

*Edited by*  
ARMIN LANGE, EMANUEL TOV,  
AND MATTHIAS WEIGOLD

# The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context

*Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls  
in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages,  
and Cultures*

IN ASSOCIATION WITH  
BENNIE H. REYNOLDS III

BRILL

## The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context

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# The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context

Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls  
in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages,  
and Cultures

Volume One

*Edited by*

Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold

In association with Bennie H. Reynolds III



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## INTRODUCTION

In the framework of the cooperation between the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Vienna, Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold organized in February of 2008 the international conference “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures” at Vienna University.

It was a special honor for the conference organizers that the Federal President of the Republic of Austria, Dr. Heinz Fischer, and his Excellency, the Ambassador of the State of Israel to Austria, Dan Ashbel, addressed words of greeting to the conference. We would like to use this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude to both President Fischer and Ambassador Ashbel. We are also grateful to the Embassy of the State of Israel to Austria, Brill Publishers, the Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies of Vienna University, the Österreichische Gesellschaft der Freunde der Hebräischen Universität Jerusalem, the Rectorate of Vienna University, and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht publishers for sponsoring our conference. The active help of Professor Dr. Alfred Ebenbauer and Professor Dr. Dr. Dr. Peter Landesmann in fundraising were instrumental for the success of the conference. We would also like to thank Dara Fischer, Katharina Gabor, Daniela Hanin, Maria Kelm, Nikolaus Keusch, Kerstin Mayerhofer, and Olivia Rogowski for their help in organizing the conference. Furthermore, we are obliged to the departments Public Relations and Event Management as well as Research Service and International Relations of Vienna University.

The present volume is the first of two volumes in which the proceedings of our conference will be published. We are grateful to Ms. Maria Kelm for her support in editing the proceedings. We are grateful to Hans Barstad and the editorial board of *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* for accepting our proceedings for publication. Liesbeth Hugenholtz, Machiel Kleemans, and Suzanne Mekking of Brill publishers have guided us through the publication process in preparing the manuscript of this volume.

In addition to twenty presentations by faculty members of the Hebrew University and the University of Vienna, thirty eight colleagues from all over the world answered our call for papers and contributed

presentations to the Vienna “Dead Sea Scrolls in Context” conference. The topic of the conference responded to the completion of the publication of the scrolls from the Judean Desert. Except for some small fragments, all of the Dead Sea Scrolls have been published and are now easily accessible. The time has therefore come to integrate the Dead Sea Scrolls fully into the various disciplines that benefit from the discovery of these very important ancient texts. The Dead Sea Scrolls enrich many areas of biblical research, as well as the study of ancient Jewish, early Christian and other ancient literatures, languages, and cultures. In addition to Dead Sea Scrolls specialists, the Vienna conference was, therefore, also attended by specialists from these other fields. We made it a requirement for both the presentations of the Vienna conference and the contributions to its proceedings that contributors address both the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves as well as one of the contexts mentioned above.

The first volume of the Vienna conference proceedings contains articles that discuss new methodologies applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls, and articles that address the relevance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, for ancient Semitic languages, the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Jewish literature, and for ancient Jewish literature in Greek.

The first part of the present volume (“Methodological Contexts: The Dead Sea Scrolls Beyond Historical Criticism”) puts the Dead Sea Scrolls into the context of new methodologies and approaches beyond the constraints of historical criticism. *Emanuel Tov* (“The Sciences and the Reconstruction of the Ancient Scrolls: Possibilities and Impossibilities”) surveys and discusses various scientific methodologies which were applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls, such as radiocarbon dating, ink research, analysis of parchment shrinkage, DNA-analysis, elemental composition analysis, analysis of stitching material, the use of advanced photographic techniques, computer assisted fragment identification, research of hair follicles and fibers, and the so-called Stegemann method of reconstructing ancient scrolls. Of these scientific approaches, Tov finds radiocarbon analysis, ink research, research of leather follicles and papyrus fibers, elemental composition analysis, and infrared color photographing the most promising methods. *James A. Loader* (“Creating New Contexts: On the Possibilities of Biblical Studies in Contexts Generated by the Dead Sea Scrolls”) carries the methodological question into the realm of intertextuality. The Dead Sea Scrolls lend a striking topicality to the concept of intertextuality. Not only was Qumran literature written in the context of the Hebrew Bible, but it created in turn contexts for the reading

of the Hebrew Bible that did not exist before the Dead Sea Scrolls. The example of the Dead Sea Scrolls shows thus that pre-texts do not remain unaffected by their post-texts. *Jeff S. Anderson* (“Curses and Blessings: Social Control and Self Definition in the Dead Sea Scrolls”) reflects on blessings and curses in covenant renewals and expulsions, war prayers, and parenetic exhortations based on J.L. Austin’s notion of performative utterances.<sup>1</sup> Blessings and curses uttered in ritual contexts at Qumran were potent and effective performatives. The community employed these utterances in multiple contexts using speech laced with intertextual references to blessings and curses from the Hebrew Bible. In the framework of the Qumran community’s dualistic world view, blessings and curses enhanced social solidarity, marginalized outsiders, and coerced obedience to social sanctions. Based on the example of 1QSa, *Tal Ilan* (“Reading for Women in 1QSa [Serekh ha-Edah]”) shows how individual Dead Sea Scrolls can be interpreted from a feminist standpoint. Ilan reads the constructions of gender in 1QSa not in isolation, but in light of other texts that existed simultaneously. She shows that in 1QSa, the council of the Yahad comprises both women and men of honor. Ilan asks: if 1QSa is thus interested in both men and women, why did research ignore the role of women in the Qumran community for so long?

The second part of the present volume is dedicated to “The Textual History of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls.” The three articles of this part exemplify how the Dead Sea Scrolls help to better understand the pre-canonical textual history of the biblical books. *John Elwolde* (“The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions [Book 2: Pss 42–72]”) analyzes the text-critical importance of allusions to Pss 42–72 in the Qumran *Hodayot*. Out of twenty-one passages, he finds only the allusion to Ps 57:5 in 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:6–7 (XIII:8–9) of text-critical interest. The *Hodayot* attest to the regular form לְבִיא instead of MT’s *hapax legomenon* לְבָא, Peshitta’s حلباء, and Tg. Ps.’s שלהובין. Furthermore, in the *Hodayot* no equivalent for MT’s אֶשְׁכְּבָה לְהַטִּים or LXX’s ἐκουμήθη τεταραγμένος can be found. Based on the example of Mal 3:22–24, *Russell Fuller* (“Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts: Their Interpretations and their Interpreters”) demonstrates that the redactional history of biblical compositions cannot be reconstructed based on their Masoretic texts. In Mal 3:22–24, the text sequence of the Greek version is older than the Masoretic one. It has its origin no later than the middle of the sec-

<sup>1</sup> J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

ond century B.C.E as attested by the paleographic date of 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76). The sequence of the Masoretic text highlights the eschatological perspective in the last section of Malachi and emphasizes thus the eschatological imagery used in contemporary compositions like the book of *Jubilees*. Based on the example of Judg 6:7–10, *Alexander Rofé* (“Studying the Biblical Text in the Light of Historico-Literary Criticism: The Reproach of the Prophet in Judg 6:7–10 and 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>”) discusses the relationship between textual criticism (“lower criticism”) and the historical-critical approach (“higher criticism”). The absence of Judg 6:7–10 from 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> is due to *parablepsis*. But this short text was favored by the contents of the pericope in question. Judges 6:7–10 is an addition aiming to reply to Gideon’s complaint “why has all this befallen us” (Judg 6:13). The example shows that various textual witnesses reveal the textual vicissitudes of the late history of biblical texts but do not provide information about their early history.

The third part of the present volume, “Ancient Semitic Languages and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” is dedicated to the contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the understanding of Hebrew and Aramaic. *Steven E. Fassberg* (“The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Contribution to the Study of Hebrew and Aramaic”) surveys the history of research on the study of Hebrew and Aramaic in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls have left an indelible mark on Hebrew linguistic research in 1) pointing to the existence of different Hebrew dialects in ancient Coele-Syria, 2) in providing evidence for vernacular Hebrew during the Second Temple period, and 3) in highlighting the history of the Hebrew verbal system. Similarly, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide new insights into the Aramaic of the Second Temple period by highlighting the literary nature of the Aramaic texts from Qumran (standard literary Aramaic), by arguing for a Palestinian setting and middle Aramaic date of *Targum Onqelos*, and by allowing for a new periodization of the Aramaic language, i.e. Old, Official, Middle, Late, and Modern Aramaic. The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls belong to the Middle Aramaic period (200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.). Furthermore, the coexistence of Hebrew and Aramaic documents at the various sites in the Judean Desert as well as the Hebraisms in the Aramaic documents and the Aramaisms in the Hebrew documents prove the bilingualism of Palestinian Jews before and after the turn of the Common Era.

Five other papers underline the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Hebrew and Aramaic research. *Moshe Bar-Asher* (“Two Issues in Qumran Hebrew: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives”) studies the

transition from Qumran to Mishnaic Hebrew by way of the examples of מברואי/מברוי and העשה in Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew. The transitions between different forms of Hebrew take place at different times for different features. In some cases Qumran may line up with biblical Hebrew and against later Mishnaic Hebrew, while in other cases Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew are set off from biblical Hebrew. *Francesco Zanella* (“The Lexemes תרומה and מנה in the Poetic Texts of Qumran: Analysis of a Semantic Development”) explains the semantic development of the lexemes תרומה and מנה in the context of ancient Jewish perceptions of speech. In Qumran texts, speech is no longer linked to perversion, falsehood, and mischief. Speech acts, rather, have the purpose of praising and exalting the true nature of God, which must be at first fully comprehended. The act of praising, therefore, originates from a cognitive (perhaps mystical) process that brings the speaker/petitioner to a deeper level of knowledge. In their new meanings of “contribution of knowledge” (תרומה) and “selected prayer” (מנה), תרומה and מנה lexicalize the innovative relations between praise, true knowledge, and “oral sacrifice.” Two ostraca from pagan Mareshah highlight, according to *Esther Eshel* (“Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Light of New Epigraphical Finds”), the use of two Aramaic lexemes in Qumran texts. The use of the noun מהשא in the Mareshah ostraca demonstrates that in 4Q211 משחתה might refer to a luminous phenomenon made by stars or meteors. Furthermore, that the Mareshah ostraca use the verb נזח to describe the movement of Halley’s comet argues for a similar usage in the “Birth of Noah” text. These linguistic observations point to the knowledge of Mesopotamian astrology, astronomy, and demonology in Coele-Syria during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. *Aaron Koller* (“Four Dimensions of Linguistic Variation: Aramaic Dialects in and around Qumran”) explains the dialectological variation of Middle Aramaic in considering geography, textual genres, and linguistic ideologies. By comparing the linguistic features of *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* with Aramaic texts from Qumran, *Christa Müller-Kessler* (“The Linguistic Heritage of Qumran Aramaic”) shows that both Targumim belong to the dialect geography of Babylonia. Although Targumic Aramaic preserves features of Qumran Aramaic, it is far more developed than the latter. Therefore its placement within the group of Middle Aramaic has to be reconsidered. The diversity in the linguistic elements of Qumran Aramaic presents a non-homogeneous language style that differs from text to text.

The fourth part of the present volume, “The Hebrew Bible and Other Second Temple Jewish Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” is

devoted to another important context of the Dead Sea Scrolls. *Mila Ginsburskaya* (“Leviticus in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Atonement and Purification from Sin”) explores the concept of atonement and the related ideas of purification and divine forgiveness in cultic and non-cultic texts of the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. While the connection between atonement, forgiveness, and purification from sin is particularly enhanced in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the synthesis of cultic and non-cultic trends in the Dead Sea Scrolls supports the view that there is no ideological discontinuity between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible. *Bennie H. Reynolds III* (“Adjusting the Apocalypse: How the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* Updates the Book of Daniel”) argues that *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* updated some prophecies of the book of Daniel approximately sixty years after it was written, i.e. during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.). The writer of the *Apocryphon* renewed and actuated Daniel’s failed prophecy, placing the eschaton near the beginning of the first century B.C.E. *Michael Segal* (“Identifying Biblical Interpretation in Parabiblical Texts”) identifies interpretative techniques as markers for the “post-canonical” nature of a textual composition. He exemplifies his theory based on the re-narrations of the story of the sojourn to Egypt (Gen 12:10–20) in the book of *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. In both texts, Segal observes an implicit interpretative thrust to harmonize the story of Abram’s and Sarai’s sojourn to Egypt with Israel’s exile in Egypt. This interpretative thrust became explicit much later in *Genesis Rabbah*. In her comparison of 4Q377 2 i 9 with Demetrius the Chronographer, Philo’s *Legum allegoriae* (1.76; 2.66–67; 3.103), *m. Soṭah* 1:7, 9, and *Sipre Num* 99, *Hanna Tervanotko* (“Miriam Misbehaving? The Figure of Miriam in 4Q377 in Light of Ancient Jewish Literature”) shows that 4Q377 2 i 9 preserves an allusion to Num 12. The brevity of this allusion implies that this text was written for the use of audiences who could relate to it with such a subtle hint. *Pierpaolo Bertalotto* (“Qumran Messianism, Melchizedek, and the Son of Man”) observes that both the Melchizedek of 11QMelch and the Son of Man in the Enochic *Book of Parables* are linked by way of the angelic appellation אֱלֹהִים, that both are interpretative developments of the “one like a son of man” in Dan 7:13–14, and that being identified with the “Anointed of the Spirit,” both perform revelatory tasks. Bertalotto concludes that the Melchizedek of 11QMelch was created against the background of the Son of Man in the *Book of Parables*. *J. Harold Ellens* (“The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Son of Man in Daniel, 1 Enoch, and the New Testament Gospels: An Assessment of 11QMelch [11Q13]”) reads the Melchizedek figure of 11QMelch in the

context of the book of Daniel, *1 Enoch*, and the New Testament Gospels. At Qumran, the *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Rule of the Community* attest to a messianic figure that is not only a virtual Son of Man but also a suffering servant. In 11QMelch, Melchizedek becomes a messianic figure that combines the *exousia* of the eschatological judge with the savior of the people of God. Because the suffering messiah and the eschatological judge contradict Qumran determinist thought, Ellens suggests that a heretical movement existed within the community envisioning the possibility of hope and salvation beyond the scope of the predestined elect.

The fifth and last part of the first volume of the conference proceedings is devoted to “Ancient Jewish Literature in Greek and the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *Jamal-Dominique Hopkins* (“The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Greco-Roman World: Examining the Essenes’ View of Sacrifice in Relation to the Scrolls”) argues that in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, remarks of both Josephus (*Ant.* 18.19) and Philo (*Prob.* 75) point to a spiritualized understanding of sacrifice in the Essene movement. Philo, *Prob.* 80–82, makes it probable that studying was viewed as such a form of spiritualized sacrifice by the Essenes. *Ekaterina Matusova* (“*1 Enoch* in the Context of Philo’s Writings”) finds allusions to Enochic literature in Philo’s treatises *De gigantibus* (*On Giants*) and *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* (*That God Is Unchangeable*). Based on these allusions she is able to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the Greek translation of *1 Enoch* in the first century B.C.E. The allusions show furthermore that *1 Enoch* was accepted not only by the Qumran community but widely in ancient Judaism.

*Noah Hacham* (“Where Does the Shekhinah Dwell? Between the Dead Sea Sect, Diaspora Judaism, Rabbinic Literature, and Christianity”) shows that the idea of the Divine Presence dwelling among God’s people originated in the (Babylonian) Diaspora due to its separation from the nation’s religious center. Later, Hellenism exercised, especially among Diaspora Jews, great influence on the development of the concept of Shekhinah. When the Second Temple was destroyed, the Diaspora concept of Shekhinah enabled Jews to live without a religious and national center. Even before the destruction of the Second Temple, the Qumran community viewed itself as a human temple in which God would dwell removed from his physical sanctuary. In comparison with the priestly personification of wisdom in Wisdom of Solomon 18, *Ulrike Mittmann* (“11QMelch im Spiegel der Weisheit”) shows that 11QMelch understands Melchizedek as a priestly figure of personified wisdom. Different from 11QMelch, the early Christian interpretation of Melchizedek identifies the priestly wisdom that is personified in the priestly figure



of Melchizedek with the Davidic Messiah and the Son of Man. *Loren T. Stuckenbruck* (“The ‘Heart’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Negotiating between the Problem of Hypocrisy and Conflict within the Human Being”) compares the *Hodayot*, the Exhortation of *1 Enoch*, Ben Sira, and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* with regard to the problems of hypocrisy and conflict within human beings with each other. On the one hand, with regard to “hypocritical” behavior, the *Hodayot*, the Exhortation of *1 Enoch*, and Ben Sira are less interested in what happens within human beings. Their claims to piety should not be confused with authentic religiosity. For these texts, the demarcation between the pious and the sinners is a socially discernible contrast. On the other hand, for the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, a recognizable distinction between “the sons of light/righteousness” and “the sons of iniquity” is not guaranteed. It regards “the heart” of each human being as a combat zone where the powers of good and evil struggle to assert their control. As God has apportioned to each human being a certain measure of the spirit of “truth” and the spirit of “iniquity,” an apocalyptic act of divine clearance at the end will reveal the people of God as they have been predetermined from the beginning.

The second volume of the *Dead Sea Scrolls in Context* proceedings will explore further areas which illuminate the Dead Sea Scrolls and are illuminated by them: “Jewish History, Culture, and Archeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” “Jewish Thought and Religion in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Ancient Mediterranean and Ancient Near Eastern Worlds,” “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Literature and Culture of the Rabbinic and Medieval Periods,” as well as “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity.”

Unless otherwise indicated, abbreviations follow *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (ed. P.H. Alexander et al.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999).

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METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXTS:  
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS BEYOND  
HISTORICAL CRITICISM



THE SCIENCES AND  
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANCIENT SCROLLS:  
POSSIBILITIES AND IMPOSSIBILITIES

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The study of the Qumran scrolls is the study of fragments and sheets rather than that of complete scrolls. For example, 4QJer<sup>a</sup> consists of fifty fragments covering parts, sometimes very minute, of sixteen chapters. 4Q509 consists of 313 fragments, and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has 346 fragments covering parts of fifty chapters. I have no idea how many fragments altogether have been found in the Qumran caves, but it must be a large number. Some scholars speak of 15,000 fragments for cave 4 alone,<sup>1</sup> while others estimate the total number of fragments as 10,000<sup>2</sup> or as many as 100,000.<sup>3</sup> If we set the *average* number of fragments per scroll randomly at forty, we are dealing with 37,000 fragments covering 930 fragmentary scrolls. The actual number will remain unknown unless one dedicates many weeks to counting.

