apocryphon,* a major text from Qumran Cave 1.

Enoch narrates the story. He speaks of the time when his grandson Lamech married a woman who became pregnant and gave birth to a son. Lamech, when he saw his son, rather than rejoicing became alarmed, and for good reason:

> And his body was white like snow and red like the flower of a rose, and the hair of his head was white like wool . . . and his eyes (were) beautiful; and when he opened his eyes, he made the whole house bright like the sun so

18. For a survey see VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations,* 121-30.

> that the whole house was exceptionally bright. And when he was taken from the hand of the midwife, he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness. (106:2-3)

Lamech ran to his father Methuselah and said: "I have begotten a strange son; he is not like a man, *but* is like the children of the angels of heaven, of a different type, and not like us. And his eyes (are) like the rays of the sun, *and* his face glorious. And it seems to me that he is not sprung from me, but from the angels, and I am afraid lest something extraordinary should be done on the earth in his days" (106:5-6). He then asks Methuselah to visit his own father Enoch to discover what all this meant. At this time Enoch is, as we might expect, living with the angels; it is assumed that he will know the truth about the matter. The scene in which Lamech and his wife discuss the paternity issue is elaborated at much greater length in the *Genesis Apocryphon,* in which she argues strenuously with him and reminds him of the pleasant occasion when the child was conceived (col. 2).

Methuselah did go to visit Enoch at his distant home, much as, in the famous Mesopotamian story, Gilgamesh went to visit Utnapishtim to learn about the flood and how he had survived it. Enoch tells his son that the child's remarkable character portended that "the Lord will do new things on the earth" (106:13). He refers to the fact that in the days of his own father Jared,

> some from the height of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold, they commit sin and transgress the law, and have been promiscuous with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them, and have begotten children by them. And there will be great destruction over the whole earth, and there will be a deluge, and there will be great destruction for one year. But this child who has been born to you will be left on the earth, and his three sons will be saved with him; when all the men who are on the earth die, he and his sons will be saved. (106:13-16)

Enoch refers to the giants who will be born to the angels and the cleansing that the flood will effect. He also assures Methuselah that his son Lamech really is the father of Noah; his wife had not been unfaithful to him by having an affair with an angel. Methuselah brought the news back to Lamech, and Noah received his name which, following Gen 5:28-29, is explained as meaning "comfort."

The creative reuse to which the angel story is put in *1 Enoch* 106–107 shows how integral it was to the way in which these writers read Genesis 5–9. Each of the antediluvian patriarchs from Jared (the sixth in the list of ten forefathers in Genesis 5) to Noah (the tenth in the list) is brought into con-

nection with this story, and each of their names provides a clue to the story or describes a stage in it. Jared's name signifies the angels' descent; Enoch's name may point to the instruction he gave to humanity in light of the problems the angels' presence on earth caused; Methuselah's name refers to the fact that he was *sent* through or to a distant *land* (the Hebrew term *mat* is used in the *Genesis Apocryphon* at this point); Lamech's name (= "low indeed") signifies that the nadir had been reached as the flood approaches; and Noah's name has several meanings: he and his sons will be left, and he will comfort the earth after the destruction.[19] The angel story supplied a crucial amount of information for understanding what Genesis says in so brief a form. The way in which the story is here presented shows that the angels had been on the earth for centuries, and that the evil they had caused was leading to a crescendo that would require the flood as an adequate response. It is noteworthy, too, that Enoch accuses the angels of having transgressed the law. The term *law* here can hardly mean the Mosaic law: the angels violated a more basic set of laws that had been given to humanity at this time.

Mention should also be made of another passage in *1 Enoch* where the angel story is prominent — the Animal Apocalypse in *1 Enoch* 85–90. This is especially instructive because it surveys all biblical history and reveals the point in it where this writer placed the accent. In his survey he deals with Adam and Eve but he says nothing about the story in Genesis 3. He also refers to Cain's killing Abel but neglects to mention the serpent and the fruit. In contrast, he devotes a large segment of the text to his version of the angel story. Here a single angel fell first; after him came many others who were thrown down from heaven to be with the first angel. The motif of their expulsion from heaven is new, but otherwise we have Asael first and then the many angels descending and mating with women. The animal-like nature of their copulating is highlighted (such imagery was encouraged by the fact that all humans are symbolized as different kinds of animals in the text), and it is noted that they bore three kinds of children (elephants, camels, and asses; see Gen 6:4). The symbolic account then relates many of the details that we have encountered in *1 Enoch* 6–11 — the violence, rapine, and other evil produced by these unnatural marriages and the response of the flood.

Here again we see the importance of the angel story to a writer in the Enochic tradition but also what he did not find worth relating, namely, the Genesis 3 tale about the initial sin. The Animal Apocalypse is also the text

19. For these etymologies, see J. C. VanderKam, "The Birth of Noah," in *Studies Offered to Józef Tadeusz Milik*, Part I: *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Z. J. Kapera (Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Kraków: Enigma Press) 213-31.

that neglects to mention the law as it depicts the scene at Mt. Sinai. The angel story was transparently more important for explaining the flood than was the story of Eden and the evil it spawned. Not every one of the writers who attached great importance to Enoch took the same approach. The *Book of Jubilees,* for example, is quite different in this regard, giving full play to the story found in Genesis 3 and adding more details than are present in Genesis (*Jub* 3:17-31). It also assigns a large amount of space to the angel story (4:15, 22; 5:1-12; 7:21-25; cf. 10:1-14) as the narrative moves closer to the time of the flood. The author of that book was familiar with the various forms of the angel story because he used the different Enoch booklets as sources; yet he managed to achieve a more balanced approach as he also incorporated the story about the sin of Adam and Eve.

The angel story seems bizarre to us, and we may wonder why anyone would have believed it. Whatever our reactions may be today, a surprisingly large number of Jewish and Christian writers did take it seriously and found it to be a convincing explanation of scriptural passages and of the human situation. They were able to apply the authoritative story to a number of ends. One of the major purposes that the different forms of the story served was as a basis for preaching or exhortation. As we have seen, the angel tale offered an explanation for the extraordinary evil before the flood that required such drastic punishment, and accounted for the ongoing presence of evil in the postdiluvian world. But the flood was the point of subsequent exhortations. The point seems to have been: God did it once, and he will do it again, not with a flood, but in the final judgment that will resemble the destructive and universal scope of the deluge, the first end. The wise were thus to take heed and live in light of this fact.

8. The Angelic Motif in Christian Tradition

The letter of Jude is a work that makes homiletic use of the angel story. One of the central purposes of this epistle is to cite examples of how God had judged the wicked in the past, just as he will judge the writer's enemies who are guilty of similar sins. As part of a series of examples he alludes to "the angels who did not keep their own position but left their proper dwelling." God "has kept [them] in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great Day" (v. 6). A few verses later the author quotes *1 Enoch* 1:9, which he introduces with the words "Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied." The quotation from *1 Enoch* has to do with God's coming in final judgment: "See, the Lord is coming with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute

judgment on all, and to convict everyone of all the deeds of ungodliness that they have committed in such an ungodly way and of all the harsh things that ungodly sinners have spoken against him" (vv. 14-15).

Other early Christian authors found sundry purposes that the story could serve. Justin Martyr (died ca. 167 CE) appealed to Enochic teachings to show that non-Christian religions are errors produced by the demons who emerged from the giants' bodies (in both his first and second *Apology*). Tertullian, who composed a lengthy defense of the authority of the *Book of Enoch,* used it for various purposes, including as a source for his arguments against feminine ornamentation and makeup — arts taught by the angels in the Enochic story (*On Prayer* 20-22; *On the Veiling of Virgins* 7).[20]

In his *The City of God* Augustine wrote a response to the angel story that marked the end of its authoritative use in Christianity. He argued that in Gen 6:1-4 the same individuals are called both "angels of God" (6:2 as his Bible was worded) and "men" (6:3) and that elsewhere in the Scriptures holy people are called "angels" (e.g., Malachi was called a "messenger," using the word for "angel"). The designation "angels of God" in 6:2 refers to humans who by grace were members of the city of God, not to actual heavenly angels; the term "daughters of men" envisages members of the other city in his grand theory (15:22). We may end with Augustine's influential words about Enochic and other nonbiblical literature.

> Let us omit, then, the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal, because their obscure origin was unknown to the fathers from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has been transmitted to us by a most certain and well-ascertained succession. For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements, that they have no canonical authority. We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, left some divine writings, for that is asserted by the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle. But it is not without reason that these writings have no place in that canon of Scripture which was preserved in the temple of the Hebrew people by the diligence of successive priests; for their antiquity brought them under suspicion, and it was impossible to ascertain whether these were his genuine writings, and they were not brought forward as genuine by the persons who were found to have carefully preserved the canonical books by a successive transmission. So that the writings

20. For a detailed survey of these and other early Christian usages of the angel story, see J. C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity,* ed. J. VanderKam and Wm. Adler (CRINT 3.4; Assen: van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 33-101.

> which are produced under his name, and which contain these fables about the giants, saying that their fathers were not men, are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine; just as many writings are produced by heretics under the names both of other prophets, and, more recently, under the names of the apostles, all of which, after careful examination, have been set apart from canonical authority under the title of Apocrypha. There is therefore no doubt that, according to the Hebrew and Christian canonical Scriptures, there were many giants before the deluge, and that these were citizens of the earthly society of men, and that the sons of God, who were according to the flesh the sons of Seth, sunk into this community when they forsook righteousness (15.23).[21]

Thus the angel story, which had enjoyed considerable popularity, fell from favor, only to have the extent of its influence recovered in modern times.

21. The translation is from *The City of God by Saint Augustine* (The Modern Library; New York: Random House, 1950) 514.

Abraham in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Man of Faith and Failure

CRAIG A. EVANS

Probably the most celebrated figure in the Old Testament is Abraham, the father of the Jewish people. Although Moses was greatly respected, if not always obeyed, in my opinion the literature of the intertestamental and New Testament periods suggests that Abraham was revered above all others. It is not hard to see why this was so. After all, God chose Abram (later called Abraham)[1] from among all of the people of the world. Appearing and speaking to him, God promised the great patriarch land, seed, and blessing (Gen 12:2-3; 13:14-17; 15:5, 18-21; 17:1-8; 22:15-18). The covenants that follow, such as those given at Sinai and to the house of David, presuppose the ancient covenant between God and Abraham.

Abraham's story is told in Genesis 12–25. Among the many noteworthy episodes in his life were his calling (Gen 12:1-9), his battle with the tribal kings (Genesis 14), his covenant with God (Genesis 15), and his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac (Genesis 22). His most surprising failing, however, was his fear and deceit with regard to his wife Sarah (with Pharaoh, Gen 12:10-20; with Abimelech, Genesis 20).

This failure notwithstanding, in subsequent Old Testament and Jewish history Abraham, the "friend of God" (2 Chron 20:7; Isa 41:8; cf. James 2:23),

1. At first he is called Abram (Gen 11:26-27; 12:1), perhaps meaning "exalted father" (occurring some 61 times in the Old Testament, all but two of them in Genesis). Later his name becomes Abraham (Gen 17:5), meaning "father of a multitude" (occurring some 175 times in the Old Testament).

emerges as the most venerable of all Jewish figures (Josh 24:2-3; Isa 29:22; 51:2; Ezek 33:24; Mic 7:20; Sir 44:19-23). It was this great respect for, even fascination with, Abraham that led to much of the interpretation and embellishment found in later Jewish and Christian sources. The famous patriarch is often mentioned as the ideal example of Jewish piety and orthodoxy. The author of Hebrews cites the life of Abraham as a primary example of faith (Hebrews 7 and 11), while Paul (Galatians 3; Romans 4) and James (2:21, 23) appeal to Abraham for clarification of what constitutes righteousness in God's sight (but compare their divergent exegeses).

There are two especially nagging questions that frequently surface in the exegetical and theological discussions of the Jewish interpreters: Why did God choose Abraham, and how could the great patriarch, a man of exemplary faith, display such cowardice and deceit with reference to his wife Sarah? The rabbinical discussions are found in late sources, dating to the fifth century and later. However, earlier writings, including one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, provide witness to the antiquity of some of the proposed solutions to these questions. We shall review a selection of these solutions in this paper.

1. Why Did God Choose Abraham?

The first question asks why God chose Abraham. In short, the answer is that Abraham rejected idolatry and human arrogance. How does one infer this from the biblical text? The story of Abraham begins as follows:

> Now these are the generations of Terah. Terah was the father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran. And Haran was the father of Lot. And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his birth, in Ur of the Chaldeans. And Abram and Nahor took wives. The name of Abram's wife was Sarai. And the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. And Sarai was barren. She had no child. And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife. And they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan; but when they came to Haran, they settled there. The days of Terah were two hundred and five years; and Terah died in Haran. Now the Lord said to Abram, "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of

> the earth will be blessed." So Abram went, as the Lord had told to him; and Lot went with him. Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran. (Gen 11:27–12:4)

Where in this passage do we find any hint that God chose Abraham because of some virtue or righteous deed? It is not until the Lord commands the patriarch, "Go from your country . . . to the land that I will show you," that Abraham's presence in the story becomes conspicuous. The text as it stands does not answer our question.

Jewish interpreters were therefore forced to look for clues, for subtle hints in the text as to why God chose Abraham as the recipient of blessings and promises. Their interpretive efforts led to several interesting and imaginative solutions. We may survey the following sample.

According to an account preserved in a Hebrew version of the *Testament of Naphtali* the Lord made his choice on the basis of the respective responses of the principal characters mentioned in Genesis 10–11. The passage reads:

> And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to the seventy nations, to each nation separately: "You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose today whom you will worship, and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven." Nimrod the wicked answered and said, "For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my people in one hour the language of Kush." In like manner also answered Put, the Migraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of the Lord, blessed be He. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, "Abram, whom dost thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?" Abram answered, "I choose and select only Him who spoke, and the world was created; Who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body; Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him I will cleave, I and my seed, all the days of the world." (9:1-5)

The date of the Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali* is not determined. The text itself was found among old Hebrew and Aramaic documents left behind in the genizah of a very old synagogue in Cairo. Parallels with some related materials found at Qumran suggest that the pedigree of the *Testament of Naphtali* may be quite old, even if the material from the Cairo synagogue dates to the early Middle Ages.

The oldest solution to the question of Abraham's election is found in

the pseudepigraphical writing known as *Jubilees,* a document that probably dates to the second century BCE. According to this account the young Abram becomes aware that idols were powerless and that the world was created by God. He begins to pray to God "so that he might not worship the idols" (11:16). He remonstrates with his father Terah who admits that he worships idols on account of public opinion (12:1-7). Abraham discusses the matter with his brothers Nahor and Haran, but they are angry with him (12:8). For a time Abraham remains quiet, but finally he takes action. We are told that

> Abram arose in the night and burned the house of idols. And he burned everything in the house. And there was no man who knew. And they rose up in the night, and they wanted to save their gods from the midst of the fire. And Haran rushed to save them, and the fire flared up over him. And he was burned in the fire and died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah, his father. And they buried him in Ur of the Chaldees. (*Jub* 12:12b-14)

This imaginative paraphrase not only answers our guiding question, Why did God choose Abraham? it also explains how it was that Haran predeceased his father Terah. God chose Abraham because, unlike his father and brothers, he had rejected idolatry. Haran died prematurely because he rushed into the house of idols in a foolish attempt to save them.

Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* (first century CE) provides another embellished account of the biblical story. Those who hope to build a tower that will reach heaven say: "Let us take bricks and let each of us write our names on the bricks and burn them with fire" (6:2). These bricks were then to be used in the construction of the tower. The account goes on to tell of several men, including Abraham, who refuse to participate. One "Joktan" locks them up and gives them seven days to reconsider. Later he offers them the opportunity to run away, but Abraham refuses, entrusting himself to God. After the seven days, Nimrod orders Abraham thrown into the furnace, but God causes an earthquake, which in turn causes the flames of the furnace to burst forth and kill 83,500 men (6:3-17). The dramatic episode concludes with the notation that "Abram came up out of the fiery furnace, and the fiery furnace collapsed" (6:18).

A similar version of this account appears in the much later Aramaic paraphrase of the Pentateuch, now known as *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.* It reads:

> When Nimrod cast Abram into the fiery furnace because he would not worship his idol, there was no power for the fire to burn him. Then Haran's heart became doubtful, and he said, "If Nimrod prevails, I shall be on his

> side, but if Abram prevails, I shall be on his side." And when all the people who were there saw that the fire had no power over Abram, they said in their hearts, "Is not Haran the brother of Abram full of divinations and charms, and has he not uttered spells over the fire that it should not burn his brother?" Immediately fire fell from heaven above and consumed him. *And Haran died in the sight of his father Terah,* even where he was burned in the land of his birth, in the fiery furnace which the Chaldeans had made for Abram. (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 11:28)

The targum explains that Abraham was cast into the furnace because he had refused to worship Nimrod's idols. Abraham's brother Haran died by fire in this account also, but for a different and more sinister reason.

The *Apocalypse of Abraham,* though dating from the first and second centuries CE, gives an account that parallels the account in *Jubilees* more closely than the one in Pseudo-Philo. Its version reads as follows:

> And it came to pass as I was thinking things like these [the futility of idolatry] with regard to my father Terah in the court of my house, the voice of the Mighty One came down from the heavens in a stream of fire, saying and calling, "Abraham, Abraham!" And I said, "Here I am." And he said, "You are searching for the God of gods, the Creator, in the understanding of your heart. I am he. Go out from Terah, your father, and go out of the house, that you too may not be slain in the sins of your father's house." And I went out. And it came to pass as I went out — I was not yet outside the entrance of the court — that the sound of a great thunder came and burned him and his house and everything in his house, down to the ground, forty cubits. (8:1-6)

In this account Abraham's father Terah dies in the fire. The element of judgment is much more intense: everything — house and all — is burned "down to the ground, forty cubits" deep!

Perhaps the most amusing "exegesis" of our Genesis passage is found in a rabbinic commentary dating to the fifth century (although the roots of this interpretation are probably much earlier). This account reads as follows:

> Terah was a man who made idols. It happened once that he went away to a certain place and left Abraham to sell them instead. When a man came up wanting to buy one, Abraham said, "How old are you?" He answered, "Fifty." Abraham said, "What then! You are fifty and you want to worship something that is only a day old!" The man went away ashamed. Then a woman came up with a plate of sifted flour and said, "Give this to them as

> an offering." At that Abraham took a club and smashed the idols, and put the club into the hand of the largest of them. Then his father came back and said: "Who has done this to them?" Abraham said: "What can I hide from you? A woman came up with a plate of flour and asked me to offer it to them. I did so, and one of them said, 'I will eat first,' but another said, 'I will eat first.' At that the largest sprang up, took the club and smashed them." Terah said: "Why do you mock me? Do the idols know what happens?" Abraham said: "You should let your ears listen to what your mouth is saying." Terah seized him and handed him over to Nimrod (who cast Abraham into the fire). (*Gen. Rab.* 38.13 [on Gen 11:28])

All of these exegetical traditions are based on the etymology of the place name "Ur" (אוּר, *'ûr*), which in Hebrew also means "fire" (אוֹר, *'ôr*) depending on vowel pointing. In other words, when Gen 11:31 says that Abraham "came out of *'ûr* of the Chaldeans," it could mean that he "came out of the *fire* of the Chaldeans." Ancient interpreters pondered the implications of this double meaning. If Abraham came *out of the fire,* how did he get *into* it in the first place? According to *Jubilees,* Abraham set fire to the house of idols. According to the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* God set fire to the house of idols, having warned Abraham to flee. According to Pseudo-Philo, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,* and the rabbinic commentary on Genesis, Abraham was thrown into a furnace of fire for having refused to join his neighbors in the construction of the tower or having refused to worship Nimrod's idol. All these traditions put Abraham into the context of fire in order to explain the meaning of Scripture's statement that he "came out of אוּר of the Chaldeans."

These exegeses also follow the lead of the famous story in Daniel. The allusion to fire in Genesis 11 suggested comparison with the furnace of fire in Daniel 3, the furnace into which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were cast. These three men, who refused to worship the golden image erected by Nebuchadnezzar the Chaldean, were spared by God and "came out from the fire" (Dan 3:26). Their reason for being cast into the fire gave interpreters of Genesis 11 the reason why Abraham had been cast into the fire of the Chaldeans. Even the fantastic claim in Pseudo-Philo's version, that 83,500 men were killed by the flames of the furnace, probably owes its inspiration to Dan 3:22, which says the intense heat of the furnace killed the men who threw the three Israelites into the fire.

Other biblical traditions probably contributed to these interpretations of Genesis. The story of fire raining down upon Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24) may have contributed to the version we found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* The fire that fell from heaven and consumed Haran, according to

Pseudo-Jonathan's Aramaic paraphrase, may owe some of its inspiration to 2 Kings 1:10-12, which tells of the fire falling from heaven and consuming the Samaritan captains and their companies of fifty. Abraham's response to God's summons, "Here I am," in the version found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* probably reflects the similar exchange found in Gen 22:1.[2] The tradition that Abraham's father worshipped idols is taken from Scripture itself: "Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel: 'Your fathers lived of old beyond the Euphrates, Terah, the father of Abraham and of Nahor; and they served other gods'" (Josh 24:2).

The "Ur"/"fire" exegesis also answers other questions the text of Genesis raises, for example, how it is that Haran predeceased his father. The biblical verse "Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his birth, in Ur of the Chaldeans" (Gen 11:28) can be understood to mean that Haran died in the fire of the Chaldeans. Just exactly how he died in the fire varies, as we have seen, from story to story.

2. Accounting for Abraham's Cowardice and Deceit

The more troubling question focuses on Abraham's cowardice and deceit. It occurs in two passages, the first involving Pharaoh (Gen 12:10-20), the second involving Abimelech (Gen 20:1-18). In both cases Abraham fears that he will be killed and so passes off Sarah as his sister. In both cases his lie creates problems and he is rebuked by the deceived (and wronged) monarch. Pharaoh says: "What is this that you have done to me? Why did you not tell me that she was your wife? Why did you say, 'She is my sister,' so that I took her for my wife? Now then, here is your wife, take her, and be gone" (12:18-19). Abimelech's criticism is even sharper: "What have you done to us? And how have I sinned against you, that you have brought on me and my kingdom a great sin? You have done to me things that ought not to be done" (20:9).[3]

Jewish interpretation deals with these problems by attempting to exculpate Abraham and by vilifying Pharaoh and Abimelech. One way to exculpate Abraham is to heighten the danger. According to *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan:*

2. God's statement to Abraham in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* ("You are searching for the God of gods, the Creator, in the understanding of your heart. I am he") has a Danielic ring to it (cf. Dan 2:21, 47).

3. The dialogue continues in Gen 20:10-13 and appears to be an attempt to justify Abraham's deceit.

> *When he was about to enter Egypt,* they came to the river, and were uncovering their flesh to pass over. Abraham *said to Sarah his wife, "Behold,* until this moment I have not beheld your flesh, but now I know that *you are a woman of beautiful appearance. And when the Egyptians see* your beauty, *they will say . . ."* (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 12:11-12)

Evidently Abraham had never before seen Sarah's bare legs. When he sees them he realizes that the Egyptians may desire her. The *Genesis Apocryphon* found in Qumran Cave 1 describes at great length Sarah's beauty, a description that much excited Egyptians related to Pharaoh (1QapGen 20:2-7).

The aforementioned rabbinic commentary on Genesis states that Sarah was the most beautiful woman in Canaan (indeed, more beautiful than Eve), and that by contrast the Egyptians were swarthy and ugly and thus sure to be overcome in desire for her. The implication here is that Egyptian men were unaccustomed to attractive women (their own being ugly) and were sure to lose all self-control should they see Sarah. As a precaution Abraham "put her in a box and locked her in it" in an attempt to smuggle her across the border (*Gen. Rab.* 40.4-5 [on Gen 12:11-12]; cf. *Midr. Tanḥ. B, Lek-Leka* §4). Despite his best efforts, however, the box was opened, and "the land of Egypt was irradiated with her lustre." An all-out bidding war ensued as the princes of Egypt vied with one another to gain possession of Sarah.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* makes it quite clear that Pharaoh would have killed Abraham had he suspected that Sarah was his wife. Relating the story himself, Abraham says:

> He sought to kill me, but Sarai said to the king, "He is my brother," so that I might be benefited by her. And I, Abram, was spared because of her. I was not killed. But I wept bitterly — I, Abram, and Lot, my nephew, with me — on the night when Sarai was taken away from me by force. That night I prayed . . . "Mete out justice to him for me and show forth your great hand against him and against all his house. . . ." (1QapGen 20:9-15)

The patriarch knew, because of a dream in which he had been warned of Pharaoh's evil intentions:

> And I, Abram, had a dream in the night of my entering into the land of Egypt and I saw in my dream [that there wa]s a cedar, and a date-palm (which was) [very beautif]ul; and some men came intending to cut down and uproot the cedar, but leave the date-palm by itself. Now the date-palm remonstrated and said, "Do not cut down the cedar, for we are both from one family." So the cedar was spared with the help of the date-palm,

> and [it was] not [cut down]. (1QapGen 19:14-16; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 41.1 [on 12:17])

Such a dream would have been interpreted as a warning from God. In mortal danger, Abraham had no choice but to deceive Pharaoh.[4]

As in the interpretations surveyed above, here again we find an exegesis inspired by passages of Scripture. The comparison of Abraham and Sarah as a cedar and date-palm may very well have been drawn from Ps 92:12: "The righteous flourish like the palm tree, and grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (cf. *Frg. Tg.* Num 21:34: "Abraham and Sarah are like beautiful trees planted firmly next to springs of water").

In the interpretive renderings of the deception of Abimelech the honor of Abraham and Sarah is emphasized. Even the harsh words of the pagan monarch are softened; according to the *Fragmentary Targum*, Abimelech addressed Abraham as "Abraham the righteous one" (*Frg. Tg.* Gen 20:16).