When dealing with a topic like the sciences and the ancient scrolls, scientists often forget that these fragments are parts, however minute, of once complete sheets, and that each medium-sized scroll consisted of a number of sheets. A fragment does not constitute an independent unit for a material investigation, since the information about fragments needs to be supplemented by that in other fragments deriving from the same sheet. Each sheet forms an independent unit, not necessarily of the same nature as the sheet that is now stitched to it. Therefore, in the material analysis of the fragments it is necessary to know more about each sheet or the scroll as a whole. The scroll is the overriding unit, but since many scrolls are composed of different sheets, we have to base our remarks on these sheets. Single-column sheets like 4QTest

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<sup>1</sup> R. de Vaux, quoted by P. Benoit in *DJD* VI (1977): v.

<sup>2</sup> Thus S.R. Woodward et al., "Analysis of Parchment Fragments from the Judean Desert Using DNA Techniques," in *Current Research and Technological Developments in the Dead Sea Scrolls—Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 215–238 (222).

<sup>3</sup> J.T. Milik, oral communication.

(4Q175) and single-sheet scrolls are rare in Qumran. Most scrolls are composed of a number of sheets, seventeen in the case of the large Isaiah scroll.

Over the past five decades, the sciences have come to our aid in examining several material aspects of scroll fragments, their coverings, stitching material, etc. The first such study was that included in *DJD* I (1955), viz., examinations by Crowfoot of the linen textiles, some of which must have covered scrolls.<sup>4</sup> Further, according to investigations made in 1958 and the early 1960s by Ryder on the one hand and Poole and Reed on the other,<sup>5</sup> the leather scrolls found at Qumran were made mainly from skins of sheep and goats.<sup>6</sup> A more detailed study of the scroll material mentioned the following four species: calf, fine-wooled sheep, medium-wooled sheep, and a hairy animal that was either a sheep or a goat.<sup>7</sup>

There are many ways in which the sciences helped or *could* help us to gain a better understanding of the scroll fragments and aid us in their reconstruction. The main areas are: (1) determining the date of the scrolls (based on the age of the leather and ink [?]), (2) determining whether fragments derive from the same sheet (Carbon-14, DNA research, the chemical composition of the leather and ink; follicle patterns in leather, and fibers in papyrus), (3) retrieving previously unreadable letters with the aid of advanced photographic techniques, (4) and identifying fragments and determining the relation between fragments with the aid of computer-assisted research. At the same time, we should also be able to determine where these sciences are *unable* to help us.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> G.M. Crowfoot in *DJD* I (1955): 18–38. The tests themselves were carried out under the direction of W.F. Libby at the University of Chicago in 1950.

<sup>5</sup> M.L. Ryder, “Follicle Arrangement in Skin from Wild Sheep, Primitive Domestic Sheep and in Parchment,” *Nature* 182 (1958): 1–6; J. Poole and R. Reed, “The Preparation of Leather and Parchment by the Dead Sea Scrolls Community,” *Technology and Culture* 3 (1962): 1–26; repr. in *Technology and Culture: An Anthology* (ed. M. Kranzberg and W.H. Davenport; New York: Schocken, 1972), 143–168; idem, “A Study of Some Dead Sea Scrolls and Leather Fragments from Cave 4 at Qumran: Part I, Physical Examination; Part II, Chemical Examination,” *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Scientific Section* 9/1 (1962): 1–13; 9/6 (1964): 171–182.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, “Part I, Physical Examination,” 1–13, especially 8.

<sup>7</sup> M.L. Ryder, “Remains Derived from Skin,” in *Science in Archaeology: A Comprehensive Survey of Progress and Research* (ed. D. Brothwell and E.S. Higgs; London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), 539–554.

<sup>8</sup> For an earlier survey, see M. Broshi, “The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Sciences and New Technologies,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 133–142.

This study refers solely to the scientific examination of the fragments, and not to the identification and reconstruction on the basis of content. Further, it refers only to scientific aid in the reconstruction and understanding of the scrolls, and not to the contribution of these examinations to the archeology of Qumran or the understanding of life at Qumran. Thus, we do not deal with ground-penetrating radar locating caves, examination of parasites in combs, Qumran skeletons, or pottery, nor do we deal with the study of metals, wood, glass, etc. The latter list of examinations is very important for many aspects of Qumran archeology and Qumran research, and sometimes also of scroll research, but does not contribute directly to the reading and reconstruction of scroll fragments, which is our immediate aim.

Over the past four decades, many types of scientific investigation have been carried out, providing help for the research of the scrolls.

This paper focuses on the following areas:

1. Topics examined and results reached with the aid of the sciences
2. Some technical data about the scrolls
3. Scientific aid in the reconstruction of ancient scrolls: possibilities and impossibilities.

#### 1. TOPICS EXAMINED AND RESULTS REACHED WITH THE AID OF THE SCIENCES

Individual scholars as well as groups of scholars<sup>9</sup> advanced the scientific investigation of the scrolls in individual and collective publications dealing with the sciences.<sup>10</sup> Progress has been made in the following areas.

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<sup>9</sup> Note especially the Jerusalem "Taskforce for science and the scrolls" on behalf of the Orion Center at the Hebrew University.

<sup>10</sup> Parry and Ricks, *Current Research*; J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg, eds., *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (NTOA.SA 3; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003); K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, eds., *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (STD) 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006); J. Gunneweg, C. Greenblatt, and A. Adriaens, eds., *Bio- and Material Cultures at Qumran: Papers from a COST Action G8 Working Group Meeting Held in Jerusalem, Israel on 22–23 May 2005* (Stuttgart: Fraunhofer IRB, 2006).

a. *Dating the Scrolls*(1) *Carbon-14*

The first system used for dating scrolls was that of *paleography* (dating on the basis of the type of handwriting), and this is still our major resource for dating.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, at an early stage in the study of the scrolls, C-14 examinations<sup>12</sup> of the leather and papyrus fragments became instrumental in determining their dates,<sup>13</sup> usually corroborating paleographical dating.<sup>14</sup> These examinations have been applied only to a small number of scrolls.<sup>15</sup>

The paleographical dates applied to the documents range from the fourth century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. for the Jericho documents, from 250 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. for the Qumran texts, from 150 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. for the Masada texts, and from 75 B.C.E. to 135 C.E. for the texts from Wadi Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever, and Naḥal Şeelim.

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<sup>11</sup> For a summary of the paleographical dates given to the scrolls, see B. Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," in *DJD XXXIX* (2002): 351–446.

<sup>12</sup> C-14 analysis is based on the fact that the animal hides contained carbon-14 atoms when the animal was alive, and that the number of these atoms decreased at a measurable rate after its death, when they became carbon-12 atoms, all compared with the C-14 atoms in tree rings.

<sup>13</sup> The best non-technical explanation of C-14 is probably by G. Doudna, "Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:430–471. See also *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 441–453 ("Report and Discussion Concerning Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls").

<sup>14</sup> For comparative tables recording the paleographical and C-14 data, see Webster, "Chronological Index" (362–368). 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> was tested in the laboratories of Zurich and Tucson with similar results (see n. 15).

<sup>15</sup> The report of the first C-14 tests (14 texts) carried out in Zurich is that of G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27–32 = *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992): 843–849. The second group of carbon-tests was carried out on 28 texts, of which one (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>) had also been sampled by Bonani et al.: A.J.T. Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11–19 = *Atiqot* 28 (1996): 85–91. Some individual texts were examined as well: M. Broshi and H. Eshel, "Radiocarbon Dating and 'The Messiah Before Jesus,'" *RevQ* 20 (2001): 310–317 (4Q427 and 4Q491) = *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 133–138; J. Charlesworth in his publications of XJoshua (MS Schøyen 2713) in *DJD XXXVIII* (2000): 231–239 and XJudges (MS Schøyen 2861) in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 231–233.

With the aid of a C-14 test, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> was dated to between 250 and 103 B.C.E. (paleographical date: 125–100 B.C.E.)<sup>16</sup> and 11QT<sup>a</sup> between 97 B.C.E. and 1 C.E. (paleographical date: late first century B.C.E. to early first century C.E.).<sup>17</sup> However, there are also a few texts for which the paleographical and C-14 dates differ greatly. This pertains to 4QTQahat, C-14 dated to 385–349 B.C.E. This date is earlier than the dates of all other Qumran scrolls.<sup>18</sup> By the same token, one of the fragments of 4QS<sup>d</sup> (4Q258) dated to 134–230 C.E. at the one-sigma range, after the destruction of Qumran, is later than expected.<sup>19</sup> Some scholars ascribe the deviating dates of these documents—either too early or too late according to the common view about Qumran—to the applying of castor oil to the leather in the 1950s in order to improve the clarity of the written text.<sup>20</sup> This claim is made especially by G. Doudna; Doudna's own view is that all the scrolls date from the period before 40 B.C.E.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, according to Broshi, the possible influence of such

<sup>16</sup> Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating"; Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating": 202–107 B.C.E.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. The fragment was probably contaminated, offsetting the precision of the C-14 analysis.

<sup>19</sup> Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating." Another fragment of the same scroll was dated to 11 B.C.E.–78 C.E.

<sup>20</sup> See J. Strugnell, "On the History of the Photographing of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert for the International Group of Editors," in E. Tov with the collaboration of S.J. Pfann, *Companion Volume to The Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition* (2nd rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 125: "Next came some cleaning of the darker patches with oil, to bring out the writing—something chemically harmless, I am told, but some of us used it too generously in the early days."

<sup>21</sup> "Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," 430–465; idem, *Redating the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran* (QC 8.4; Cracow: Enigma Press, 1999); idem, "The Legacy of an Error in Archaeological Interpretation: The Dating of the Qumran Cave Scroll Deposits," in Galor, Humbert, and Zangenberg, *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 147–157. See also K.L. Rasmussen et al., "Cleaning and Radiocarbon Dating of Material from Khirbet Qumran," in Gunneweg, Greenblatt, and Adriaens, *Bio- and Material Cultures*, 139–163; idem et al., "The Effects of Possible Contamination on the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls I: Castor Oil," *Radiocarbon* 43 (2001): 127–132 (note that the great majority of the samples taken are not from parchments); R. van der Water, "Reconsidering Palaeographic and Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 19 (1999–2000): 213–216; J. Atwill and S. Braunheim, "Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 11 (2004): 143–157; see also the reactions to this paper by J. van der Plicht, "Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on 'Redating,'" *DSD* 14 (2007): 77–89; T. Higham, J.E. Taylor, and D. Green, "New Radiocarbon Determination," in Humbert and Gunneweg, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 197–200; S. Pfann, "Relative Agreement and Systematic Error of Radiocarbon Tests Applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon*, forthcoming.



oil is negligible.<sup>22</sup> The last word has not been said on this issue, and the presence of castor oil on the margins of the leather (from which samples were taken) as opposed to the inscribed surface itself, has yet to be proven. This discussion is important, since C-14 examinations are very significant for scroll research. A. Masic has developed a new technique to identify such oil.<sup>23</sup>

## (2) *Ink Research*

So far ink has not been dated.

## (3) *Parchment Shrinkage*

In a little-known study, Burton, Poole, and Reed suggested dating the scroll fragments according to the pattern of the shrinkage temperature of the collagen fibers in the leather (1959).<sup>24</sup> To the best of my knowledge, this method has not been applied to the Qumran fragments.

### b. *Relation between Fragments*

When reconstructing scrolls there are many unknowns. The question of whether two or more fragments should be joined as adjacent fragments or designated as belonging to the same column or sheet, remains a major issue in scrolls research. Information about the content is usually insufficient in fragmentary scrolls. The analysis of script is often equally unsatisfying when analyzing small fragments. We would appreciate some help from the sciences in either linking fragments or excluding such a connection, but such help is still being developed. In short, we would like to have objective criteria for making a connection between any two fragments or excluding such a possibility. The first steps in exploring some possibilities have been made, but scholars are in need of a database incorporating

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<sup>22</sup> Broshi, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 135: "To 16 of the 34 samples no castor oil was applied; in the other, samples were taken from margins never touched by castor oil. Even if there were traces of oil they would have been eliminated by the pre-treatment." See also I. Carmi, "Are the 14C Dates of the Dead Sea Scrolls Affected by Castor Oil Contamination," *Radiocarbon* 44 (2002): 127-132.

<sup>23</sup> "Dead Sea Scrolls: Non-Invasive Characterisation of Conservation Treatment Materials by Means of IR-ERS," in *Israeli-Italian Bi-national Workshop*, Ramat-Gan, 2007 (unpublished in the meantime).

<sup>24</sup> D. Burton, J.B. Poole, and R. Reed, "A New Approach to the Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Nature* 184 (1959): 533-534.

alternative scientific data referring to a large number of fragments. The techniques that come to mind relating to the possible joining of fragments are DNA research, ink research, research of leather follicles and papyrus fibers, and elemental composition analysis. However, it should be remembered that these examinations can only determine whether or not two fragments belong to the same sheet. A fragment is not a unit. The real unit is the sheet, because the information gathered by the aforementioned examinations pertains to the sheet as a whole. This examination is further complicated by the fact that skins of different animals were used as writing material for one scroll (see below). To the best of my knowledge, all these techniques would produce the same results for fragments taken from any part of the sheet (C-14, DNA, research of leather follicles, ink research<sup>25</sup>), with the exception of the examination of fibers in papyri, a technique that is not yet developed.

In all these cases, the sciences may help us in determining whether a frg. a and frg. b derive from the same sheet or of the same animal, no more and no less. If they derived from the same sheet, the exact relation between these fragments cannot be determined with the aid of the sciences. Since the fragments could be three columns apart, multiple possibilities should be envisaged. Furthermore, if two completely different compositions were written on skins deriving from the same animal, wrong conclusions could be drawn if we were to be guided solely by the scientific examinations.

#### (1) DNA

DNA research of ancient texts is still in its infancy. Scholars have succeeded in extracting aDNA (ancient DNA) from ancient sources such as mummies, scrolls, and ancient animal bones. The main research in this area was carried out by Kahila Bar-Gal in her Hebrew University dissertation supervised by P. Smith, E. Tchernov, and S. Woodward.<sup>26</sup> The technique has been applied to fragments of several scrolls

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<sup>25</sup> The results of ink research, as yet unexplored, would be less compelling, since two different scribes could have used the same ink in different compositions.

<sup>26</sup> "Genetic Change in the *Capra* Species of Southern Levant over the Past 10,000 Years as Studied by DNA Analysis of Ancient and Modern Populations" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2000). See further Kahila Bar-Gal's paper "What Can Fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls Teach Us of Ancient Animal Husbandry?" (abstract of paper presented at the Symposium on the Role of Analytical Methods in the Study, Restoration, and Conservation of Ancient Manuscripts, with Emphasis on the Dead

that have been mentioned by name: 4QS<sup>b</sup> (4Q256), 4QS<sup>d</sup> (4Q258), 4QS<sup>e</sup> (4Q259), 4QIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161), 11QT<sup>a</sup> (fragments from six different sheets as well as stitching material)<sup>27</sup> together with a host of uninscribed fragments from caves 3 and 4. Examinations of 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QpHos<sup>b</sup> (4Q167) did not yield DNA.<sup>28</sup> The techniques used were described by Woodward.<sup>29</sup>

This type of investigation can (1) determine the species of animal from which the leather derived, (2) distinguish between the DNA signature of individual animals, and (3) determine groups of animals (herds) from which the hides derived.<sup>30</sup> Ideally, these herds should be linked with bones of individual animals or herds, ancient or modern, since the DNA signature has not changed from antiquity to modern times. These links between hides and herds have hardly been made,<sup>31</sup> and researchers are still waiting for the construction of databases that link specific fragments and bones.

## (2) Ink Research

The study of the composition of ink could give us some clues regarding the relationship between scroll fragments. So far, ink has not been dated but its composition has been analyzed, to a limited extent, by Nir-El

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Sea Scrolls, Prague, 14 April 1999; online: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/orion/programs/taskforce.shtml>); eadem et al., "The Genetic Signature of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January 1999* (ed. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D.R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 165–171.

<sup>27</sup> More precise data on the texts sampled are listed in Bar-Gal, "Genetic Change," 70.

<sup>28</sup> As implied by the discussion of the results *ibid.*, 71–76.

<sup>29</sup> Woodward et al., "Analysis of Parchment Fragments"; *idem* in D.W. Parry et al., "New Technological Advances: DNA, Databases, Imaging Radar," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 1:496–515; *idem*, "DNA Analysis of Ancient Parchment" (abstract of paper presented at the Symposium on the Role of Analytical Methods in the Study, Restoration, and Conservation of Ancient Manuscripts, with Emphasis on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Prague, 14 April 1999; online: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/orion/programs/taskforce.shtml>).

<sup>30</sup> See the summary by Woodward et al., "Analysis of Parchment Fragments," 216: "The precision of the DNA analysis will allow us to identify at least three levels of hierarchy: the species, population, and individual animal from which the parchment was produced."

<sup>31</sup> Thus Bar-Gal, "Genetic Change," 75, noting that the Qumran bones cannot be traced. The existence of such bones, including those of goats, is mentioned in Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, "The Qumran Excavations 1993–2004, Preliminary Report," *Judea and Samaria Publications* 6 (2007): 1–74 (42–43).

and Broshi<sup>32</sup> (pertaining to both inscribed papyrus and leather) and a German research group (I. Rabin, O. Hahn et al.).<sup>33</sup> On the basis of examinations carried out in 1995 at the Soreq Nuclear Research Centre on fragments from caves 1 and 4, Nir-El and Broshi concluded that no metal ink was used in writing the Qumran scrolls under investigation.<sup>34</sup> The examinations were made with the EDXRF (Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence) procedure. These scholars assumed that the copper elements in the ink derived from copper inkwells used by scribes, and that the ink used was carbon-based.<sup>35</sup> A similar suggestion had been made earlier by H.J. Plenderleith,<sup>36</sup> Steckoll (see n. 32), and Haran,<sup>37</sup> mainly for the texts from cave 1.

In the future, study of the components of ink may help us to pinpoint different types of ink. Rabin believes that a basic distinction can be made between ink prepared at Qumran and ink prepared elsewhere because of an analysis of the water component in ink.<sup>38</sup> In particular, she points out that the chlorium/bromium ratio is lower in places near

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<sup>32</sup> Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi, "The Black Ink of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 3 (1996): 157–167. For earlier studies, see among others S.H. Steckoll, "Investigations of the Inks Used in Writing the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Nature* 220 (1968): 91–92. Other examinations are mentioned by Nir-El and Broshi. See also the discussion in my *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 53–55.

<sup>33</sup> See the summary by I. Rabin et al., "Characterization of the Writing Media of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Holistic Qumran: Trans-disciplinary Research of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Gunnweg, A. Adriaens, and J. Dik; STDJ 87; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 123–134. The techniques used are micro X-ray fluorescence, FT-IR spectroscopy, mass spectrometry, and scanning electron microscopy. See also O. Hahn et al., "Non-destructive Investigation of the Scroll Material: 4QComposition Concerning Divine Providence (4Q413)," *DSD* 15 (2007): 359–364 (described below).