Interpretative traditions such as these probably explain how it is that Paul can say in passing that Abraham "did not weaken in faith" when he considered God's promises (Rom 4:19). An unbiased reading of Genesis might suggest that his faith was indeed weak, at least on one or two occasions; but imaginative "exegetical" solutions placed the story of the patriarch into a new light. What strikes us as failures probably did not strike Paul and other Jews in the same way. This is largely because they would have read the stories of Genesis in the light of interpretive traditions of their day.

3. Conclusion

Abraham became an exemplar of faith for Jews and Christians alike. Yet as an exemplar, growing in popularity and esteem, it became increasingly necessary

4. Abraham does not figure prominently in the Dead Sea Scrolls. According to 4Q252, God "gave the land to Abraham, his beloved. Terah was one hundred and [for]ty years old when he left Ur of the Chaldees and came to Haran; and Ab[ram was se]venty years old. Abram lived five years in Haran, and afterwards [Abram] went [to] the land of Canaan" (4Q252 1 ii 8-10). At this point the text breaks up, making it impossible to discern what interpretive slant, if any, might have been given to the story. Perhaps the most interesting paraphrase of the story of Abraham in the Scrolls is found in 4Q225. Most of the extant material is concerned with "the covenant which] was made with Abraham" (1 4). According to this scroll God tested Abraham because of "Prince Mastemah" (2 i 9-11). The introduction of Mastemah, who is Satan (called "Belial" in 4Q225 2 ii 14), coheres with Jewish interpretive lore found elsewhere (cf. *Jub* 17:15-16; *b. Sanh.* 89b) and probably owes its origin to Job 1:6-12.

to explain why, on the one hand, God chose Abraham in the first place and why, on the other hand, this chosen individual failed at moments of difficulty. What is ironic is that the explanations for Abraham's election (i.e., he was righteous, he rejected idolatry, he worshipped the true God) only underscored his failings and made it more difficult to understand them. That is, if Abraham was indeed such a righteous man, a man of faith, a man who rejected idolatry in the face of family pressure and personal danger, how could he have been so readily intimidated on other occasions?

The evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which coheres with many other sources ancient and later, attests the early tendency to extol biblical figures. It is not surprising that Abraham's virtues would be exaggerated while his moments of weakness would therefore be glossed over. It is a tendency, however, that obfuscates biblical realism and drives a wedge between the people of biblical history and the people of faith who read this history and are informed by it. Abraham cuts an intriguing and compelling figure, not because he was flawless, but because, despite the failings of the patriarch, God was able nonetheless to accomplish his redemptive purposes.

Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed

JAMES E. BOWLEY

1. Introduction: The Incomparable Moses

To say that the figure of Moses towers over Judaism of the Second Temple period, including that of the Qumran covenanters, is merely a truism. The pervasive influence of this historic figure in the religion and literature of Israel is nearly everywhere apparent.

The particular traditions of Moses preserved in the texts discovered at Qumran merit attention for several reasons, including the fact that in the general time frame of the Qumran covenanters, the issues of Mosaic law — its authority and relevance in a Greco-Roman world — were under discussion within various Jewish communities of all social levels. How do texts of this community, which had gone to "the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord," compare to writings of other forms of Judaism at the time in regard to Moses and the Torah? How was Moses viewed and appreciated as a figure in Israel's history? Quantitative evidence from the sectarian scrolls would suggest that the role of Moses merits attention if only because Moses is the biblical figure most often referred to in all of the sectarian texts found at Qumran.[1]

1. It is difficult to obtain precise numerical figures while we still lack a comprehensive concordance of the sectarian literature. In addition to word lists at the back of individual DJD volumes, I have utilized the concordances of K. Kuhn (*Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960]); H. Lignée ("Concordance de '1QGenesis Apocryphon,'" *RevQ* 1/2 [1958] 163-86); K. Kuhn et al. ("Nachträge zur

2. The Torah of Moses

It should first be noted that the explicit significance of Moses is overwhelmingly associated with the Torah. Of the nearly 100 references to Moses by name in Qumran literature, all but a handful relate directly to the Torah, and more specifically to its legal material.[2] Of course references to Moses are not limited to those cases where his name actually appears, and one could argue that almost any reference to any event in the narrative of Exodus through Deuteronomy and to any law is an implicit reference to Moses. As a starting place, let us first consider those texts that speak directly of the Torah of Moses.

2.1. The Authority of Mosaic Law

No one would argue against the assertion that the law of Moses was formally authoritative in the ideology, theology, and practice of the covenanters. The various rule texts, and many other genres too, frequently refer to and quote passages from the Torah in support of religious practice, halakah, and ideological understanding. This, of course, is exactly what we would expect, if our expectations were formulated on the basis of later rabbinic texts. As L. Schiffman expresses it, "At the heart of any system of Jewish law is the source of authority that motivates it. All pre-modern systems of Judaism agreed that the written text of the Torah was that source."[3] In the library of Qumran, the preeminence of the Mosaic Torah is nowhere more apparent than in the *Damascus Document* (CD), first recovered from the Cairo genizah and also preserved in eight manuscripts from Cave 4 (4Q266-73). In fact, this text, with its long introductory admonition for obedience and its body of laws, might well be designated a Call to Torah.[4]

'Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten,'" *RevQ* 4/14 [1963] 163-234); H.-P. Richter ("Konkordanz zu XIQMelkîsédeq [ed. É. Puech]," *RevQ* 12/48 [1987] 515-18); and M. Abegg, B. Wacholder, and J. Bowley (*A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*, fascicle 4: *Concordance of Fascicles 1-3* [Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996]).

2. Some texts are so fragmentary that it is nearly impossible to discern the significance of Moses therein. For example, 4Q379 17 4; 4Q368 2 2.

3. L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) 246.

4. This characterization is strengthened if one accepts J. T. Milik's placement of the Cave 4 fragments vis-à-vis the genizah text. As described by J. Baumgarten ("The Laws of the Damascus Document," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, ed. M. Broshi [Jeru-

Its importance will be manifest in the several citations of its lines in the description that follows.

Amid the scores of texts that cite the Torah as an authority, there are clear expressions of Moses' preeminent role in the mind of the authors. For example, near the end of the rule section of the *Damascus Document* (15:6–16:7 with parallel and supplementary material in 4Q manuscripts)[5] are instructions regarding the formal procedure for entry into the congregation. Central to this procedure is the swearing of an oath that one is hereby "returning to the Torah of Moses with all his heart and all his soul."[6] Repeatedly in this passage it is stressed that joining the *Yaḥad* is contingent upon one's swearing "to return to the Torah of Moses" (לשוב לתורת מושה).[7]

This membership entrance oath spells out the authoritative value of the Torah. One vows "to return to the Law of Moses, for in it everything is precisely explained" (לשוב אל תורת משה כי בה הכל מדוקדק, CD 16:1-2). This statement indicates that formally the *Yaḥad* viewed the Torah of Moses as the ultimate source of all Qumranic halakah and indeed of all things necessary for proper living. Or, as G. Vermes puts it, "the law of Moses was the only rule of life. . . . The Torah of Moses was the charter of the community. In it . . . all things are strictly defined."[8]

With such a charter, it is no wonder that those who swear to abide by it are also named by it. Their obedience to the Torah gives them their identity. In the commentary on Psalm 37 (4Q171) the members of the covenant are designated by the terms, "the returnees to the Torah" (השבים לתורה, 2:2-3) and "the doers of Torah" (עושי התורה, 2:14, 22).[9] The author of 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), a collection of biblical phrases with commentary on the end of time, speaks of the house of Judah (the covenanters) in the last days that suffers persecution. They are the "remnant of the chosen," and "they perform the whole Torah [as God commanded to] Moses" (ועשו את כול התורה[אשר צוה ל]מושה,

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salem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992] 51-62, esp. 53), the scroll begins with "a teacher's first person call to the Sons of Light to separate from transgressors, מסיגי גבול, and to hearken to the voice of Moses, despite those who slander the laws of the covenant."

5. The 4Q manuscripts for this passage are fairly numerous, and some of them supply material from the many lacunae of CD 15:13-20. They include 4Q266 17 i 1-9; 4Q269 12 3; 4Q270 10 ii 6-21; 4Q271 2 i 10-12; 4Q271 2 ii 2-7.

6. CD 15:12 (= 4Q266 17 i 3).

7. See CD 15:9; 15:12 (= 4Q266 17 i 3); 16:2, 5 (= 4Q271 2 ii 3-4).

8. G. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting," *Leeds University Oriental Society Annual* 6 (1966-68) 85-97, esp. 87.

9. J. M. Allegro, ed., *Qumrân Cave 4.1 [4Q158-4Q186]* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 43-44.

2:2-3).[10] Here the community is characterized by its adherence to the Mosaic legislation.

As the *Damascus Document*'s discussion of the entrance oath (CD 15:6–16:7) concludes, one should note the reward for returning to the Torah of Moses. "On the day that one swears to return to the Torah of Moses (אל תורת משה), Mastema, the angel of obstruction, departs from one's side even as he departed from Abraham on his day of knowledge" (CD 16:5).[11] Conversely, the punishment for those who abandon the Mosaic legislation is spelled out in a fragment of CD not preserved in the genizah text, 4Q266 18 6. After quoting Lev 4:27, 26:31 and Joel 2:12-13 the writer states that one who despises the stipulations in the law of Moses (בתורת מושה) will not be counted among the sons of his (God's) truth.[12] Another rules text, the *Community Rule* (1QS 8:22), phrases the consequences differently: "He who intentionally or deviously transgresses even one rule of the Torah of Moses (יעבר דבר מתורת מושה) is to be expelled from the assembly of the *Yaḥad*." However, he who inadvertently violates the Torah undergoes a two-year period of remediation (1QS 8:24-25).

It is likely that the authority and sacred character of the Mosaic Torah is implicitly signified in the discussion of oaths (CD 15:1-6). Just as one is not to swear by אל (God) or אדוני (Lord, 15:1), so also one is prohibited from mentioning (reading יזכיר for יזכור) the Torah of Moses in an oath (ואת תורת משה אל יזכיר, CD 15:2). The reason, introduced by כי but lost in the lacuna of line 15:2, is probably that the tetragrammaton is spelled out there, and thus if one violates one's oath, one is violating the sacred name (ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם, CD 15:3).[13] While acknowledging the presence and significance of the divine name, its presence alone cannot account for the supreme sacredness accorded the תורת משה. One must also note that other texts (e.g., prophets) also contain the divine name, yet it is only the Torah of Moses that is singled out for special precautionary

10. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.1* (DJD 5) 54. M. Wise (M. O. Wise, M. G. Abegg, Jr., and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [New York: HarperCollins, 1996] 229) has changed Allegro's column 2 to column 4. F. García Martínez (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* [2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996] 136-37) has retained Allegro's numbering.

11. CD 16:5 = 4Q271 2 ii 6.

12. Cf. Matt 5:19, "whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven."

13. E. Cook (Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 65) translates: "He must not make mention of the Law of Moses, because the Name of God is written out fully in it, and if he swears by it, and then commits a sin, he will have defiled the Name."

measures. It seems likely, then, that the uniquely sacred character of the Mosaic text is also a factor.

Ultimately, of course, in the thought of the community the sacred character and authority of the Torah derived not from the person of Moses per se but from God, who had revealed the contents of the Torah to Moses. This is one of the underlying ideological foundations of the *Yaḥad* buried so deeply as to be both inexplicit and obvious in many Qumran texts. It was without doubt that the Torah of Moses was composed according to the instructions of God and therefore possessed divine authority. Thus CD 3:12 describes community members as "those who hold fast to the commands of God" (מצות אל). That the divine commands are the equivalent of Moses' commands is clear from a statement a few lines earlier (CD 3:7-8), where the Israelites of the generation of the wilderness wandering are described as those who did not listen to the "voice of their maker, the commands of their teacher (Moses)" (ולא שמעו לקול עשיהם מצות יוריהם). Similarly, CD 5:21 speaks of those of Israel who led others astray as those who "spoke rebellion against the commands of God by Moses."

A liturgical text refers to a different time period of Israel's history (the Exile) but exhibits the same equation of the divine voice and the Mosaic word and also utilizes terminology familiar from the membership oath. This prayer from the scroll entitled in antiquity "Words of the Heavenly Luminaries" (4Q504) 1 v 12-14 tells us: "In exile God had mercy and placed it on their hearts to return to you to obey your voice [according to] all that you have commanded through the hand of Moses your servant" (להשיב אל לבבם לשוב עודך ולשמוע . . . בקולכה [כ]כול אשר צויתה ביד מושה עבדכה).[14]

It should also be noted that in regard to divine origin, other non-Mosaic writings, particularly later prophetic ones, can formally be placed on the same footing as the Torah. The *Community Rule*'s introductory charge to the instructor is to exhort members to seek God with all their heart and soul and to do the good and right before God, "as he commanded through Moses and all his servants the prophets" (כאשר צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים, 1QS 1:2-3). From a negative standpoint, the author of CD (5:21) refers to those "who spoke rebellion against the commands of God by Moses and also by his anointed of holiness" (דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד משה וגם במשיחי[15] הקודשה). This equality of formal status is, of course, only logical

14. M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III [4Q482-4Q520]* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 145.

15. Reading במשיחי for במשיחו as suggested by E. Qimron ("The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered,* 9-49, esp. 21). However, for retaining במשיחו see also S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (repr.; New York: Ktav, 1970) 69.

given the assumption of the divine origin of the later prophetic speech. However, it is not necessarily an indication that prophetic literature assumed an equally central role in the community.

In our discussion below of various formulae introducing scriptural quotations, we will again encounter the understanding that Mosaic text = divine precept. It will suffice here to say that formulae similar to "as God said through Moses" are numerous.

2.2. The Authoritative Interpretation of Mosaic Law

Of course the authority of Moses' Torah was transmitted through the community's own particular interpretive tradition. To quote Vermes again,

> . . . it is clear in the mind of the sectaries that the Law was a sealed book whose true meaning escaped all but the initiates. . . . The Law was indeed the foundation of the community but its interpretation was the final rule. . . . In other words, the only valid observance of the Law was that which followed the official interpretation — *halakhah* — taught by the community.[16]

When the topic of membership oath is discussed in the *Community Rule* (1QS 5:7-10), the matter of the authorized interpretation is clarified and the content of the oath is slightly expanded, as compared to the CD 15:8-9 description (1QS 5:7-10):

> Everyone who enters the community enters into the covenant of God in the presence of all the volunteers. He shall undertake by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to the Torah of Moses with all which he (God?) commanded in accordance with all that has been revealed from it to the sons of Zadok, the priests who guard the covenant and seek (interpret) his will, and to the men of their covenant who devote themselves together to his truth and to wa[l]k in his will.

(כול הבא לעצת היחד יבוא בברית אל לעיני כול המתנדבים ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר לשוב אל תורת מושה ככול אשר צוה בכול לב ובכול נפש לכול הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית ודורשי רצונו ולרוב אנשי בריתם המתנדבים יחד לאמתו ולהת[ה]לך ברצונו)

16. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture," 87.

Here it is made clear that one's commitment to Mosaic Torah was necessarily directed through the community's interpretation of that law.[17]

Similarly, when the entrance oath is discussed in CD 15:12-19, one's swearing to return to the Torah of Moses necessitates learning the laws (המשפטים) "revealed from the Torah" (נגלה מן התורה) and taught by the community overseer (המבקר). Finally, the same principle is put in more imaginative terms in CD's allegory of the well (CD 6:2-11), based on Num 21:18. The determinative role for the community's understanding and practice allotted to *the* interpreter of the Torah could not be more explicitly stated. In the manuscripts of CD from Cave 4 at Qumran, the citation of Num 21:18 is introduced with the words "as Moses said" (אשר אמר מושה) though this formula is omitted in the CD version.[18] As quoted, the verse reads: "The well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with a rod (במחוקק)." According to the author's creative exegesis, the well is the Torah and the rod is the interpreter of the Torah (דורש תורה) who promulgates laws the community must live by (חקק המחוקק להתהלך במה) if it is to survive during the time of wickedness.

It is no wonder, then, that in several places authors of the sectarian literature imply that rejection of the teachings of the *Yaḥad* was tantamount to rejecting the Torah. The *Community Rule* (1QS 5:8-11) contrasts those who take the oath "to return to the Torah of Moses . . . according to all that has been revealed from it to the sons of Zadok" with the wicked men who "walk in the evil way." Regarding a more specific violation, we find in CD 5:6-12 the statement that those who do not follow the *Yaḥad*'s halakah regarding incestuous relations are considered to have rejected the teaching of Moses (Lev 18:13) and to have "reviled the statutes of God's covenant." Again in the same document, as preserved in Cave 4 fragments (4Q266 18 v 5-8 = 4Q270 11 i

17. Some phrases of this text are absent in some 4Q manuscripts. See B. Wacholder and M. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls,* fascicle 3 (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995) 41-71; and *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* vol. 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents,* ed. J. Charlesworth (Tübingen: Mohr; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994) 20-23. The precise meaning of the preposition ל in the phrase לכול הנגלה ממנה is difficult. Should it be construed as parallel to אל in לשוב אל תורת מושה (M. Wise in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 132) or to mean "in accordance with" (G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [New York: Penguin, 1987] 67; Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 1.23; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated,* 8)? In either case, the mediating and authoritative position of the sect's authorized interpreters is clear.

18. The fragments are 4Q266 3 ii 19 and 4Q267 2 9. The omission of the introductory quotation formula in the genizah text is, I think, insignificant. See below for further comment.

19-20), the author enjoins the expulsion of "anyone who rejects the [community's] regulations, which are in accordance with all the statutes found in the Torah of Moses" (וכול המואס במשפטים האלה על פי כול החוקים בתורת מושה). A final illustration is the entirety of the celebrated 4QMMT ("Matters regarding Works of the Law"), an explicit attempt to inform and convince readers outside the community of the correctness of the community's interpretation of nearly two dozen halakot. The "letter" concludes with several admonitions that assert that if one would understand the words of Moses (and of the prophets and David) and obey his commands and avoid his curses, then one must accept the interpretations of the community (section C 5-6, 10-16, 17-18, 21-22, 26-32).[19]

Such exclusive claims on the legitimacy of one interpretative tradition among others is not surprising.[20] The early Christian Stephen makes the argument for the Christian interpretation of Israelite history and Scriptures in Acts 7, where the rejection of Jesus is the equivalent of the rejection of Moses and the prophets (Acts 7:35-53). Of course, Christianity provided its own basic interpretive structure for its own reading of Scripture, as did other groups within Judaism. Perhaps the matter could not be put in a more picturesque manner than one finds in Matt 23:2: "The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat. . . ." So, too, the authorized interpreters of Qumran sat on Moses' seat and thus possessed the authority of that honored chair.

2.3. Mosaic Quotations and Quotation Formulae

As J. Fitzmyer states, "The fundamental attitude of both the Qumran sect and the early Christian Church toward the Old Testament is manifested in the introductory formulae used by their writers."[21] Such formulae would also seem indicative of their authors' attitudes toward Moses and other traditional authors. Sometimes in the library of Qumran, the Torah is referenced or quoted without mention of Moses and even without a simple introductory formula, such as "it is written."[22] Fitzmyer has dealt more broadly with all such formu-

19. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'aśe Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 58-63.

20. 4QMMT is appreciably more conciliatory in tone than, for example, CD and 1QS, but no less exclusive in its claims.

21. J. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960-61) 297-333, esp. 299.

22. For citations of Torah without mention of Moses, see CD 10:16 — Deut 5:12; 1QS 5:14-15 — Lev 22:16 and Exod 23:7.

lae whereas I will here consider only those texts that refer to Moses. Furthermore, in a few of the cases included here, the introductory formula is not followed by a direct citation of a biblical text. In those cases the formula is used for a more general purpose.

a. Moses as Subject of a Verb of Saying or Writing

These formulae display some variety. First, one can find, as mentioned above, the phrase אשר אמר מושה, "as Moses said," used to introduce Num 21:18 ("the well that the princes sank, that the nobles of the people dug"). This formula, though situated differently, is in two Cave 4 manuscripts (4Q266 3 ii 19 and 4Q267 2 9),[23] but is missing from the parallel passage of the Cairo genizah document (CD 6:3). The changes in position and omission probably only signal the ease with which stock and nearly superfluous phrases are moved or omitted (or added?) by later editors/copyists. In CD 8:14 a composite quotation of Deut 9:5 and 7:8 is introduced by ואשר אמר משה.[24] Finally, the slightly modified formula ומשה אמר is seen in CD 5:8, introducing Lev 18:13.

In one case, which is outside of CD, we find an active verb of writing used with Moses.[25] The "Words of the Heavenly Luminaries" (4Q504 1 iii 12-13) speaks of punishments "of which Moses and your servants the prophets wrote" (אשר כתב מושה ועבדיכה הנביאים). In this case, however, no quotation is given.

These examples, mostly taken from CD, demonstrate a peculiar preference of that author. In most cases where Moses is mentioned to introduce an actual quotation as opposed to a general reference, the author of CD uses the formula with the אמר as the verb of saying. Only in 4Q266 18 v 2, a CD fragment that lacks a parallel in the genizah text, do we see Moses featured in a

23. The formula is not in exactly the same syntactical position. 4Q267 2 8-9 has it at the expected position immediately before the quotation: וישמיעם ויחפרו את הבאר באר אשר אמר מושה. 4Q266 3 ii 19, however, reads: וישמיעם אשר אמר מוש[ה ויחפרו את הבאר באר].

24. The genizah B manuscript has this citation with the identical introductory formula at 19:26.

25. Fitzmyer ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 301) noted regarding introductory formula in general that in Qumran texts verbs referring to speech — for example, "as he/it says" (אמר), or "as he/it speaks" (דבר) — significantly outnumber verbs of writing — such as "he/it writes" or "is written" (כתוב, כתב). This is also the case in the rabbinic Mishnah, but it stands in contrast to Paul's usage in his New Testament letters, where some form of the verb "to write" predominates. See also B. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah," *JBL* 70 (1951) 297-307.

different formula for the introduction of a quotation. In conclusion, we must only point out the obvious, namely, that any of these formulae in which Moses is presented as saying or writing demonstrate the traditional assumption of Mosaic origin/authorship of the Torah as well as the authority granted to him.

b. Mosaic Legislation as Location

Outside of CD different formulae involving Moses predominate. Our second category is those formulae that locate a given citation *in* the work of Moses. For example, in a general reference to Mosaic legislation without a specific citation, 4Q266 18 v 6 (a CD fragment = 4Q270 11 i 20) refers to "all the statutes found in the Torah of Moses" (כול החוקים הנמצאים בתורת משה). Similar to this is a very fragmentary line of 4Q377, a text dubbed the *Apocryphon of Moses C* by modern editors, which refers to matters learned "in the statutes of Moses" (יבינו בחוקות מושה, 2 ii 2).

The more usual locative expression involving Moses is בספר משה, "in the scroll of Moses." Here the written product is more clearly in view. This form is used several times in the now famous halakic letter (4QMMT). In one instance (section C 11 = 4Q398 frg. 1 5) it is used to introduce direct quotations, one of which is lost in the lacuna, the other being Deut 31:29. Here the formula for the composite quotation is simply]קה ואף כתוב[ובספר כתוב. If the editors' alignment of these fragments is correct, then we have an interesting and unique occurrence of Moses' writing being designated simply "the scroll," which is essentially an ancient equivalent of the modern English "The Bible."[26] In another place in 4QMMT, "book of Moses" is a rubric for more general matters under discussion. In one case, the author states that the purpose of his composition is "so that you may understand the book of Moses . . ." (בנו שתבין[בספר מושה כת, section C 10 = 4Q397 4 10).[27]

The so-called *Florilegium* text (4Q174), a last days' commentary on select verses, also uses the formula "as written in the scroll of Moses" (כאשר כתוב בספר [מושה) when it introduces Exod 15:17-18.[28] So also the juridical

26. M. Abegg (Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 363) in his translation has supplied the understood but perhaps unnecessary "of Moses."

27. The editors (Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V* [DJD 10] 58-59) have pieced together this line with that of 4Q397 5 9 so that the text reads, "we have written to you that you might understand the scroll of Moses and the scrolls of the prophets and David." See also section C 17 (= 4Q397 frgs. 6 and 7).

28. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.1* (DJD 5) 53-57. See J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7/26 (1970) 163-276,

text of 2Q25 refers to a matter as "thus written in the scroll of Moses" (כן כתוב בספר מושה).[29] However, the fragment is too small for us to know if a quotation followed. In conclusion, all of these references to Mosaic legislation as location reflect the conception that Mosaic tradition and law are to be found in, and even identified with, a written corpus.

c. Moses as Instrument

The third and most common introductory quotation formula presents Moses as an instrument through whom God speaks. It may introduce direct quotations or general references, and it usually involves the use of the idiomatic preposition ביד, "through" or "by," followed by "Moses," though other prepositions are also employed. Thus in a CD text found only in the Cave 4 fragments (4Q266 18 v 1-2 = 4Q270 11 i 16-17) we observe Lev 4:27-28 introduced with the phrase "as he (God?)[30] said through Moses" (כאשר אמר ביד מושה). Slightly different forms with ביד מושה are also found. The *War Scroll* (1QM 10:6 quoting Num 10:9) has "as yo[u (God) spok]e through Moses saying" (ואשר ד[ברת]ה ביד מושה לאמור);[31] and the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH[a] 17:12 quoting Exod 34:7) reads "[as] you (God) [sp]oke through Moses" (כאשר ד[ברתה ביד מושה]).[32]

More forceful verbs of speaking are also common in this formula. The important *Community Rule* opens with a purpose statement for the entire document (1QS 1:2-3 = 4Q255 1 3). That purpose is to aid the one seeking God and seeking to do what is good and right before him "as he (God) commanded through Moses and all his servants the prophets" (כאשר צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים). In exegeting Isa 40:3 the same author (1QS 8:15 = 4Q259 1 iii 6) informs the reader that preparing the way and

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esp. 220-25. The reasonable reconstruction of מושה is based on the identical formula being used in the same text for Isaiah and Ezekiel quotations in 1:15-16.

29. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, eds., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran: Textes* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 90.

30. Fitzmyer ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 301) says of this type that "it is often not possible to determine who or what the subject is in these formulae." See below.

31. E. Sukenik, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes, 1955).

32. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University.* I have followed the updated arrangement of columns by É. Puech ("Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes [1QH]," *JJS* 39 [1988] 39-40). In Sukenik's edition this is col. 17. Puech is followed by Abegg (Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 84-114) and García Martínez (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated,* 317-61).

making a path for the Lord "means expounding the Torah which he (God) commanded by Moses" (היאה מדרש התורה אשר צוה ביד מושה). Conversely, the author of CD (5:21–6:1 = 4Q267 2 5-6 = 6Q15 3 3-4), in a text cited above in another connection, describes those who lead Israel astray as those who "spoke rebellion against the commands of God by Moses and also by his anointed of holiness" (דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד מושה וגם במשיחי הקודש).[33] These stronger expressions leave no doubt that it is God who speaks through Moses. This realization should be allowed to color our understanding of those cases cited above where אשר אמר could grammatically take God, Moses, or "it" as its subject. Regardless of the antecedent in any particular case, there is no doubt that the authors of these sectarian texts read the words of the Mosaic Torah as the words of God.[34]

Synonymous expressions using different prepositions are also found, such as: "as he (God) spoke to Moses" (כאשר דבר למושה), which introduces Deut 25:19 in the commentary on Genesis (4Q252 1 iv 2);[35] "and . . . spoke to Moses saying" (וידבר . . . אל מושה לאמור), which introduces Deut 5:28-29 in the so-called *Testimonia* (4Q175 1:1);[36] and a reference in the *Apocryphon of Moses C* (4Q377 2 ii 5) to the "comma[nds of the L]ORD by the mouth of Moses" (מצ[ות י]הוה בפי מושה).[37]

In conclusion, it can be said that all these formulae that present Moses as God's instrument obviously make explicit and thus reinforce the *Yaḥad*'s view of the divine authority and origin of the Torah of Moses.

3. Moses in Sacred History

3.1. Moses and the Past

Of course to later generations of Jews, the Torah was not Moses' only significant contribution to Israelite tradition. What other events and traditions in-

33. For additional examples of ביד מושה see 4Q382 104 ii 7; 4Q418 184 1; 4Q419 1 2; and 4Q423 11 1.

34. In Fitzmyer's words ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 302), "In both bodies of literature [Dead Sea Scrolls and New Testament] we have the same underlying idea of the Old Testament scriptures as the 'Word of God.'"

35. Exegetically this reference is interesting because it presents God's words to Moses concerning Amalek as actually referring to the "last days": כאשר דבר למושה באחרית הימים תמחה את זכר עמלק.

36. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.1* (DJD 5) 57.

37. For the text see Wacholder and Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3.165. See also the fragmentary 4Q393 2 3, which uses the preposition אל.

volving Moses are significant in the varied literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls? What we do not observe is a biographical interest in Moses, recounting his role in the history of Israel or his position among ancient lawgivers, such as we have among Greco-Jewish writers of the same period.[38] We also find no interest in Moses' childhood, with its intriguing narratives of survival via a miniature ark on the Nile and life in the Egyptian palace.[39] While some omissions might be explained by sectarian interests, their absence from the extant fragments might also be due only to an accident of history.

The Qumran sectarian literature reflects on a few particular episodes in the life of Moses. First, the author of the *Damascus Document,* encouraging his readers to remain faithful in the current wicked age by reminding them of God's punishment of evildoers in the past, writes this: "for in former times Moses and Aaron stood in the power of the Prince of Light and Belial cunningly raised up Yohanah and his brother at the time of the first deliverance[40] of Israel" (CD 5:17-19 = 4Q266 3 ii 13-5, 4Q267 2 1-3). Of course this depiction reflects an embellished understanding of the events narrated in Exod 7:8-13, 22; 8:7. In fact, this text is our oldest extant evidence of a tradition and literature regarding Yohanah (also known as Jannes) and his brother (Jambres in later texts) that flourished in Jewish, Christian, and even pagan environments.[41] However, in CD the context of this sentence and its elliptical brevity clearly indicate that the author is referencing a known tradition, not creating one. There is no explanation of the conflict in the court of Pharaoh that would remind the reader of the Exodus narrative. Nothing is said of the outcome of this encounter between Moses, Aaron, and Jannes with the two Egyptian brothers, and no other aspect of the episode is mentioned. Of course, the superhuman beings, the Prince of Light and Belial, are foreign to the Exodus narrative but are familiar from literature of the *Yaḥad's* time.

The clear purpose of the reference to Moses and Aaron is to serve as an example from Israel's past, one that illustrates the struggle between the cos-

38. See J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972).

39. See Acts 7:17-44 and Heb 11:23-28, and the numerous stories of rabbinic literature collected by L. Ginzburg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1967-69) 2.243-375.

40. For "deliverance" I have followed the CD text (בהושע) rather than the unclear readings of 4Q266 3 ii 15 and 4Q267 2 2, which seem to have בהרשע.

41. On later Jewish (including Targum, Midrash, Talmud), Christian (beginning with 2 Tim 3:8, the oldest Greek evidence), and pagan (including Pliny, Apuleius, Numenius) traditions see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. ed.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1987) 3.781-83; M. Stone, "Jannes and Jambres," *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* 9.1277; Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism,* 134-40.

mic forces of light and darkness — a struggle of mythic importance to the members of the Community who were also embattled within it.

Material from other parts of the Exodus narrative is utilized in other texts. First, the text officially dubbed "Discourse on the 4QExodus/Conquest Tradition" (4Q374)[42] alludes to Exod 7:1 and states that "he made him as God over the mighty ones and a (cause of) reeli[ng] to Pharaoh" (יתננו לאלוהים לפרעה [ה]על אדירים ומחיג).[43] This text speaks of the divinely inspired courage among the initially fearful Israelites at the commencement of the conquest of Palestine. Though the fragmentary nature of the text prevents a sure understanding, it appears that the allusion to Moses serves the purpose of providing a historical example with the object of encouragement.

The liturgical text entitled "Words of the Heavenly Luminaries" contains a prayer (4Q504 1 ii 7-10)[44] appealing to God for forgiveness on the basis of God's mercy in the days of Moses: "You, who forgave our ancestors when they embittered you. You were angry with them to destroy them; but you had pity on them in your love of them and for the sake of your covenant — for Moses atoned for their sin (כיא כפר מושה בעד חטאתם) — and also so that your great power and abundant compassion might be known to generations to come, forever." This prayer probably reflects generally on Moses as the intercessor for Israel, but it may well draw on wording from Moses' statement to the people in Exod 32:30 in the aftermath of the golden calf episode, where Moses speaks of his atoning work (ויאמר משה אל העם אתם חטאתם חטאה גדלה ועתה אעלה אל יהוה אולי אכפרה בעד חטאתכם). Thus in the liturgy of Qumran, the intercessory role of Moses is both remembered and becomes meaningful for contemporary worship.

There is one extended narrative about Moses in the so-called 4QReworked Pentateuch (4Q158; 4Q364-67),[45] a long but poorly preserved composition that interweaves material from Genesis-Deuteronomy with original material. This text situates a paraphrase of Aaron's call to meet Moses in the wilderness (Exod 4:27-28) next to a reworking of the narrative of Jacob's encounter with the shadowy figure of Gen 32:25-33.[46] The document contains a possible indication of a first-person reference to Moses that may suggest that

42. C. Newsom in *Qumran Cave 4.XII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 2,* ed. M. Broshi et al. (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 99-110.

43. 4Q374 2 ii 6. Newsom (DJD 19.103-4) notes that יתננו could be read יתנני, in which case the text could be presented as Moses' direct speech.

44. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III* (DJD 7) 139-40.

45. E. Tov and S. White in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1,* ed. J. VanderKam et al. (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 197-351.

46. 4Q158 1-2.

it is, at least in part, pseudepigraphic.[47] Additionally, there are references to Moses leading the people from the Sea of Reeds,[48] his prayer on behalf of the Israelites,[49] his theophany experience on Mt. Sinai,[50] his cultic activity at the covenant ceremony,[51] and his promulgation of many commands. In fact, the repetition of legal material from the Torah with brief explanations takes up much of the text and confirms the suitability of the manuscript title given by M. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., and E. Cook: "An Annotated Law of Moses."[52] In some cases the laws are without precedent in the Pentateuchal corpus but are known from the *Temple Scroll*.[53] To these issues of the Mosaic Torah we will return later.

3.2. Moses and the Future

Even eschatological thought at Qumran was influenced by the figure of Moses. The eschatological *War Scroll* contains the exhortation of the chief priest steeling the troops for the great battle of the final conflagration. His address (1QM 10:1-8), which is followed by a lengthy prayer (1QM 10:8–12:19), begins by invoking Moses as instructor and encourager for the troops. Moses' role is threefold. First, Moses is concerned with the halakic matter of purity in the camps (1QM 10:1). Next, he encourages the troops by reminding them that God, a "great and awesome God," is in their midst and "plunders all our enemies" (1QM 10:1-2). Finally, with a phrase reflecting the value of the figure of Moses, the text reads:

> he taught us from ancient times through all generations how the priest should stand and exhort the people saying, "Hear O Israel, you are approaching the battle against your enemies today. Do not be afraid nor faint-hearted. Do not trem[ble, no]r be terrified because of them, for your God goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, and to save you."

47. 4Q158 1-2 16: יהוה לי לאמור. Strugnell ("Notes en marge," 169) has noted the possibility that לי could be read לו, which would eliminate the first person reference.

48. 4Q365 6 ii 8 on Exod 15:22.

49. 4Q365 6 ii 10 on Exod 15:24-25.

50. 4Q364 5 1 on Exod 24:18.

51. 4Q158 4 4-8 on Exod 24:6.

52. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 325. The legal sections include 4Q158 7-8 1-15, 10-12 1-14; 4Q364-65 25 1-12.

53. E.g., 4Q364-65 25 4-9, regarding the wood offering and festival of new wine.

(וילמדנו מאז לדורותינו לאמור בקרבכם למלחמה ועמד הכוהן ודבר אל העם לאמור שמעה ישראל אתמה קרבים היום למלחמה על אויביכמה לא תירא ואל ירך לבבכמה ואל ת[חפזו וא]ל תערוצו מפניהם כיא אלוהיכם הולך עמכם להלחם לכם עם אויביכם להושיע אתכמה)

In this text, Moses is not a figure of the future. Rather, he is a teacher for all time (וילמדנו מאז לדורותינו), and his words of exhortation, quoted from antiquity (Deut 20:2-4), ring through the age of the covenanters, as this text is read in the sectarian gatherings. They will also ring in the future at the time of the final battle, as foreseen in this text.

A well-known passage from Deuteronomy indirectly relates Moses to the future when it says: "The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people" (Deut 18:15). In several sectarian compositions this "prophet like Moses" from Deuteronomy 18 and the related warnings against false prophets from Deuteronomy 13 play a significant role. While the texts do not indicate that Moses himself will come in the future, one could say that the future prophet is in the tradition of Moses, presumably having an equivalent authority. The *Temple Scroll* (54:8-18 and 60:21–61:1-5) cites the Deuteronomy passages, and 4Q175 *(Testimonia)*[54] quotes Deut 18:18-19. J. Strugnell has analyzed a group of fragmentary texts known as the *Apocryphon of Moses* (4Q375-76; 1Q22; 1Q29) and has argued that they were composed to provide guidance for testing prophetic claims in accordance with the promise of a prophet like Moses, the instructions regarding false prophecy in Deuteronomy 13 and 18.[55] Suffice it to say here that the figure of Moses, particularly in light of these Deuteronomic passages, is shaping the community's conception of the prophetic future.[56]

3.3. Epithets of the Historic Moses

In light of the various contributions of Moses appreciated by the authors of these texts, it is interesting to note the epithets applied to him that serve al-

54. First published by J. M. Allegro in "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956) 174-87, esp. 182-85. See Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.1* (DJD 5) 57-60 and the comments of Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 225-29.

55. J. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. L. H. Schiffman (JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990) 221-56; also see *Qumran Cave 4.XII* (DJD 19) 111-36.

56. On a future prophet in Qumranic thought see especially CD 9:11 and my "Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years,* ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 2.354-78.

most to summarize his image. Most of these do not occur in isolation but alongside the proper name.

In one text, as in other contemporary literature, Moses is spoken of as the "servant of God" (עבדך מושה),[57] and in another as "man of God" (מושה איש אלוהים).[58] A third text, among the so-called *Psalms of Joshua* (4Q378),[59] which describe Israel's mourning the death of Moses and Joshua's assumption of leadership, contains sections that read like eulogies to Moses. There Joshua is defined as a minister of Moses, God's servant.[60] Moses himself is praised as "upright and great" (ישר וגדול),[61] as one with the knowledge of the Most High and one who "did *ḥesed*" (acted with stalwart love and faithfulness) for Israel (עשה חסד לנו).[62] Moses was the transmitter of the covenant from Abraham to Joshua[63] and is singled out as he who spoke with God, face to face.[64] Of course, none of this encomium surprises us for it merely expands upon ideas found in the closing verses of Deuteronomy, using phraseology from Exodus to create a beautiful eulogy for the great teacher. CD 3:8, independently of the proper name, calls Moses Israel's teacher, reminding us of the frequently used rabbinic epithet, "Moses, our teacher."[65]

We do find at least one unique designation. In the *Apocryphon of Moses C* (4Q377 2 ii 5) the author speaks of the Torah as having been commanded by God at Sinai בפי משה משיחו, "by the mouth of Moses his messiah." The Torah, which legislates and describes the anointing of priests for service, never speaks of Moses being anointed. But surely in the mind of this scroll's author and likely for all the sectaries, no one was more worthy of the designation messiah, so that even without biblical precedent Moses is posthumously anointed and granted the title of one sanctified to God for special service. The designation messiah is important in other Dead Sea Scroll texts for other individuals, including eschatological figures, though not necessarily in the same manner attested later in Christianity or Judaism.[66] Here, in reference to Mo-

57. 4Q368 (Pentateuch Apocryphon) 2:2, ב]דך מ[ושה. See also Rev 15:3.

58. 4Q377 2 ii 10.

59. C. Newsom, "The 'Psalms of Joshua' from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 39 (1988) 56-73, and Wacholder and Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls,* 3.167-89.

60. 4Q378 22 i 2.

61. 4Q378 3 ii 5.

62. 4Q378 26 1-3.

63. 4Q378 22 i 3.

64. 4Q368 1 2 (Pentateuch Apocryphon).

65. E.g., *Exodus Rabbah* 2:2.

66. On the title in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in this period generally see J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday, 1995).

ses, we have not an eschatological use of the term but rather an indication of the special status and significance of Moses.

4. The Writings of Moses

4.1. Jubilees and the Qumranic Torah

Finally we come to the texts that are cited as compositions of Moses. On the one hand, it goes without saying that the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy are cited as Mosaic texts. On the other hand, I find no quotations from Genesis clearly associated with Moses. However, the first thirty-two chapters of *Jubilees,* which presents itself as a third-person account of a revelation of God through angels to Moses on Mt. Sinai (cf. preface and 1:1-7), includes material that parallels Genesis concerning the beginning of the world and the patriarchs.

Though citations and references to *Jubilees* in other Dead Sea Scrolls are lacking introductory formulae that indicate its Mosaic authorship (CD 10:7-10, 16:2-3; 4Q228 1 i), it seems certain that the revelatory claims of *Jubilees* and even its Mosaic origins were accepted by the sect. In the *Damascus Document* 16:2-3, *Jubilees* is referred to by its ancient self-title, *The Book of the Divisions of the Ages by Their Jubilees and Weeks.* J. VanderKam has noted the use made of *Jubilees* in other Qumran scrolls and the significance of the fact that there were fifteen or sixteen manuscripts of this work among the Qumran remains, a number only exceeded by four biblical books.[67] Furthermore, *Jubilees* seems to have inspired other works now dubbed by modern editors as *Pseudo-Jubilees* (4Q225-27).[68] There is no reason to think that the members of the *Yaḥad* were incredulous in the manner of moderns regarding these claims. Scholars today mostly agree that *Jubilees* was composed in the early to mid-second century BCE,[69] which renders *Jubilees* yet one more Jewish pseudepigraph of this period in which pseudepigraphy was a common and accepted literary form, however one explains it.[70] This writing claiming Mo-

67. J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 153-55.

68. VanderKam in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII* (DJD 13) 141-75.

69. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today,* 39; also see O. Wintermute in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. Charlesworth (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85) 2.43-44.

70. The best brief survey of the ancient practice remains that of B. Metzger ("Literary Forgeries and Canonical Pseudepigrapha," *JBL* 91 [1972] 3-24). See also L. Brocking-

saic authority was worthy of a hearing and received one at Qumran and in some churches that considered it canonical.[71]

In CD 16:1-5, which details the entrance requirements for *Yaḥad* membership, *Jubilees* and the Torah of Moses stand as the authoritative and foundational documents of the community. In the Torah everything regarding halakah is defined, and in the *The Book of the Divisions of the Ages* all things necessary regarding the ages are detailed. These two works can now be understood as the *Yaḥad's* fundamental "two-volume edition" of God's revelation to Moses.

In contrast to the explicit Mosaic claims of *Jubilees* stands the enigmatic claims of 11QT[a] (the *Temple Scroll* or *Qumranic Torah*), the longest scroll from Qumran and one that has everything to do with writings of Moses. This composition, as is well known, blends quotations from the Torah, especially Deuteronomy, with non-Pentateuchal comments and legislation. What stands out as so odd, however, is that the name of Israel's lawgiver is omitted and the text instead presents itself as direct speech from God. In its quotations from the Pentateuch, where the biblical version puts God in the third person and Moses (in much of Deuteronomy) or the narrator (in much of Exodus-Numbers) reports the words of God to Israel, the *Temple Scroll* alters the Pentateuchal text and eliminates Moses from the equation, making God speak in the first person. For example, Deut 17:16 presents Moses as saying the following: ". . . he (the king) . . . must not acquire many horses for himself or return the people to Egypt in order to obtain more horses, *since the Lord has said to you* 'You must never return that way again.'" In 11QT[a] 56:15-18 we read ". . . he (the king) must not multiply horses for himself, or cause the people to return to Egypt for war, in order to multiply horses for himself, *since I said to you,* 'You must never return that way again.'" What does this practice, which is repeated consistently throughout the work,[72] indicate about the author's view of Moses? Is this a new and even better Torah, revealed in a more direct manner to a later "Moses," or was it intended to be received as the work of the original Moses, thus making it a pseudepigraph?[73] The undeniable and astonishing phe-

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ton, "The Problem of Pseudonymity," *JTS* n.s. 4 (1953) 15-22; and the monograph of W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im Altertum* (München: Beck, 1971).

71. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today,* 154.

72. For lists and detailed analyses of the many pronominal shifts see Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) 139-60; and B. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran* (MHUC 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1983) 4-9.

73. The latter seems the more plausible to me for reasons that include the following: the existence of other Mosaic pseudepigrapha; the belief revealed in CD 5:2-5 that there

nomenon of this text is that, though it is a rewritten Pentateuchal code replete with quotations of and allusions to Exodus-Deuteronomy and infused with their spirit in every line, the Moses who dominates their pages never appears in 11QTorah. It is most unfortunate that the introduction of the work did not survive to perhaps instruct us how it was meant to be read. In any case, the shadow of Moses, quite ironically, looms large in this text that never even mentions him. Certainly the Torah of Moses is its inspiration and archetype (imitation being the highest complement). Moses himself may be its purported author (as the introduction may have explained), or the foil for a "new and improved" Moses — nevertheless, a Moses.

4.2. Supplements of Moses

Before considering even more Mosaic compositions, one might question the need for further Mosaic writings if, in the words of the *Damascus Document* (16:1-5), in the Torah of Moses "all things were well defined." L. Schiffman poses the problem this way: "All premodern systems of Judaism agreed that the written text of the Torah" was the authority. "But because the Torah text itself did not provide full guidance about how to live as a Jew but left much open to interpretation, supplementary laws had to be developed. Therein lay the problem. All systems of ancient Judaism had solved the problem in some way."[74]

One of the methods used by the sect of Qumran was its divinely inspired interpretation of biblical texts. This was discussed above under the heading "The Authoritative Interpretation of Mosaic Law."[75] Another method of extrapolating the Torah was supplementing the text in more direct ways. This point was raised in another connection above regarding 4Q364-67, the so-called "Reworked Pentateuch."[76] E. Cook summarizes the undetermined situation of this highly fragmentary text vis-à-vis the Mosaic Torah as follows:

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was a hidden ספר תורה, "book of Torah," from the age of Moses; the indication in 11QT 51:6-7 of Sinai as its dramatic setting; and the identification of the "you" in 11QT with Moses (see 31:9 and 44:5). Cf. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran,* 4-9, and the comments of Schiffman (*Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 253) on the intentions behind the *Temple Scroll.* On some distinctions of *Jubilees* and 11QTorah from other Mosaic pseudepigrapha, see Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," 249.

74. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 246.

75. See section 2.2 of this article.

76. Tov and White in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII* (DJD 13) 197-351.

> (These fragments) must originally have contained virtually the entire Pentateuch. . . . But they also contain many short — and a few long — additions inserted into the law. . . . In other cases verses are dropped, drastically shortened, or rearranged. Whether these devices represent something like annotations to the Pentateuch, or rather a "wild," hitherto unknown version of the Pentateuch, we do not know.[77]

On several occasions additions to the Torah are even introduced with formal introductory statements, which may or may not mention Moses. In these cases the formulae present quotations of Torah not to be found in any text or version of the Torah known today. Perhaps the best example comes from the so-called "Reworked Pentateuch" (4Q365 23 3-4) in its discussion of sacrifices and festival days stemming from Leviticus 23 and 24. The biblical introduction says, וידבר יהוה אל מושה לאמור, "The Lord spoke to Moses saying," but what follows are instructions for the wood offering and the feast of oil, both of which are unknown in biblical literature. Thus, this annotated Torah includes non-Pentateuchal legislation as explicitly divine and Mosaic.[78] The same phenomenon of otherwise unknown "quotations" is observed in another text with the simple introductory formula אשר אמר, "as it says," in CD 4:15, 6:13, 9:8-9, and 16:10.[79] In all these cases, which must be evaluated on an individual basis, one cannot be certain that the quoting author did not have such a text, though it did not survive to modern times. However, in light of the common practices of the time, including the composition of pseudepigrapha and the rewriting and supplementing of biblical narratives and laws, it is not difficult to imagine these "quotations" as originating with the authors of the texts in which we find them.

4.3. Compositions of Moses

Finally, we come to those texts that, in addition to *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll,* were likely presented in their entirety as Mosaic compositions. In not every case can this stance be verified with certainty, due primarily to their poor preservation. Continued scrutiny of these texts may reveal their literary authorial claims, but it must suffice here to name the various texts that may

77. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 325.

78. If 4Q364-65 is to be considered a Mosaic pseudepigraph, then it would belong to the next section of Mosaic compositions.

79. Most of these are noted by Fitzmyer ("The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations," 304) along with several New Testament examples. See Matt 2:23; 1 Cor 2:9; Eph 5:14; James 4:5; 2 Pet 2:22.

have been considered Mosaic compositions. J. Strugnell has pieced together several fragments that are best understood as a pseudepigraph of Moses, currently dubbed *Apocryphon of Moses* (1Q22, 29 and 4Q375-76).[80] It is thought that these were composed to provide guidance for testing prophetic claims in accordance with the promise of a prophet like Moses (Deut 18:15), and the instructions regarding false prophecy in Deuteronomy 13 and 18.[81] Other compositions have also been discerned by D. Dimant, which are now called *Pseudo-Moses* texts (4Q385a, 387a, 388a, 389, 390).[82] It is possible that the so-called "Reworked Pentateuch" (4Q364-67), discussed above under the previous heading, carried the weight of Mosaic authorship. So also the scrap 2Q21;[83] moreover 4Q374 and 4Q377 have been entitled *Apocrypha of Moses.* Characterizing these writings as a whole, Strugnell locates most of the Mosaic pseudepigrapha in the genre of

> "proclamation of law" by Moses (who speaks in the first person singular), to a "Thou" (which is Israel or sometimes Aaron, but not Moses), God being referred to in the third-person masculine singular. This genre, or stylistic mode, or pseudepigraphic setting, is of considerable antiquity in Israel during the first millennium.[84]

Such works not only are clearly in keeping with the literary conventions of their own day but are compositions in the tradition of Deuteronomy and the whole of the diachronically authored Pentateuch. More importantly for our purposes, these texts emphasize the position of Moses in the minds of their several authors. As M. Wise has written, "The sheer number of these writings testifies to the overwhelming importance of Moses as the legitimator of religious ideas in Second-Temple times."[85]

5. Conclusion

Our conclusion serves only to reinforce what was known when our study began, but now is illustrated by many details of several different facets of Mosaic

80. Strugnell in *Qumran Cave 4.XII* (DJD 19) 111-36.

81. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," 229.

82. D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness,* ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman (STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 48-49.

83. Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux in *Les 'Petites Grottes'* (DJD 3) 79-81.

84. Strugnell, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran," 249.

85. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 338.

traditions. Moses can be said to dominate many of the texts of this community and probably much of its outlook. The faithful of Qumran were those abiding in the shadow of Sinai, reading God's words in Moses' Torah according to the group's inspired interpretations, following the details of the Torah which reveal everything, studying Moses' *Book of the Divisions of the Ages*, and writing in the spirit of Torah — the Torah of Moses, God's servant and messiah.[86]

86. Without launching into a discussion of the Essene hypothesis, it should be noted that the Jewish historian Josephus says of the Essenes that the reverence they give to the name of their lawgiver (Moses) is second only to God, and if anyone should blaspheme him, he/she is put to death (*J.W.* 2 §145). See also Acts 6:11.