<sup>34</sup> The sources sampled are listed in Nir-El and Broshi, "Black Ink," 157 n. 1. See further Y. Nir-El, "מקורו של הצבען בדיו שחורה בכתיבת ספרים, תפילין ומוזות," *Sinai* 57 (1993–1994): 261–268 (Hebrew).

<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, according to the editors of 4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>, the ink used in that manuscript contained iron: P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson in *DJD* IX (1992): 18.

<sup>36</sup> "Technical Note on Unwrapping of Dead Sea Scroll Fragments," in *DJD* I (1955): 39.

<sup>37</sup> M. Haran, "Scribal Workmanship in Biblical Times: The Scrolls and Writing Implements," *Tarbiz* 50 (1980–1981): 65–87 (81–84) (Hebrew with English summary). According to Haran, metal-based ink was used only from the second century C.E. onwards.

<sup>38</sup> I. Rabin et al., "Non-Destructive Methods in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls" (paper presented at the Israeli-Italian Bi-national Workshop on Materials, Time, and Stability: Applications in Archaeology and Conservation, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, 2007). Thanks are due to the author for showing me the material ahead of its publication.

the Dead Sea than in other localities. Studies like this could help us differentiate between groups of scrolls penned at different locations, even if the locations themselves cannot be named. Other areas of investigation are the ink of corrections in the text as opposed to that of the main text as well as possible distinctions between the scrolls found in the different caves.

### (3) *Elemental Composition Analysis*

A study by Hahn et al. based on the contaminants present in the parchment and ink showed how two fragments cannot have belonged to the same sheet.<sup>39</sup> According to these scholars, “Scroll and ink are organic materials, consisting mainly of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen. In addition to these main elements a variety of contaminants are found. Their kind, type and quantity depend on the details of the preparation process and storage conditions. For example, minerals dissolved in the water used for the preparation of the scroll material and inks are a source of a specific contamination that would normally be distributed evenly throughout the material. On the other hand, the contaminants deposited on a scroll surface, due to its storage, (e.g., on the floor of a cave), would be mainly restricted to the surface areas and more likely to appear as patches.” This examination makes use of a micro X-ray fluorescence spectrometer (XRF) as well as a micro-focus confocal XRF. The authors use this approach in an examination of two small fragments published as 4Q413 that belong to the top of the same column of a sheet.<sup>40</sup> They were separated and renamed 4Q413 and 4Q413a by T. Elgvin on the basis of paleography and microscopic parchment analysis.<sup>41</sup> Elgvin’s microscopic analysis showed that the surface of 4Q413a “is more scraped than that of 4Q413, so that the hair structure is not visible, while it is clearly seen on 4Q413.” The *elemental composition analysis* of the leather and ink executed by Hahn et al. now confirmed these findings, demonstrating that the two fragments could not have belonged to the same sheet.<sup>42</sup> This type of analysis may well be better

<sup>39</sup> O. Hahn et al., “Non-Destructive Investigation of the Scroll Material: 4QComposition Concerning Divine Providence (4Q413),” *DSD* 15 (2007): 359–364.

<sup>40</sup> E. Qimron in *DJD XX* (1997): 169–171.

<sup>41</sup> T. Elgvin, “4Q413—A Hymn and a Wisdom Instruction,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 205–214.

<sup>42</sup> Hahn et al., “Non-Destructive Investigation.”

suited for negative than positive conclusions, but the authors do not say this in their paper. In any event, a similar approach followed by Rabin et al. in the study mentioned in n. 38 provides much promise for positive results. These authors study the composition analysis of the surface and inner layers of the leather, and we wait for more specific results.

Scribes probably prepared their own ink. It is not known whether ink prepared from the same components deposited in different inkwells would produce a different type of chemical signature. On the whole, the identification of scribes or compositions on the basis of the ink used has not even begun.

#### (4) *Stitching Material*

Sheets in parchment scrolls were joined with different stitching materials. DNA and C-14 analysis of the stitching materials may aid us in understanding the background of the different scrolls. So far, one such examination has been carried out (see n. 46).

According to rabbinic prescriptions, scroll sheets are to be joined with sinews from the same ritually clean cattle or wild animals from which the scroll itself was prepared.<sup>43</sup> The evidence suggests that most of the stitching material used in the scrolls from Qumran indeed consists of sinews. Further investigation should help us to determine which threads were made of animal sinews and which, contrary to rabbinic ruling, were of flax. In their 1962 research, Poole and Reed claimed that the stitching material examined was of vegetable origin and most probably flax.<sup>44</sup> It is not known, however, which specific scrolls were examined for this purpose. At the same time, more recent examinations have been applied to four specific scrolls.<sup>45</sup> Further research is needed regarding

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<sup>43</sup> See *b. Menah.* 31b “only with sinews, but not with thread”; *y. Meg.* 1.71d “It is also an oral prescription delivered to Moses at Sinai that (scrolls) shall be written on the skins of ritually clean cattle or ritually clean wild animals, and be sewn together with their sinews.” This was indeed the case with the stitch material and the sheets of 11QT<sup>a</sup> (domestic goat), see n. 45 below.

<sup>44</sup> Poole and Reed, “The Preparation of Leather,” 22.

<sup>45</sup> The following conclusions have been reached:

1QIsa<sup>a</sup>: M. Burrows with the assistance of J.C. Trever and W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. 1: *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: ASOR, 1950), xiv: “linen thread.”

4QNum<sup>b</sup>: N. Jastram in *DJD XII* (1994 [repr. 1999]): 217: flax.

4QcryptA Words of the Maskil (4Q298): S.J. Pfann in *DJD XX* (1997): 2: flax.

the consistency of the use of the stitching material in the same scroll. The animal stitching material may also be used for DNA-examinations.<sup>46</sup>

*c. Retrieving Previously Illegible Letters with the Aid of Advanced Photographic Techniques*<sup>47</sup>

For their time, the black/white infrared photographs taken by Najib Anton Albina, the photographer at the Palestine Archeological Museum (PAM) in the 1950s and 1960s, were extraordinarily good.<sup>48</sup> Other early photographs were equally good: the infrared black/white photographs by the Biberkrauts of the scrolls purchased by the State of Israel, and those of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QS, and 1QpHab by John Trever.<sup>49</sup> The three series of PAM photographs, more than the fragments themselves, formed the basis for the study and publication of the scrolls in *DJD*. Often, the photographs reveal more details than the fragments themselves, although the fragments need always to be consulted because only they reveal the distinctions between ink and shadow.

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<sup>44</sup>QApocryphal Pentateuch A (4Q368): J. VanderKam and M. Brady in *DJD* XXVIII (2001): 131: flax.

<sup>46</sup> In the meantime, see A. Gorski, "Analysis of Microscopic Material and the Stitching of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Study" (abstract of paper presented at the Symposium on the Role of Analytical Methods in the Study, Restoration, and Conservation of Ancient Manuscripts, with Emphasis on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Prague, 14 April 1999; online: <http://orion.mssc.huji.ac.il/orion/programs/taskforce.shtml>). This paper refers to the stitching of 1QpHab and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (no conclusions). See also by the same author "Analysis of Microscopic Material and the Stitching of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Study," in *Historical Perspectives*, 173–178. Bar-Gal, "Genetic Change," 72 and Table 3.6 mentions the sampling of stitch material of the 11QT<sup>a</sup> (domestic goat).

<sup>47</sup> For good summaries of all aspects relating to the imaging of the scrolls, see G. Bearman, S.J. Pfann, and S.A.I. Spiro, "Imaging the Scrolls: Photographic and Direct Digital Acquisition," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 1:472–495; B. and K. Zuckerman, "Photography and Computer Imaging," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 2:669–675.

<sup>48</sup> See F.M. Cross, "On the History of the Photography," and J. Strugnell, "On the History of the Photographing of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert for the International Group of Editors," in Tov, *Companion Volume*, 121–122 and 123–134.

<sup>49</sup> Additional early photographs by David Shinhav, Ruth Yekutieli, Tsila Sagiv, and Robert Schlosser are described by J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 69–70.

In later years, with the advancement of technology, better photographs were taken, revealing additional parts of letters, complete letters, and in rare cases complete words.<sup>50</sup> The following innovative techniques were used.

1. Use of filters in infrared photography (B. and K. Zuckerman).
2. High density digitization. This technique was applied to the *Genesis Apocryphon* in 1993 by Bearman and the Zuckermans using a “new tunable filter that could be set to any wavelength in the IR (the infrared spectrum) with a very narrow bandpass.”<sup>51</sup> A second imaging expedition was launched by these scholars in 1997, producing new digital infrared images of approximately 900 fragments (not scrolls).<sup>52</sup> Some of these photographs revealed additional letters in darkened areas.<sup>53</sup> Additional letters were revealed on the leather in separate projects by Bearman<sup>54</sup> and Zuckerman.<sup>55</sup> Likewise, Johnston also revealed additional letters,

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<sup>50</sup> The collection as a whole has not been re-photographed although in 2008 plans were underway for such an enterprise.

<sup>51</sup> Bearman, Pfann, and Spiro, “Imaging,” 488.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> See the photograph of 4QCant<sup>b</sup> by G. Bearman and S. Spiro on behalf of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center as presented by E. Tov in *DJD XVI* (2000): 209 and pl. XXV.

<sup>54</sup> G.H. Bearman and S.I. Spiro, “Imaging: Clarifying the Issues,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 321–328; *idem*, “Archaeological Applications of Advanced Imaging Techniques. Reading Ancient Documents,” *BA* 59 (1996): 56–66; *idem*, “Imaging Clarified,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 5–12; D.M. Cabries, S.W. Booras, and G.H. Bearman, “Imaging the Past: Recent Applications of Multispectral Imaging Technology to Deciphering Manuscripts,” *Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* 77 (2003): 359–372.

<sup>55</sup> B. Zuckerman in collaboration with S.A. Reed, “A Fragment of an Unstudied Column of 11QtgJob,” *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Newsletter* 10 (1993): 1–7 (online: <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/newsletter/Zuckreed.html>); M.J. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, “When Images Meet: The Potential of Photographic and Computer Imaging Technology for the Study of the Copper Scroll,” in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. G.J. Brooke and P.R. Davies; JSPPSup 40; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 45–55; B. Zuckerman, “Bringing the Dead Sea Scrolls Back to Life: A New Evaluation of Photographic and Electronic Imaging of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 178–207. Lists of new readings revealed by Zuckerman’s techniques are included in “The Targums of Job (4QtgJob and 11QtgJob),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation* (ed. J. Charlesworth; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).



especially in 11QT<sup>a</sup>.<sup>56</sup> Puech was able to improve the reading of the *Copper Scroll* with the aid of radiographs and photographs of the flattened replica of the scroll.<sup>57</sup>

3. Lange's method of Computer Aided Text-Reconstruction and Transcription (CATT)<sup>58</sup> offers a new software option for the reconstruction of fragments based on digitized images of scrolls.<sup>59</sup> The author suggests that each scholar digitizes his or her own images of the scrolls, and he guides the reader in the use of software programs that can be used in order to improve the readability of these images.<sup>60</sup> The author also shows how to scan individual letters and combine them into units that can be electronically placed in *lacunae*, thus examining the correctness of reconstructions.

#### d. *Identifying Fragments and Determining the Relation between Fragments*

##### (1) *Computer-Assisted Identifications*

To the best of my knowledge, little use has been made of computer-assisted research in the identification of small fragments. Parry identified a number of minute fragments of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> with the help of the Word-

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<sup>56</sup> J.H. Charlesworth, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Scientific Methodologies," in *Optics and Imaging in the Information Age* (IS&T: The Society for Imaging Science and Technology, 1997), 266–274; K. Knox, R. Johnston, and R.L. Easton, "Imaging the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Optics and Photonics News* 8 (1997): 30.

<sup>57</sup> É. Puech, "Some Results of the Restoration of the Copper Scroll by EDF Mécénat," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 889–894; D. Brizemeure, N. Lacoudre, and É. Puech, *Le Rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân: Expertise, Restauration, Epigraphie* (2 vols.; STDJ 55; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>58</sup> A. Lange, *Computer-Aided Text-Reconstruction and Transcription—CATT Manual* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993). For a review, see G. Bearman in *DSD* 1 (1994): 373–375.

<sup>59</sup> Lange describes his own technique as follows (p. 3): "... uses image editing software in dealing with the several different types of damage done to manuscripts and inscriptions. Image editing programs try to transfer the photographic darkroom into the desktop computer."

<sup>60</sup> When this book was written, digitized images were not yet available in commercial databases such as *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (rev. ed.; Brigham Young University, 2006), part of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* of Brill Publishers (ed. E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

cruncher program.<sup>61</sup> Pike and Skinner recognized many of the hitherto unidentified fragments with the aid of the same program.<sup>62</sup> Tigchelaar identified many fragments with the aid of the Accordance program.<sup>63</sup> Undoubtedly, the use of Accordance or Wordcruncher could produce many additional identifications. Optical Character Recognition (OCR) could have been employed for the analysis of script or the identification of partially preserved letters, but to the best of my knowledge, this technique has not been used.<sup>64</sup>

## (2) *Research of Hair Follicles in Leather and Fibers in Papyri*

The analysis of hair follicles and papyrus fibers could indicate that two or more scroll fragments derived from either the same or a different sheet. Barns provided the first description of the procedure followed for papyrus fragments,<sup>65</sup> described in greater detail by Pfann.<sup>66</sup> Pfann likewise briefly described the procedure followed for the study of hair follicles in leather.<sup>67</sup> In both cases, much more detailed research is needed.

<sup>61</sup> See F.M. Cross, D.W. Parry, and R.J. Saley in *DJD XVII* (2005): 3.

<sup>62</sup> D. Pike and A. Skinner, in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Qumran Cave 4.XXXIII: Unidentified Fragments* (*DJD XXXIII*; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

<sup>63</sup> E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "4Q499 48 + 47 (par 4Q369 1 ii): A Forgotten Identification," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 303–306; idem, "Minuscule Qumranica I," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 643–648; idem, "On the Unidentified Fragments of *DJD XXXIII* and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4Q5b (?)," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 477–485; idem, "A Cave 4 Fragment of *Divre Mosheh* (4QDM) and the Text of 1Q22 I:7–10 and Jubilees 1:9, 14," *DSD* 12 (2005): 303–312.

<sup>64</sup> One could teach the computer the various shapes of the letters of each scroll, so that the program would suggest readings for partially preserved letters.

<sup>65</sup> J.W.B. Barns, "Note on Papyrus Fibre Pattern," in *DJD VI* (1977): 29.

<sup>66</sup> S.J. Pfann in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 517–523.

<sup>67</sup> S.J. Pfann, "Hair Follicle Analysis of Primitive Parchments: An Essential Tool for the Reconstruction of Fragmentary Dead Sea Scrolls" (abstract of paper presented at the Symposium on the Role of Analytical Methods in the Study, Restoration, and Conservation of Ancient Manuscripts, with Emphasis on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Prague, 14 April 1999; online: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/orion/programs/taskforce.shtml>): "The pattern, form, size and density of hair follicles which occur over the hides of various animals do so with a fair degree of consistency. Those hides which preserve their epidermis and are used in the preparation of scrolls maintain these hair follicle patterns. These same follicle patterns preserved on the surfaces of disjointed fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls has proven to contain important clues aiding in their reconstruction (and thus their meaning and interpretation). This form of analysis was developed by the author while working with the edition of the various Dead Sea Scrolls assigned to him for publication over the past decade. With the aid of the binocular microscope many proposed links between disjointed fragments have been either confirmed or disproved based on this work."

The research of leather and papyrus sheets is promising, but at this stage it is unclear whether the various parameters identified in the fragments are distinctive enough in order to identify and differentiate between individual sheets. Research needs to proceed from the features of known sheets of complete scrolls to fragmentary texts, and such studies have not yet been written.

In the case of papyrus fragments, examining each papyrus strip involves the color, thickness, density, variability, and angle of the intersection between the horizontal and vertical strips of papyrus.

Research carried out so far by Pfann, focusing on fragmentary texts, shows the possibilities this research has in store. Pfann analyzed the papyrus texts in the cryptic script 4Qpap cryptA Midrash Sefer Moshe (4Q249)<sup>68</sup> and 4Q249a-z and 4Q250a-j,<sup>69</sup> focusing on the special features of each papyrus fragment. In the case of leather fragments, Pfann likewise analyzed the special hair follicle features of each individual fragment of 4QCryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn (4Q298).<sup>70</sup> This analysis enabled him to support the reconstruction of fragments belonging to the same sheet. The hair structure of 4Q413 and 4Q413a was found to be different by Elgvin (see n. 41 above).

Each single feature of the papyrus or leather, and definitely the combined features may give guidance regarding the placement of fragments in a particular sheet. However, this type of research is rather limited. Pfann examined the fragments that had been identified at an earlier stage as belonging to specific scrolls. Within those parameters, he separated the papyrus fragments into many different compositions based on the criteria mentioned above. This research enabled him to surmise that specific fragments belonged to the same sheet of papyrus, but no more than that. In the case of leather, the fragments could be placed anywhere in the sheet, either in the same column or one or two columns apart. In the case of papyrus, the guidance of the horizontal and vertical strips may aid in a more specific location alongside the horizontal or vertical strips, but further research on the known complete papyri has to consolidate the criteria used. Probably the strongest merit of this and any similar procedure is the ability to disprove that two fragments belonged to the same leather or papyrus sheet.

<sup>68</sup> S.J. Pfann in *DJD XXXV* (1999): 1-24.

<sup>69</sup> S.J. Pfann in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 515-701.

<sup>70</sup> S.J. Pfann and M. Kister, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn," *JQR* 85 (1994): 203-235; idem in *DJD XX* (1997): 1-30.

### (3) *The Stegemann System of Reconstructing*

The so-called “Stegemann system of reconstructing fragmentary scrolls”<sup>71</sup> belongs here only partially since it is based not on the sciences but on logical inference of destruction patterns of the leather or papyrus. Among other things, on the basis of the supposed measurements of the scroll and the increase in size between revolutions of the scroll starting with its innermost end, this system tries to establish the distance between the fragments (columns) based on identical destruction patterns, if any, repeated in each revolution of the scroll.

## 2. SOME TECHNICAL DATA ABOUT THE SCROLLS

When integrating data from the sciences into the reconstruction of the scrolls, we have to take into consideration the data known about them. Otherwise, we are in danger of applying the wrong types of conclusions. The following parameters relate to this reconstruction.<sup>72</sup>

1. The first stage in the preparation of parchment was the slaughtering of an animal and the preparation of its hide for the production of the scroll material. Even the leftovers were used for writing: contrary to practice in later centuries, most of the *tefillin* found at Qumran were written on irregularly shaped pieces that were leftovers from the preparation of large skins. Upon preparation, most skins were inscribed on

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<sup>71</sup> H. Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; JSPP 8; JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189–220; A. Steudel, “Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 1:516–534; E. Chazon, “The Qumran Community, The Dead Sea Scrolls and The Physical Method of Scrolls’ Reconstruction” (abstract of paper presented at the Symposium on the Role of Analytical Methods in the Study, Restoration, and Conservation of Ancient Manuscripts, with Emphasis on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Prague, 14 April 1999; online: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/orion/programs/taskforce.shtml>). See also D. Stoll, “Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer—mathematisch oder Wie kann man einer Rekonstruktion Gestalt verleihen?” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 205–217.