Korah and Qumran

JAMES M. SCOTT

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to understand the reference to "Korah" in 4Q423 frg. 5, one of three direct references to "Korah" in the Qumran scrolls. It is unnecessary to delve into the other two occurrences of "Korah" in the Scrolls: the *Pesher on Psalms* (4Q171 3-10 iv 23) mentions "the sons of Korah" in a citation of Ps 45:1 without further elaboration, while 4QWar Scroll[a] (4Q491 1-3 1) refers to "Korah and his company" in a highly fragmentary text that prevents any sustained examination. Only 4Q423 frg. 5, which is regarded as part of a larger work conventionally called "1Q/4QInstruction" (formerly, *Sapiential Work A*),[1] provides enough material with which to work.

The reference to Korah in our fragment recalls the wilderness period of Israel's history.[2] This is potentially significant for our understanding of

1. In the present study, the new title of the work will be used throughout, except where the old title occurs in a direct citation.

2. Hence, Elgvin's comment on *1Q/4QInstruction* is in need of revision: "Past history is not reviewed in any form" ("Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation According to *Sapiential Work* A," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks [STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996] 126-65, esp. 136).

I would like to thank several scholars who graciously helped me in the preparation of this paper: Martin Abegg provided me with technical assistance and answered my questions on reading the photographs of 4Q423; Emanuel Tov read and commented on an earlier version of the paper; and Torleif Elgvin generously shared with me his edition of 4Q423 frg. 5 in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2*, ed. T. Elgvin, D. Harrington, and J. Strugnell, in consultation with J. Fitzmyer (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

the Qumran community, which clearly used the wilderness period of Israel's history as a model.[3] As we can see from its sectarian writings, the Qumran community understood itself as the true Israel who had gathered in the desert (במדבר) in expectation of the dawning end of days.[4] They considered themselves the successors of the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness. The group was led by the "sons of Zadok the priests"[5] who claimed that their lineage went back even to Aaron, the brother of Moses and first Israelite priest who officiated in the tabernacle in the wilderness.[6] The Qumran community patterned itself on the military encampment and tribal organization of the wilderness period.[7] Hence, any Qumran text that alludes to the wilderness period of Israel's history deserves our special attention as evidence that is potentially crucial for understanding the basis for the Qumran community itself.

Our discussion proceeds from the general to the specific. First, we shall secure a brief overview of *1Q/4QInstruction* as it has emerged in recent discussion. Second, we shall survey 4Q423 as a whole. Finally, we shall turn to an

3. See S. Talmon's classic study, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in *Biblical Motifs*, ed. A. Altmann (Texts and Studies 3; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966) 31-63; also idem, "מדבר," *TWAT* 4 (1983) 660-95. See further G. 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*, ed. G. J. Brooke and F. García Martínez (STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 117-32; J. H. Charlesworth, "Morphological and Philological Observations: Preparing the Critical Text and Translation of the *Serek Ha-Yaḥad*," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. M. O. Wise et al. (ANYAS 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 271-81 (esp. "Appendix: The Rule of the Community, Isaiah 40:3, and Qumran Theology," 279-81).

4. Of course, even outside the Qumran community (1QS 8:12-14; 9:19-20), there is evidence of an eschatological expectation of redemption that includes a time of preparation in the wilderness, just as Israel of old had been in the wilderness before entering the land. Cf. Isa 40:3; Mark 1:2-3; Acts 21:38; Josephus, *J.W.* 2 §262; 7 §§437-38; *Ant.* 20 §§97-98, 168, 188.

5. Cf. 1QS 5:2, 9; 1QSa 1:2, 24; 2:3; 1QSb 3:22; 4QFlor [4Q174] 1-2 i 17; CD 3:21; 4:3; 4QpIsa^{c} [4Q163] 22 3; also perhaps 1QS 9:14.

6. Cf. J. Maier, "Von Eleazar bis Zadok: CD V, 2-5," *RevQ* 15/58 (1991) 231-41; D. R. Schwartz, "On Two Aspects of a Priestly View of Descent at Qumran," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. L. H. Schiffman (JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 2, JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990) 157-79.

7. Cf. L. H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 11n.9, 13-14, 29, 33-34, 54n.15, 70; J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 111.

examination of 4Q423 frg. 5 itself, giving special attention to the mention of Korah in line 1.

2. *1Q/4QInstruction*

1Q/4QInstruction is a writing preserved in six fragmentary copies (1Q26, 4Q415, 416, 417, 418, and 423).[8] The very fact that it was copied so many times, over the course of perhaps a half century or more,[9] speaks for its popularity in the community.[10] Furthermore, the fact that one of the manuscripts comes from Cave 1 may indicate that *1Q/4QInstruction* played a central role in the community, for some of the best preserved and most typical sectarian works were included in Cave 1 (e.g., the *Community Rule,* the *Thanksgiving Hymns [Hôdāyôt],* the *War Scroll,* and the biblical commentaries known as *pesharim*).[11]

Scholars are basically agreed on three things about the content of *1Q/4QInstruction.* First, that it is Wisdom instruction,[12] a composite writing, of-

8. Whether 4Q419 should be included in *1Q/4QInstruction* is uncertain. D. J. Harrington ("Wisdom at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam [CJA 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1994] 137-52, esp. 139) considers its inclusion unlikely, and T. Elgvin ("Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4," in *Methods of Investigation,* 179-94, esp. 180) regards it as a witness to another literary work. However, if the only reason to exclude 4Q419 from *1Q/4QInstruction* is that "frg. 1 is concerned with the status and duties of the Aaronic priests, a theme not found in the other texts" (Elgvin, "Admonition," 180), then this objection falls away when we consider the many other priestly elements in fragments attributed to *1Q/4QInstruction* (see below). T. Elgvin ("The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RevQ* 16/64 [1995] 559-80, esp. 562) also points out that the first part of 4Q420/421 (4QWays of Righteousness) deals with the organization of the *Yaḥad* and the last part deals with temple issues and priestly material. Since 4QWays of Righteousness is a Wisdom text, this "demonstrates that sapiential works, including works with wisdom sayings, could be written (or at least edited) within the *yaḥad,* and not only be imported to the Qumran library" (T. Elgvin, "Wisdom in the *Yaḥad: 4QWays of Righteousness,*" *RevQ* 17/2 [1996] 205-32, esp. 205).

9. Most of the copies of *1Q/4QInstruction* are written in early Herodian script (30-1 BCE), while one (4Q423) represents a late Herodian hand (1-50 CE). Cf. Elgvin, "Reconstruction," 559, 577; idem, "Early Essene Eschatology," 127.

10. Cf. Elgvin, "Admonition," 181; idem, "Early Essene Eschatology," 127; D. J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (LDSS; London/New York: Routledge, 1996) 40.

11. Cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 75; Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 127.

12. Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 140.

ten without any logical connection between consecutive passages.[13] The work is replete with admonitions, cast in the second person singular,[14] which are concerned with various aspects of daily life in a world created and ordered by God. These include such mundane matters as personal finance (e.g., loans and surety), agriculture (e.g., seasons, festivals, and the sanctification of the firstborn of the livestock), and relations with others (e.g., parents, spouse, children, superiors, and subordinates).[15] It is still unclear, however, whether these instructions are intended for people in a pre-Qumranic stage of the movement's existence, for Essenes who remain part of the larger Jewish society, or rather for initiates to the Qumran community who are in the process of becoming full members.[16]

Second, scholars are agreed that *1Q/4QInstruction* contains discourses on eschatology that abound with apocalyptic material, particularly about the coming judgment of the wicked.[17] As Torlief Elgvin remarks, *1Q/4QInstruction*'s understanding of the world and of humanity is influenced more by apocalypticism than by traditional Wisdom.[18] There are many parallels between the eschatology of this book and that of the sectarian writings of the Qumran community.[19]

Third, scholars are agreed that *1Q/4QInstruction* contains no evidence of the *Yaḥad*.[20] This is not to say that there is no terminological overlap be-

13. Elgvin, "Reconstruction," 562; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers*, ed. E. H. Lovering (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 440-63, esp. 442; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 40.

14. These admonitions are sometimes addressed to one called a "son" or "my son" (cf. 4Q417 2 i 18; 4Q418 69 15), as often in Wisdom literature (cf. Prov 5:20; 31:2). In one passage of *1Q/4QInstruction*, second person plurals address first the foolish of heart and then the elect of truth (4Q418 69 4-15).

15. Cf. Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 127-28.

16. Cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41, 47; Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 132-34, 141, 142, 155; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 444, 461-63.

17. Cf. Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 128, 139ff.; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 40-41.

18. Cf. Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 139. Similarly, Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41.

19. Cf. Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 140-41, 144, 145ff.

20. Elgvin ("Admonition," 185) writes: "If we go to Sap. Work A, the terminology is not so obviously sectarian. Neither is the structure of the יחד, which we know from 1QS, reflected in Sap. Work A." See further idem, "Admonition," 193 ("the absence of the structure of the יחד in Sap. Work A"); idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 443-44, 463; idem, "Early Essene Eschatology," 128-29, 131, 133, 164-65: "The lack of connections between *Sap. Work A* on the one hand, and *MMT* and priestly sectarian traditions on the

tween *1Q/4QInstruction* and the sectarian Qumran writings,[21] but rather that key elements of the community's self-understanding and structure are missing in *1Q/4QInstruction.*[22] Moreover, the admonitions are rooted in Jewish Wisdom tradition and are therefore not limited to the specific situation of a sectarian community at Qumran.[23]

Upon closer examination, however, *1Q/4QInstruction* does seem to

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other, does indicate that the sectarian movement represents a merger between two different streams: a lay community which fostered the apocalyptic and dualistic traditions of *1 Enoch* and *Sap. Work A,* and a priestly group which brought with it Zadokite temple traditions and the wish to structure hierarchically the new community"; idem, "Reconstruction," 561: "*Sap. Work A* does not display any characteristics of the organization and structure of the *yaḥad,* which probably was an elite group within the wider Essene movement with higher standards of ritual purity." See also Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 141: "The language and style are reminiscent of the hortatory material in the *Manual of Discipline* and the *Hôdayôt,* though there is nothing particularly sectarian (Qumranic)"; A. Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995) 340-54 (341 n. 2), writes: "An Essene origin of 4QSap A, as proposed by Elgvin . . . seems highly improbable, because no *yaḥad*-terminology is used and the central ideas of the *yaḥad* are missing in 4QSap A. On the other hand 4Q416 2 iii 15ff. presupposes a life which is coined by the family while the Essenes were dominated by community structures."

21. Indeed, both Elgvin and Harrington find a significant overlap in vocabulary. See Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 45, 76; and idem, "Wisdom at Qumran," 144 (cf. also 141): "Much of the language in the more theological parts of the work can be found in the so-called sectarian writings from Qumran (*Manual of Discipline, Damascus Document, Hôdayôt,* etc.)." For example, he notes that 4Q418 55 10 has the same terminology as $1QH^a$ 10:27-28 ("Wisdom at Qumran," 142-43). See also Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 129-33, 137, 141, 149-53, 160-64; idem, "Admonition," 185-86, 191-92, 193; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 442, 444-45, 446-48, 452, 462 n. 99: "Sap. Work A is closer to CD when it says (4Q423 5 4) that the proselytes will be judged by God along with the native born Israelites"; idem, "Reconstruction," 561, 562: "The many phraseological similarities with sectarian books indicate a closeness in milieu to the Qumran covenanters. The mention of the Book of Hagi (*4Q417* 2 i 17-19, cf. *CD* 10:6, 13:2, *1QSa* 1:6-8) is a strong indication of some kind of sectarian provenance for *Sap. Work A,* possibly a connection to the pre-sectarian community reflected in the early strata of *CD.*"

22. Hence, Harrington ("Wisdom at Qumran," 144) states: "But the work presupposes a 'non-sectarian' or at least non-Qumran and non-monastic setting in life. The one being instructed emerges in business, has dealings with all kinds of people, and may marry a wife and have children." Elgvin suggests that *1Q/4QInstruction* might have been a kind of "catechism" ("Reconstruction," 560), possibly for "camps" of the Essene movement outside Qumran where families were allowed ("Admonition," 193, 194). Harrington also considers this a possibility ("Wisdom at Qumran," 151; *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 41, 45-46).

23. Cf. Harrington, "Wisdom at Qumran," 144, 146-51; Elgvin, "Admonition," 193; idem, "Reconstruction," 560; idem, "Early Essene Eschatology," 131: "The remnant community is not connected . . . to a specific historical situation as in *CD.*"

contain at least some evidence of the *Yaḥad*,[24] since one of the key elements of the community's self-understanding and structure, the Aaronic priesthood, is found in 4Q418 frg. 81.[25] For example, the reader is said to have been given the Aaronic portion of Num 18:20 (81 3; cf. 1Q26 1 7; Ezek 44:28; Sir 45:22) and to have been placed "among the most holy ones" (4Q418 81 3-4).[26] Hence, 4Q418 frg. 81 would apply very well to a community that refers to itself as "the sons of Zadok" (CD 4:3-4) and as a "house of holiness for Israel and a house of supreme holiness for Aaron" (1QS 5:6; 8:5-6, 8-9; 9:6).[27]

24. See now Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 128: "The work does not reflect a hierarchically structured community, as the *yaḥad* does. Only two small passages deal with purity matters or priestly traditions"; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 446.

25. Also, 4Q418 81 5 contains the levitical prerogative of being a "firstborn" (Num 3:13; 8:16-18; cf. also 4Q423 3 3-5). Note, however, that 4Q418 69 15 refers to the reader as a "firstborn son" (בן בכור).

26. The priestly term "most holy ones" (קדוש קודשים) is used frequently of the assembly in other writings of the Qumran community; cf. 1QS 8:8; 9:6; 10:4; 1QSb 4:28; 4QMMT B 75-82. It is possible that the same expression can be restored in 4Q423 5 7. Alternatively, the term "most holy ones" in 4Q418 81 3-4 could refer to angels (so Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 461).

27. See also 4Q418 81 9: "And he has opened knowledge for you and made you ruler over his storehouse (אוצרו) and given the authority to determine a reliable measure (איפה) [to you . . .]." On the priestly and levitical administration of "the treasury of the house of the Lord," see Neh 13:13; 1 Chron 9:26; 26:20, 22, 24; 27:25; 29:8; 2 Chron 8:15. On the reliable measure, see Lev 19:36; Deut 25:14, 15; Ezek 45:10, 11; Amos 8:5. Furthermore, if 4Q419 1 is to be included in *1Q/4QInstruction*, then we would have an even more extensive passage on the priesthood. Elgvin's argument against including 4Q419 1 in *1Q/4QInstruction* is that the former is concerned with the status and duties of the Aaronic priests. 1Q26 1 1-6 (1:5-6 = 4Q423 4 1-2) provides another, albeit more complicated, example: "(1) [. . .] in the mystery of what is to co[me . . .] (2) [. . .] (3) [. . .] your harvest [. . .] (4) [. . .] just as he has opened your ear in the mystery of what is to com[e . . .] (5) [. . .] to you. Take heed to yourself. Why do you honor yourself more than me? And[. . .] (6) And you are cursed in all your harvest and dishonored in all your works." This text, which incidentally has many similarities with our fragment (e.g., the admonition to "Take heed to yourself" [cf. 4Q423 5 1a] and the mention of "the mystery of what is to come" [cf. 4Q423 5 2]), seems to allude to 1 Sam 2:29, where God remonstrates to Eli: "Why . . . honor your sons more than me?" If 1 Sam 2:27-36 justifies the exclusion of the Elides (Abiathar and his descendants) from the priesthood in favor of Zadok and his descendants (1 Kings 2:27), then it is interesting to note that the *Damascus Document* is keenly interested in the replacement of the Elides (cf. CD 3:18-19; 4:10-11). Cf. D. R. Schwartz, "'To Join Oneself to the House of Judah' (Damascus Document IV, 11)," *RevQ* 10/39 (1981) 435-46.

3. 4Q423

Having secured a brief overview of *1Q/4QInstruction,* we now turn to 4Q423 in particular. In his recent reconstruction of *1Q/4QInstruction,* Torlief Elgvin notes that some of the fragments of 4Q423 relate to the agricultural sphere and contain instruction for the farmer.[28] Since God is the giver of the crops, the farmer is not to become proud of himself when the fields produce an abundant harvest; he is to remember the set times for harvesting, to redeem the firstborn before God, etc. Elgvin surmises that these particular fragments of 4Q423 possibly derive from a lengthy section of *1Q/4QInstruction* on the life of the farmer.[29]

Yet if it is true that 4Q423 is part of a farming manual, why does our fragment refer to the "judgment of Korah"? The inclusion of Korah would seem to be anomalous in such a context. The other Wisdom text that refers to the judgment of Korah (Sir 45:18-19)[30] is not comparable, for there the judgment of Korah appears quite naturally within a rhapsodic hymn honoring Aaron (45:5-26), which is part of a larger unit on the heroes of Israel's history (Sirach 44-50). Another possibility is that 4Q423 has more to do with the *Yaḥad* than has previously been suspected. Moreover, the reference to the "judgment of Korah" can be seen in light of the aforementioned allusions to the Aaronic priesthood in 4Q418 frg. 81, for the story of Korah's rebellion in Numbers 16–17 concerns the status and authority of the Aaronic high priesthood. Thus, a whole new set of associations begins to coalesce, and even more so when the evidence of 4Q423 frg. 5 is included. To this we now turn.

28. Elgvin, "Reconstruction," 574-75. Textually speaking, 4Q423 frgs. 3 and 4 overlap with the text of 1Q26 frgs. 2 and 1; frg. 8 overlaps with the text of 4Q418 frg. 81; and frg. 9 overlaps with the text of 4Q418 frg. 188.

29. Elgvin, "Reconstruction," 574-75; cf. also Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 58: "Several sections of the work use agricultural imagery (for example 4Q418 103; 4Q423 2, 5). Is this advice to farmers? Or is the talk about agriculture metaphorical, that is a way of teaching about the moral life and final judgment (or 'harvest')? There are references to plowmen, baskets, barns, and seasons (4Q418 103 2-5). There are also references to fruits of produce, trees pleasant and delightful to contemplate, and a garden (4Q423 2 1-3) that evoke Genesis 2–3. There are also instructions about observing 'the festivals of the summer' and gathering in your harvest in its time and about contemplating 'all your harvest' (4Q423 5 6-7). But the metaphorical application (if there is one) remains elusive. Perhaps a large section assumed that the one being instructed would be a farmer of some sort (but compare Sir 38:25-26)."

30. The text reads as follows: "Outsiders conspired against him, and envied him in the wilderness, Dathan and Abiram and their followers and the company of Korah, in wrath and anger. The Lord saw it and was not pleased, and in the heat of his anger they were destroyed, he performed wonders against them to consume them in flaming fire."

4. 4Q423 frg. 5

Our fragment consists of three parts.[31] Lines 1-4a refer to the "judgment of Korah" and the expected judgment on leaders. Lines 4b-6 go on to address the reader as a "man of the soil," exhorting him to pay attention to the times and seasons of harvest. Finally, lines 7-9 speak of a "man of understanding" and admonish the reader to separate from the foolish man.[32] The following discussion will focus primarily on lines 1-4a.

In its present state of preservation, the first part of our fragment begins abruptly in line 1 with the words משפט קורח ("judgment of Korah") as the apparent object (את) of a verb that was present in the part of the manuscript that has broken away.[33] In biblical Hebrew, the only occurrence of משפט in construct with a proper name is found in Jer 48:47 ("Thus far is the judgment on Moab"), which signals the conclusion of the oracles against Moab (Jer 48:1-47).[34] Hence, it seems significant that in the Qumran scrolls, the use of משפט in construct with a proper name is found in 1QM 17:2, this time with reference to "the judgment [of Nadab and Abi]hu (משפט [נדב ואבי]הוא), the sons of Aaron, by whose judgment God showed himself holy before [all the people" (cf. Lev 10:1-3). The story of Nadab and Abihu in Lev 10:1-3 bears striking similarities to the story of Korah's rebellion in Numbers 16–17, for in both cases those who presumptuously offer unholy fire are consumed by a fire that comes out from the Lord (cf. Num 16:35). Hence, the expression משפט קורח in our fragment has a close parallel in another sectarian Qumran scroll.

In Numbers 16–17, Korah — son of Izhar, son of Kohath, son of Levi — is the central figure in the revolt against the authority and status of Moses and Aaron the high priest at the time of the wilderness wanderings. According to the story in its present form, Dathan and Abiram of the tribe of Reuben, to-

31. We will not deal here with line 1a, which is manifestly written in another hand (or even two) and whose latter half is practically illegible. The translation suggested here is merely a guess. For an example of supralinear writing (this time a correction of an omission by parablepsis), see 4QQoh^{a} 2 frg. 1 ii; cf. E. Ulrich, "Ezra and Qoheleth Manuscripts from Qumran (4QEzra, 4QQoh^{a,b})," in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp*, ed. E. Ulrich et al. (JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992) 139-57 (145, 150, esp. pl. 2).

32. Line 10 seems to refer to judgment again. In the Hebrew Bible, the terms אף and חמה frequently occur together (e.g., Deut 29:22, 27; Jer 21:5; 32:37; 33:5; Ezek 5:15; 22:20; Mic 5:14).

33. The other possibility is that את denotes "with."

34. In rabbinic literature, the expression משפט קורח does not occur, although Korah's rebellion receives extensive attention there.

gether with 250 chieftains of the community, also took part in the revolt. Without recounting the whole story and all the issues involved, we may simply note that the rebels incurred a most severe divine judgment. At Moses' behest, the earth opened its mouth and swallowed Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, together with their households, so that they descended alive to Sheol; fire consumed the remaining 250 rebels. As Num 18:3 makes clear, any challenge on the part of the Levites or the people at large to the priestly monopoly of Aaron and his sons would be judged as severely in the future as it had been in the past. It is no wonder, then, that in Jewish and Christian tradition, the story becomes, among other things, a paradigm of the dire consequences awaiting those involved in schisms seeking to usurp the authority of God's chosen leader.[35]

Is there any evidence that the story of Korah's rebellion is reflected in the Qumran scrolls as well? In answering this question, several points need to be considered. First of all, we must make a general observation: the book of Numbers is represented not only in the Hebrew Scriptures preserved at

35. According to Philo, Korah's rebellion was bent on usurpation, to bring low the superior and to exalt the inferior (*Mos.* 2 §277; *Praem.* §75; cf. *Fug.* §§145-46; *Mos.* 2 §§174-79; Ps-Philo, *LAB* 57:1-2). As a priest, Josephus is particularly sensitive to the attempt of the Levites (Num 16:10) to usurp the status of the priests, probably because it had direct relevance to the contemporary situation in which Josephus found himself. According to Josephus, Korah was jealous of Moses, thinking he had a greater right than Moses to enjoy exceedingly high honor (*Ant.* 4 §14; cf. Ps 106:16-18; Sir 45:18; *1 Clem* 4:12; *b. Sanh.* 110a). Moses admits to the rebels that they are not only equal to himself and Aaron with respect to ancestry, but that the rebels are even worthier of receiving honor. Nevertheless, without regard to their individual merits, God appointed Moses and Aaron to exalted positions (Josephus, *Ant.* 4 §§25-28; cf. Philo, *Praem.* §77). In rabbinic literature, Korah is paradigmatic for the usurper and the prototype of those who deny the divine origin of the Torah (cf. *m. Aboth* 5:17; *m. Sanh.* 10:3; *b. Sanh.* 110a; *Num. Rab.* 18:20; *Tg. Onq.* 16:1, 10 ["Accordingly, He has advanced you and all your fellow Levites along with you, and you <still> want the high priesthood too"]; Tanḥuma B, *Korah* §11 ["Yet you — all two hundred and fifty of you — are seeking the one high priesthood"]; *Num. Rab.* 18:8). In Christian tradition, Korah is seen as a stern warning of what will happen to rebels within the community (cf. Jude 11; *1 Clem* 4:12; 51:3-4). On Jewish interpretation of Korah's rebellion, see further J. A. Draper, "'Korah' and the Second Temple," in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel,* ed. W. Horbury (JSNTSup 48; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) 150-74; J. Duncan M. Derrett, "The Case of Korah Versus Moses Reviewed," *JSJ* 24 (1993) 59-78; F. J. Murphy, "Korah's Rebellion in Pseudo-Philo 16," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. H. W. Attridge et al. (College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990) 111-20; J. Magonet, "The Korah Rebellion," *JSOT* 24 (1982) 3-25, esp. 3-9; L. H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Korah," *Old Testament Essays* 6 (1993) 399-426.

Qumran,[36] but also in the sectarian Qumran literature[37] and in *1Q/4QInstruction.*[38] Hence, the reference to the judgment of Korah in our fragment is yet more evidence of the influence of the book of Numbers in the Qumran scrolls.

Second, elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls, we find both allusions to and explicit mentions of Korah's rebellion.[39] For example, Num 16:2 appears to

36. For the extant portion of the Qumran text of Numbers 16–17 (4QNum^b 6:6-10, preserving Num 15:41–16:11; 16:14-16, and 4QNum^b 8:11, preserving Num 17:12-17), see *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers,* ed. E. Ulrich et al. (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 220-22; the same volume also contains the rest of the book of Numbers found at Qumran. See also E. Ulrich, "An Index of the Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert (Genesis-Kings)," *DSD* 1 (1994) 113-29, esp. 121-23. Although we must acknowledge that Numbers is the least represented book of the Torah, its influence is nevertheless significant for the Qumran community.

37. On the significance of the book of Numbers for the covenant community at Qumran, see also D. M. Pike, "The Book of Numbers at Qumran: Texts and Context," in *Current Research and Technological Developments,* 166-91, which does not mention 4Q423 frg. 5. In addition, we may note, for example, that the *Damascus Document* is heavily influenced by the book of Numbers; cf. CD 1:2 (Num 14:23); 2:11 (Num 16:2); 2:16; 3:10 (Num 15:39); 6:3-4 (Num 21:18); 6:20 (Num 15:19; 18:19); 7:8-9 (Num 30:17); 7:19-21 (Num 24:17); 16:10 (Num 30:9); 19:5 (Num 30:17); 19:35 (Num 20:26). See also 1QSb 3:1 (Num 6:26); 5:27 (Num 24:17); 1QM 10:6-8 (Num 10:9); 11:6-7 (Num 24:17-19); 4Q175 frg. 1:9-13 (Num 24:15-17); 4QMMT B 13-16 (Numbers 19); B 61-62 (Num 15:30-39 [?]); B 69-70 (Num 15:27-31); B 72-74 (Num 19:16-18). Yigael Yadin suggests (*The Temple Scroll* [3 vols.; Jerusalem: IES/The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem/The Shrine of the Book, 1977-83] 2.259) that 11QT^a 57:20-21 ("and he [i.e., the king] shall not take a bribe to pervert righteous judgment, and he shall not covet field and vineyard, and any wealth and house, and any thing of delight in Israel, nor rob") was influenced by Num 16:15, following a text similar to the LXX, which reflects לא חמוד אחד מהם נשאתי ("I have not taken a single thing of delight from them") instead of לא חמור אחד מהם נשאתי ("I have not taken a single donkey from them") in the MT. On 11QT^a 22:2, see D. D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 97.

38. We have already mentioned the use of Num 18:20 in 4Q418 81 3. Harrington ("Wisdom at Qumran," 148-49; *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 48) points to 4Q416 2 iv 8-9, on the husband's authority over the vows and votive offerings made by the wife (as in Num 30:6-15): "Turn her spirit to good pleasure; and every oath binding on her, to vow a vow, annul it according to a mere utterance of your mouth and at your good pleasure restrain her from performing her vow." Numbers 30 is represented among the sectarian documents; cf. CD 7:8-9 (Num 30:17); 16:10 (Num 30:9); 19:5 (Num 30:17). See further L. H. Schiffman, "The Law of Vows and Oaths (*Num.* 30, 3-16) in the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Temple Scroll,*" *RevQ* 15/58 (1991) 198-214.

39. The "Admonition" of the *Damascus Document* (CD 1-8, 19-20) contains several allusions to Numbers 14–24 and the Israelite rebellions in the wilderness; cf. J. G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (BZAW 228; Berlin/New

be the source for a favorite biblical sobriquet of the Qumran community, that is, "called by (the) name" (קריאי השם) and "men of (the) name" (אנשי השם).[40] Another important example is 4Q491 (4QM[a] = *4QWar Scroll*[a]) frg.

York: de Gruyter, 1995) 57-59, 72-79, 122-26. Moreover, in 1QS 1:21-24, the priests are to recount God's gracious acts manifested in mighty deeds, heralding his loving mercies on Israel's behalf. The Levites in turn are to recount the iniquities of the children of Israel and all their guilty transgressions and their sins committed during the dominion of Belial. Surely, Korah's rebellion would have been among the wicked acts recounted by the Levites in particular. See further R. A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from* Aramaic Levi *to* Testament of Levi (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996). Psalms 105 and 106 play a prominent role in Qumran writings (cf. G. J. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *RevQ* 14/54 [1989] 267-92); therefore, the allusion to Korah's rebellion in Ps 106:16-18 might have been well known. We may compare, for example, Ps 106:18 ("fire also broke out in their company, the flame burned up the wicked") with CD 2:1 ("the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation, so as to make desolate all their multitude"), which is rephrased slightly in CD 3:9 (Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," 286-87). On Psalm 106 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see further P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 128, 233, 235-36.

40. The allusion to Num 16:2 is widely acknowledged. Cf. F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) 101 n. 2: "A favorite biblical sobriquet of the sect taken from Num. 16.2; 1QSa II, 2, 11, 13. Probably the expression 'the Name' is not to be understood in its sense in Num. 16.2, but as a reference to the divine name (cf. 1QS 6.27)." Draper ("'Korah' and the Second Temple," 171) writes: "A puzzling epithet in the Scrolls and the Damascus Document is אנשי השם קריאי מועד (1QSa 2 1f., 11, 12) or עדת אנשי השם (1QSa 2 8). CD 4 3f. interprets Ezek 44.15 to refer to the community in the words: ['"and the sons of Zadok": they are the chosen of Israel, the ones called by name (קריאי השם), who are to appear in the last days']. Rabin (1954: 14) sees this passage as a telescoped quotation from Num 16.2, but fails to see the incongruity of a Jewish community describing itself with a text relating to the congregation of Korah! The language is indeed distinctive and unique to this episode. It could be that a title which was used *against* the community by its opponents has come, in time, to be reinterpreted within the community and accepted with pride. It seems that this was how the Jesus movement came to be called 'Christians.'" Draper also comments (p. 167): "This historical disaster [i.e., the earthquake and fire that destroyed Qumran in 31 BCE], coupled with the priestly nature of the community and their foundation by a contender for the high priesthood . . . , the Teacher of Righteousness, would make 'company of Korah' a natural polemical title for the enemies of the community." Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible,* 80-81 (on 11QT[a] 21:6) writes: "'The people' in the Scroll are the third category of '[the sons of Israe]l' of line 5, following the chiefs of 'battalions' (line 5) who are 'first,' and what must be אנשי ה]שם here in line 6. The phrase 'men of renown' appears only in Num 16:2, of the נשיאי עדה who joined Korah in rebellion. A variation occurs in 1 Chr 5:24 and 12:31, אנשי שמות. The closest parallel, however, is in the *War Scroll* once again. 1QM 3:3-4 and 2:6 both describe the אנשי השם (as in the Scroll) as ראשי אבות העדה. This combination of terms (cf. line 5) points back to Numbers as the common source of vocabulary in these texts (cf. also col 42:13-14, providing booths for the Feast of Booths . . .). In the *War Scroll*

1-3 1, a *War Scroll*-like text that refers to "Korah and his congregation" (קורח ועדתו)[41] in a passage that, although highly fragmentary, is clearly talking about the eschatological "judgment" (משפט) and the annihilation that God and his hosts will execute in the final battle.[42]

Third, Korah's rebellion against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness has an at least superficial analogy to an event in the early history of the desert community of Qumran.[43] The Teacher of Righteousness and his followers claimed that God had revealed specifically to the Teacher all the mysteries of his servants the Prophets (1QpHab 2:5-9; 7:4-5). Furthermore, if the Teacher is the one who wrote or spoke through some of the poems of the *Hôdāyôt,* then he was convinced of having a unique place in God's plan for the latter days. Apparently, however, someone within the group refused to accept the Teacher's grandiose claims and his interpretation of the Torah and the Prophets, so he opposed the Teacher in the midst of the whole community and withdrew from the fellowship, taking a number of others with him.[44] As a result, this person was branded "the man of lies"[45] and "the man of mockery"[46] in the *Damascus Document* and in some of the *pesharim.* His followers

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the men of renown are summoned to 'the assembly' (המועד, 2:7) to choose warriors for the thirty-three year battle. In 1QSa 2:11ff., by contrast, the men of renown are summoned to 'the assembly,' in order to eat a meal of new wine and first-fruits of bread. These men (who include chiefs of tribes, chiefs of thousands, and Levites, cf. 1:29–2:2) are the representatives of the whole congregation at table." See also Schiffman, *Eschatological Community,* 33 n. 24, 53 n. 3.

41. Cf. Num 16:5, 6, 16.

42. In his DJD edition of 4Q423, Elgvin points to 4Q458 *(4QNarrative)* 2 ii 4, which, he suggests, uses the judgment on Korah as a type for the eschatological judgment on the enemies of Israel: ותבלע את כל הערלים "and it [i.e., the earth] devoured all the uncircumcised ones" (DJD 34, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). The focus of Pseudo-Philo's eschatological interest is the future state, that is, what happens after death and what happens during and after God's eschatological visitation: The just will dwell in happiness with God (19:12-13) and with their fathers (23:13), but the wicked like Korah and his company will be annihilated (16:3). We may note here the rabbinic debate on whether Korah has a share in the world to come (cf. *m. Sanh.* 10:3; *b. Sanh.* 109b; Ps-Philo, *LAB* 16:3). See also Duncan and Derrett, "Case of Korah," 62-63.

43. Cf. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 91-96.

44. Cf. 1QpHab 2:5-9; 5:9-12; 4Q171 frg. 1-10 i 26-27. We must remember that legal questions within the Qumran community were to be settled by the Zadokite priests and the "Many" (1QSb 3:23), against whose authority even murmuring meant permanent expulsion (1QS 7:17-18).

45. Cf. CD 1:15; 4:19; 8:13; 20:15; 1QpHab 2:1-3; 5:9-12; 10:9-13; 4Q171 frg. 1-10 i 19-ii 1; iv 14-15.

46. Cf. CD 1:13-17; 20:11-12.

were likewise called "men of mockery"[47] and even "traitors."[48] Here, then, is another schism involving individuals who seek to usurp the authority of God's chosen leader, a leader who is also called "the priest" (cf. 1QpHab 2:8; 4QpPs^a 1-10 iii 15).[49] Is there any evidence that these schismatics were villainized in terms of Korah's rebellion? And does the reference to the "judgment of Korah" in our fragment bear on this issue? The subsequent context of 4Q423 frg. 5 provides evidence that this may indeed be the case.

The first clue comes in the very next words in our fragment: "and who uncovered your ear [to the mystery of what is to come . . ." (lines 1b-2a). The restoration of ברז נהיה in line 2 is practically certain based on the Qumran parallels;[50] however, the actual meaning of the expression רז נהיה remains uncertain. Some scholars translate it the "mystery of being," while others render it the "mystery of what is to be (or, to come)" or "the mystery which is coming into being, the unfolding mystery." Although the term רז ("mystery") is common in sectarian writings such as the *Hôdāyôt* and the *Community Rule* (1QS), the full expression רז נהיה is confined primarily to *1Q/4QInstruction* and a few other writings, such as the closely related *Book of Mysteries* (1Q27/4Q299-301).[51] Nevertheless, the full expression רז נהיה does occur once in 1QS 11:3-4, thus demonstrating that we are dealing here with an expression that was known and used in the sectarian writings of the Qumran community.[52]

47. Cf. CD 20:10-13; 4Q162 2 vi 10. See also CD 8:3ff.//19:15ff., which speaks of God's expected visitation (יפקד) in judgment on the "princes of Judah" (Hos 5:10) who, although they had entered the covenant of repentance, nevertheless returned to evil practices. Note that in CD 1:14-16 the "man of mockery" who led Israel astray alludes to Isa 28:14, and the "boundary" that his followers removed alludes to Hos 5:10.

48. Cf. 1QpHab 2:3-9.

49. Cf. M. O. Wise, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the High Priest of the Intersacerdotium: Two Approaches," *RevQ* 14/56 (1990) 587-613, who denies that the "titular" הכהן served as a title for the high priest in Second Temple times. If, as we have seen, the Qumran communal structure is archaizing and orients on the wilderness period of Israel's history, then הכהן falls into line with the most common use of the term in premonarchic times of the head of the priestly clan, who was *primus inter pares.*

50. Cf. 4Q416 frg. 2 iii 18 = 4Q418 frg. 10 1 (גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה); 4Q418 frg. 184 2 (שר גלה אזנכה ברז נהיה[א]); and 1Q26 frg. 1 4 (כאשר גלה אוזנכה ברז נהיה), which also otherwise has affinities or overlaps with the 4Q423 fragments (e.g., 4Q423 frg. 4 1-2 = 1Q26 frg. 1 5-6).

51. Cf. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 70-73.

52. However, Elgvin argues that 1QS 11:3-9 inherits its conceptions from *Sapiential Work A* ("Early Essene Eschatology," 139; "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 454). Cf., however, idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 451: "Maybe Sap. Work A should be connected with the phase of the Teacher in the sectarian movement, and the *raz nihyeh* with the inspired exegesis in his footsteps."

As we can see from the usage of רז נהיה elsewhere, the mystery includes an eschatological aspect: God will judge the wicked and reward the good.[53] If רז נהיה in our fragment likewise has an eschatological orientation, the text would be saying that God has revealed to the enlightened reader the unfolding mystery of the divine plan for creation and history, which includes judgment of the wicked. Thus, the revelation of the mystery directly relates both to the "judgment of/on Korah" in the previous line and to 4Q491 frg. 1-3 1, where, as we have seen, "Korah and his congregation" (קורח ועדתו) are mentioned within the context of eschatological "judgment" (משפט) and the final battle.[54]

The next words that we can read come in line 2b: the "he]ad of [your] fathers [. . .] and leader of your people" (ר]וש אבות[יכה . . . ונשיא עמכה). When the titles ראוש אבות[55] and נשיא[56] occur together, they are usually

53. Cf. 4Q416 frg. 1 10-15; 4Q417 frg. 1 i 7-8, 10-16; frg. 2 i 6-15; 4Q418 frg. 69 4-9, 12-15; 4Q423 frg. 126 6-8; frg. 127 1-3. See also D. J. Harrington, "The *Raz Nihyeh* in a Qumran Wisdom Text *(1Q26, 4Q415-418, 423)*," *RevQ* 17/4 (1996) 549-53; idem, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran,* 48-49, 54; Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 134-35, 145; idem, "Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology," 450-51. On "mystery" at Qumran, see further Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 2.36; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1990) 42-56.

54. Similarly, an Enochic author alludes to the judgment of Korah and his company to describe what will happen to the enemies of Israel in the end time: "In those days, Sheol shall open her mouth, and they shall be swallowed up into it and perish. (Thus) Sheol shall swallow up the sinners in the presence of the elect ones" (*1 Enoch* 56:8). Without mentioning this text, Elgvin notes several parallels between *1Q/4QInstruction* and *1 Enoch* ("Early Essene Eschatology," 132-33, 137, and passim) and suggests that eschatological texts from *1 Enoch* are the primary source for the eschatological discourses in *1Q/4QInstruction* (p. 155).

55. Alternatively, the lacuna in line 2 may allow enough room only for רוש (without א), which is an orthographic variant of ראוש in Qumranic Hebrew (e.g., 1QS 10:8; 1QSb 3:3; 4:23; 4Q503 frg. 33-34 10 19). In BH, the common expression is ראשי (ה)אבות, "heads of (the) fathers," or "fathers' households" (cf. Exod 6:25), which is equivalent to ראשי בית אבותם, "heads of the house of their fathers" (cf. Exod 6:14; cf. v. 25). Often the title is followed by a term indicating the larger unit of the households: העדה, "of the congregation" (Num 31:26); "of the Levites according to their families" (Exod 6:25; cf. Josh 21:1; 1 Chron 9:33, 34; 15:12); "of the tribes of the sons of Israel" (Num 32:28); "of the family of the sons of Gilead" (Num 36:1); "of the sons of Israel" (Num 36:1); "of the tribes of the sons of Israel" (Josh 14:1; 19:51); "of Judah and Benjamin" (Ezra 1:5); "of Israel" (Ezra 4:3; 2 Chron 19:8; 23:2); "of all the people" (Neh 8:13); "of the inhabitants of Geba" (1 Chron 8:6); "of the inhabitants of Aijalon" (1 Chron 8:13); "according to their fathers' houses" (1 Chron 9:9); "of Ladan" (1 Chron 23:9); "of the priests and of the Levites" (1 Chron 24:6, 31); "belonging to Ladan the Gershonite" (1 Chron 26:21). Likewise in the Qumran scrolls, the expression ראשי אבות is found (cf. 1QSa 1:22-25; 2:11-17; 1QM 1:20–2:1, 6-7; 3:4; 1Q22 1:3).

56. Normally in the Qumran scrolls, נשיא is in construct with העדה (cf. CD 7:20

plural in form and refer to tribal and subtribal leaders, often in hierarchical lists of the lay leadership in Israel. Even when one of the titles in the set occurs in the singular, it is modified by כל, showing that a plurality of leaders is meant.[57] Very likely, then, we should restore כל in the lacuna before ראוש in our fragment.[58] In favor of this restoration is the fact that lines 3 and 4 apparently continue the discussion of these leaders, referring to them as כל מושלים and כולם.

Already in regard to the wilderness period, the collocation of ראשי אבות and נשיאים occurs, with minor variations in the exact expression, in reference to one and the same group of lay leaders in Israel.[59] In Num 36:1, for example, we read that "the heads of the fathers' households of the family

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[interpreting Num 24:17]; 1QSb 5:20; 4Q285 4 1; 4Q285 5 [Branch of David], i 4; 1QM 5:1; see also 1QM 3:16), which reflects the usage of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Exod 16:22; Num 4:34; 16:2; 31:13; 32:2). In 4Q423 5 2, however, we have ונשיא עמכה, a phrase that is unique in the Qumran corpus (cf. 11QT[a] 57:12: נשיי עמו). Elsewhere, the pronominal suffix in עמכה ("your people") refers to God (e.g., 1QSb 4:23; 1QM 10:9; 1QH[a] 12:6, 11, 26; 14:8). Here, however, it seems to refer to the addressee, as in Exod 22:27 (ונשיא בעמך לא תאר), CD 7:11 (citing Isa 7:17), and 4QMMT C 27 (לטוב לך ולעמך; cf. C 31-32: לך וישראל לטוב). Since עם is used occasionally of the Qumran community, עמכה most likely refers to the community rather than to Israel as a nation. See especially CD 19:33-35: "And thus, all the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus and turned and betrayed and departed from the well of living waters, shall not be counted in the assembly of the people (בסוד עם) and shall not be inscribed in their [lis]ts, from the day of the session of him who te[aches] of the teacher." On נשיא and its subsequent history, see W. Horbury, "The Twelve and the Phylarchs," *NTS* 32 (1986) 503-27.

57. Cf. 2 Chron 1:2: "And Solomon spoke to all Israel, to the commanders of thousands and of hundreds and to the judges and to every leader in all Israel (ולכל נשיא לכל ישראל), the heads of the fathers' households (ראשי אבות)"; also 1QSa 1:15-16: "Command appointments shall [be decided by] the sons of [Aar]on, the priests, advised by every head of the congregation's clans (וכול רשי אבות העדה)." There are abundant examples in the Hebrew Bible of one כל governing two coordinated nouns (e.g., Exod 22:21; 35:29; Deut 6:2; 28:15, 42, 61; Josh 6:19; 22:14; 1 Sam 1:4; 1 Kings 10:15; 2 Kings 24:13; Ezek 16:22; 39:4; Jonah 2:4; Ps 42:7; 50:11; 148:10). In the Qumran scrolls, see merely 1QS 1:23; 3:23; 1QM 7:3; 14:13; 1QH[a] 9:30; 12:9; 19:11.

58. In his DJD edition of 4Q423 frg. 5, Elgvin accepts my reconstruction, and thus sees ר]וש אבות[יכ]ה and ונשיא עמכה as parallel phrases referring to contemporary lay leaders, with the reconstructed כל governing both nouns. However, he suggests that the titles refer to contemporary Hasmonean leaders, and that the use of נשיא in a nonsectarian sense in this text may indicate that *4QInstruction* derives from a period before sectarian terminology had become stereotyped (DJD 34).

59. Cf. Num 7:2, which speaks of "the leaders of Israel (נשיאי ישראל), the heads of their fathers' households (ראשי בית אבתם) . . . they were the leaders of the tribes (נשיאי המטת); they were the ones who were over the numbered men." See also Josh 22:14, 30; 1 Kings 8:1; 1 Chron 7:40; 2 Chron 1:2; 2:5.

of the sons of Gilead . . . came near and spoke before Moses and before the leaders, the heads of the fathers' households of the sons of Israel" (הנשאים ראשי אבות לבני ישראל). Here, the two titles occur side by side with reference to the same group of lay leaders. Moses is not included in this group, but rather is mentioned alongside them.[60] In the description of the premonarchic days of Israel's history given in the Hexateuch, the נשיאים appear to have been tribal leaders, heads of a patriarchal group (בית־אב).[61] These were present both at the clan level (cf. Num 3:30, 35) and at the level of entire tribes (cf. Num 3:32; 16:2; Josh 22:14). They correspond to the sheiks of tribes and subtribes and represented the chief political authority of their day. Major decisions were probably made by an executive council of the נשיאים, acting as representatives of their tribes. A similar council is presupposed in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT[a] 57:11-15), consisting of the king, twelve "leaders of his people" (נשיי עמו), twelve priests, and twelve Levites. Here, the phrase נשיי עמו — that is, the leaders of Israel — recalls Num 1:44: "the leaders of Israel (נשיאי ישראל), twelve men, each representing his father's house."[62]

The significance of this observation for our discussion is threefold. First, this mention of the lay leaders of Israel creates another connection to the previous mention of the "judgment of Korah" in line 1, for according to Num 16:2, it was the 250 נשיאי עדה who banded together with Korah to rebel against Moses and Aaron. Again, we recall that the aforementioned eschatological judgment text, 4Q491 frg. 1-3 1, refers to "Korah and his company." A few lines later the same text refers to "the congregation and a[ll]the prince[s (וכול הנשיאים)" (line 5).

Second, these two synonymous terms for lay leaders betray the language of the *Yaḥad,* for both ראשי אבות and נשיאים are also used elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls to describe the leadership of the Qumran community.[63] Moreover, the parallel term of נשיאי עדה that is used in Num 16:2 to describe the 250 rebellious leaders associated with Korah (קראי מועד אנשי שם) happens to

60. Cf. I. M. Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel* (VTSup 56; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 15.

61. Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel,* 14-15.

62. Cf. G. Vermes and M. Goodman, *The Essenes According to Classical Sources* (Oxford Centre Textbooks 1; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989) 8: "Only eschatological leaders are alluded to (apart from the Temple Scroll 57:4-5, 11-12): they are listed from the twelve tribal chiefs down to the chief of ten (1QM 2:1-4; 3:13–4:5; 1QSa 1:29–2:1). The lay head is referred to as the *nasi* or Prince (1QM 5:1; 1QSa 2:14, 20), but the Temple Scroll calls him King (56:13–59:13)."

63. See further above.

be the basis for the favorite biblical sobriquet of the Qumran community to which we referred earlier.[64]

Third, when our text refers to these lay leaders as נשיאי עמכה, we may recall that CD 19:33-35 uses עם of the Qumran community.[65] The context of this parallel is particularly suggestive for our fragment: "And so it is with all the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus, but then turned and betrayed and departed from the well of living waters. They shall not be counted in the assembly of the people (בסוד עם) and their names shall not be written in their book from the day. . . ." Hence, several lines of evidence are beginning to converge in our fragment: the judgment of Korah, the titles for the lay leadership during the wilderness period of Israel's history, and the language of the *Yaḥad*.

Lines 3-4 go on to speak of the expected[66] judgment of the lay leaders, who are now called collectively מושלים.[67] The connection here between the divine apportionment of their inheritance,[68] the reward of their works, and

64. In the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa 1:27–2:2), for example, we read: "These are the men who have been invited to the Council of the Community: All the sa[ges of the] Congregation, and the discerning ones, and the knowledgeable ones, those perfect of the Way, and men of valor, with [the rulers of the tri]bes and all their judges and their officers and the rulers of thousands, and the ruler[s for hundreds], and for fifties, and for tens, and the Levites, amo[ng the div]ision of his service. These (are) the men of the name, those invited for the appointed time, who are summoned for the Council of the Community in Israel, before the Sons of Zadok, the priests." In the *War Scroll* (1QM 3:3-4; cf. 1QM 2:6-7 [// 4Q496 = 4QM^{f} 7 4]), these "men of the name" are described as the "heads of the fathers' households of the congregation" (ראשי אבות העדה). If we compare a passage such as 1QSa 1:27–2:2 with Exod 18:13-26 and Deut 1:9-18, it becomes clear that the Qumranites thought that the officials who led the people in the wilderness period are the very classes of officialdom who would guide the sect in the end of days. See Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community*, 33-34.

65. For other occurrences of עם for the Qumran community, see, for example, 1QS 2:21; 6:9; 1QSb 5:21.

66. Note the shift in the (reconstructed) text to the imperfect tense, which shows us we are probably dealing with an expectation.

67. Note also that the Wicked Priest is said to have ruled over Israel (משל בישראל).

68. For two reasons, Elgvin argues that 4Q423 5 3 points to a presectarian provenance for 4QInstruction: (1) it corresponds remarkably with Josephus's statement about Essene theology of earthly authorities (cf. *J.W.* 2 §140: "that he will keep forever faith with all men, especially with the powers that be, since no ruler attains his office except by God's will"), and (2) it contrasts sharply with the attitude of the *Yaḥad* to the Wicked Priest and his followers. He also notes that *1Q/4QInstruction* repeatedly refers to divine predestination of the ways of men (cf. 4Q416 3 2). See further A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 45-92.

the divine visitation[69] on them in judgment is best understood in light of the *Community Rule,* and particularly 1QS 3:13–4:26.[70] Virtually every aspect of 4Q423 frg. 5 3-4 is covered by this brief parallel passage. In fact, we can restore the beginning of line 4 on the basis of 1QS 4:25.[71]

But why is מושלים used in line 4 for the lay leaders? It is probably significant that Isa 28:14-22 contains the only judgment oracle against מושלים to be found in the Hebrew Bible, where the term is very rare.[72] The oracle begins in verse 14: "Therefore hear the word of the Lord, you men of mockery, rulers of this people who are in Jerusalem" (אנשי לצון משלי העם הזה אשר

69. Our fragment seems to allude to the familiar refrain of divine judgment found in Exod 20:5; 34:7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9. Since the fragment already alludes to Korah's rebellion (Numbers 16–17), it may also allude to the other major passage concerning popular revolt by the wilderness generation in Numbers 14, whereby they were denied entrance into the Promised Land.

70. In 1QS 3:13–4:26, a passage on the fundamental dualism between the Sons of Righteousness and the Sons of Deceit, two "divisions" of humanity are distinguished: ". . . in their ways they walk, and every reward of their works (וכול פעולת מעשיהם) (falls) within their divisions (במפלגיהן) according to a man's inheritance (נחלת איש), much or little, in all times of eternity. For God has set them apart until the end time, and put enmity between their (two) classes. An abomination to truth (are) the doings of deceit, and an abomination to deceit (are) all the ways of truth. (There is) a fierce struggle between all their judgments, for they do not walk together. But God, in his mysterious understanding and in his glorious wisdom, has set an end for the existence of deceit. At the appointed time for visitation (פקודה) he will destroy it forever" (1QS 4:15-19). While Elgvin correctly recognizes that פלג נחלה is a Qumranic expression for divine predestination which also occurs commonly in *1Q/4QInstruction* (add 4Q396 1 ii 1 to his list), he does not observe that 1QS 4:15-19 in particular incorporates many of the elements in 4Q423 5 3-4.