<sup>72</sup> For a detailed description of each issue, see my *Scribal Practices*.

the (hairy) outside layer, while 11QT<sup>a</sup> was inscribed on the inside of the skin (the flesh side).<sup>73</sup>

2. The *length* of the composition was calculated approximately before commencing the writing, so that the required number of sheets could be ordered from a manufacturer or could be prepared to fit the size of the composition. Subsequently, the individual sheets were ruled and inscribed and only afterwards stitched together. The fact that some ruled sheets were used as uninscribed handle sheets (e.g. the last sheets of 11QT<sup>a</sup> and 11QShirShabb) and that some uninscribed top margins were ruled (the second sheet of 1QpHab) shows that the ruling was sometimes executed without relation to the writing of a specific scroll. The numbering of a few sheets preserved in the Judean Desert probably indicates that some or most sheets were inscribed separately, and joined subsequently according to the sequence of these numbers (however, the great majority of the sheets were not numbered).

3. The first step in the preparation of scrolls for writing was the *ruling* (scoring), which facilitated the execution of the inscription in straight lines. The scroll was written by hanging the letters from the lines. This ruling provided graphical guidance for the writing, horizontal ruling for the lines, and vertical ruling for the beginning and/or end of the columns. In very few cases, the ruling was indicated by diluted ink.

4. Almost all Qumran and Masada texts written on leather in the square script had ruled horizontal lines in accordance with the practice for most literary texts written on parchment in Semitic languages and in Greek. On the other hand, texts written on papyrus were not ruled. The horizontal and vertical fibers of the papyrus probably provided some form of guidance for the writing.

5. The ruling was sometimes applied with the aid of guide dots/strokes, or with a grid-like device, while in other instances no device was used. These guide dots (“points jalons”), or sometimes strokes, were drawn in order to guide the drawing of dry lines. The ruling might have been executed by the scribes, but it is more likely that it was applied by the scroll manufacturers without reference to the text to be inscribed, as

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<sup>73</sup> For parallels in rabbinic literature, see *y. Meg.* 1.71d: “One writes on the hairy side of the skin” (cf. *Massekhet Sefer Torah* 1.4).

indicated by several discrepancies between the inscribed text and the ruled lines, such as a larger number of ruled lines than inscribed text (see 4QDeut<sup>n</sup>).

6. The preparation of the material for writing included not just the ruling, but also the preparation of the surface for writing in columns. The number of columns per sheet and their sizes differed from scroll to scroll, sometimes from sheet to sheet, and they depended much on the size of the sheets and the scroll.

7. The size of the scroll depended on the dimensions of the sheets. At Qumran, the length of most leather sheets varied between 21 and 90 cm, usually 30–40 cm.<sup>74</sup> The natural limitations of the sizes of animal hides determined the different lengths of these sheets, which varied more in some scrolls than in others.

8. The sizes of the hides derived from the different animals differ, but the animals that have been identified (calf, sheep, ibex, goat) would not yield more than one hide of 90 × 60 cm or two or three short ones. In some cases, more than one composition could be written on the material provided by a single animal, while in other cases several animals would be needed for a long composition, such as 11QT<sup>a</sup> and the large Isaiah scroll.

9. There is a positive correlation between the length and width of columns: as a rule the higher the column, the wider the lines, and the longer the scroll.

10. The sizes of the columns differ in accordance with the number of columns per sheet, the scope of the sheets, and the conventions developed by the scroll manufacturers. The different parameters of the columns pertain to their width and length as well as to the top, bottom, and intercolumnar margins. In some Qumran scrolls, the height and width of the columns are fairly consistent, while in most scrolls these parameters varied from sheet to sheet as well as within each sheet, in accordance with the measurements of the sheets. The average number of lines per

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<sup>74</sup> For example, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> consists of seventeen sheets (ten sheets measuring 35–47.7 cm, five 48.7–62.8 cm, and two 25.2–26.9 cm). 11QT<sup>a</sup> is composed of nineteen sheets (eight measuring 37–43 cm, ten 47–61 cm, and the final sheet measuring 20 cm). For additional details, see my *Scribal Practices*, 79–81.

column in Qumran scrolls is probably 20, with a height of approximately 14–15 cm (including the top and bottom margins). Larger scrolls contained columns with between 25 and as many as 60 lines. Scrolls of the smallest dimensions contained merely 5–13 lines and their height was similarly small. Among the scrolls with a large writing block, one finds many texts from Qumran, as well as *all* the scrolls from Masada, Naḥal Ḥever, Sdeir, and Murabbaʿat that can be measured. The same compositions were often written on scrolls of differing sizes, although in some cases a degree of regularity is visible.

11. All biblical texts were inscribed on one side only, while several nonbiblical texts were inscribed on both sides (opisthographs).

12. With one possible exception, all compositions were written on separate scrolls. Some biblical scrolls contain more than one book (the Torah, Minor Prophets).

13. Some, mainly long, manuscripts were written by more than one scribe.

### 3. AID FROM THE SCIENCES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ANCIENT SCROLLS: POSSIBILITIES AND IMPOSSIBILITIES

In previous examinations, the reconstruction of the missing parts of the ancient scrolls was based mainly on content. In the case of biblical scrolls or other known compositions, content is our main guide, but even in these compositions small fragments with partial or frequently occurring words cannot be identified easily. In other cases, with fragmentary contents and the fertile minds of scholars, there are many possibilities and therefore it would be good to be aided by additional methods. Such aid may come from an exact or almost exact physical join, but such joins are rare. Some fragments of similar shape reflect subsequent layers or revolutions of a scroll (see n. 71), but such cases are also rare. In many cases, we would like to look to the sciences for help. Our main interest would be in proving or disproving a link already made between two fragments or in searching for a scroll to which a given fragment may have belonged. In such cases, we would like to resort to the sciences for objective criteria. The sciences have been invoked often, with high expectations, so it is time to be a little realistic.

It would not be feasible to send all the fragments to C-14 analysis only in order to know if their C-14 dates match. Ink analysis, if advanced sufficiently, would be easier and may be very relevant. In my view, the so-called elemental composition analysis sounds promising, and it is non-destructive, but we wait for the verdict of scientists. DNA will provide some answers, as will the follicle research on leather, and fiber research on papyri. It should be remembered that the maximum results we would receive refer to the identity of the complete sheet(s) from which the fragments derived, and not to the placing of individual fragments. These sheets were 21 to 90 cm long at Qumran, mostly 30–40 cm, and the placing of a fragment in such a large space would leave many options open. Most animals would not yield more than one hide of 90 × 60 cm.

On the other hand, in the descriptions of the DNA method, especially that of Woodward,<sup>75</sup> the expectations for DNA analysis have been very high. This scholar, who together with Kahila Bar-Gal was able to derive aDNA from ancient objects, was not sufficiently aware of the limitations of DNA in the case of the scrolls. In a programmatic paper published in 1998, he lists five questions for which DNA was supposed to provide answers.

1. “How many different manuscripts are represented in the collection of fragments at the Rockefeller and Israel Museums? ... Obtaining DNA signatures unique to each manuscript will make it possible to sort out the physical relationships of scroll fragments.” At most, however, we would be able to list the individual animals, from whose skins the hides were derived. When naming these animals “animal 1,” “animal 2,” etc., we would have an important summary list, but that list would provide only a few clues for researchers. Thus, if two different compositions were written on the hide of animal 1, DNA alone would not suffice to distinguish between them. Further, multi-sheet compositions required more than one animal, sometimes ten or more, so that DNA signatures alone would not be able to distinguish between Qumran manuscripts.

2. “Which pieces can be grouped together as originating from the same scroll because they are from identical or related manuscripts? ... This should assist both in the reconstruction of manuscripts and in the

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<sup>75</sup> Woodward, “New Technological Advances.”



verification of assemblies that were previously already made.” It seems to me that all these are idle hopes as explained in my reply to item 1.

3. “Did more than one scribe work on a single document, or did different scribes use parchment that originated from the same source for different manuscripts?” In my view, neither question can be answered with DNA.

4. “Is the parchment for the patch from the same herd as the original manuscript? Does the patch represent a herd from a different region, reflecting mobility of either the original scroll or the herd?” These suggestions are helpful,<sup>76</sup> but impractical. Most importantly, the number of patches in the scrolls can be counted on one hand.

5. “Does the collection represent a library from a single locality, or is it a collection representing contributions from a wide region?” In general it is true that DNA analysis will help us to know more about the provenance of the hides, if only the connections between hides and bones can be made.

The expectations expressed in the Introduction to the Qumran scrolls by VanderKam and Flint, which run parallel to those of Woodward, are equally as utopian.<sup>77</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing the various types of expectations for scroll research, we note that they may help us with regard to some issues.

- a. C-14 examinations should be continued as a useful tool for dating in spite of the uncertainty regarding the contamination of castor oil.
- b. If performed on a large scale, C-14 examinations could also help us understand the relationship between many individual fragments. For example, two or more fragments assigned to the same column or sheet should not have different C-14 dates.

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<sup>76</sup> The patch in 4Q22 and its main text were dated to different periods with C-14 analysis, see Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating,” 86.

<sup>77</sup> VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 55–84 (57–58). 1. “Assembling scrolls in the Rockefeller and Israel Museums.” 2. “Making new reconstructions and assembling earlier ones.” 3. “Parchment used for patches.” 4. “Scrolls made from more than one animal.” 5. “The species of animals used for production.” 6. “Assembling the scope of the collection.” “Does the collection found at Qumran represent a library from one location or from a wider region?”

- c. Ink research, research of leather follicles and papyrus fibers, and elemental composition analysis such as the chlorium/bromium ratio should be encouraged as non-destructive examinations that may help us understand the relation between individual fragments. The merits of these examinations should be reviewed by scientists, since we humanists lack the means to review the methods used.
- d. The infrared color photographing of all the fragments with new techniques should be encouraged.

At the same time, expectations from these techniques should be realistic, taking into consideration the realia of scroll production such as described above, in particular the fact that the sheet and not the fragment is the unit of reference.

In an ideal world, we would have access to a database providing information of all the types described above about all the scroll fragments. Undoubtedly, this information would help us to solve some questions that face researchers. For example, by examining the technical data about the scrolls, we may be able to create clusters<sup>78</sup> of scrolls of a certain nature, such as Qumran scrolls as opposed to non-Qumran scrolls (based on elemental composition analysis). We may be able to find that scrolls written on a specific type of leather (DNA analysis) or with a specific type of ink have something in common, or that the Hebrew scrolls somehow differ from those written in Aramaic.

In the analysis of individual fragments, this database would help especially in negative aspects, namely the suggestion that two fragments that were joined in the past should not be ascribed to the same manuscript, as in the case of 4Q413 and 4Q413a discussed above.

In an ideal world we should have access to a database like this, but we are also realistic enough to realize that the keepers of the scrolls would have to agree to all these procedures, some of which are destructive. We keep our fingers crossed.

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<sup>78</sup> The idea was expressed already by K. Bar-Gal, "Genetic Change," 76: "These findings show the ability of the aDNA method to contribute in matching and grouping together scroll fragments. These results also stress the possibility to solve the problem of the 10,000 unmatched fragments using genetic analysis."



CREATING NEW CONTEXTS:  
ON THE POSSIBILITIES OF  
BIBLICAL STUDIES IN CONTEXTS  
GENERATED BY THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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A. INTRODUCTION

The overall theme of this volume, “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures,” with its title and subtitle, assumes at least two levels of meaning when referring to “context.” First, we can obviously understand the main title by itself to mean that the Dead Sea Scrolls can and should be seen in their own historical context, that is, in the context of the time in which they were written, the community within which they originated and the religious framework which gave rise to them. Nothing can fault this time-honoured and established aspect of context, since the achievement of sixty years of scholarship has demonstrated it impressively. But the subtitle of the conference significantly extends the scope of the “context” notion to the situation in which we who study them find ourselves. Studying the various aspects of the Scrolls in our scholarly context means that we and our disciplines now become involved with them. I would like to develop this notion to show that the Scrolls not only “have” their ancient contexts, but that they become part of “our” context and at the same time provide us with a new context by drawing us into theirs. This reciprocity between the Scrolls and the contexts in which they become involved, entails that they *create* new contexts for biblical Studies. By the same token, they demand creativity from all who wish to come to terms with them. This demand can be addressed by means of the concept of intertextuality.

I therefore propose to devote this paper to the perspective invoked by the conference subtitle. I shall focus on contexts generated by the literary character of the Dead Sea Scrolls as a text group of translucent intertextual disposition. In my view this applies in both the so-called “narrow” and “broad” senses of the concept of intertextuality.

The “narrow” concept of intertextuality can even be called a dominant feature of Qumran studies, whether the word itself is used or not. The well-known phenomenon that texts themselves influence other texts is usually understood in a *direct* sense, that is, when a text is influenced by another or several others as it is created. But the biblical texts and the texts from the Dead Sea area also influence each other *indirectly*. As with all texts, this happens to the texts of interest to us through the reading subject who receives both sets of texts. When read, all texts are intertextual in this sense because they border on one another in the consciousness of the reader. The reader has a literary competence, a frame of reference that cannot be disabled or otherwise ignored. Any biblical scholar who reads the Dead Sea Scrolls has no choice but to read them in the context of the Bible. And any Qumran scholar reading the Bible must read it in the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In both cases texts echo other texts and are echoed in other texts. How seriously biblical influence on the Dead Sea Scrolls has been taken since their discovery is patently obvious in the self-evident orientation of scholarship towards the direction of the impact “Bible → Scrolls.” But the other side of the coin should be taken equally seriously—intertextuality is not merely a matter of one-way influence. It should also be taken into consideration that the Bible is likewise influenced by these texts. The “inter” in intertextuality is a reciprocal relationship because the biblical text, its reading and the way it is understood are bordered by the Dead Sea Scrolls.

## B. INTERTEXTUALITY

In order to clarify the concepts and terminology that I employ in this paper, let us briefly consider the fundamental ways in which the nouns “intertext” and “intertextuality” and the adjective “intertextual” are used in contemporary literary criticism.

The first to be mentioned is the radical and highly provocative meaning of the concept, in order to make clear what I shall not pursue further in this paper: The concept, which was coined together with the terminology by Julia Kristeva, is that “every text is made up as a mosaic of citations, every text is the absorption and transformation of another text.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. Kristeva, *Semiotikè: Recherches pour une Sémanalyse* (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 146.

The radical nature of this sweeping understanding has sometimes been heightened (e.g. by Harold Bloom<sup>2</sup>) and sometimes curbed (e.g. by Ulrich Broich<sup>3</sup>). Although the effect of texts as perpetual echoes, the meaning of which is continually deferred, is in itself an intriguing topic, it will not be pursued further in this paper. To be sure, there is some resemblance to my own metaphor of texts bordering on each other, but for the purposes of elucidating the contribution of the concept of intertextuality to our theme of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Context, I shall not here come back to it.

Second, an outline of the concept as it will be used here: Where a text can be demonstrated to refer or relate to another text or group of texts<sup>4</sup> or to a genre,<sup>5</sup> it can be said to have a direct intertextual relationship to that text or text type. This is usually called “influence,” but the reciprocal relationship referred to above should also be borne in mind. This model entails the presence of a *pre-text* from which the influence stems, and a *post-text* that is influenced. There are different degrees of intertextual intensity (“Dichte” in German jargon), and—as intimated above—in the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls this is very high.

What interests us now is the various types of this kind of intertextuality, since they are not only all found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but the intensity of their presence is such that they often defy endeavours to classify and pigeonhole them in terms of the usual literary categories. Apart from the Dead Sea biblical manuscripts themselves, the scrolls contain many writings that must be called both innovative in terms of their inventive ideas *and* epigonic in terms of their intertextual dependence on other texts, especially the Hebrew Bible. The usual types identified for this kind of intertextuality are hypertextual (imitative), metatextual (commenting), or palintextual (repetitive) relationships.

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<sup>2</sup> H. Bloom, *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 3.

<sup>3</sup> U. Broich, “Intertextuality,” in *International Postmodernism: Theory and Practice* (ed. H. Bertens and D. Fokkema; A Comparative History of Literatures in European Languages 11; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997), 249–256.

<sup>4</sup> U. Broich, “Intertextualität,” *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* (ed. H. Fricke et al.; 3 vols.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 2:175–179, 176.

<sup>5</sup> M. Pfister, “Konzepte der Intertextualität,” in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien* (ed. U. Broich and M. Pfister; Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 35; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), 1–30; idem, “Zur Systemreferenz,” in *Intertextualität* (ed. Broich and Pfister), 52–58.

In the light of these considerations I would now like to submit the threefold thesis to be argued on the basis of representative texts:

- a. The Dead Sea Scrolls provide highly fruitful terrain for the literary study of intertextuality,
- b. while at the same time resisting attempts at the application of clear-cut intertextual categories in literary criticism.
- c. Their intertextuality enables us to develop the integration of this research into the broader study of texts and cultures in several directions.

### C. TYPES OF INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

We shall now consider cases of hypertexts, metatexts and palintexts in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1. *Hypertexts*

The term “hypertext,” as first introduced by Gerard Genette and now coined to refer the non-linear association of texts by electronic means,<sup>7</sup> can also be applied generally to denote an intertextuality where interrelationships exist between texts on a par with each other. It does appear, however, at least in biblical studies, that a linear relationship between the texts involved is difficult to avoid. Thus, in the often applied definition of Stocker,<sup>8</sup> a hypertext is a text that imitates another. It is therefore a transformation of the pre-text without explicit comment. Accordingly, the imitated text is the pre-text, whereas the intertextuality of the hypertext consists of its being modelled on the pre-text. It is perhaps more neutral to speak of the “modelling” of texts on others than of imitation, since

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<sup>6</sup> I use the terminology as developed by P. Stocker, *Theorie der intertextuellen Lektüre: Modelle und Fallstudien* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1998) and applied in biblical studies (e.g. O. Wischmeyer, *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* [Tübingen: Francke, 2004]), which had been influenced by the proposals of Gerard Genette dating from 1982. Genette did influence German theories in the early nineties, but the concepts and terminology have not remained static, certainly not in biblical studies (cf. G. Genette, *Palimpseste: Die Literatur auf zweiter Stufe* [Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993], 13–16 on meta- and hypertextuality and the use of the concepts involved in the following paragraphs).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. R.S. Kamzelak, “Hypertext,” *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft* (ed. Fricke et al.) 2:110–112.

<sup>8</sup> Stocker, *Theorie*, 60; cf. Wischmeyer, *Hermeneutik*, 189.

the latter term suggests pedantry or a derogatory value judgement, which does not necessarily have to apply at all, especially where the pre-text is a group or type of texts.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the important aspect of this kind of relationship is that *the very existence of a pre- and a hypertext involves a reciprocal relationship from the vantage point of the reader*. The post-text presents the pre-text in a new light and therefore both augments it and accepts the pretext—somewhat with the same logic as the claim of Jesus to accept and confirm the Torah by presenting it in a new light. There are many clear cases of hypertextuality in this sense to be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which can be illustrated by some representative cases.