71. The word that follows the construct noun פעולת is missing in the manuscript. Since מעשה has just been mentioned in the previous part of line 3, we may surmise that the missing word is מעשיהם "their deeds" (cf. 1QS 4:15-16; 4Q287 8:13; also 1QS 4:25-26). In that case, the missing verb of the sentence may be ידע "to know" (cf. 1QS 4:25). In his DJD edition of 4Q423 frg. 5, Elgvin accepts my reconstruction of the beginning of line 4 (DJD 34).

72. 2 Chron 23:20 (= 2 Kings 11:19) uses מושלים of governors within Israel, as the third term in a series that includes "the rulers of hundreds" (שרי המאות), "the nobles" (האדירים), "the governors of the people (המושלים בעם), and all the people of the land. . . ." This usage of the term is also found in the Qumran scrolls. Cf. 4Q169 (4QpNah) 2:9 (interpreting Nah 3:4): "On account of the many fornications of the prostitute, full of elegance and mistress of enchantment, who misleads nations with her sorceries. . . . (8) [Its] interpretation concerns those who misdirect Ephraim, who with their fraudulent teaching and lying tongue and perfidious lip misdirect many; (9) kings, princes, priests and people together with the proselyte attached to them. Cities and clans will perish through his advice, nobles (נכבדים) and le[aders] (ומושלים) (10) will fall [due to the fero]city of their tongues."

בירושלם). Here, משלים is used in parallel with אנשי לצון.[73] Remarkably, the same expression, "men of mockery," is used several times in the Qumran scrolls of the followers of the "man of mockery" or "man of lies" who opposed the Teacher of Righteousness (see above).[74] The *Pesher on Isaiah* (4Q162 [4QpIsa^b] frg. 1 ii 6-7 and 10), for example, interprets the citations of Isa 5:11-14 and 24c-25, respectively, as referring to the "men of mockery who are in Jerusalem" (אנשי לצון אשר בירושלים). The allusion to Isa 28:14 is clear, even though the words משלי העם הזה are omitted. What is interesting for our purposes is that Isa 5:14, which comes last in its citation block and most directly relates to the leadership in Jerusalem, also contains echoes of the fate of Korah and his company: "Therefore Sheol has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure; the nobility (of Jerusalem) and her multitude go down, her throng and all who exult in her."[75] Both Isa 5:14 and Num 16:30 speak of the earth opening up and of leaders going down to Sheol. It seems probable therefore that in 4Q423 frg. 5 the connection between the "judgment of Korah" (line 1) and the judgment of the משלים (lines 3-4), with its allusion to Isa 28:14, is illuminated by the *Pesher on Isaiah*, which interprets the judgment oracles in Isa 28:14 and 5:11-14 as referring to the expected Korah-like fate of the "men of mockery" in the end of days.

The *Damascus Document* contains another allusion to Isa 28:14 and the judgment of the "men of mockery." In CD 20:10-11, in a section dealing with God's future punishment of the wicked and backsliders, we read:

> And thus (is) this judgment concerning anyone who rejects, the first and the last, who put abominations upon their heart and walk in the wantonness of their heart. They have no portion in the house of the Torah. With

73. The only other passage in the Hebrew Bible where the expression אנשי לצון occurs is in Prov 29:8.

74. Besides the texts discussed here, see also 4Q525 22 8 for another judgment passage.

75. Ezekiel holds the lay leaders of the people as particularly responsible for the abominations of the past; cf. Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel*, 131: "We have seen then from our discussion of the position of the laity and their leaders in Ezekiel that, in his mind, it was they who were responsible for the departure of the Glory of Yahweh from his Temple (Ezekiel 10), as a result of the idolatrous practices of the people and their *z^{e}qenîm* which were depicted in visionary form in chapter 8. These events were no temporary aberration but are entirely consonant with the general depiction of the *z^{e}qenîm* wherever they occur in the book of Ezekiel. In consequence of this idolatry — and to prevent it occurring again — the laity are 'downgraded' to the most circumscribed position in the new order. As did the Priestly writer, Ezekiel would have categorically opposed the viewpoint of Korah and his followers: 'All the congregation is holy, every one of them' (Num 16:3)."

> the judgment of their neighbors who turned away with the men of mockery they shall be judged, for they spoke defiantly of the statutes of righteousness and despised the covenant and the oath which they had taken in the land of Damascus; that is, the new covenant. Neither they nor their families will have any portion in the house of the Tora[h]. And from the day the unique Teacher was gathered in until the end of all the men of war who turned away with the man of lies there will be about forty years.[76]

Typologically, this forty years[77] is a wilderness period (cf. Deut 2:7) for the Qumran community that recalls the rebellions against Moses in the desert, and perhaps particularly Korah's rebellion.[78] It seems plausible, therefore, that the reference to the judgment of the מושלים in our fragment alludes to Isa 28:14 and relates specifically to the expected judgment on those who apostatized with the man of mockery in the early history of the Qumran community.[79]

The fact that מושלים in line 3 alludes to Isaiah 28 receives surprising confirmation from the second section of our fragment. As we have mentioned, lines 4b-6 address the reader as a "man of the soil,"[80] exhorting him to pay attention to the times and seasons of harvest. It cannot be coincidence that directly after the oracle against the lay leaders in Isa 28:14-22, Isaiah continues in verses 23-29 with a parable of the farmer, which is patterned on contemporary Wisdom literature. The message of Isaiah seems to be this: just as God teaches the farmer to conduct his affairs according to a divinely ordained plan, so also God steers history according to his own sovereign plan.[81] In a similar way, our fragment predicts God's judgment of the leaders, followed by instructions for the farmer to conduct his affairs in accordance with the divinely ordained plan. This shows how our fragment could be imbedded in

76. CD 20:8b-15a.

77. Here, as in 4QpPs 37 1-10 ii 7-8, interpreting Ps 37:10, the destruction of the wicked takes place at the end of the forty years; they will be "consumed" (יתמו). In 1QM 2:6-14, the "forty years" refers to the holy war at the end of days.

78. The fact that the families of the apostates are also affected seems further to substantiate this possibility, for according to Num 16:32, the households of Korah and his fellow rebels were also swallowed up.

79. Isaiah 28 seems to be important to the Qumran community (cf. 1QS 8:7-8 [Isa 28:16]; 1QH^a 12:16-17 [Isa 28:11]; 6:25-26 [Isa 28:16]; 14:25-26 [Isa 28:16]).

80. Elgvin considers this an allusion to Noah as a farmer in Gen 9:20 (איש האדמה) and hence another indication of the theology of creation in *1Q/4QInstruction* (cf. Elgvin, "Admonition," 187).

81. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja, 3. Teilband: Jesaja 28–39* (BKAT 10.3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982) 1085, 1089.

Wisdom material that, at the same time, has an eschatological outlook based on the "mystery of what is to come."[82] It also calls into question the degree to which 4Q423 is strictly speaking a farming manual.

5. Conclusion

4Q423 frg. 5 refers to the judgment of Korah during the wilderness period of Israel's history, a period that is otherwise crucial for the Qumran community's self-understanding. The sectarian nature of the fragment is further underscored by several verbal links between it and sectarian writings of the Qumran community. In particular, our text seems to presuppose an event in the early history of the community, when some leading members of the congregation denounced the Teacher of Righteousness and left the fellowship. Seen in this light, the fragment describes the divine judgment expected on the schismatics within the congregation, urging the enlightened member of the community to understand the divinely ordained plan for the future.

82. The admonition in line 5 to observe "the appointed times of summer" (מועדי הקיץ) may be a play on the words מועד הקץ, "the appointed time of the end" (cf. Dan 8:19). Elgvin notes other evidences of the influence of Daniel on *1Q/4QInstruction* ("Admonition," 193).

4QMMT, Paul, and "Works of the Law"

MARTIN G. ABEGG JR.

1. Introduction

The sense of anticipation that surrounded the publication of MMT[1] has been fully justified by the attention that has been focused on it since. Study has only just begun on its halakic relations to rabbinic Judaism. In turn, results of halakic investigations promise to aid in uncovering the early history of the Qumran community and its origins. The unique language of the document has also given grammarians new data for Mishnaic Hebrew research. In the present study, I will attempt to expand and update my thinking as expressed six years ago in a more popular format.[2] In short: how might the theological issues present in the final exhortative passage of MMT assist understanding in the apostle Paul's writings?

2. MMT and Works of the Law

2.1. State of the Union

Six manuscripts of the work survived more than two millennia of storage buried in the floor of Cave 4. These are numbered in the catalogs as 4Q394-

1. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'aṣe Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

2. M. Abegg, "Paul, Works of the Law, and MMT," *BAR* 20/6 (1994) 52-55, 82, esp. 82. See also J. D. G. Dunn, "4QMMT and Galatians," *NTS* 43 (1997) 147-53; and M. Bachmann, "4QMMT und Galaterbrief, מעשי התורה und ΕΡΓΑ ΝΟΜΟΥ," *ZNW* 89 (1998) 91-113.

99. Although no single manuscript contains the whole, a composite of overlapping fragments suggests that when reckoned by words a substantial part of the work has survived, perhaps as much as half; when viewed by line, we may have some part of all but perhaps ten lines.

Repeated attempts to construct my own composite text from the six Cave 4 manuscripts have convinced me that the shape of the document produced by John Strugnell and Elisha Qimron is quite sound.[3] The overlaps among the six manuscripts make it unlikely, in my mind, that a better overall organization will be discovered. There are, admittedly, two major "seams" in their resultant construct (at B34 and C1). However, of the three pieces revealed by these seams, it is readily apparent that as one contains the introduction (B1-33),[4] and another contains the conclusion (C1-32), the third must be placed between (B34-82). The labors of Strugnell and Qimron have produced a clear picture of the form of the original document. The final "C" portion of the text is the object of our attention here.

2.2. Works of the Law

Although singular second-person addresses occur throughout the document, the majority are found in the exhortative concluding section of MMT (4Q398 14-17 ii [C25-32]; 4Q399 1 [C26-32]). These fragments are likely prefaced by a discussion in a fragment from 4Q398 (11-13), positing that the kings of Israel who "feared" and "sought torah/the law" were "delivered from their troubles" and "forgiven of their sins" (C24-25).[5] David is then introduced as the archetype of this Deuteronomic thesis: God recognized that "David was a pious man, and indeed he was delivered from many troubles and forgiven" (C25-26). David had remained absolutely faithful to God except for the Uriah affair, and even in this he was forgiven (CD 5:5-6).

Thus establishing his principle, our writer applies his conclusion to the singular second-person addressee. He begins, "Now, we have written to you *Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* — some of the works of the Torah" (C26-27). This important Hebrew phrase has been seized upon as the modern title for the

3. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10.43-63.

4. The calendar — section A — obviously had an independent origin and is not pertinent to this current discussion.

5. All English translations are from M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), with occasional modification to suit the context.

composition and is commonly abbreviated MMT. Although this Hebrew phrase occurs nowhere else in antiquity,[6] there is no doubt whatsoever that Paul's ἔργα νόμου — works of the law — could very well translate the Hebrew words *ma'aśe hatorah* (מעשי התורה). Indeed, the British Bible Society's modern Hebrew translation of the New Testament (1976 edition) uses מעשי התורה for all eight occurrences of ἔργα νόμου (Rom 3:20, 28; Gal 2:16 [3 times], 3:2, 5, 10).[7] As for statistical verification of this determination, 158 of 235 instances of מעשה ("work") are translated by ἔργον in the LXX,[8] while 193 of 223 instances of תורה ("law") are translated by νόμος.[9] The works of the law that the writer of MMT refers to are typified by more than twenty-four precepts that he has detailed in the main body of his text (B1-C4). These concern, in the main, acts that trespass the boundaries between the pure and impure in the temple precincts.

2.3. N. T. Wright on Works of the Law

This brings an additional problem that must be dealt with before we move on. N. T. Wright has questioned whether the works of the law in MMT are those to which Paul refers in his epistles.

> Various scholars have suggested that these are the same works of the law that Paul rejects in Galatians and elsewhere, as when he writes, "No human being is justified by works of the law but only through faith in Jesus Christ" (Gal 2:16).[10]

Simply stated, the answer to Wright's query is most certainly "no." This answer must, however, be qualified lest this negative response suggest an impasse for the determination that there is a terminological relationship — as

6. With the possible exception of the debated reading of 4Q174 3:7 where many read תודה ("thanksgiving") rather than תורה ("law").

7. *Hebrew New Testament* (Jerusalem: Yanetz, 1976). A subsequent revision (1991) replaced the instances in Galatians with מצוות התורה ("commandments of the law"). מצוה ("commandment") is never represented by ἔργον in the LXX.

8. The closest challenger is ποίημα, which translates מעשה 26 times. Other Hebrew words translated by ἔργον (420 times in books representing the MT) are: מלאכה (124 times), עבודה (36 times), פעל (23 times), and פעלה (9 times).

9. The closest competitor is νόμιμος, which translates תורה 6 times. Other Hebrew words translated by νόμος (239 times in books representing the MT) are: חקה (8 times), דת (7 times), חק (2 times), דבר (2 times), משפט (once), and מצוה (once).

10. N. T. Wright, "Paul and Qumran," *BR* 14/5 (1998) 18-54, esp. 54.

Wright himself would certainly agree[11] — between MMT and Paul. The particular issues expressed in MMT and Romans/Galatians find little common ground, albeit the term that describes them — works of the law — is, I believe, one and the same.

Wright continues his discussion by offering five reasons which demonstrate that the issues taken up by the two ancient writers are distinct. An examination of the first two should prove helpful in focusing my discussion. Wright claims that "MMT defines one group of Jews over against the rest," whereas the works that Paul opposes "define all Jews and proselytes over against the gentile, pagan world."[12] I might even suggest that MMT is one step further removed from Galatians along the spectrum of possible discussions. It is likely more akin to a doctrinal debate between two Baptists than between a Baptist and Christianity as a whole. Paul and his opponents were concerned with "A" doctrines, whereas the writer and recipient of MMT were debating "B" or perhaps even "C" issues. This need not distract us from the matter at hand: all of these issues could be termed "works of the law." Contrary to Wright — if personal experience means anything! — Paul's opponents probably would have moved on to more "finely tuned postbiblical regulations" and called them "works of the law" as well.

Wright goes on to suggest that "while MMT insists on certain postbiblical laws, Paul is battling those who wish to impose biblical regulations."[13] Again I would suggest that these two categories are — practically speaking — points along the same spectrum. As one moves from "A" issues — those doctrines that define the religious community as a whole — the "B" and "C" doctrines become more regularly characterized by extrapolations. One could and, as is evidenced by Galatians and MMT, did define both biblical and postbiblical laws using the same terminology. We must not forget, however, that Paul did not react so much against the practice — wherever they might be on the spectrum — as he did to the suggestion that the doing of such things would be "reckoned to one as righteousness." This leads us to the next issue.

11. I thank Rev. Dr. Wright for providing me with a copy of his unpublished paper, "4QMMT and Paul: 'Justification' and 'Works.'"

12. Wright, "Paul and Qumran," 54.

13. Wright, "Paul and Qumran," 54.

3. Righteousness, Curses, and Blessings

3.1. Reckoned as Righteous

Our writer now encourages his reader that he has written "what we determined would be beneficial for you and your people, because we have seen [that] you possess insight and knowledge of the Law" (C27-28). This is hardly, by the way, the tone one would expect if the *Moreh Zedek,* the Teacher of Righteousness, is the writer addressing the high priest in Jerusalem. Recall the Mishnah's report of the Sadducees' dispute with the rabbis: "We cry out against you, Pharisees" (*m. Yadaim* 4:6)! The tone in MMT is conciliatory and suggests a much closer relationship between sender and recipient.

At the end of his letter, and we have two fragments to establish this fact (4Q398 14-17 ii, 4Q399 1 ii), the writer challenges his reader with a pair of exhortations. First, "understand all these things and beseech Him to set your counsel straight" (C28-29). Second, "keep yourself away from evil thoughts and the counsel of Belial" (C29). In other words, separate yourself from those who have infected you with their evil thought and teaching. The addressee and his associates evidently had expressed a willingness to "consort with the enemy." As a former associate and perhaps disciple of the writer, he may have advocated a compromise with both groups' originally mutual opponents. The letter's author and addressee had evidently separated both in opinion and in geography. The need to communicate in writing suggests that the correspondents lived at some distance.

The purpose of the document can now be summarized: *You and I know that they are deadly wrong. Let us, who know and observe the Mosaic Torah, separate ourselves from these abominable sinners.* This separation from the unclean sinners and an adherence to the law will have two results. First, "you shall rejoice at the end of time when you find the essence [again the word מקצת, literally, "some"] of our words true" (C30). The messianic era, it is implied elsewhere (C21), was soon to arrive. Second, "it will be reckoned to you as righteousness, in that you have done what is right and good before Him." This claim is "to your own benefit and to that of Israel" (C31-32).

This provocative final statement has a familiar ring, especially to Christian readers: the text of Gen 15:6 and the paradigm of righteous Abraham incorporated by the apostle Paul in his letters to Rome and Galatia (Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6). However, the Qumran author does not offer righteousness on the basis of his reader's belief but rather "in that you have done what is right and good before Him" (C31). By context it is the "works of the Law" that fuel such a reckoning. How did our writer arrive at this conclusion? Did he determine

that it was something Abraham did that merited God's favor? Do we have here an attempt to harmonize Gen 15:6 with Gen 22:16: "He reckoned him as righteousness . . . because he had done this thing"? It is possible that the writer of MMT is working on the basis of another paradigm, not that of Abraham but that of Pinchas ben-Elazar ben Aharon, or Phinehas the priest. His zealous act of vengeance against his fellow Israelite and Midianite consort is recorded in Num 25:1-8 and commemorated in Ps 106:28-31.

> Then they attached themselves to the Baal of Peor,
> And ate sacrifices offered to the dead;
> They provoked the LORD to anger with their deeds,
> And a plague broke out among them.
> Then Phinehas stood up and interceded,
> And the plague was stopped.
> And that has been *reckoned to him as righteousness*
> From generation to generation forever.[14]

In addition to verbal considerations, there are two important contextual considerations that would have made Phinehas a rather pleasing paradigm to the Qumran sect. First, the fact that he acted so decisively to rout out the sin of joining with Baal Peor and the intermarriage with Midianite women provides a vivid picture of what the writer of MMT might hope for his reader. As we have noted, the central theme of the missive is the call to turn from the sin of unholy mixture. Second, the Qumran covenanters referred to themselves in their writing as the Sons of Zadok. Zadok, who was the high priest during the reigns of David and Solomon, was a direct descendant of Phinehas, of the priestly line of Eleazar the son of Aaron. For the Qumran sect a priestly paradigm of righteousness would have been appropriate. However, does this suggestion stand up under scrutiny?

The MMT text, which reads ונחשבה לך לצדקה ("and it shall be reckoned to you as righteousness"), echoes the MT of Ps 106:31, using the *nip'al* stem of חשב ("to reckon") rather than the *qal,* as in Gen 15:6. The preposition introducing צדקה ("righteousness") — the *lamed* of product — is relatively common with the *nip'al* of חשב (Josh 13:3; 1 Kings 10:21; Isa 29:17; 32:15; Lam 4:2; 2 Chron 9:20).

The Hebrew Bible offers only these two examples of the concurrence of the noun צדקה ("righteousness") and the verb חשב ("to reckon"). Qumran literature adds two more: the MMT passage already cited (C31,

14. All Scripture quotations are according to the New Revised Standard Version (1989).

4Q398 14-17 ii 7) as well as 4Q225, a text classified by J. T. Milik as *Pseudo-Jubilees.*[15] The top half of fragment 2 and column 1 of this manuscript rehearses the events of Genesis 15 complete with paraphrase of verse 6: ויא[מין אברהם ב]אלוא[הי]ם ותחשב לו צדקה ("And [Abraham] be[lieved in] Go[d] and it was reckoned to him as righteousness," 4Q225 2 i 7-8). It is of note that the verb חשב ("to reckon") is in the *nip'al* stem, although צדקה ("righteousness") is here the subject rather than the product as at Ps 106:31. We must conclude that the use of the *nip'al* stem — as in MMT — is not necessarily particular to Phinehas.

1 Maccabees makes an important contribution to our continued search for an historical predecessor to MMT C31. The final words of Mattathias to his sons are an exhortation to be zealous for the law complete with a list of illustrative heroes. As might be expected, Phinehas is present: "Because of his great zeal, our father Phinehas received the covenant of perpetual priesthood" (1 Macc 2:54). More surprising, however, is the inclusion of Abraham at the top of the list: "Was not Abraham found faithful when tested and it was reckoned to him as righteousness?"(1 Macc 2:52) The language of this passage (καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην) not only presages that of Rom 4:3, Gal 3:6, and James 2:23 but is identical to the Greek translation of both Gen 15:6 and Ps 105:31. The means of the reckoning is, however, totally unexpected; it is the binding of Isaac rather than Abraham's belief. Thus the theology of MMT C31 is not specific to Phinehas either; "doing the law" and "reckoning to righteousness" has been expanded to include Abraham as well. *Jubilees* lengthens our list as it introduces other possible righteous heroes:

> Therefore I command you, saying: Proclaim this testimony to Israel: "See how it was for the Shechemites and their sons, how they were given into the hand of the two children of Jacob and they killed them painfully. As it was a righteousness for them and it was written down for them for righteousness." (*Jub* 30:17)[16]

Expanding our search to rabbinic literature produces two groups of texts, the larger one reflecting the syntax of Gen 15:6 and the smaller that of Ps 106:31.[17] It is notable that virtually all passages that reflect the syntax of

15. H. Attridge et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 142.

16. O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth (2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983-85) 2.113.

17. The source of the following rabbinic examples is Davka Corporation's *Judaic Classics Library, Deluxe Edition CD ROM* (1991-95).

Gen 15:6 — a verb in the *qal* and a lack of preposition introducing צדקה ("righteousness") — are attributed to Abraham.[18] A review of those texts reflecting the syntax of Ps 106:31 (and MMT 31) — verb in the *nip'al* and preposition *lamed* preceding צדקה — shows more variation. Sixteen rabbinic passages are sufficiently similar to Ps 106:31 to be classified as allusions or quotations.

B. Baba Batra 9a clearly reflects the language of Ps 106:31. The context — giving alms in the stead of temple tax — makes it clear that the term צדקה ("righteousness") is used in the sense of charity. The military acts (specifically looting) of the heathen perpetrated on disobedient Israel are reckoned to the heathen as if they themselves had given alms:

> אם עושין צדקה-מוטב, ואם לאו-באין עובדי כוכבים ונוטלין בזרוע ואעפ"כ נחשב להן לצדקה, שנא': (ישעיהו ס') ונוגשיך צדקה.
>
> If you give alms, it is well. But if not, the heathen will come and take it by force. And even so it will be reckoned to them as alms (as righteousness), as it is said, "(I will appoint . . .) righteousness for your taskmasters." (Isa 60:17)

There are eight additional texts in which — similar to the Talmudic reference — the subject of righteousness is generic. These range from the historic — those who crossed the Jordan River were reckoned righteous (*'Or HaChayim* on Deut 33:21) — to the exhortative: the person who is obedient to the Torah, offers the *terumah,* and tithes with gladness is to be reckoned as righteousness (*Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* 27:2).[19]

In midrashic literature Phinehas is mentioned explicitly in conjunction with his righteous deed as it is rehearsed in Ps 106:31. *Sifre Numbers* reports that God worked twelve miracles for Phinehas because he had taken action against the Israelite and his Midianite consort. The sixth miracle is pertinent to our discussion.

> נס ששי שהיה המלאך מחבל לפניו ויוצא שיצא וראה פינחס את המלאך שהיה מחבל יותר מדאי השליכן לארץ ועמד ופלל שנאמר (תהלים קו) ויעמוד פינחס ויפלל ותעצר המגפה ותחשב לו לצדקה.

18. Of the seventy occurrences of the phrase as reflecting Gen 15:6, only two — *'Otzar Midrashim Hallel* 11 and *Derekh Chayim* 61:1 *(Maharal MiPrag)* — do not mention Abraham.

19. In addition see *Mishneh Berurah* 568, 605; *Misilath Yesharim* 11 (eighteenth century); *Sefer Shemoth Shovavim* 1; *Masecheth Megilah: Ner Mitzvah* 21; and Ramban on Deut 23:20.

> The sixth miracle: the angel was about to destroy (Israel) but he departed because Phinehas came out (of the tent) and saw the angel about to do too much damage, so he threw (the two bodies) to the ground and stood and prayed, as it is written, "And Phinehas stood and prayed and the plague came to a stop and it was reckoned to him as righteousness." (Ps 106:31) (*Sifre Numbers* 131 [p. 172])[20]

An explicit reference to Phinehas and Ps 106:31 is also found at *Song of Songs Rabbah* 4:21.

Ramban (Moses Nahmanides) on Gen 15:6 indicates the parallel text from Psalm 106, anachronistically implying that the "righteousness of Phinehas" precedes that of Abraham.

> וכן ותחשב לו לצדקה דפנחס, שחשב לו הבטחתו זו שבטח בשם במעשה ההוא . . .
>
> And so, "and it was reckoned to him as the righteousness" of Phinehas, for (God) planned this promise because (Abraham) believed God concerning this event (the birth of a son). . . .

Ba'al HaTurim on Gen 15:6 reflects the language of Psalm 106 but, instead of recalling Phinehas, uses a *gezerah shaveh* (to ויחשבה) to show that like Abraham, Hannah (1 Sam 1:13) and Tamar (Gen 38:15) were reckoned righteous because of what they did *not* do: become a drunkard and a prostitute, respectively.