### 1.1.

An obvious instance would be the *Hodayot*, or the *Thanksgiving Hymns* in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Leaving aside both the question of who the first person singular speaker was and the question of their liturgical or private use, the literary status of their intertextuality by itself is interesting enough. Consider the Fourth Hodayah at 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:31–39, which I use as a representative case:

I thank you, O Lord,  
 for your eye s[tood watching] over my soul  
 and you rescued me from the jealousy of liars.  
 From the congregation of those who seek the smooth way  
 you saved the soul of the poor they planned to destroy  
 by spilling his blood because of his service to you.

Only, they did not know that my steps come from you,  
 and they made me to scorn and ridicule  
 the mouth of those who seek deception.

But you, my God, helped the soul of the poor and the weak  
 from the hand of those who were stronger than him.  
 You redeemed my soul from the hand of the powerful  
 and by their taunts you did not let me lose heart  
 so as to give up your service through fear of the wicked ...<sup>10</sup>

This is clearly modelled on the individual thanksgiving hymns of the biblical Psalter. Apart from linguistic affinities, several typical features are well represented in these biblical psalms:

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Pfister, “Zur Systemreferenz,” 52–58.

<sup>10</sup> Own translation. The last half of line 36 and the following fragmented lines until the end of the column are left untranslated.



- An opening with a declaration of thanks addressed to God,
- the use of כִּי [א] as link to a series of statements on God’s intervention,
- the extended reference to a crisis,
- the character of God’s intervention as help and salvation,
- the presentation of God’s help as substantiation for the praise,
- the identification of the speaker’s enemies with the wicked,
- the self-identification of the speaker as the servant of God,
- the characterisation of the enemies as strong and
- the speaker as weak and poor (אֲבִיּוֹן),
- the motifs of spilling the speaker’s blood and
- of derision and ridicule for the pious,
- the association of thanksgiving and lamenting motifs,
- the use of parallelism and stichs (although written continuously).

If we now compare this to typical individual thanksgiving songs in the biblical Psalter, we find practically all of them in this genre. For practical reasons I use Ps 9 as a basis for presenting the picture:

Hodayah 4	Psalm 9
<i>Similarities</i>	<i>Similarities</i>
Opening with יָדָה	Opening with יָדָה (v. 2)
Substantiation linked by כִּי־א	Substantiation linked by כִּי (v. 5)
Extended reference to a crisis (passim)	Extended reference to a crisis (passim)
Detailed account of God’s intervention (passim)	Detailed account of God’s intervention (passim)
Polarisation with enemies (plural) (passim)	Polarisation with enemies (plural) (passim)
Enemies called רָשָׁע	Enemies called רָשָׁע (vv. 6, 17)
Enemies aggressive and strong	Enemies aggressive, should not become stronger (v. 20)
Speaker weak (עָנִי, רָשָׁע)	Speaker weak (אֲבִיּוֹן) (vv. 17, 18, 19)
Saved from “spilling of blood”	Saved from the “gates of death” (v. 14)
Piety expressly mentioned (עֲבוּדָה)	Piety expressly mentioned (דָּרַשׁ, בָּטַח) (v. 11)
Individual speaker associated with group (line 39)	Individual speaker associated with group (vv. 11–12, 19)

Hodayah 4	Psalm 9
<i>Absent in Hodayah II ...</i>	<i>... but prominent in Ps 9</i>
Zion absent	Zion prominent (vv. 12, 15)
Lament-type supplications absent	Lament-supplications combined with praise (passim)
Motif of God's name absent	Motif of God's name prominent (vv. 3, 11)
Motif of "own pit" absent	Motif of "own pit" prominent (vv. 16ab, 17b)
<i>Prominent in Hodayah II ...</i>	<i>... but absent in Ps 9</i>
Motif of lies prominent	Motif of lies absent
Scorn motif prominent	Scorn motif absent
<i>Structural difference</i>	<i>Structural difference</i>
Single praise motif with כִּיָּא substantiation	Duplicated praise motif with כִּי substantiation (vv. 12, 13)

This kind of relationship can be recognised between the Hodayah and other so-called individual songs of thanksgiving in the Psalter, as well as between this biblical group and the other Hodayot in 1QH<sup>a</sup>.<sup>11</sup> Nowhere do we find a direct quotation from Ps 9, neither is the Psalm or any other among the individual thanksgiving songs copied or blandly plagiarised. On the contrary, the Fourth Hodayah is clearly an autonomous composition that can be understood very well in the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls and what we know from them—whether the speaking first person singular is understood as the Teacher of Righteousness or not.<sup>12</sup> But this autonomy is not absolute. The individual thanksgiving songs in the Bible, being as they are contained in the Holy Scriptures of the community, provide a pre-text on which the author could model his post-text as

<sup>11</sup> The Psalms in question are 18; 22; 30; 31; 32; 34; 35; 40; 41; 50; 51; 56; 57; 61; 66; 71; 92; 107; 109; 116; 118; 138. Cf. also J. Maier and K. Schubert, *Die Qumran-Essener: Texte der Schriftrollen und Lebensbild der Gemeinde* (3rd ed.; UTB 224; München: Reinhardt, 1992), 194.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J.J. Collins, "Amazing Grace: The Transformation of the Thanksgiving Hymn at Qumran," in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions* (ed. H.W. Attridge and M.E. Fassler; SBLSymS 25; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 75–85, 76–77, who points out that the answer—whether positive or not—to the question of authorship by the Teacher has no impact on issues such as "the relationship between psalms that bear the strong imprint of an individual and communal liturgical usage." Similarly, I argue that this issue does not impact on the hypertextual relationship between the Hodayot and their biblical antecedents.

an expression of his understanding of the conflict and the experience of vindication as well as the faith on which he based it. So here we have an instance of the relationship of a text with a whole genre or textual type, including its typical thought pattern, rhetorical character and style, that is, what is often called “system reference.”<sup>13</sup> The imitation is there, but it is not pedantic. Therefore it is not plausible to call the hypertexts of the Hodayot “imitations” without qualifying the statement, so that the presence of the hypertextual element can be neither denied nor found to describe the intertextuality adequately.<sup>14</sup>

### 1.2.

My second example comes from a completely different type of text, namely a prose narrative from Qumran Cave 4 about the prophet Jeremiah, edited by Devorah Dimant<sup>15</sup> and to which she had earlier also devoted a paper.<sup>16</sup> In her edition she reconstructs the whole *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* from the fragments:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Pfister, “Konzepte der Intertextualität,” 1–30, idem, “Zur Systemreferenz,” 52–58.

<sup>14</sup> Collins, “Amazing Grace,” 85, though not discussing hypertextuality as a literary phenomenon, seems to suggest a similar situation when he points out the different nuances and unique characteristics of the *Hodayot* over against the biblical Psalms, e.g., the rare call to worship in the *Hodayot* and its typical use in what I have called the *pre-text*. That is, they do not simply imitate the biblical thanksgiving psalms, but are modeled on them. This principle had already been noted and shown in detail by G. Morawe, “Vergleich des Aufbaus der Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder (1QH) von Qumran mit dem Aufbau der Psalmen im Alten Testament und im Spätjudentum,” *RevQ* 4 (1963–1964): 323–356, viz. that, apart from the clear quotations and references to the biblical psalms as well as the imitation of the structure of hymns found in the pre-text, there are also clear differences, e.g. formulary diction, less rejoicing and more reflection; cf. his summary *ibid.*, 355 and his still earlier dissertation of 1956 (*Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumran: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajöth* [Theologische Arbeiten 16; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960], 168–172). *A fortiori*, the imitating feature has therefore to be qualified.

<sup>15</sup> D. Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 91–260. Here the text has a new identification, viz. 4Q385a 18, i.e., the last fragment of the reconstructed *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*.

<sup>16</sup> D. Dimant, “An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385B = 4Q385 16),” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G.J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 11–30.

<sup>17</sup> Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 99–100, where she identifies the relevant fragments as she pieces together the *Apocryphon* text.

## Introduction:

An account of world history sent by Jeremiah from Egypt is read by Jews in Babylonia

## Review:

*The Biblical Period in the past tense*

Israel's journeys in the desert, taking possession of Canaan, the beginning of the monarchy, the times of David and Solomon and the sins of the period are reviewed

*The Second Temple Period in the future tense*

The termination of the monarchy, the increasing sins of Israel, further punishment and destruction of the land by enemies, corruption of the priests, disregard for God's laws and inner division of Israel are foretold

*The Eschatological Era in the future tense, revealed to Jeremiah by God<sup>18</sup>*

The downfall of Greek and Egyptian powers, the coming of bliss and the effect of the Tree of Life are foretold

## Conclusion:

Jeremiah's activities after the fall of Jerusalem.

As the title of the *DJD* edition ("Parabiblical Texts") suggests, all of this material would qualify to study our topic of intertextuality, but—again for practical reasons—we shall concentrate on the conclusion in 4QapocrJer C<sup>a</sup> (4Q385a) 18, since here we have a clear instance of a hypertext that again offers more than mere imitation. The text is continuous enough to enable a clear reading, but also fragmentary enough to warrant a paraphrase for our purposes:

Column i: After the destruction of Jerusalem Jeremiah goes to Babylon with the Jewish captives in order to teach them what to do so that, in contradistinction to what they had done in their own land, they could keep the covenant (ברית) while in Babylon.

Column ii: Jeremiah is in Tahpanes in Egypt (cf. Jer 43:8), where the Jews as well as God want him to inquire of God. He receives divine instruction to tell the children of Judah and Benjamin to keep his commandments and to refrain from idolatry.

In the main body of the reconstructed *Apocryphon*, the sweeping review of Israel's history since the exodus is especially dependent on the books of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, although also affinities with Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah can be detected. But the thrust of the quasi-historical review is encompassing and therefore involves an intertextual

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<sup>18</sup> According to Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 98, the most probable understanding of the receiver of the revelation is Jeremiah himself.

relationship with large sections of the Hebrew Bible—from the stories of Israel’s wandering in the desert through the Former Prophets down to the sack of Jerusalem.

How should we typify this relationship? It can be called a hypertextual relationship, since the post-text can be said to imitate the extended narrative line of Israel’s journey through the desert, the occupation of the Promised Land, the institution and early stages of the monarchy as these are narrated in the books of Samuel, and the rest of its history as recounted in the books of Kings. But on the other hand “imitation” sits uncomfortably as a qualification, since the post-text has its own scope and tendency. Moreover, it is a repetition of sorts, since it offers a reiteration of mainly the same story line as that of the pre-text. But then it is not a replication of a relatively extended text such as the two Decalogues in Exod 20 and Deut 5 or the poems in Pss 14 and 53, so that it cannot be called a palintext. Therefore Timothy Lim is to be agreed with when, in speaking of the “dependence” of the *Apocryphon* on biblical books, he at the same time judges that

it [the Jeremiah Apocryphon] did not simply adopt the biblical narrative wholesale but wove a new compositional garment from the diverse strands of the biblical sources.<sup>19</sup>

This cannot be said of “dependence” in the sense of a repetition or an imitation. To be sure, his type of intertextuality contains elements of both imitation and repetition, but its character is more accurately described as *amplificatory*. What determines the relationship of the post-text with its pre-text is the fact that the features of running over the same terrain and emulating the same critical narrative of the pre-text are taken further in that the pre-text is amplified, that is, a new dimension is created by means of the repetitive imitation. For instance, there are motifs in the post-text that pick up one strand in the pre-text and strengthen it. The pre-text offers the explanation of Israel’s exile in terms of the deed-consequence nexus, that is, as the punishment for her sins. The post-text expands this to show that not only did Israel sin and receive punishment, but she continued sinning and became worse so that also the punishment is aggravated. In addition to their state they now also lose their identity as a people, the land itself is chastised by further punishment due to the “Angels of Mastemot.”

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<sup>19</sup> T. Lim, review of *DJD XXX*, *JBL* 123 (2004): 153–154, 154.

The conclusion further contributes to the augmentation of the biblical pre-text. The Bible is not quoted, but the language is given a biblical flavour. In col. i there are allusions to 2 Kgs 25:8–9, 25, Jer 24:1; 42:6, 13, 21; 43:7; 44:23; 51:59; 52:12–13, 21 and several parallels in 2 Chronicles, whereas the “underlying biblical model” of col. ii is Jer 41–42, with echoes of the admonition by Jeremiah in Jer 44–45.<sup>20</sup>

Here too the biblical pre-text is amplified. Jeremiah is not only associated with the conquered Jews, but, whereas the biblical text has Jeremiah remain in the land (Jer 40:4–6), in the *Apocryphon* he actually accompanies them to Babylonia. He returns in time for the following events, according to which he is forced to accompany the Jews who went to Egypt (Jer 43). The *Apocryphon* can therefore use the tradition of a letter by Jeremiah to the Babylonian exiles (cf. Jer 29) to enable him to accompany and instruct both communities. From the conclusion of the *Apocryphon*

Jeremiah emerges as the national religious leader and teacher, whose moral and intellectual stature invested him with the authority necessary to lead his people at that crucial hour and to lay the foundations for the future.<sup>21</sup>

In 4Q385a 18 i 7–8 Jeremiah is portrayed as invested with the same kind of authority that Moses has in Exod 19:7.<sup>22</sup> The broad strokes of the historical review in this way do confirm the main thrust of the large biblical pre-text, but the threads taken from it are woven into a new garment (in Lim’s metaphor) in which Jeremiah assumes Mosaic features so that it could be explained how Israel in the end did survive not only the initial catastrophe, but also the worsening of its situation during the exile, so that hope for an eschatological paradise could be kept alive.

All of this is achieved with a perspectival skill, since the review of events that predated Jeremiah are formulated in the past tense, whereas the events which were known to the author but happened after Jeremiah, are formulated in the future tense so that they could be revealed beforehand and therefore attain stature.

The biblical pre-text is therefore affirmed, even where it is altered for the purpose of highlighting the Mosaic function and status of Jeremiah. Far from rejecting the pre-text or presenting it against its own grain, the pre-text is enhanced and strengthened. The form of intertextuality that we have here, I would submit, is neither bland imitation nor repetition, but rather amplification. If we need to swim with the stream of

<sup>20</sup> So Dimant in her earlier article (“An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4,” 22, 24).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

neologisms in scholarly jargon, I would submit the label *amplitext* instead of hypertext or palintext for this kind of intertextuality. My example only gives one instance, but this kind of intertextuality is common in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in other “parabiblical” texts, which seem to exist for this very reason.

### 1.3.

As a last case of evidence for the polyvalent character of intertextual relationships between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible, I refer to the well-known imitation of the Priestly Blessing from Num 6:24–26 in the *Community Rule* (1QS II:1–9), where the biblical blessing is used in an extensive way. Whereas in our first two cases we have several texts in a collection intertextually related to several texts in another collection and (assuming the reconstruction of Dimant to be correct) a large connected text intertextually related to another large connected text, we here have a specific relationship of one coherent unit within a larger body of text with one other coherent unit within another totally different text (albeit with a further development based on a structural model from yet another pre-text).

The intertextuality operates on three levels: First, the biblical text from Numbers is quoted; second, it is then turned on its head by means of parody; third, the parody follows the structural example of another blessing and a curse in Deuteronomy 27:12–26 and 28:1–68.<sup>23</sup> It is obvious that the biblical texts are together used as models for the text in the *Community Rule*. Here too it is insufficient to merely declare the adapted use of the pre-texts for the admission ceremony to constitute a hypertextual imitation, or to register the words quoted from the biblical texts as a simple repetition (since verb forms are changed etc.). Neither is the interpretative amplification of the concomitant curse formulae adequate to declare the use of the passages from both Numbers and Deuteronomy a metatextual commentary on the meaning of the biblical passages. It is all of this simultaneously: Not only the Priestly Blessing, but a whole group of texts together become pre-texts and as such serve several purposes, notably as *models* for new applications, as material from which substantial portions can be *repeated*, and as objects of interpretation so that the

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<sup>23</sup> I only briefly refer to this case, as I have already discussed it in more detail elsewhere; cf. J.A. Loader, “Qumran, Text and Intertext: On the Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Theologians Reading the Old Testament,” *OTE* 19 (2006): 892–911, 905–907.

whole section can be read as *comment* on the meaning of the pre-texts. So the literary-theoretical categories of hypertextuality, palintextuality and metatextuality are simultaneously present and at work.

## 2. *Metatexts*

When intertextuality entails explicit comment on other texts without being transformations of the pre-texts, they are called “metatexts.”<sup>24</sup> They explain, expound and claim to lead to the meaning of or the sense made by the text. It stands to reason that the pre-text or portions from it will often be cited or appear as quotations in the metatext. But the definitive aspect is that the pronouncements made on the pre-text intend to reveal the sense it makes. In biblical studies this would of course be a very prominent phenomenon, because commentaries on biblical texts and other interpretative literature would relate to the biblical pre-text(s) in this way.

Of course here too the relationship is by nature one of reciprocity. The comments totally depend on the pre-text, since they are only made for the sake of understanding the pre-text. But the pre-text is also influenced by its metatextual post-text, since the way it is read and understood is affected—and may even be decisively determined—by the post-text.

Also this form of intertextuality is typical of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the most obvious manifestation being the Pesharim. By nature they explicitly take up one text and create another one around it. The biblical commentaries therefore have a clear intertextual character. They quote the pre-text quite extensively, and in this regard do not sit comfortably with Stocker’s contention that quotations are only an incidental characteristic of metatexts (as opposed to palintexts, where he finds them essential). In the Dead Sea commentaries, the quotation of the texts to be expounded are very important and even constitutive for the structure and introductory formulae of the distinct expositions. After a quotation of the pre-text, the post-text would follow an introductory formula (“its commentary [פֶּשֶׁר] is”). So the distinction between the two is quite clear and consistently present in the extended commentaries on Habakkuk (1QpHab) and Nahum (4QpNah [4Q169]).

We also have a text type which further illustrates the difficulty of keeping the different literary categories separated. This is the case in

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<sup>24</sup> Stocker, *Theorie*, 15; Wischmeyer, *Hermeneutik*, 189.



the *Florilegium* from Cave 4 (4QFlor [4Q174]).<sup>25</sup> Here texts from 2 Sam 7:10–14, Ps 1:1, and Ps 2:1–2 are quoted and amplified with shorter quotations from other passages in the Hebrew Bible. Then they are commented upon in the same style as the Pesharim in an exposition relating them all to the eschatological expectations of the community. Brought together from different pre-texts, they are recontextualised in a new post-text and then commented upon by a metatext. So here we have a type of intertextuality halfway between typical metatexts and typical palintexts.

### 3. Palintexts

A palintext is the repetition of another text or other texts so as to form yet another text.<sup>26</sup> This phenomenon should not be confused with the regular scribal task of copying manuscripts. Especially the *testimonia* and *florilegia*, or testimonies and anthologies, among the Dead Sea Scrolls are obvious cases. As an example, I take the compendium of messianic texts from the Fourth Cave (4QTest [4Q175]).<sup>27</sup> In this text a number of passages from the Hebrew Bible are arranged in a specific order and rounded off with a quotation from another Qumran text, the *Apocryphon of Joshua* (4Q379; olim *Psalms of Joshua*).<sup>28</sup> This organization reveals several levels of intertextual relationships:

- A text from Exodus is repeated in a new document (4Q175).
- It is related to the repetition of a passage from the book of Numbers.

<sup>25</sup> Also called “4QMidrEschat” in view of its eschatological orientation. In her edition and interpretation of the relationship of two fragmentary midrashic manuscripts, notably 4Q174 and 4Q177, A. Steudel (*Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde [4QMidrEschat<sup>a,b</sup>]: Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 [“Florilegium”] und 4Q177 [“Catena A”] repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* [STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994], 5–56 and 57–124) brings them together as “4QMidrEschat<sup>a,b</sup>” and defines the literary type as a thematic midrash parallel to early pesharim (ibid., 190–192). This categorization does not directly affect my discussion of intertextuality in general, but it does seem to confirm the view of the metatextual phenomenon presented here.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Stocker, *Theorie*, 50–51.

<sup>27</sup> First published by J.M. Allegro and A.A. Anderson in *DJD* V (1968): 57–60; discussed more extensively in Loader, “Qumran, Text and Intertext,” 892–911.

<sup>28</sup> For this text cf., e.g., E. Tov, “The Rewritten Book of Joshua,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 233–256.

- This is related to a further passage copied from Deuteronomy.
- Finally, all of these palintexts are grafted onto the *Apocryphon of Joshua*,
- which itself is an intertextual fabric of psalm-material and the book of Joshua.

The *Testimonia* (4Q175) is a short document from Cave 4 dated to the early first century B.C.E. and consists of four sections built around four quotations or repetitions of biblical texts from a pre-text of the Samaritan type (not from the tradition handed on in the Masoretic line, but in line with the Samaritan Pentateuch's version of Exod 20).<sup>29</sup> The last quotation, from Josh 6:26, is followed by an extended contextualisation of yet another intertextual relationship, namely from the book of Joshua as the pre-text of the *Apocryphon of Joshua*.

- The first section consists of a quotation from Exod 20:18 or 22<sup>30</sup> referring to *a prophet similar to Moses*.
- The second is from a prophecy of Balaam about *a future royal figure* (Num 24:15–17). This prophecy predicts that “a star shall stride forth from Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel; he shall crush the borderlands of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Sheth,” which is usually interpreted as a prophecy of the coming of the royal messiah.<sup>31</sup>
- The third section is a blessing for Levi, and implicitly for *the priestly messiah* (Deut 33:8–11).
- The last section opens with a verse from Joshua (6:26), which is then expounded by means of a quotation from the sectarian *Apocryphon of Joshua* (cf. 4Q379).

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<sup>29</sup> Note Deut 5:28–29 plus 18:18–19, Exod 20:18, where the Deuteronomy verses occur together (cf. D.W. Parry and E. Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* [6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005], 2:135), 20:21/22 (London Polyglot; P.W. Skehan, “The Period of the Biblical Texts from Khirbet Qumran,” *CBQ* 19 [1957]: 435–440, 435; cf. Allegro in *DJD* V [1968]: 57, who also refers to the Samaritan text, but makes no further use of the fact); at its end this verse also has a marking similar to the division sign at the endings of lines 8, 13 and 20 in 4Q175.

<sup>30</sup> It is often taken for granted that we here have four sections built on five quotations (or palintexts), e.g. Allegro in *DJD* V [1968]: 57; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: Collins, 1977), 80; cf. J. Lübke, “A Reinterpretation of 4Q Testimonia,” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 187–197, 193, who speaks of a “conflation of the biblical texts forming the first section of this document, viz Dt 5:28–29 and 18:18–19.”

<sup>31</sup> Cf. J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995) and below, n. 34.

The prophet from the *Exodus quotation* is obviously singular and is distinguished from “among their own people.” The expectation of a prophet to herald the coming of the two messiahs is well known in Qumran,<sup>32</sup> so that it is natural to expect the quotations that follow to have something to do with this.

The star and sceptre of the *Numbers quotation*<sup>33</sup> similarly signify one person, since the verbs following to describe his actions are singular. In its contextual relationship to the Exodus quotation, the Numbers passage is flanked by the obviously singular prophetic figure and the singular priestly figure in the blessing invoked on Levi (Deut 33:8, 11). Their intertextual relationship rules out any identification with the collective community in a prophetic role.

The *Deuteronomy quotation* refers to an “eschatological priest” from Levi, who is obviously the priestly messiah.<sup>34</sup> After the clearly messianic Numbers quotation, this must also be messianic, for which the figure of the priestly messiah in Qumran is the evident candidate.

The last section concerns the *curse of Joshua* on the rebuilding of the city of Jericho, intertextually made to refer to Jerusalem and the eschatological conflict, which can certainly be associated with the messiah.<sup>35</sup> The passage does refer to the eschatological struggle, as Albl claims, but this is also a messianic matter.

For these reasons the text before us is not just a “conflation,” but a palintextual interpretation of different aspects of the eschatological

<sup>32</sup> E.g. 1QS IX:14–15, 1QpHab VII:4–5; cf. also Mal 3:23–24.

<sup>33</sup> The Numbers passage is so often used with messianic reference in the Dead Sea Scrolls (and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) that Maier and Schubert, *Qumran-Essener*, 102 call it the very basis for the Qumran teaching of two messiahs. Cf. also A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), passim, with a summary and list of references in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as the more recent study of the whole issue of the two messiahs under the significant title *The Scepter and the Star* by Collins (1995).

<sup>34</sup> That is, the messiah clearly juxtaposed to the royal messiah in 1QS IX:10–11: “... until the coming of the prophet and the messiahs from Aaron and Israel.”

<sup>35</sup> M.C. Albl, *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimony Collections* (SNT 96; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 89, suggests that the last quotation cannot be squared messianic, but the Dead Sea Scrolls contain no rounded-off messianic theology, so that it is difficult to bracket out the last section of the Testimony for not fitting into “the” messianic picture of Qumran. On the sceptre, cf. Gen 49:10 and 4QCommGen A (4Q252) V; CD 7:18–21 and G.J. Brooke, “Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (ed. idem and García Martínez), 117–132, 123–124; further 1QSa II:14–15, where the royal messiah sits with his military officers in a subordinate position to the priestly messiah and the priests; cf. Maier and Schubert, *Qumran-Essener*, 102. Cf. further Loader, “Qumran, Text and Intertext,” 902–903.

future expected by the community.<sup>36</sup> The verses taken from the Bible thus exemplify the interest of the Qumran community in the Old Testament prophecies expected to be fulfilled in their own day, which was experienced as eschatological time. In any event, the intertextuality of our texts provides details about the motif. The messianic expectation comprised persons representing three facets: prophetic, royal and priestly. In accordance with 1QS IX:10–15, the *Testimony* documents this construct from the Scriptures by means of a palintextual network from the perspective of the faith of the community (for which reason the term “Testimony” for this genre of texts from the Fourth Qumran Cave is quite appropriate).

As far as I can see, the relevance of the concept of intertextuality is rarely noticed with reference to these texts.<sup>37</sup> What becomes apparent here is that there is a mutual relationship in the repetition of biblical texts, but these together form a palintext to several pre-texts at once. Thereby they reciprocally contribute to each other’s significance by limiting, extending, focusing and emending what they would mean in isolation—even within the canon of the same community. The intertextuality affords the text meanings that are not otherwise present in the same words. Since the genre of the Testimony is present in Classical literature, the New Testament and in Patristic texts, its presence in Qumran becomes very interesting.

It seems to me that this extensive and intensive use of the biblical tradition works both ways in a highly creative manner. First, central aspects of

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<sup>36</sup> So G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4Florilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 311–319, Albl, *Form and Function*, 89–90, who see the figure of the royal messiah represented here, and Steudel, who regards all three figures as messianic (“Testimonia,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 2:936–938, 937). The latter also makes the following important observation: “Interestingly, all three eschatological figures, prophet, king, and high priest, are also and exclusively in the Qumran literature found in 1QRule of the Community (1QS ix.11), in a manuscript that was copied by the same scribe who also wrote Testimonia (the passage represented by 1QS ix.11 is missing in earlier stages of the Rule of the Community redaction; see Rule of the Community<sup>c</sup> [4Q259]).” Cf. also CD 12:23–24; 14:19; 19:10–11; 20:1).

<sup>37</sup> Cf., however, Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 61; G.J. Brooke, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *Biblical Perspectives* (ed. Stone and Chazon), 35–57 (on Old Testament texts in Qumran and in the New Testament); R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) (on the New Testament); B. Embry, “The ‘Psalms of Solomon’ and the New Testament: Intertextuality and the Need for a Re-evaluation,” *JSP* 13 (2002): 99–136 (on pseudepigrapha); and M.A. Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* (FAT 45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) (on apocalyptic).

the community's theology are obviously given a biblical base.<sup>38</sup> Reminding ourselves again of the hypertextual use of the Priestly Blessing, the doctrine of the dualism between light and darkness, good and evil, is expressed in terms of Num 6 through the lens of Deut 27 and 28. But by the same token the community's self-understanding is established on the same biblical foundation, since its self-understanding is the social expression of the principle of light. By virtue of its exclusivity, those outside the community must be the expression of the principle of darkness, that is, evil in the flesh. To achieve this type of effect, which is found all over the Scrolls, a large measure of creativity, and the courage and will to put it to practice are necessary aspects of the interpreter's approach to his material.

#### D. NEW CONTEXTS

The Dead Sea Scrolls perhaps afford one of the best instances of the meaning of the concept of intertextuality in biblical studies. They have a special relevance for scholarship interested in the *literary* study of these texts because by their very nature they lend a striking topicality to the concept of intertextuality. This is in evidence all over the Dead Sea Scrolls and—since mainly biblical texts are concerned in this respect—biblical scholarship cannot but pay more attention to the phenomenon of intertextuality as it is exemplified in these texts.

The Dead Sea Scrolls create new contexts for reading the texts of the Hebrew Bible. They do so because they are texts the origin of which was determined by a particular understanding of the pre-existing Hebrew Bible texts. Therefore, there is a reciprocal relationship between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible: Having come about under the impact of the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls in turn impact on the Hebrew Bible by virtue of impacting on its reception. The interactivity between texts is not just a constitutive element of electronic hypertexts, but of all intertextual relationships—consisting as they do of pre-texts that are by definition integrated into new contexts. In the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it means that they have not only originated in the context of the Hebrew Bible, but have in turn *created* contexts for the reading of the

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<sup>38</sup> R. Kugler, "Making all Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–152, argues for scriptural exegesis at Qumran as the basis of its ritual practices generally.

Hebrew Bible that were not there before the Dead Sea Scrolls. The pre-texts do not remain unaffected by their post-texts.

There are several forms of intertextuality which the extensive and concentrated presence of the phenomenon in the Dead Sea Scrolls suggests. On the literary and theological levels they offer us much more than materials for religio-historical comparison. Having undergone the influence of earlier biblical texts, they have also *reciprocated* this influence:

- Our example of hypertextuality suggests that rash judgements as to epigonism are to be avoided, since dependence on pre-texts may yield extremely creative post-texts in their own right. Even Shakespeare was, after all, dependent on pre-existing poetic forms on which he modelled his sonnets.
- Our example of palintextuality showed how rich the contextualisation of repetitions can be in terms of meaning. Far from being “mere” repetitions or confections, texts are made to border on each other, therefore limit each other’s possibilities to mean some things and extend their possibilities to mean others.
- Since it is so simple, our metatextual example is perhaps the least intriguing in this regard. The pre-text quoted and its meaning being provided in the new formulation of the metatext is straightforward and in principle no different from what we do when we write our commentaries on these texts and/or their biblical pre-texts. But they also show to what degree the expounding of pre-texts share characteristics with other forms of intertextual relationships.
- All forms of intertextuality involve the power of creativity, In the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls specifically, this creativity is a matter of relating to the Holy Scriptures of faith communities. The reciprocity involved in the use of texts in other texts becomes a major issue when texts are projected through the prism of faith.
- Although the community from which the Dead Sea Scrolls sprang probably themselves believed the contrary, their way of expressing this faith by means of intertextual use of the Scriptures illustrates that truth is not encoded in the biblical text waiting to be decoded, but that the faith of the reader is the prism through which both their and our texts respond to biblical pre-texts.



## CURSES AND BLESSINGS: SOCIAL CONTROL AND SELF DEFINITION IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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Nearly fifty years ago, J.L. Austin's *How To Do Things with Words* developed the notion of performative utterances that do not merely describe or report events, but are simultaneously a verbal utterance and a deed performed.<sup>1</sup> With these illocutions, to say something is literally to do something. For Austin, performatives become effective to the extent that they are uttered in appropriate ways and in appropriate social circumstances.<sup>2</sup> As it pertains to ritual speech acts of blessings and curses, Austin's work has tended to shift the discussion away from a Frazerian dichotomy between magic and religion, as well as away from the magical power of words or notions of power of the soul. Social anthropologists have widely applied Austin's theory of performative utterances and illocutionary speech actsto functional models of societal social control and self definition.<sup>3</sup> Performative language thus enables one to approach

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<sup>1</sup> J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962). Austin's distinction between words that describe things and words that do something proved insufficient and the theory was modified by John Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay on the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> Austin posits four conditions for effective performatives: There must be an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect. Second, the particular personas and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure. Third, the procedure must be executed by all participants, both correctly and completely. Finally, if a procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts and feelings, then the person participating in so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts and feelings (Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 14-15).

<sup>3</sup> See R. Finnegan, "How to Do Things with Words: Performative Utterances among the Limba of Sierra Leone," *Man* 4 (1969): 537-552; B. Ray, "Performative Utterances in African Rituals," *HR* 13 (1973): 16-35; S.G.A. Onibere, "Potent Utterance: An Essay on the Bini View of a Curse," *East Asia Journal of Theology* 4 (1986): 161-169; S.J. Tambiah, "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View," in *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and non-Western Societies* (ed. R. Horton and R. Finnegan; London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 199-229; C.A. Kratz, "Genres of Power: A Comparative Analysis of Okiek Blessings, Curses, and Oaths," *Man* 24 (1989): 636-656.



ritual words from the fundamental linguistic level to see how words actually can accomplish certain ends, apart from magical or symbolic notions alone.<sup>4</sup>

Biblical scholars have applied the notion of speech acts to blessings and curses, viewing them as illocutionary utterances whose power lies in the nature of human language uttered under appropriate circumstances by appropriate individuals.<sup>5</sup> The words of blessing and curse are not magically self-fulfilling yet are nevertheless incredibly potent in proper social contexts. These performatives can at once both maintain and challenge social structures, serving as social propagandists and iconoclasts alike. When associated with legal collections, these illocutions can coerce the community to conform to a rigid set of social norms at the same time as they maintain the distinct social solidarity and identity of that community. Blessings and curses often employ stereotypical language combined with vividly enacted intramural rituals that evoke the powers of the blessing or curse.<sup>6</sup> While no destructive ritual acts typically accompanied these biblical utterances, they were nonetheless powerful. When paired together, the typically lopsided sanctions of the curses evoke effective social functions of these rituals.

The covenant community at Qumran employed ritual blessings and curses widely in ways consistent with the witness of the Hebrew Bible, acting out biblical traditions, but also modifying them significantly according to the Yahad's own halakhah. Consistent with their use of other traditions of the Bible, the community acted out biblical rituals, conflated

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<sup>4</sup> Austin discusses three categories of fallacies which render speech acts impotent: misinvocations, misapplications, and misexecutions (*How to Do Things with Words*, 14–15).

<sup>5</sup> A. Thiselton, "The Supposed Power of Words in Biblical Writings," *JTS* 25 (1974): 283–299; C.W. Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK "to Bless" in the Old Testament* (SBLDS 95; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); J.S. Anderson, "The Social Function of Curses in the Hebrew Bible," *ZAW* 110 (1998): 1–15. Thiselton has applied speech act theory to the study of hermeneutics in *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 283–307.

<sup>6</sup> M. Weinfeld mentions a number of dramatic acts that typically accompany curses in ancient treaties including burning wax figurines, breaking bows and arrows, scattering salt, cutting up animals, and covenantal sacrifices, "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *UF* (1976): 400–402. See also C.A. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine, and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in Near Eastern and Early Greek Oath Ceremonies," *JHS* 113 (1993): 60–80.

texts from multiple contexts, reused and rewrote familiar biblical texts and literary forms at will.<sup>7</sup>

Robert Kugler has recently argued that the study of ritual density and change at Qumran has received sparing attention, in spite of overwhelming textual and artifactual evidence of ritual practice there.<sup>8</sup> Following designations of Catherine Bell,<sup>9</sup> Kugler presents a preliminary inventory of six types of Qumran ritual: rites of passage, calendrical rites, rites of exchange and consequence, rites of affliction, feasting and fasting rites, and political rites. In Kugler's inventory, blessings and curses are present in nearly every category.<sup>10</sup>

Ritually enacted blessings and curses are present at Qumran in two broad public contexts with highly stylized rituals: rites of initiation and expulsion (1 QS II:1–18; 4QCurses [4Q280]; CD 7:4–10; 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266]) and battle liturgies (1QM [1Q33] XIII:2–13, 4QShir<sup>a-b</sup> [4Q510–511]). Additionally, like the biblical blessings and curses in Leviticus and Deuteronomy that follow immediately after legal collections, 4QMMT, the *Damascus Document* and the *Temple Scroll* contain examples of blessings and curses immediately following legislation that were likely to have been performed in public contexts (4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] also follows halakhic material). Associating blessings and curses with these three social contexts is not unusual when compared to other cultures in the Ancient Near East and Israel's own culture in the biblical tradition, yet the community's own adaptation and modification of blessings and curses is consistent with the community of the renewed covenant.

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<sup>7</sup> This methodology of interpretation birthed a community that had affinities to both Essenes and Sadducees. In terms of the community's self perception, however, they were nothing less than biblical Israel, and consequently a socio-religious phenomenon *sui generis* among the Judaisms of the Second Temple period. S. Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 3–26.

<sup>8</sup> R. Kugler, "Making all Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–152.

<sup>9</sup> C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> I follow Mary Douglas' definition of ritual as "symbolic action concerning the sacred." M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), 66.