Three late texts even recast Gen 15:6 in the form of Ps 106:31. *Vavei Ha'amudim* 15 (*Shnei Luchot Ha-Brit,* sixteenth century), in a debate that Paul would have appreciated, argues that Gen 15:6 illustrates that righteousness might be granted for a "psychological" action — belief — as well as external deeds.

> והלא גם צדקה נוהגת בגוף שנחשב לאברהם לצדקה על האמונה שהאמין בהי . . .
>
> And might not righteousness also be practiced from within? In that faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness because he believed in the Lord. . . .

20. The story is also found with some variation in *Numbers Rabbah* 20:25; this rendition lacks the reference to Ps 106:31.

Sefer Bereishith lekh lekha (*Shnei Luchot Ha-Brit,* sixteenth century) and *Geburoth Hashem* 41:7 (*Maharal MiPrag,* fifteenth century) also show the influence of Ps 106:31 on Gen 15:6.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, it would appear that the *nip'al* form of the verb and the introduction of צדקה ("righteousness") with the preposition *lamed* would most naturally have brought to mind the zealous deed of Phinehas and the righteousness that was his as a result. Although in later Jewish literature the Abraham story is occasionally recast using the psalmic syntax, the Ramban's commentary on Gen 15:6 suggests that the Phinehas paradigm may have influenced the change. Second, the extension of the paradigm of righteous Phinehas to include Levi and Simeon (*Jub* 30:17), Hannah and Tamar (*Ba'al HaTurim* on Gen 15:6), and even Abraham (1 Macc 2:54 and Ramban on Gen 15:6) suggests that Phinehas did not attain to the status in Judaism that Abraham achieved in the writings of the apostle Paul. In addition, it is noteworthy that in all of Qumranic literature Phinehas is mentioned by name only at 6Q13 1 4, a fragment that refers not to his zeal but rather to his priestly descendants. Pressed for an example of his statement, the writer of MMT may have offered Phinehas as an illustration. It would appear, however, that Phinehas's role in the discussion is not an exact parallel to that of Abraham in Paul's writings.

3.2. Curses and Blessings

Subsequent to my *BAR* article and paralleled by J. D. G. Dunn's own study,[21] I have become aware of an additional contact between MMT and the book of Galatians. Only once in all of his writings does Paul refer to the Deuteronomic pattern of blessings and curses, in the carefully crafted chiastic structure of Gal 3:9-14:

> For this reason, those who believe are *blessed* with Abraham who believed. For all who rely on the works of the law are under a *curse;* for it is written, "*Cursed* is everyone who does not observe and obey all the things written in the book of the law." (Gal 3:9-10)
>
> Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a *curse* for us — for it is written, "*Cursed* is everyone who hangs on a tree" — in order that in Christ Jesus the *blessing* of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith. (Gal. 3:13-14)

21. Dunn, "4QMMT and Galatians," 148-50.

Before the final passage of exhortation that we discussed above, MMT introduces the illustration of righteous David by quoting Deut 30:1-2:

> And it is writ[ten] that "when [al]l these thing[s happ]en to you in the Last Days, the *blessing* [and] the *curse*, [that you call them] to m[ind] and return to Him with all your heart and with [al]l [your] soul." (MMT C12-16)

The apostle Paul could easily be pictured as responding to this statement and the application suggested by MMT.

4. MMT and Paul

4.1. Qumran: Getting In and Staying In

Having concluded that there is indeed a terminological connection between MMT and Paul's writings, it remains only to determine what part "works of the law" and the "reckoning of righteousness" played in Qumran religion before we try our hand at Pauline writings. Certainly the traditional understanding of these phrases in Protestant Christianity is that Paul was challenging a position that taught that good works earn salvation. Since MMT contains the first reference in ancient Jewish writings to "works of the law" apart from Paul, it also affords the first opportunity to check this understanding. Do the Scroll writers reflect a "works earn salvation" theology? Indeed, they do not.[22] As this aspect of Qumran religion has been dealt with at length elsewhere,[23] it will suffice here to bring a single — although pointed — example from Qumranic literature.

> All that shall be, He foreknows, all that is, His plans establish; apart from Him is nothing done. As for me, if [12]I stumble, God's lovingkindness forever shall save me. If through sin of the flesh I fall, my justification (משפטי) will be by the righteousness of God (בצדקת אל) which endures for all time. [13]Though my affliction break out, He shall draw my soul back from the pit, and firm my steps on the way. Through His love He has brought me near; by His lovingkindness shall he provide [14]my justification (משפטי). By

22. My original discussion lacked this important step. I thus erroneously concluded that MMT established the traditional understanding of Galatians; see Abegg, "Paul, Works of the Law, and MMT," 82.

23. E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 239-328; M. Abegg, "4QMMT C27, 31 and 'Works Righteousness,'" *DSD* 6 (1999) 139-47.

> His righteous truth has He justified me (שפטני); and through His exceeding goodness shall He atone (יכפר) for all my sins. By His righteousness (ובצדקתו) shall He cleanse me of human [15]defilement and the sin of mankind — to the end that I praise God for His righteousness, the Most High for His glory. (1QS 11:11-15)[24]

What then was understood to be the purpose of the law? CD 19:33–20:10 and other passages make it clear that E. P. Sanders is essentially correct in his conclusion that the place of obedience in Qumranic literature — as well as for other expressions of Palestinian Judaism — "is always the same: it is the *consequence* of being in the covenant and the *requirement for remaining* in the covenant."[25] It is not the entrance into a relationship with God; it is the maintenance policy to that relationship.

4.2. Paul and the Epistle to the Galatians

Assuming that the conclusions reached thus far are correct, the apostle Paul's Epistle to the Galatians forms a rather concise testing ground to determine whether we have misunderstood Paul, or Paul misunderstood Judaism.[26]

The terminology we have examined enters Paul's discussion at Gal 2:16. The point is clearly made: the determining factor for Paul is "faith in Christ" and not "works of the Law." But just what is being determined is not yet clear. Is "faith in Christ" determinative of salvation, or is it a "boundary marker" for a relationship already begun? We must move on to chapter 3 in order to discern the answer.

Gal 3:1-5 is the crux passage. Paul goes to the heart of the issue in verse 2: "The only thing I want to learn from you is this: Did you receive the Spirit by doing the works of the law or by believing what you heard?" As verse 3 clearly reveals, the correct answer to this rhetorical multiple-choice question is "b": "believing what you heard." The tense of the main verb is also important to the discussion; ἐλάβετε ("received") is an aorist that is certainly functioning in the consummative or culminative sense (past completed action). It would appear from the onset that the salvation of the Galatian readers and

24. For a full discussion of the righteousness of God and man, see Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism,* 305-12.

25. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism,* 319-20.

26. A third course also is possible: Paul was reacting to another — and as yet unknown — type of Judaism that used the same terminology as MMT where works did earn salvation. This, however, seems unlikely.

how they attained it — "believing what you heard" — was *not* the problem. Verse 3 also provides the issue: "Having started with the Spirit, are you now ending (completing/finishing) with the flesh?" Again the verb tenses are significant: ἐναρξάμενοι (having started) is an aorist (consummative) participle, while ἐπιτελεῖσθε ("completing/finishing") is a present (progressive, action is ongoing) indicative. To paraphrase: if you were saved by the Spirit why are you now continuing by your own effort?

Paul repeats a variation of his first (3:2) rhetorical question in verse 5: "Well then, does God supply you with the Spirit and work miracles among you by your doing the works of the law, or by your believing what you heard?" Again the tenses are crucial. No longer is the Spirit's ministry presented as completed (as in salvation), but, switching to the present tense (ἐπιχορηγῶν ["supply"], ἐνεργῶν ["work"], ἔργων ["doing"]), Paul rather pointedly asks how someone who claims to have received the Spirit by hearing with faith expects to continue. Again "b" is the correct answer, as is verified by the proof text in 3:6. The conclusion seems so clear: it is not being saved by faith that is at issue in the letter to the Galatians, but continuing in faith.

Although a number of the exegetical headaches in the following verses pound on,[27] at least two problems are solved by this "new perspective."[28] If we have reckoned rightly, Paul might have met our misunderstanding of the purpose of Gen 15:6 with a paraphrase of Rom 4:10. "When was faith reckoned to Abraham? At the beginning of his relationship with God or during?" Certainly at the beginning, although the only scriptural evidence we have emphasizes *during;* Gen 15:6 is by no stretch of the imagination the beginning of Abraham's relationship with God.[29]

In addition, Paul no longer need be accused of reinterpreting Hab 2:4 at Gal 3:11. No matter what tribulations life might bring, God challenged Habakkuk that "the righteous man shall live by faith." No longer must we reason that Habakkuk's statement includes the concept of eternal life by means of faith. Instead, it takes its place as a powerful restatement of the answer required of Paul's second rhetorical question (3:5).

27. In my estimation, the genius of verses 8-14 lies with the simple contrast of law-doing-curse and promise-faith-blessing that lends chiastic structure to the passage. Gal 3:15-18 is Paul's proof that promise-faith-blessing had been God's program from the beginning.

28. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism,* 75.

29. I thank Randall Buth for reminding me that the form of the verb "believe" at Gen 15:6 (והאמן) is a perfect with the "*waw* consecutive." Normally this form expresses the type of action indicated by the imperfect (prefix conjugation). Thus, "Abraham was believing" or "continued believing" is the expected sense according to common usage.

As to Gal 2:16, J. D. G. Dunn represents the rethinking now taking place in the wake of E. P. Sanders's "new perspective."

> This [verse] has traditionally been understood as a denial that human beings, even the most religious of individuals, can achieve salvation by their own "works"; they cannot "work" their passage to heaven; they cannot earn salvation by their own efforts. Valid as that is as a theological insight of tremendous importance, it is doubtful whether it quite catches Paul's meaning here. Paul was evidently objecting to a current Jewish conviction. But so far as we can tell, the typical and traditional Jewish view of the time was *not* that anyone could earn God's favour.[30]

These words, composed more than a year before the official publication of MMT, would likely be expressed with more certainty were they written today.

5. Conclusion

The nexus of so many unique topics — works of the law, reckoning of righteousness, and Deuteronomic blessings and curses — occurs in but two ancient documents: MMT and Galatians. It is highly unlikely that the discussions in which they take their place are unrelated. Too bold is the suggestion that Paul actually knew MMT, but certainly the theological issue expressed therein, complete with its component parts, must have survived intact to the middle of the first century CE.

We have gained much from MMT. Thanks to these fragmentary manuscripts we now have the means of testing centuries of thinking that have taken place in a relative vacuum. E. P. Sanders's "new perspective" (although not his estimate of Paul) appears to be verified. A traditional understanding of first century Judaism — that works earn salvation — must be cast out, and commentaries and theologies rewritten in reflection.

30. J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993) 135.

The Intertextuality of Scripture: The Example of Rahab (James 2:25)

ROBERT W. WALL

1. Introduction: "Intertextuality of Scripture"

Let me first define the title's phrase, "the intertextuality of Scripture," in order to help orient the readers of this paper.[1] I do so sharply, intending only to call attention to one feature of Scripture's complex literary texture, which is a primary focus of the present study.

1.1. Scripture Is a Severely Gapped Text

The "ideal" readership of such a text is biblically literate.[2] Biblical texts need only mention a single familiar phrase or specific person to evoke the reader's

1. For a helpful definition of "intertextuality," which is influenced by the poststructuralism of J. Kristeva, see Tod Linafelt and Timothy K. Beal, "Sifting for Cinders: Strange Fires in Leviticus 10:1-5," *Semeia* 69 (1995) 19-32, esp. 19-21.

2. The catch phrase, "ideal reader," is influenced by the theoretical work of Wolfgang Iser, whose "implied reader" naturally fills in gaps (especially when reading narrative literature) and makes connections between the text read and other read texts. See his *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Balti-

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This essay is excerpted, in modified and expanded form, from my commentary on the book of James, *Community of the Wise: The Letter of James* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997).

memory of other well-known biblical texts and stories where that phrase is used or that person is mentioned. For this reason, Scripture should be read with other, earlier biblical texts in mind. Sometimes these texts are actually cited, but more often than not they are merely echoed (or alluded to) by the author's reference to common words or narrative elements (e.g., people, places, events). The anticipated result of finding these citations or hearing those echoes of one text in another is to link the two texts together as participants in a reflexive, mutually informing conversation — hence, the word, "intertextuality." Significantly, the earlier text, cited or echoed in a newly composed text, recalls a particular story or idea that in turn adds layers of information to the interpretive matrix within which a fuller, richer meaning unfolds for the careful reader. A biblical text occupies a space where different "voices" congregate and enter into conversation with each other in which the interpreter is present as an eavesdropper.

Not only is this true of two discrete biblical writings, but Shemaryahu Talmon has called attention to a less known "exegetical rule of the Sages" — as he calls it — when "one verse may help in ascertaining the sense of another" within the same textual field.[3] That is, the full meaning of a theme unfolds within the entire composition, when the repetition of key words or phrases, used at different points of the author's argument, articulate different aspects of the whole theme.

In both these examples of intertextuality, the texture of a particular text is thickened and its meaning extended by its interplay with other texts, especially when the reader recognizes that the repetition of similar phrases and subject matter cues parts of an integral whole, whether that whole pertains to the entire biblical canon or an entire biblical writing. I would add that the interpreter who pays attention to these echoes, and arranges appropriate texts to facilitate the mutual exchange of information, is typically concentrated by the theological conviction that "diverse components of the biblical anthology

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more: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), and his *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). The shift of adjectives from "implied" to "ideal" intends a more exclusive referent of those who recognize biblical texts as intertexts — a biblically literate reader for whom Scripture is canonical literature and formative of faith. Thus, the "ideal reader" is a member of the canonical audience for whom the overriding concern is to interpret Scripture in light of its own theological subject matter. The aim of finding traces of earlier texts in another is to expand the text's theological meaning, but also to lend Scripture's own support in authorizing this expanded meaning.

3. S. Talmon, "Emendation of Biblical Texts on the Basis of Ugaritic Parallels," in *Studies in the Bible,* ed. S. Japhet (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986) 279-300, esp. 280.

share a common world view, (where) innumerable strands link together the constitutive units (to form) a literary and ideological entity" — again, to use Talmon's words.[4]

1.2. Scripture Is a Multivalent Text

Biblical stories, such as Joshua's about Rahab, can be retold with theological benefit for different audiences. Interpreters seek and find new meanings in old stories, which are not then independent of each other but *inter*dependent, the one glossing and expanding the meaning of the others. Such methodological interests, as much as the interpreter's social or theological location, determine how the reader approaches biblical texts to hear the word of God. In this essay, for example, I approach the book of James as an "intertext" — a biblical text composed with other biblical texts in mind. In doing so, I seek to arrange written and echoed texts into a reflexive conversation to expand my understanding of the appeal to Abraham in James 2:21-24 and then the even more striking appeal to Rahab in James 2:25. What limits and restricts the full meaning of a biblical tradition, however, is neither the language of the text nor the artful imagination of the interpreter, but the core theological convictions of a biblical people. That is, the multivalency of a tradition must never exceed what we confess to be true about God and God's covenant with the faith community that worships God in spirit and truth.

2. James 2:21-26: Two Examples of Justification by Works

2.1. Verbal Profession and Moral Behavior

In his landmark "Letter from Birmingham City Jail" (1963), Martin Luther King Jr. argues against the foolishness of white church leaders who tolerate racist acts against black Americans. King writes:

> In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sidelines and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "These are social issues with which the Gospel has no real concern."

4. Talmon, "Emendation of Biblical Texts," 279.

In agreement with the moral climate of an earlier day, James 2:14-26 concludes an essay on the wisdom of "quick hearing" by scoring a point similar to that of Dr. King: verbal professions of trust must be embodied in moral behavior in order to be legitimate. The failure of social religion is the hypocrisy of paying lip service to a God who "desires mercy and not sacrifice" (Hos 6:6; cf. Matt 12:7).

In keeping with the rhetorical architecture of James, the present passage is part of a collocation of three "footnotes" (2:14-17, 18-20, 21-26), which together support and illustrate the dramatic claim, concluded in 2:12-13, that believers who discriminate against their poor and powerless neighbors (2:1-7) disobey Scripture's "royal law" (2:8), are therefore law-breakers (2:9-11), and will be excluded by God from the blessings of the age to come (2:12-13). With gathering emphasis, each member of this triad of illustrations confirms the conviction that God's final judgment will be without mercy to those who fail to render mercy to their needy neighbors. In fact, God's negative verdict only confirms their faith to be "dead" (2:17, 26; cf. 1:14-15; 5:19-20) and "barren" (2:20; cf. 1:18).

2.2. Faith without Works Is Dead

The focus of the present study is upon the final member of this illustrative triad, which evokes the sacred memories of Abraham (2:21-24) and Rahab (2:25) to underscore the thesis that Christian faith without merciful works is as good as "dead" (2:26). In fact, both Abraham and Rahab embody the positive outcome of merciful deeds: their hospitable treatment of needy "neighbors" has the eschatological result of being "justified by (their) works" (ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, 2:21, 25).

The combination of a patriarch, Abraham, with a prostitute, Rahab, is not as strange as it first may seem. In the traditions of Hellenistic Judaism, the two are often found together as examples of Gentile proselytes, who are brought near to God by their conversion to Judaism. This is especially true of Rahab, a Canaanite prostitute, whose repentance and subsequent righteousness demonstrate that no person is beyond God's redemption. In keeping with this tradition, James uses Abraham and Rahab as topoi of eschatological Israel. However, in this case, their salvation is the happy result of hospitable deeds proffered at considerable cost to their needy neighbors. Such acts of courageous and generous mercy draw God's attention and result in the justification of their faith and realization of God's promise to return mercy for mercy (see James 2:13).

This promise constitutes a core theological position of the book of James, made more persuasive by its use of social opposites in 2:21-26 — Abraham and Rahab — thereby crafting a *merism* (i.e., a metaphor of inclusion that makes equal members those extremes of a whole and therefore, by inference, all who fall in-between). In this passage, a patriarch and a prostitute are conjoined as members of the same congregation whose rule of faith is "justification by works." Indeed, both exemplify this rule of faith for every tradent who claims membership in such a faith community. In this sense, the *merism* envisages a truism: the community favored by God is constituted by hospitable believers, forging as a result a sociology of compassion.

One last observation in this regard — the congregation constituted by the likes of Abraham and Rahab, patriarch and prostitute, continues the same social contrast introduced in 2:2-4 between rich and poor. In James, of course, these two social classes are in constant conflict. The rich outsiders are favored over the poor insiders, who apparently seek but fail to find justice (see also 5:1-6) from either the law court (2:6-7) or the synagogue court (2:2-4). In the present text, Rahab represents the poor — the "widows and orphans in distress" (1:27), some of whom became prostitutes in the author's world in order to survive. Moreover, her characterization as a secular prostitute in the biblical narrative marks her as unclean and hardly an exemplar of one who is "unstained by the world" (1:27): her very presence among God's people threatens the laws of purity and stability among God's people.[5] Within this textual field, however, the tensions created by this reference to "Rahab the prostitute" help to form an irony that carries this prophetic edge: discrimination against the marginal poor (i.e., Rahab), rather than resulting in stability and purity within the congregation, will finally bring about the very chaos and moral impurity that imperils friendship with God.[6]

5. See J. L. Berquist's enlightening treatment of the Rahab story in Joshua: "Expectations and Repeated Climax in the Rahab Story" (unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, 1992).

6. G. M. Tucker's treatment of Rahab's story in Joshua proves instructive at this point. According to Tucker, spy and conquest traditions are woven together by the final redactor of canonical Joshua, so that Rahab's final salvation and evil Jericho's fall occur together in Josh 6:22-26 ("The Rahab Saga [Joshua 2]: Some Form-Critical and Traditio-Historical Observations," in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays,* ed. J. M. Efird [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972] 66-86). That is, Rahab's friendship with God, which allows her family "to live in the middle of Israel ever since," requires the end of chaos and evil.

3. The Example of Abraham (2:21-24)

3.1. Genesis and the Abraham Tradition

According to P. Davids, "Jewish exegesis frequently joined Gen 15:6 to the Abraham tradition as a type of timeless sentence written over the life of Abraham."[7] This "timeless" tradition is recycled in James 2:23 to interpret a timeless life-setting where congregations fail to exact justice for their poor members (2:2-7), and where glib professions of faith (1:26; 2:14-17, 18-20) are substituted by members of the faith community for a courageous compliance to Torah's demand to care for its impoverished membership (1:27).

Much is at stake. The citation's introductory formula, "And the Scripture was fulfilled which says," imputes eschatological meaning to the biblical text: Abraham's faith illustrates the measure of God's future judgment, which according to 2:13 will be merciless toward those who show no mercy to others.[8] But what does Abraham's faith in one God (see 2:19a) — the first to do so according to rabbinical tradition — have to do with the performance of the "law of liberty" (2:12; cf. 1:25)? Two integral points are made by this midrash on Gen 15:6: (1) Abraham is "justified by works" (2:21, 24) in the sense that (2) his works "complete" his faith (2:22), since friendship with God is impossible by "faith alone" (2:24).[9]

7. P. Davids, *Commentary on James* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 129.

8. Note also that James links together the biblical citation of 2:23 with the earlier commentary on neighborly love in 2:8 by common use of this "fulfillment" (τελέω/τελειόω) idiom. In this sense, observance of the "royal law" of neighborly love fulfills the conditions of God's earlier promise to Abraham.

9. This essay is not interested in participating in the long-standing Protestant debate over "faith and works" in James and Paul. However, let me briefly argue that the different combinations of "faith and works" we find first in Paul's discussion of justification (especially Romans 4 and Galatians 3 where he appeals to the same Abraham tradition as James for support) and then here in James represent different although complementary ways of understanding humanity's response to divine grace. In both cases, "faith" refers to the orthodoxy of public professions of faith (see Rom 10:8-13); and in both cases, "works" refers to the performance of God's law. The critical reductionism that maintains that Paul and James are not really speaking of the same "works and faith," and therefore do not conflict, is simply wrong. The ascendancy of a Pauline Abraham during the Magisterial Reformation as an exemplar of faith rather than ethical achievement required such an exegetical move. The resolution of this conflict is not exegetical, however, but hermeneutical, so that the interpreter can put the different combinations of "faith and works" found in James and Paul back together in forming a complementary and coherent teaching about justification. See my fuller discussion of this prospect in *Community of the Wise,* 129-33.

3.2. The Binding of Isaac and James

In particular, James refers to Abraham's binding of *his son Isaac upon the altar* (the *Akedah*) — a story of great theological importance (and interpretive difficulty) for a Jewish audience.[10] Even though the appeal to Abraham's offering of Isaac vaguely follows the moral calculus of James that the test of faith is passed by works (a point more clearly made by Heb 11:17-19), the careful reader is rightly puzzled for two reasons. (1) James mentions that Abraham was justified by God for performing multiple "works" but here only one is cited. If this reference to Abraham's "works" is an allusion to still other works, the implication is that Abraham's justification required more than his offering of Isaac. The reader is led to ask, then, what other "works" did Abraham perform that God recognized and rewarded? (2) The reader should also be puzzled by the particular example cited by James: how is father Abraham's offering of his compliant son an example of the sort of merciful behavior toward the powerless neighbor that James here advances? This puzzlement only

10. I doubt that the author, who never mentions the death of Jesus, has Paul's teaching of Christ's sacrifice in mind, which some contend is shaped by the *Akedah* tradition (cf. Rom 8:32 with Gen 22:16). Of course, there is in Pauline thought, as there is in James, the recognition of reciprocity in the believer's (i.e., Abraham's) relationship with God; that is, God responds in grace to the believer's "obedience of faith" (cf. Heb 11:17ff.). Yet this is hardly evidence that Paul adapted the *Akedah* typology in support of his christology, and no evidence at all that James is responding here to Paul's teaching of Jesus' expiatory death. For a summary of this connection in the history of the Christian interpretation of the *Akedah* tradition, see B. S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 325-36. There may be a sense in which this use of Jewish tradition actually intends to draw the audience's attention to the role of Isaac. W. Stegner argues that in early Jewish Christianity, the *Akedah* story was told as much from Isaac's perspective as from Abraham's. Of course, Isaac's story was greatly expanded by midrashic interpretation, and then linked by Jewish Christians to Jesus' *baptism* as the beloved and chosen Son; see his *Narrative Theology in Early Jewish Christianity* (Louisville: Westminster, 1989) 13-31. According to first-century narratives of the story, Isaac volunteered as his father's sacrifice and so became the model of obedience that Father God expects of his chosen children. According to the targums on Lev 22:27, already in use prior to James, Isaac was the "chosen lamb" of God whose willing sacrifice was intended for Israel's salvation (so Stegner, *Narrative Theology,* 19). Against this backdrop of Jewish interpretation, then, perhaps the reference to the *Akedah* tradition in James 2:21 should also be read from the perspective of Isaac, the "chosen" son whose voluntary self-sacrifice had become a model of obedience for God's children and the means of their atonement. The reference in 2:5 to the impoverished and powerless readers as God's "chosen" is here recalled, not with Abraham in mind but Isaac: even though as helpless as Isaac, the congregation is the "son" of Father God (see James 1:17, 27) and is therefore expected — like Isaac — to "stretch forth its neck" for its own salvation (cf. Stegner, *Narrative Theology,* 23-24).

deepens by recalling that the biblical story of Abraham's offering of Isaac in Genesis 22 is prefaced by the explanatory phrase that "God tested Abraham" (Gen 22:1 LXX, ὁ θεὸς ἐπείραζεν τὸν Αβρααμ) — certainly an important detail well known to the story's reader/auditor if not to Abraham himself! Yet, an earlier text in James claims that "God tests no one" (1:13, πειράζει δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδένα); in fact, anyone who supposes that God (rather than the Devil) tests them is simply foolish (1:16) and even runs the risk of refusing God's gift of wisdom (1:17-18), thereby failing the spiritual test (1:6-8, 1:14-15) and forfeiting God's future blessing (1:12).

3.3. Abraham's Works

R. B. Ward, now followed by other interpreters (Davids, Johnson[11]), has argued that the use of the plural "works" refers to *all* of Abraham's faithful responses to God during a series of ten spiritual tests, of which his offering of Isaac is the final exam (cf. *Jubilees* 19).[12] In fact, the literary role of this reference to the offering of Isaac is much like a synecdoche, where the one example cited is but a shorthand reference to all ten of Abraham's spiritual tests.[13]

(1) While I agree that interpretive emphasis be placed on Abraham's multiple "works" rather than on his single "work" of offering up Isaac to God, might we then ask whether there are other "works" of Abraham more apropos for James, whose primary concern is to illustrate what manner of works elicits God's eschatological approval? Because of the clarity of thematic and linguistic links, especially when including the following case of Rahab, the reader may well be expected to recall at this point a chapter in the biblical story of Abraham's sojourn in Sodom (18:1-8), told in Gen 18:1-21, which occasions the promises of Isaac's birth (18:9-15) and of a "great and mighty nation" founded in him (18:16-21). Abraham's spiritual test in Sodom is occasioned by the appearance of three strangers, who we later find out are really angels sent by God presumably to test Abraham's devotion to God — a test he passes by showing them hospitality (see Ward).

The deeper logic of this narrative, which connects it more directly to the *Akedah*, is that the promises of Isaac and the great nation are not merely occasioned but are finally conditioned upon Abraham's merciful treatment of the strangers. Jewish reflection on Genesis 22 confirms that not only is the prom-

11. L. T. Johnson, *The Letter of James* (AB 37A; New York: Doubleday, 1995).
12. R. B. Ward, "The Works of Abraham: James 2:14-16," *HTR* 59 (1968) 283-90.
13. Davids, *Commentary on James*, 127.

ised Isaac the happy result of Abraham's hospitable treatment of the three strangers, but that God's substitutionary sacrifice for Isaac is also in response to this same act of mercy: after all, the offering of Isaac requires first his birth! These two stories about Abraham's works are linked even more closely in the interpretive tradition by the repetition of God's promise of a great nation by which all nations shall be blessed (18:18; 22:18). In my opinion, it is this alluded story from Genesis 18, which is "vastly amplified in the course of tradition"[14] and unquestionably known to the readers, and not the cited story of Isaac's sacrifice, that forms the biblical backdrop against which a fuller understanding of the critical phrase "justified by works" is now possible.[15]

(2) In addition, the following, more specific connections build the cumulative case in favor of this intertext:

(a) There is the obvious thematic parallel between Gen 18:1-22 and James 2: both texts concern a particular species of spiritual testing — the treatment of one's neighbor — and both indicate that God posits high value on the performance of mercy toward those neighbors. In fact, God's recognition of the righteous one and God's future blessing of Israel are both conditioned upon hospitable behavior — a theological point scored by both texts and by the wider tradition (cf. Matt 25:31-46).

(b) According to the Genesis text (Gen 18:19), the confirmation of God's prior blessing of Abraham recognizes that he does what a "righteous" person should do. No surprise here. However, the Old Testament text adds that God also took note of Abraham's "judgment" (Gen 18:19 LXX, ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην καὶ κρίσιν) — that is, his capacity to make sound judgments that conform to the way of the Lord. This theme is also found in James, where both judges and judgments that discriminate against the poor are condemned (cf. 2:4). The result of this intertext is a fuller sense of the obligations of friendship with God, exemplified by Abraham. The reader now understands that God requires more than a "righteous" life but also the capacity to make sound choices, different in kind than those made by believers who discriminate against the congregation's poor. Indeed, such discernment is the very foundation for the sort of mercy that James illustrates in the present text.

(c) An even more subtle resonance from Genesis 18 is heard in James's subsequent appeal to Rahab (2:25), which claims that she "entertained the

14. Davids, *Commentary on James,* 127.

15. It is not yet clear to me why James does not cite this incident. Perhaps it is best understood as a feature of the author's rhetorical art. For a readership familiar with this story and who could more readily hear its echoes in the present text, its allusive quality here may well be more evocative, leading readers/auditors to a "self-discovery" of meaning that is less pedantic and rhetorically more powerful.

messengers" (ὑποδεξαμένη τοὺς ἀγγέλους) and "sent them by a different route." I will return to this pregnant phrase when considering the example of Rahab below. Let me say here, however, that the word choice of this phrase that sums up Rahab's "works" is indeed striking: James does not say that she "safeguarded spies," in agreement with her biblical story;[16] rather, the text says that she "entertained the *aggeloi*" — a word that is typically translated "messengers" in James 2:25 but is also the standard LXX/NT word for "angels" (cf. Heb 13:2!). Could it be that this striking phrase about Rahab, which envisages "works" different than what is found in her biblical story, cues the reader to the earlier allusion of Abraham's story, who "entertained angels unawares" according to the traditional rabbinic reading of Genesis 18 (cf. Heb 13:2)?

(d) Finally, the reference to Rahab's "sending away" (ἐκβάλλω) the messengers/angels by a different route may very well pick up the verbal ideas found in Gen 18:16 of the Hebrew Bible where Abraham "dismisses" (לשלחם) the three heavenly messengers, and Josh 2:21 where Rahab "dismisses" (ותשלחם) the spies. The interplay of "receiving" and then "dismissing" one's guests frames the hospitable works that authenticate the faith of each.

3.4. The Significance of James 2:22

The importance of 2:22 in underscoring the symbiosis of the author's notions of faith and works is apparent to all commentators. James maintains that verbal professions of orthodox faith in God — what he then calls "faith alone" (2:24) — are simply not enough to win God's final approval. Even though Abraham is well regarded for his public confessions of monotheistic faith (cf. 2:19a), they are insufficient for his final justification. God requires more: a complement of merciful "works," obedient to the "law of liberty," completes his verbal claims of orthodox faith.

Critical to an exegesis of this verse, however, is the interpreter's recognition that the key verbal ideas of this verse repeat ideas from the same word families found in the book's opening thesis statement, 1:3-4. The reflexive interplay between these two texts adds yet another layer of meaning to this

16. LXX Josh 2:1-13; 6:21-24 uses νεανίσκοι and ἄνδρες, which is followed by the NT reference to her in Heb 11:31 (κατάσκοποι, based upon the verb κατασκοπεύω used in the Joshua narrative); however, we note that Joshua sends "messengers" to spy on Achan according to Josh 7:22.

Abraham example in the book of James and helps to clarify its larger polemic against a "faith alone" theology. The aorist passive verbs "worked with" (συνεργέω; cf. κατεργάζομαι, 1:3) and "was perfected" (τελειόω; cf. τέλειος, 1:4) now remind the reader that those who share Abraham's experience of spiritual testing will also "produce" (κατεργάζομαι) a "perfect work" (ἔργον τέλειον) that will yield God's blessing at the end of the age (1:4; cf. 1:12). In this setting, where the believer's compliance to the law of love is valued, the "perfect work" that Abraham "produces" takes the form of deeds of mercy toward the estranged neighbor. Moreover, the "perfection" (τέλειος) theme in James is a crucial topos of the coming kingdom (cf. 1:4; 1:17; 1:25): in this sense, Abraham's "perfect work" (hospitable treatment of the strangers) heralds a new creation where such "mercy will triumph over judgment" (2:13). Glossed by this earlier, programmatic meaning, the verbs used in this text to combine "faith and works" envisage this promise: the works of Abraham complete what is lacking in a wise response to God (see 1:4-5) and as a result will be blessed in the coming age (see appended note on "faith and works" in James and Paul).

4. The Example of Rahab (2:25)

4.1. Preliminary Observations

James recalls the story of Rahab (Josh 2:1-22 LXX) with the same rhetorical question ("Was not even Rahab the prostitute justified by works?") that earlier introduced the story of Abraham (2:21). In fact, the opening *Likewise* (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ) tells the reader that the condition of her justification is precisely the same as for Abraham: God recognizes the devotion of each by the hospitality each shows to the stranger, rather than by the faith each publicly professes for God. In this case, Rahab's hospitality toward strangers, "when she entertained the messengers and sent them by a different route," justifies her profession of faith in God and results in God's blessing of her.

As mentioned earlier, the connection between these two exemplars of "justification by works" is made by the use of a surprising catchword (ἄγγελοι) as the object of what Rahab did: she entertained "messengers," which is also the primary word for "angels" in the LXX/NT. At the very least the use of *aggeloi* here instead of "spies" suggests the author is familiar with the story of "spying out the promised land" told in Numbers 13, where the spies are sent out as God's messengers (so Num 13:1) rather than as Joshua's scouts (so Josh 2:1). Moreover, the author no doubt knows Exod 23:20, 23

(also 32:34; 33:2), where the Lord promises Moses to send an "angel" (ἄγγελος) before him into the promised land. In this sense, then, Rahab's positive response to them is, in effect, an affirmative response to God's plan of salvation, which is typically monitored by the agency of angelic messengers.

Here in James, however, I sense a gloss, where the alluded story of Abraham and the angels rereads the second story of Rahab and the "messengers" she entertained. According to this intertext, the Jewish scouts served the very same role in Rahab's case as the angelic strangers did in Abraham's case — to test and confirm her membership within the "true" Israel of God.[17] Indeed, it might be the case that James actually spiritualizes the old story about the spies and now interprets them as angels in disguise, even as those strangers in Sodom were first known as "men" (Gen 18:2; 19:10-12) before their true identity became clear (Gen 19:1, 16 [LXX]). In this newly expanded sense, the mission of the spies sent from God was not to spy out a future *eretz Israel* but a future spiritual Israel, with Rahab the prostitute its unlikely exemplar.[18]

Even though Rahab was celebrated as an exemplar of generous hospitality within Judaism,[19] I find this verbal idea, "to entertain," significant as well. According to her biblical story in Joshua 2, Rahab kept the spies a secret from Jericho's king in collaboration with Joshua's intent (Josh 2:1): she hid, but did not entertain, them. Reading this phrase of James within its biblical context provokes the question, "In what sense is Rahab's role in hiding the spies and helping them to escape by a different route, a form of 'entertainment'?" There are two plausible responses. (1) In using this verb (ὑποδέχομαι, from δέχομαι), James intends to link as approximately the same what Rahab did for the spies in Jericho with what Abraham did when he treated the three strangers in Sodom hospitably. In this second example, the strong reader assumes the alluded story of Abraham is also true of Rahab: both are blessed by God because they did not neglect the needs of the strangers in their midst. The role of this verb, then, is understood rhetorically: both Abraham and Rahab

17. Contra S. S. Laws, *A Commentary on the Epistle of James* (BNTC; London: Black, 1980) 138.

18. Berquist's narrative analysis ("Expectations and Repeated Climax in the Rahab Story") of Rahab's story in Joshua follows the "spy story" genre, most fully illustrated by the story found in Numbers 13. What is lacking, at least in explicit detail, from the "spy story" in Joshua 2, which then the reader needs to supply, is the discovery of some "item of value." According to Berquist, this "item" is none other than Rahab herself — her saving faith. Further, the other item lacking from Joshua 2 is the presentation of this precious item, which is not supplied until the story's climax in Josh 6:25, when Rahab lives with her family in Israel.

19. See Johnson, *The Letter of James,* 245.

are prophetic exemplars whose hospitality towards imperiled neighbors — "entertaining angels unaware"[20] — results in divine blessing.

(2) More critically, in my view, this verb, "to entertain," echoes the earlier use of its verbal root (δέχομαι) in James 1:21, where the "salvation of the soul" is promised to those who "receive" the word of truth. Within this particular composition, where themes unfold by repetition of their catchwords, the full significance of Rahab's cited action is made more clear to the reader. Her response to the spies in "sending them out by a different route" supplies the evidence that she has in fact "received" and understood the word of truth; thus, according to James 1:21, her soul is saved. This fuller meaning of the intertext, "entertained the messengers," supports the theological calculus of James's present argument that a person's love for God, which results in eschatological blessing, is tested by whether the person who professes faith — as Rahab did — performs concrete actions of mercy toward her neighbor.

4.2. James's Appeal to Rahab

With these preliminary observations made, we should admit at the outset that commentators of James have long neglected the example of Rahab in favor of Abraham. M. Dibelius even wonders why the author mentions Rahab at all,[21] and in mentioning her why he fails to add "appropriate" details to her story. Dibelius finally concludes that her story is "superfluous" to the book's argument.[22] This criticism, which seems logical given the obvious importance of Abraham for James, presumes incorrectly that Rahab's example simply repeats Abraham's for rhetorical emphasis. In fact, the creative handling of the Rahab tradition in James 2:25 amplifies the point under consideration, not only by what is said but by what is left unsaid about her biblical story.

The interpreter who assumes the texture of James's appeal to Rahab is layered in meaning and thickened by its intertextuality also realizes that very little else needs to be said about her. The "ideal" reader knows her story well and is expected to supply pertinent details to fill in the gaps left in James 2:25. For example, it is well known from Joshua 2 that Rahab was neither a Jew nor a person of respectable character; she was a Canaanite prostitute. More critically, it is known that she is a strategic participant in Israel's conquest of Jeri-

20. Heb 13:2 uses the verb ξενίζω for "entertaining" strangers, an obvious allusion to Genesis 18 where angels are the unknown strangers of Sodom.

21. M. Dibelius, *James* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976) 166.

22. Dibelius, *James,* 167.

cho and an eventual convert to God (Josh 2:11) and occupant of the promised land (Josh 6:25). During the Second Temple period, especially in the Diaspora, Rahab even came to symbolize the God-fearing outsider who is a beneficiary of God's mercy and is allowed membership in the congregation of God's people (cf. Josh 6:25) — a point underscored by Christian tradition as well (Matt 1:5; Heb 11:31; cf. *1 Clem* 12:1).[23] There is remarkable consistency in this history of Rahab criticism within Judaism and early Christianity: she represents the least, last, and lost among us all, whose newly found devotion bears witness to the hospitable God who seeks and finds the outsider to save. Even so, the telling of her story in James departs from other versions of her story in early Christianity, forged in this particular interpreter's world, which only illustrates (again!) the adaptability of biblical traditions.

4.3. The Faith of Rahab

Missing from James's appeal to Rahab is any reference to her renowned faith. Rather, she is introduced only as one who is "justified by works" (ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη). This is a different emphasis than that found in Heb 11:31, which mentions only her faith as significant, and is more in line with most contemporary Jewish commentators (e.g., Josephus) who even try to rehabilitate her character, denying that she was a prostitute at all but actually a hospitable innkeeper and the courageous ancestress of the great prophets, Hulda and Jeremiah (cf. Matt 1:5). Even here, however, James presents a different, unexpected contour of Rahab criticism.

Arguably the most impressive feature of Rahab's biblical story is her dramatic conversion and remarkable confession of faith in God (Josh 2:9-11) — the only biblical recital of God's saving works that echoes the magisterial confession of Moses in Deut 4:39: "the Lord your God is God in heaven above and on the earth below" (Josh 2:11). Good words and good company indeed! Yet, in a literary setting where glib professions of faith substitute for the hard virtues of a courageous mercy, the present text naturally resists any concep-

23. I find it interesting that *1 Clem* 10–12 mentions Lot along with Abraham and Rahab as three examples of hospitality for the Old Testament. Both Lot and Rahab are linked to God's judgment of pagan cities (Genesis 19!), and their salvation from those cities is justified by their hospitable treatment of "messengers." These OT images of divine judgment, linked to Rahab's Jericho and perhaps even to Lot's Sodom and Gomorrah, supply yet another allusive meaning to James's mention of Rahab. That is, James contends that even as her merciful deeds liberate Rahab from the judgment of pagan Jericho, so also will merciful deeds liberate all who do them from divine judgment at the end of the age (2:13).

tion of true religion that is secured by the false assurance that divine approval is conditioned on any profession of faith, however compelling and orthodox. The biblical tradition is therefore telescoped in James to view only what Rahab did to illustrate that true religion is contretemps to any faith community where orthodoxy is valued over orthopraxy, where even orthodox demons qualify for membership (2:19). In order to make more emphatic a definition of justification that values what the believer does over professions of faith alone, James edits out any explicit reference to Rahab's faith. Moreover, in my view, the deeper logic of this book's theological conception resists the hearing of any loud echo of her professed faith from Joshua 2. Rather, the missing detail of Rahab's story reminds the reader that her faith is evinced by her actions that "sent the messengers out another way" (cf. Josh 2:14-21).

4.4. Rahab's Appeal for Mercy

If this reference to Rahab in James is gapped, the reader will naturally recall another feature of Rahab's story that is more apropos for this setting. In my view, the reader will round off the written text with the memory not of Rahab's profession of faith but her subsequent appeal for merciful treatment found in Josh 2:12-13. There, she solicits a pledge from the spies that because she acted mercifully toward them (ποιῶ ὑμῖν ἔλεος, 2:12b), they (and by implication of her preceding confession, God) should act mercifully toward her and her family (ποιήσετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔλεος, 2:12c) in order to "rescue my soul from death" (ἐξελεῖσθε τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐκ θανάτου, 2:13b). According to the biblical narrative, Joshua honors Rahab's appeal during the siege of Jericho (Josh 6:22-25). Let us now examine the textual and thematic evidence in support of this intertextual reading of the example of Rahab in James.

(1) The themes and vocabulary of Rahab's appeal for mercy are loudly echoed in this section of James. Both are texts primarily concerned with the reciprocal relationship between a person's "mercy" and God's "mercy." According to Joshua 2, Rahab's life is at risk and she is saved because of what she did for the spies, who we now realize were really messengers sent by God to spy out a spiritual Israel. According to James, the examples of both Abraham and Rahab illustrate the conclusion reached in 2:13: that God will withhold mercy from those "who have shown no mercy" (τῷ μὴ ποιήσαντι ἔλεος). It is this gapped example of Rahab that supplies for James the normative illustration of a bartered salvation, where human mercy is exchanged for divine mercy.

(2) There are linguistic parallels between Rahab's concluding words in

LXX Joshua, where she describes the outcome of God's mercy as the "rescue of my soul from death" (ἐξελεῖσθε τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐκ θανάτου, Josh 2:13b), and James, who speaks of the soul's salvation from death (σώσει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου, James 5:20; cf. 1:21). According to James, this "salvation of the soul" results from employing the community's wisdom (1:21) during spiritual testing and when retrieving lost souls from their "spiritual" diaspora (5:19-20; cf. 1:1). We should recall here that Rahab's act of mercy leads to her own salvation and also to the salvation of others from death — in her case, her extended family from Jericho's destruction (Josh 6:23, 25). She becomes then an exemplar of a practical wisdom, whose vocation is to bring back those who wander in the spiritual diaspora, and whose souls are now rescued from eschatological death by merciful deeds.

(3) Finally, there is a sense in which her story works better for the readers of James, whose social status is closer to Rahab than to Abraham. Even from a position of political powerlessness and social alienation, a prostitute uses her actions to bargain for a lasting salvation. Indeed, one should take note of the narrator's aside in Josh 6:25 that Rahab's family is spared God's retribution against Jericho and "has lived in Israel ever since." Likewise, the readers of James, poor and powerless though they are, can use their acts of hospitality to justify their love for God and so secure for themselves the crown of (eternal) life (1:12).

APPENDIX

"Faith and Works" in Paul and James: A Brief Footnote to a Long-standing Debate

Paul and James use the same language in addressing the same theological question: What does God require of the community covenanted with God for salvation? The history of interpretation has naturally supposed that the different combinations of "faith and works" found in Pauline writings (especially Galatians and Romans) and James 2:21-25 reflect an intramural conflict within earliest Christianity: James's "justification by works" is a direct response to Paul's "justification by faith," or perhaps the reverse is true. However, this historical reconstruction is hardly self-evident, since these same terms appear in the literature of Second Temple Judaism (and specifically at Qumran).[24] Moreover, the "real" issue at stake is canonical and not historical: that is, even if James and Paul are not responding to a core conviction of the other's faith tradition, the disturbing conflict over the terms of divine justification remains within Scripture for its canonical audience: how are the different combinations of "faith and works" found in the Pauline and Jacobean traditions related together as two discrete (and I contend complementary) parts of a biblical understanding of divine justification?

From the perspective of the New Testament itself, the book of Acts performs a decisive role, not only in introducing its readers to the letter writers but also to the theological orientation by which these readers approach the following letters as the "word of God." According to Acts, the various controversies that swirled around both the Jewish and Gentile missions of the Church are all concentrated by the central claim of their gospels: membership within the reconstituted Israel is by faith in the risen Jesus of Nazareth, who is

24. See Johnson, *The Letter of James,* 236-52. Also see M. G. Abegg's essay in this volume and his earlier, "Paul, Works of the Law, and MMT," *BAR* 20/6 (1994) 52-55, 82. In my view, the more "Jewish" understanding of justification found at Qumran (e.g., 4QMMT C 26-32), which views the performance of the "works of the Law" as constitutive of the community that God "reckons as righteous," is similar to what James argues for in the present text. Further, Abegg is correct to find at Qumran a different combination of "faith and works," perhaps a midrash on Ps 106:30-31, than is found in the "justification" theme of the Pauline tradition. The subtext of this appendix is that biblical James and Qumran are joined together in their understanding of "faith and works" in a different way than is found in Galatians or Romans. In this sense, I wish to take the discussion one step beyond where it now is.

made Lord and Christ by the God of Israel. Both James and Paul, who represent different missions within the Church, have different responses to this same theological crisis: What then does "faith in and of Jesus" mean? Sharply put, for Paul "faith" means to trust in the trustworthy "work" of Messiah Jesus that has already disclosed the salvation-creating grace of God within history; for James "faith" must be embodied in the merciful "works" toward one's neighbor.

In illustrating this fundamental distinction, both Paul (in Romans 4 and Galatians 3) and James appeal to Abraham as the "founding father" of their particular theological programs and cite Gen 15:6 to authorize their essential definition of humanity's proper response to God's saving grace. Their intercanonical conversation over the meaning of this text places emphasis on different halves of the verse that both cite: thus, James appears drawn to the second half of Gen 15:6, which asserts that "God considered Abraham righteous," while Paul seems drawn to its first half, which asserts that "Abraham believed God." On the one hand, then, Abraham is an exemplar of the righteous life (James), while, on the other hand, he is an exemplar of faith in God (Paul). But even as Gen 15:6 combines the two, so Scripture also brings these two partners together, the one checking and bringing balance to the other.

Yet, the complementarity of these two biblical traditions requires the reader to maintain their individual distinctiveness. The critical reductionism that interprets the "faith alone" rubric in James as a pseudo- or folk Paulinism and that does not reflect a genuinely Pauline witness is simply wrongheaded. The opponents of James, for whom the verbal profession of orthodox faith is the mark of true religion, follow a rule of faith similar to the missionary logic of the Pauline tradition. The Pauline kerygma (Rom 10:8), whose subject matter is neatly framed in Rom 10:9-10 and authorized by Scripture according to Rom 10:11-13, defines the true Israel as constituted by those who "confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord." Of course, Paul assumes that the true convert then is baptized "into Christ" or is partnered "with Christ" for the rather robust experience of salvation. In this sense, the believer's passage into the realm of Christ is also a passage out of sin and death and into newness of life, where good works are naturally performed as one result of participation in Christ's death and resurrection. Paul does not forbid the performance of good works! Rather, the essential mark of belonging to God is the singular trust of the believer in the prior faithfulness of the crucified Christ (Rom 3:22) alone. What disturbs James is a species of Christianity that is defined exclusively by the orthodoxy of public profession rather than by the practical activism of merciful works — frankly, a frequent feature of those faith traditions that follow a Pauline rule of faith (i.e., Protestantism!).

What disturbs Paul is something very different than this — namely, a doctrine of election that defines Israel in ethnic or political terms and therefore limits the promise and experience of salvation to the "physical" children of Abraham.[25]

Nor can one rule out the contrast between the "works" (ἔργων), which James champions, and "works of the law" (ἔργων νόμου), which Paul rejects, because their terminology does not share a precise form. The claim that "James would be careful to adopt Paul's specific vocabulary"[26] presumes that he would know Paul well enough and would be anti-Paul at that, but this is hardly self-evident.[27] What is clear is that both phrases are metaphors of ethical religion, whose rule of faith is the performance of Torah that maintains a redemptive relationship with God. While there is not much difference in actual content between the merciful "works" of James and the "good works" of Pauline *paraenesis,* the real difference is theological: for Paul, conformity to God's law is the natural result of the believer's participation in Christ's death and resurrection. For James, however, the community's obedience to God's demand is the wise response of those who believe. I find no indication in James that the believer's obedience to Torah is a christological result rather than a moral response to God's redemptive will. While I agree that Paul and James speak out of different backgrounds, the "canonical" result is that two different kerygmata form two discrete yet integral parts of a biblical whole.

For this reason, the most pressing issues of this long and sometimes heated debate over the relationship between the biblical Paul and James should be cast in hermeneutical rather than historical terms. The different conceptions of justification in Paul and James, when heard as different although complementary voices, actually form a coherent whole. Briefly, for Paul, the profession of faith in the gospel of truth gets one into that community in whose life and history the powers and experiences of the coming age have dawned in partnership with Christ under the aegis of his Spirit. Merciful deeds are the result of God's justifying mercies. For James, merciful deeds result in God's justifying mercies because they are the very subject matter of true religion. Clearly the redemptive calculus of James raises the moral stakes of Christian discipleship to a redemptive level and provides a critical incentive for the believer's performance of God's will. What does James then mean that *a person is justified by works and not by faith alone?* Quite simply that God

25. See my essay, "Israel and the Gentile Mission in Acts and Paul: A Canonical Approach," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts,* ed. I. H. Marshall and D. Peterson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 437-58.

26. R. P. Martin, *James* (WBC 48; Waco, TX: Word, 1988) 95.

27. See Davids, *Commentary on James,* 131-32.

will recognize the devotion of those whose public professions of monotheistic faith are embodied in public works of mercy toward their neighbor. These are the Lord's true friends and, with Abraham and Rahab, will constitute the neighborhood of the coming kingdom.

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