RITES OF INITIATION AND EXPULSION (1 QS II:1–18; 4QCurses  
[4Q280]; 4QBER<sup>a-d</sup> [4Q286–289]; 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266])

About the same time as the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, biblical scholars were beginning to examine the influence of suzerainty and parity treaties on the biblical covenant tradition in the Decalogue, Deuteronomy, and the covenant renewal ceremony of Josh 24.<sup>11</sup> As texts were published from Qumran, insights from these studies on covenant treaties informed work on the scrolls themselves.<sup>12</sup> The blessings and curses in the covenant renewal ceremony of 1QS II, 4QCurses (4Q280), and 4QBER<sup>a-d</sup> (4Q286–290) reflect rich intertextuality with various traditions of the Hebrew Bible, including the priestly blessing in Numbers, the blessings and curses of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and the covenant renewal ceremony in Josh 24. These blessings and curses are uttered within a theatrical ritual with clearly defined elements of a processional, stylized recitation of the blessing and curse by proper leaders of the ritual, and an affirmation of acceptance by the participants by means of a self-curse, or oath.<sup>13</sup> This intramural event was repeated every year, probably the day of or before *Shavu'ot*, “all the days of Belial’s dominion,” for

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<sup>11</sup> G. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: The Biblical Colloquium, 1955); D.J. Wiseman, “The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon,” *Iraq* 20 (1958): 1–110; S. Gevirtz, “West Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law,” *VT* (1961): 137–158; F.C. Fensham, “Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the Old Testament,” *ZAW* 74 (1962): 1–9; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967); D. Hillers, *Treaty Curses and Old Testament Prophets* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964).

<sup>12</sup> K. Baltzer, e.g., argued that of all the elements of these ancient treaties, the blessings and curses underwent the most far-reaching transformation in Israel. He maintained that the blessings or curses were originally presented as two equal possibilities which were historicized over time. Early on in the history of Israel, the blessing constituted present experience and the curse threatened the future. After the destruction by Babylon, the blessing represented the promise of the future and the curse constituted the present experience of Israel. Baltzer also contended that the texts of covenant renewal at Qumran portrayed curses and blessings eschatologically. K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings* (trans. D.E. Green; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 92–93, 179–180.

<sup>13</sup> Contrast M. Weinfeld who argues that the ceremony of the Qumran community is freed altogether of ritual action and left only with the fealty oath sworn by the participants of the covenant, “The Covenant in Qumran,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, vol. 2: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 59–69, 61.

veterans and new initiates alike.<sup>14</sup> While the ceremony is patterned after the one at Gerizim and Ebal, the community adapted both content and form of blessings and curses to its own needs.<sup>15</sup> Like the blessings and curses of Deut 27, there is no mention of blood or sacrifice, a common element in many ancient treaties. The context is clearly one of covenant renewal, as language in 1QS I: 16–20 employs a stock phrase to establish a covenant (העוברים בברית) from Deut 30:18 and 29:11.

The initial blessing (1QS II:1–4a) is uttered by the priests upon all the men of God's lot who walk unblemished in all his paths. Since there is no mention of blessing in Deut 27 this blessing adapts the only priestly blessing that the Yaḥad had to draw from, the Aaronic blessing of Num 6. The *Community Rule* follows the Aaronic blessing narrowly. The themes of protection, illumination, and peace highlight the blessing, but with an eschatological connotation: the peace that is to be obtained is an eternal peace (לשלום עולמים). The single blessing is followed by a double curse (1QS II:4b–10, 11–18), first uttered by the Levites alone against the men of the lot of Belial followed by a curse uttered by both priests and Levites against those who might seek to enter the covenant but hide an unregenerate heart. The threefold theme of no mercy, no forgiveness, no peace, also present in 4QCurses (4Q280) below, is reminiscent of the prologue and epistles of Enoch and is directed against outsiders.<sup>16</sup>

Bilhah Nitzan argues that 4Q280 also belongs to the annual covenant renewal ceremony and notes parallels with 1QS II:15–17, 25–26 that deal with members of the Yaḥad who did not keep the covenant.<sup>17</sup> The order of 1QS is interrupted with the Melki-resha curse, the same pattern of cursing Melki-resha that the *War Scroll* and *Berakhot* (4Q286–290) adopt toward Belial. Because the liturgical form of 4Q280 is less developed than 1QS, Nitzan suggests that this curse probably represents an earlier stage of the ceremony.

In the *Community Rule*, both curse and blessing are combined with an oath in which adherents affirm maledictions against themselves with a

<sup>14</sup> The association with *Shavu'ot* may be a play on שבוע.

<sup>15</sup> B. Nitzan, *Quman Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chapman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 123–171.

<sup>16</sup> J.S. Anderson, "Two-Way Instruction and Covenantal Theology in the Epistle of Enoch," *Hen* 28 (2006): 161–176.

<sup>17</sup> B. Nitzan, "Blessings and Curses," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:97–98.

double amen (1QS II:10, 18). In essence the ritual introduces a modified single blessing, a double curse, double invokers of the curse, and a double amen. Like the blessing of eternal peace, the curse is also viewed eschatologically, ארורי עולמים (1QS II:17).<sup>18</sup>

What social function do these curses and blessings of the *Community Rule* and 4Q280 convey? The first and perhaps most obvious is the delineation of socio-religious boundaries. This is nothing new. Pedersen argued a century ago that the *qal* passive participle of ארר denoted separation of the one who utters the curse from its object as well as a separation of the object from the community.<sup>19</sup> Scharbert depicted the curse formula as the “most severe means of separating the community from the evildoer.”<sup>20</sup> One can point to a host of texts in and outside the Hebrew Bible where the purpose of curses and blessings was to define social and ethnic boundaries by the exclusion or humiliation of the individual or group under the curse.<sup>21</sup> In the first curse, the expression ארור אתה is uttered against the lot of Belial.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, the language employed in this ceremony, “to cross over,” is clearly boundary language. Unlike the ceremony in Deut 27 where the nation of Israel is given the possibility of both blessing and curse, here the notion is noticeably intramural. The outgroup-ingroup, ingroup-innergroup boundaries are clearly defined by curses and blessings. Whether the sons of Belial represent individuals outside the community or backslidden members of the community, the result is the same. The curses not only made explicit a known division between competing communities but actually enacted that relationship

<sup>18</sup> For the eternal curse, see also 1 En. 5:5–7; 102:3.

<sup>19</sup> J. Pedersen expresses the curse as “Ausstoßung aus der Gesellschaft, Beraubung des Glückes und der Ehre, Bann und Besessenheit.” J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten in seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients 3; Strassbourg: Trübner, 1914), 78.

<sup>20</sup> J. Scharbert, “Fluchen und Segnen im Alten Testament,” *Bib* 39 (1958): 1–26; idem, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im Alten Testament und in seiner Umwelt*, vol. 1: *Väterfluch und Vätersegen* (BBB 14; Bonn: Hanstein, 1958).

<sup>21</sup> Curses against, Cain, Canaan, Esau, Simeon, Levi in the ancestral narratives; Moab, Edom, and several other groups in the Balaam narrative, and the curses against the Gibeonites, and Shechemites in the Deuteronomistic History are some examples.

<sup>22</sup> Similar language is used in 4QCurses (4Q280) against Melki-resha, “[... Accur]sed are you, Melki-resha, in all the pla[ns] of your blameworthy inclination. May] God not be merciful ... May there be no peace for you by the mouth of those who intercede” (4Q280 2 2–4, according to F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998], 2:637).

each time the ritual was performed.<sup>23</sup> In 4QCurses (4Q280), this ritualized curse separated the object (Melki-resha) from the Sons of Light. Such projection of threat onto an Outgroup served as a back-handed blessing to the Ingroup which uttered the curse and as a force to deny others participation in that community.

Second, in cultures of the ancient Near East, blessings and curses were often a private law of the vulnerable when the enforcing arm of the law was limited. Boundary inscriptions were a common Ancient Near Eastern example of this use of curses, a metaphor alluded to often in the scrolls, not only here, but also in the *War Scroll* and the *Damascus Document*. As such, curses were a last resort of the weak based on a transcendental principle of justice which covered the limited arm of the legal system. As Weber retorts, “the curse of the poor is the weapon of democracy.”<sup>24</sup> Such denouncement rhetoric promoted egalitarianism and had a leveling effect to broader society. It may be that the Yahad viewed itself as oppressed with limited resources for justice.

Finally, the ceremony functioned as a tool of social control and a way to convey social values. According to some social control models, people are more willing to conform to social norms of a community because of a latent fear of retaliation. Due to the theological nature of this renewal text, fear of divine retribution is a strong deterrent to antisocial behavior. Note the divine force behind a three fold blessing and seven fold curse: May he bless you with everything, may he illuminate your heart, may he lift upon you his countenance—followed by—may God hand you over to terror, may he bring upon you destruction, may God not be merciful, may he not forgive, may he lift up the countenance of his anger, may God’s anger and wrath consume him, may God separate him for evil.<sup>25</sup>

The community’s double affirmation (אמן אמן) is telling. Speech act theorists have argued that virtually all illocutionary speech acts are conditional. They must be uttered in appropriate contexts by appropriate

<sup>23</sup> Mowinckel organizes his discussion by examining curses directed against those outside the community versus curses directed against those inside the community (S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien*, vol. V: *Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmdichtung* [1924; repr. Amsterdam: Schippers, 1961], 80).

<sup>24</sup> M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (trans. D. Martindale; New York: Free Press, 1952), 256–257.

<sup>25</sup> R. Werline argues that God’s refusal to listen to the prayers of the condemned in the moment of punishment constitute the curses’ vitality, “The Curses of the Covenant Renewal Ceremony in 1QS 1.16–2.19,” in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. R. Argall, B. Bow, and R. Werline; Harrisburg: Trinity, 2000), 280–288.

individuals or they will ultimately be unsuccessful. James Harris called this the “cornerstone of speech act analysis.”<sup>26</sup> The procedure must be executed by all participants correctly and completely. While curses can at times be uttered in secret without the knowledge of their object, the curse within the contexts of an oath must be acknowledged in some way by the individual who agrees to the oath. With a reenactment every year, the double curse invoked by double personas, and a double affirmation strengthen the viability of that oath.

WAR PRAYERS (1QM XIII:2–13, 4QSHIR<sup>a-b</sup> [4Q510–511])

In 1 Sam 17 Goliath cursed David by his gods prior to their infamous battle at Socoh and in Num 22–24 Balak summoned Balaam to curse Israel in a verbal buildup to an actual war. Many ancient texts supply examples of gathering omens before battle to ascertain the will of the gods, employing professional sorcerers to curse the enemy, and gathering an entire army in public contexts to swear an oath of military allegiance.<sup>27</sup> The *War Scroll* (1QM) offers detailed ritual instructions for the final battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The Sons of Light were to prepare as if they were taking part in a holy ritual. Yet the outcome of the war had already been predetermined and that victorious outcome was specifically foreshadowed in the text. In the heart of the *War Scroll* (cols. X–XIV) are a series of varied liturgical pieces in the context of warfare. The prayers of this section are not necessarily homogenous but reflect parallels with other ritualized texts, most notably the covenant renewal ceremony.<sup>28</sup>

The context of reciting this text occurs at the time of the eschatological war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, but Nitzan observes that it is unclear at what stage of the war the recitation was to be uttered.<sup>29</sup> For example, in col. XIV the blessings and curses are recited near the corpses of slain enemies, presumably after the actual

<sup>26</sup> J. Harris, “Speech Acts and God Talk,” *International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion* 11 (1980): 167–183, 169.

<sup>27</sup> C.A. Faraone, “Curses and Blessings in Ancient Greek Oaths,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion* 5 (2006): 139–156.

<sup>28</sup> P.R. Davies, “War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:965–968, 967.

<sup>29</sup> Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 138.

battle is over.<sup>30</sup> Assuming that the *War Scroll* entails preparation for a physical battle, if the blessings and curses are uttered prior to the battle they are employed similarly to other war curses. If they are employed after the battle, these performatives still draw important lines of demarcation between God, Belial, and their respective lots.

While not expressed in covenantal language, many of the same stylized ceremonial elements in the *Community Rule* are presented here in the *War Scroll* as a liturgical ceremony. There is a processional, or at the least, a clearly defined order of priests, levites and elders. The invokers are the priests, levites, and elders who bless the God of Israel and damn (זעם) Belial and all the spirits of his lot. God is blessed for his holy plan, Belial cursed for his hostile plan and the spirits of his lot are cursed for their wicked plan. The use of חשב is similar here to the reconstructed text of 4QCurses (4Q280), where Melki-resha is cursed for the plans of his blameworthy inclination. In 1QM the ארר formula is employed against these foes. The word “lot” (גורל), is referential to the boundary of allotment, evoking curses associated with the violation of boundaries, like the covenant renewal texts. But unlike the covenant renewal ceremony, words of curse written first, the ritual ends with a blessing.

Sometimes blessings and curses served as a *substitute* for political action. When there were no available channels through which an individual or group could seek justice, curses often were a means of seeking revenge. In the context of warfare, rather than a literal confrontation in which one was sure to be defeated, the curse often substituted for an actual battle.<sup>31</sup> This not only provided a socially sanctioned outlet for

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<sup>30</sup> J. Duhaime outlines the War Prayers this way: Prayers at the camp (cols. IX–XII), prayers on the battlefield (col. XII–XIV:1), prayers after the victory (col. XIV:2–end). J. Duhaime, “War Scroll,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2: *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 80–203, 80. See also Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 223.

<sup>31</sup> Ya’ari and Friedman argue that in Arab societies warfare has actually been averted when antagonists vent their frustrations by cursing the enemy: “While the curse-and-bless prelude was originally designed to gear enemies up for an armed clash, it has also had the effect of substituting for physical combat.” E. Ya’ari and I. Friedman, “Curses in Verses,” *The Atlantic* (Feb. 1991): 26. Additionally, note the revealing quote: “They curse us because they cannot kill us.” K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Belief in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 509.



aggressive impulses, but was also a powerful means of effecting revenge.<sup>32</sup> Regardless, these blessings and curses strengthened the resolve of those who participated in the ritual.

The language of blessing and curse is also employed in 4QShir<sup>a-b</sup> (4Q510–511). In framework similar to the *War Scroll*, the text portrays the struggle between the forces of light and darkness. These songs indicate that the one reciting the text is declaring the glories of God to frighten the spirits of the ravaging angels and demons.<sup>33</sup> Although the manuscripts are severely damaged, the associated text in 4Q511 demonstrates the tension of blessing and curse. The text is highly fragmented, but essentially reflects a ritual that opens the same way that 1QM does, praising God who is the source of both blessings and curses. This text expresses the dualistic and deterministic position that God is the irresistible source of both blessing and curse. Nitzan states, “the blessing and corresponding curse serve as a kind of magical weapon intended to protect the children of light from the spirits of Belial in warring activities . . .”<sup>34</sup> For Nitzan, while the blessing and curse of covenantal ceremony was a means of identifying and separating from the lot of Belial, the use in this context resembles the practice of using recitations which carry magical powers.<sup>35</sup> Rather than magical recitations, perhaps instead both the covenant renewal ceremonies and the battle curses combine speech and ritual act as performative utterances. In both contexts the effect of blessings and curses is the same. They fortify the self identity of the community, coerce behavior, and define actions that are sanctioned by the community.

#### HORTATORY EXHORTATIONS FOLLOWING LEGAL MATERIALS (4QMMT, 4Q266, 11QT)

4QMMT, the *Damascus Document*, and the *Temple Scroll* all contain curses and blessings which follow legal or halakhic instruction, thus rein-

<sup>32</sup> Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 87.

<sup>33</sup> See A. Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435.

<sup>34</sup> Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 138.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

forcing legal sanctions.<sup>36</sup> While there is probably no literary relationship between these three documents, their content is remarkably similar.<sup>37</sup> The reconstructed text of 4QMMT as it is presented in the composite text and translation by Strugnell and Qimron contains three sections: a calendar at the beginning (A), a list of laws (B), and a hortatory conclusion (C). It is the conclusion that alludes to the blessings and curses. The blessings and curses of the text above are replete with biblical allusions from Deut 31:29; 30:1–2; 4:30; and possibly Deuteronomistic language in Hos 3:4–5.<sup>38</sup> Deuteronomy 30:1–3 states that after the time of blessings and curses has run its course, Israel will return to God with all their heart and soul. An allusion to Deut 4:30 or 31:29 anchors the time of this return to the end of days. The expressions (בִּאֲחֵרִית הַיָּמִים), (בִּאֲחֵרִית הָעֵת), and (אֲחֵרִית הַיָּמִים) are significant. The phrase is probably not used eschatologically as 4QMMT C 22 expressly states, “this is the last days.” The Torah uses the expression, “the last days” in only two occasions; both are in the context of blessings and curses. In Gen 49:1, Jacob asks his sons to “gather around, so I can tell you what will happen at the end of days.” The context here is a blessing on most of his sons and the curses on Simeon and Levi. In Num 24:14, just prior to Balaam’s fourth and unsolicited oracle, Balaam says to Balak, “let me warn you what this people will do to your people at the end of days.” In context, the fourth oracle turns out to be nothing less than a curse on Moab. Both of these texts in the Torah are not eschatological. Collins notes that one of the supplements to 1QS, 1QSa (1Q28a), states, “the rule for all the congregation of Israel at the end of days.”<sup>39</sup> Unlike the blessings and curses of 1QS and the *War Scroll*, there is probably no eschatological connotation in 4QMMT.

But to what extent is the language of 4QMMT part of a ritual? Fraade suggests that there is an unmistakable link to the covenantal ceremony enacted after crossing the Jordan.<sup>40</sup> Wise, Abegg, and Cook nicely

<sup>36</sup> J.P. Meier argues that the noun *halakhah* is used only in a general sense at Qumran (1QS III:9). J.P. Meier, “Is there *Halaka* (the Noun) at Qumran?” *JBL* 122 (2003): 150–155.

<sup>37</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “*Miqṣat Ma’āse Ha-Torah* and the *Temple Scroll*,” *RevQ* 14 (1989–1990): 435–457.

<sup>38</sup> M. Bernstein states that the language becomes more biblical in the hortatory section of 4QMMT. M. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 29–51, 46.

<sup>39</sup> J.J. Collins, “Eschatology,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:256–261, 258.

<sup>40</sup> S.D. Fraade, “Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in *Miqṣat Ma’āse Ha-Torah* (4QMMT): The Case of the Blessings and Curses,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 150–161, 160.

organize the material into two units that each contain a warning, exhortation, and illustration. Such a construction could, but does not necessarily have to lend itself to a ritualized setting.<sup>41</sup> Multiple copies of 4QMMT suggest that the treatise functioned intramurally and was likely used to instruct new members and to reaffirm the unique halakhic perspectives to veterans of the community. The message seems clear: obey this set of laws and blessing will return.<sup>42</sup>

The rite of expulsion in 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 11 15–18, a fragmentary copy of the *Damascus Document* without parallel in the Cairo Genizah, also contains blessings and curses which follow halakhic instruction.<sup>43</sup> With the eight MSS from Cave 4 taken into account, over two-thirds of the *Damascus Document* contains halakhic instruction.<sup>44</sup> The rite of expulsion apparently follows CD 14:8–21. The timing of this expulsion ceremony is significant as it also coincides with Shavu'ot and is probably part of a covenant renewal ceremony. The expulsion applies to everyone who despises the regulations in accordance with all the statutes that are found in the Law of Moses. The ritual includes a community assembly, a prayer uttered by a priest who is appointed over the Many, and a written verdict. Even those associated with the expelled man were to leave with him. Again, as seen above, the language of border violations is reminiscent of the curse. The author uses covenantal language of “crossing over,” yet with a twist. The expelled has crossed over the boundaries set by God.

Last, another parallel to 4QMMT is the Law of the King in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT<sup>a</sup> LIX:2–21). Like 4QMMT, it concludes a section of halakhic materials by invoking a relatively long list of curses against those who might not keep the covenant, presumably due to the disobedience of the king. The *Temple Scroll* alludes to the covenant blessings and curses of Deut 17; 28; 31; and Lev 26 by describing the scattering and disgrace of the people, destruction of cities, and the humiliation of exile. Like 4QMMT, once the curses have run their course, a return follows, “afterwards they shall come back to me with all their heart and with all their soul, in agreement with all the words of this law.” Thus the period of curse

<sup>41</sup> M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 363–364.

<sup>42</sup> G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 48.

<sup>43</sup> J.C. VanderKam, “Covenant,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:151–155, 153.

<sup>44</sup> J.M. Baumgarten and M.T. Davis, “Cave IV, V, VI Fragments Related to the Damascus Document (4Q266–273 = 4QD<sup>a-h</sup>, 5Q12 = 5QD, 6Q15 = 6QD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Charlesworth et al.), 2:59–79, 59.

is followed by a time of blessing. The implication is remarkably similar to 4QMMT C 23–26, which implies that obedience to a certain interpretation of the Torah will spare the ruler from the misfortunes of the curse.<sup>45</sup>

### CONCLUSION

The counterposing of blessings and curses played a central role in the ritual life of the Qumran community in ceremonies and literary compositions. Such ritual density was intramural, public, and consensual. Examples from three arenas—covenant renewals and expulsions, war prayers, and paranetic exhortations—demonstrate that blessings and curses uttered in ritual contexts at Qumran were potent and effective performatives. The community employed these utterances in multiple contexts by rich intertextuality with the blessings and curses from the Hebrew Bible. The threat of curse and promise of blessing enhanced social solidarity, marginalized outsiders, and coerced obedience to social sanctions. These performatives were uttered in intramural contexts consistent with the Hebrew Bible, but went beyond biblical utterances as their rhetoric affirmed the dualistic and deterministic ideology of the Yaḥad concerning the identity and struggle between light and darkness, between the lots of God and Belial.<sup>46</sup> This community adapted a “new covenant” for themselves that did not apply to all nations, or even to all Israel for that matter, but only those who remained faithful to the community itself and adhered to its strictest codes. All others were cursed. Such rituals, “entangled community members inextricably with God’s will for the cosmos and drew them away from the profane world of their Jewish and non-Jewish neighbors.”<sup>47</sup> These blessings and curses were potent, but not because of the magical power of words or the soul, but as performatives uttered in proper ritual contexts.<sup>48</sup>

The approach in this essay is indebted to Shemaryahu Talmon’s sociological models for understanding the distinctive self understanding and

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<sup>45</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts,” in *Reading 4QMMT*, 81–98, 96.

<sup>46</sup> Nitzan, “Blessings and Curses,” 95.

<sup>47</sup> Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious,” 152.

<sup>48</sup> Thiselton, “The Supposed Power of Words in Biblical Writings,” 296, states, “illocutionary speech acts no more depend on primitive notions of word-magic than a modern judge and jury do when their words actually consign a man to prison or to freedom.”

world view of the community at Qumran.<sup>49</sup> For Talmon, historical critical methodology alone is insufficient to a full understanding of Qumran and these sociological models bear directly on the life and faith of the Yahad. As such, sociological method represents a promising approach for analyzing the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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<sup>49</sup> S. Talmon, "The Transmission History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran and Other Sites in the Judean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 40–50; idem, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant."

## READING FOR WOMEN IN 1QSA (*SEREKH HA-EDAH*)

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Before the 1990s there were no women in Qumran. All agreed (and most continue to agree) that the Qumranites were Josephus' Essenes, and these were male celibates.<sup>1</sup> The excavations at Qumran, carried out by Dominican monks, only confirmed this. Like in the all-male monasteries they knew, they found a refectory and a scriptorium,<sup>2</sup> and they found no jewels or cosmetics.<sup>3</sup> The few possible female skeletons that may have been found in the cemeteries were made to disappear, or masculinized.<sup>4</sup> Unwanted feminine subjects in the texts were emended out (like the wife, made to testify against her husband in *Serekh ha-Edah*)<sup>5</sup> or allegorized (or should I say pesherized, as the women of the wicked

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<sup>1</sup> There is no need to repeat this premise in detail. For a summary, see H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes: Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:83–166.

<sup>2</sup> See R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), e.g. 29–30.

<sup>3</sup> See particularly J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 182–185.

<sup>4</sup> See J.E. Taylor, "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *DSD* 6 (1999): 285–323 and my *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (TSAJ 76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999), 206–207. This topic has been the subject of much recent debate, see e.g., O. Röhrer-Ertel, F. Rohrhirsch, and D. Hahn, "Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran, insbesondere die Funde der Campagne 1956, I: Anthropologische Datenvorlage und Erstauswertung aufgrund der Collection Kurth," *RevQ* 19 (1999): 3–46; J. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 220–253; S.G. Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran," *DSD* 9 (2002): 199–248; A. Baumgarten, "Who Cares and Why Does it Matter? Qumran and the Essenes Once Again," *DSD* 11 (2004): 174–190; H. Eshel et al., "New Data of the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran," *DSD* 9 (2002): 135–165; J. Zias, "Qumran Archaeology: Skeletons with Multiple Personality Disorders and Other Grave Errors," *RevQ* 21 (2003): 83–98. The last has not yet been said on this matter.

<sup>5</sup> See on this matter below.

wives),<sup>6</sup> or marginalized (like the wives of the *Damascus Document* who were interpreted as married to lesser members of the sect).<sup>7</sup>

But the women in Qumran wanted out; not just the skeletons in the cupboard, the ones mentioned in the texts too. Since the late 1990s there has been an explosion of studies on women and gender in Qumran. In a cursory study I have conducted I have come up with at least 40 articles, and at least two books, all dating to after 1992.<sup>8</sup> In fact, in my opinion, it is getting to the point where studies on the topic unwittingly repeat what has already been stated elsewhere, both because the options are not endless, and because scholars fail to read what their predecessors have written. This criticism applies to myself as well, but since I cannot demonstrate in my scholarship what works of others I have failed to consult, I will instead demonstrate how some of my own works have been ignored.

In general one can divide the topics being discussed into two basic questions: How are women viewed by the texts found in Qumran, and were there real women in the Qumran community. The first question requires that one read texts that fall outside of the purely sectarian literature, to include other compositions found in Qumran, such as

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<sup>6</sup> See e.g. H. Burgman, “‘The Wicked Woman’: Der Makkabäer Simon?” *RevQ* 8 (1974): 323–359.

<sup>7</sup> On this premise see e.g. E. Qimron, “Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. Trebolle Barrera and Vegas Montaner), 1:287–294; and much more recently A. Shemesh, “The Halakhic and Social Status of Women According to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Bar Ilan* 30–31 (2006): 533–535 (Hebrew).

<sup>8</sup> In the interest of space I only list here a sample of these publications, particularly those not mentioned in other bibliographical references in this article: L. Schiffman, “Laws Pertaining to Women in the Temple Scroll,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 210–228; L. Cansdale, “Women Members in the *Yahad* According to the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994), A:215–222; L. Elder-Bennet, “The Woman Question and Female Ascetics among Essenes,” *BA* 57 (1994): 220–234; M.I. Gruber, “Women in the Religious System of Qumran,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, part 5: *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1: *Theory of Israel* (ed. A. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner, and B. Chilton; HO 56; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 173–195; S. White-Crawford, “Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127–150; M.J. Bernstein, “Women and Children in Legal and Liturgical Texts from Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 191–211. The books are: C. Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (SBL Academia Biblica 21; Leiden: Brill, 2005) and the highly eccentric I. Sheres and A. Kohn Blau, *Sex and Ritual in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Truth about the Virgin* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

biblical, para-biblical, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings.<sup>9</sup> The second question, while concentrating on the sectarian texts, requires that these be more rigorously defined and leads the inquirer beyond the texts to archaeology of the site, particularly with regard to the cemetery.<sup>10</sup>

Following E. Schuller, who in 1997 raised the possibility that there were women in Qumran, and that they may have played a role in the community beyond that of wives of lesser members,<sup>11</sup> this topic has been continuously explored, first with doubts and misgivings but recently with more and more conviction. Women in Qumran are said to have served as “mothers” (אמות) of the congregation and to have something called רוקמה in it which, for lack of a better term, has been translated as “authority.” Women in Qumran were expected to give evidence against their husbands (I will return to this issue presently) and were allowed a broader latitude for their vows than in other Jewish denominations. They were responsible for the examination of other women, to determine their virginity.<sup>12</sup> Supporters of the Essene hypothesis have produced a new consensus that these women, wives of lesser members, did not reside in Qumran. Instead, they hold that Qumran remained the stronghold of the more steadfast, celibate Essenes. According to this new consensus, the scrolls point to two sort of Essenes: those married and those not. This basic picture finds some marginal support in Josephus.<sup>13</sup> For lack of space, I do not present here the texts in which these issues emerge,

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<sup>9</sup> See e.g. S. White Crawford, “Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 355–366; J.E. Taylor, *Jewish Women Philosophers of First Century Alexandria: Philo’s “Therapeutae” Reconsidered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 329–334; B.G. Wright, “Wisdom and Women in Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 240–261; B.G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 2/201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> And see n. 4, above.

<sup>11</sup> E. Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 115–131 and in a revised version in “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:117–144.

<sup>12</sup> V. Hurowitz, “רוקמה in Damascus Document 4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q270) 7 i 14,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 34–37; G.J. Brooke, “Between Qumran and Corinth: Embroidered Allusions to Women’s Authority,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill 2003), 157–176; S. White-Crawford, “Mothers, Sisters, and Elders: Titles for Women in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Davila), 177–179.

<sup>13</sup> See most forcefully Shemesh, “Halakhic and Social Status of Women,” 533–546.



and which have meanwhile become a corpus repeatedly quoted in the scholarly articles where these issues are debated.

Instead, I wish to concentrate on one single composition: *Serekh ha-Edah* (*Rule of the Congregation*). It is a short composition appended to the end of the scroll of the larger *Serekh ha-Yahad* (*Rule of the Community*). The methodological rationale for this approach is an attempt to move beyond the corpus just mentioned, which is an artificial one created by scholars, to an organic composition, understood as a whole by at least the copyist who produced 1QS. If this text is read for gender, it reveals not scattered references but a unity in which one reference is closely linked to another and all may produce a picture that individual references lack. In this approach I endorse M. Grossman's reading strategies, as suggested in her article "Reading for Gender in the Damascus Document," published in *DSD* 11 (2004). Grossman singled out the *Damascus Document* as important for the Qumran covenanters, and in view of this, since "the Damascus Document establishes a specific understanding of gender norms[, r]eading the text with an eye to these constructions—the distinctions between practices and traits that are understood as 'masculine' and those that fall into the category of 'feminine'—allows us to raise questions at a number of levels."<sup>14</sup> Like Grossman I look at one text and like Grossman I "read the constructions of gender [in this case in 1QSa T.I.] not in isolation but in light of other texts that we know existed simultaneously with it, and (perhaps) within the same community."<sup>15</sup> Unlike Grossman, however, I am interested in what the text is saying specifically about women in Qumran. I am also extremely interested in the history of research associated with the reconstruction and publication of this text, and the women therein. Careful attention to this history reveals the disbelief scholars have displayed and are still displaying toward evidence of women in the received texts, and consequently how the silencing of women works to this day. Silencing processes have been one of my major projects recently, as the name of my last book, *Silencing the Queen* indicates.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> M. Grossman, "Reading for Gender in the Damascus Document," *DSD* 11 (2004): 212–239, 214.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>16</sup> T. Ilan, *Silencing the Queen: The Literary Histories of Shelamzion and other Jewish Women* (TSA) 115; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

## 1. THE INTRODUCTORY PASSAGE

I begin with the text itself. For convenience sake, I provide the section under discussion in the Hebrew original and suggest various translations throughout the discussion:

וזה הסרך לכול עדת ישראל באחרית הימים בהספם [ליחד להתה]לך	1
על פי משפט בני צדוק הכוהנים ואנושי בריתם אשר סר[ו מלכת ב]דרך	2
העם, המה אנושי עצתו אשר שמרו בריתו בתוך רשעה לכפ[ר בעד האר]ץ.	3
בבואם יקהילו את כל הבאים מטפ עד נשים וקראו בא[וניהם] את	4
[כ]ול חוקי הברית להבינם בכול משפ[טיה]מה פן ישגו במ[שוגותיהם]ה	5

1QSa begins with the words “this is the rule for the entire congregation of Israel at the end of times.” Thus, L.H. Schiffman designated his comprehensive study devoted to this text *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. What does it mean that this text is designed to set down the law for the end of times? Is this law only good for the future, or is it applicable now, for the present covenants? In the interest of time I do not attempt to answer this question, but note that Schiffman and Charlotte Hempel, who wrote a comprehensive article on the literary layers in this composition, suggested that the text had practical implications for the Qumran community who produced it.<sup>17</sup> Hempel went so far as to argue that the eschatological introduction and conclusion to the text are later additions to the whole. When removed, the text becomes no more than another legal corpus of the present day Qumranites.

For my purpose it is important to continue reading this introduction. The purpose of this composition is described with the word בה[א]ספם (“when they gather”) and the editors have completed the lacuna following this word with the term ליחד (namely, “to the Yaḥad,” the name the community gave itself). This restoration is probably based on lines I:26, 27 and II:2 where עצת היחד is explicitly mentioned, but even if the reference is to the עדתה (“congregation”) as is much more common throughout the text, the composition of this gathering is interesting. In line 4, we read: בבואם יקהילו את כל הבאים מטפ עד נשים וקראו בא[וניהם] את [כ]ול חוקי הברית להבינם בכול משפ[טיה]מה פן ישגו במ[שוגותיהם]ה “when they come [together] they shall gather all those present including children and women and will read in their ears all the laws of the covenant to instruct them in all

<sup>17</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 8–9; C. Hempel, “The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–269.

its laws, so that they not err in their errors.” No one has ever doubted the reading of these words, although they clearly mention women and children present in this gathering. This is probably because these words depend heavily on a biblical verse, Deut 29:9–10: אַתֶּם נְצַבִּים הַיּוֹם כְּלֶקֶם לְפָנַי ה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם רְאֵשִׁיכֶם שְׁבִטֵיכֶם וְקִנְיֹתֵיכֶם וְשֹׁטְרֵיכֶם כָּל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל טַפְכֶם וְנִשְׁיֵיכֶם וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבְּךָ מִחֲנִיפֶיךָ מִחֲטָב עַצִּיבָה עַד שְׂאֵב מִיַּמֶּיךָ “You are all present today before the Lord your God, the heads of your tribes, the elders and officers, all the men of Israel, your children, your wives, the foreigner in the midst of your camp from your wood cutter to your water drawer.” In her article on the *Damascus Document*, M. Grossman stated that the “Damascus Document show[s] familiarity with the book of Deuteronomy” and in order to demonstrate the ideology of this book, which she terms an “inclusive covenant,” she cites this verse, although it is not explicitly or implicitly cited in that document. She summarizes her discussion of this verse with the words “What is found in [it] should not be romanticized as an ‘egalitarian’ community; it is, rather, a gender-inclusive community grounded in an androcentric ideology.”<sup>18</sup> Her comments seem as much if not more pertinent to 1QSa. Nevertheless, with the mention of women and children into the very introduction of this composition, one should not dismiss out of hand the possibility that women and children are intended in the following sections of this text as well.

## 2. EDUCATION AND TESTIMONY IN THE ASSEMBLY

That children are included in the overall plan of this composition is very clear. The text continues with a description of the sect members’ education from childhood (נְעוּרָיו):

זוה הסרך לכול צבאות העדה לכול האזרח בישראל מן נע[וריו]	6
[יל] מדהו בספר ההגי וכפי יומיו ישכיליהו בחוק[י] הברית ול[פי שכלו]	7
[יי] סרו במשפטיהמה. עשר שנים [י] בוא בטפ[ו] [בן] עשרים ש[נה] יעבור על[	8
הפקודים לבוא בגורל בתוך משפ[ח]תו ליחד בעד[ת] קודש ולוא י[קרב]	9
אל אשה לדעתה למשכבי זכר כי אם לפי מולאות לו עש[ר]ים שנה בדעתו [טוב]	10
ורע. ובכן תקבל להעיד עליו משפטות התורא ולהת[י] צב במשמע משפטים	11
ובמלוא בו.	12

Here we observe what books and what laws and ordinances a member is to study and what he must do at the age of ten. I have framed this sentence in male language, as 1QSa also does, but the possibility that

<sup>18</sup> Grossman, “Reading for Gender,” 222–224.

it is gender inclusive, and includes children (טף) of either sex should not be ruled out. After all, in the *Damascus Document*, the author, certainly a member of the sect, makes the general statement regarding the language of the law that משפט העריות לזכרים הוא כתוב וכהם הנשים (“the law of incest is written for males but similarly refers to females” CD 5:9–10). Applying this principle here in 1QSa is justified not just because the text has just included women and children (of both sexes) in the gathering, but because of what comes next. In lines 9–10 we are informed that until the age of twenty, the male member (זכר) of the sect is not allowed to engage in sex with a woman. This he is then permitted. This sentence is clearly concerned with males, and it may give the impression that it reflects on the previous lines concerned with education, and on the following line, which deals with giving testimony. However, as to the latter, the text here performs a complex exercise and switches from the male who is forbidden to go near a woman (יקרב), to the female who is expected to give evidence against him (תקבל להעיד) (עליו).

Before going on with my reading, it is important to note how this sentence was treated before the 1990s. In Licht’s edition of the text from 1965 the reading found within the text is the masculine יתקבל (in בנין התפעל meaning “he shall be accepted”). Licht notes that the manuscript reads תקבל but states that “the assumption that the reference here is to the woman who would give evidence against her husband will not solve the linguistic difficulty and will lead us to a set of strange assumptions (השערות מוזרות) about the position of women in society.”<sup>19</sup> Twenty-four years later Schiffman wrote in a similar manner: “This sudden shift from the masculine to the feminine and its implication of women’s participation in the judicial process has caused some scholars to be suspicious . . . After all, the context clearly refers to males. It is difficult to understand why a wife’s acceptability as a witness should be connected with that of her husband. Finally, it is unlikely that women were entrusted with assuring the faithfulness of their husbands to the sectarian way of life.”<sup>20</sup> He suggested emending the text to the masculine יקבל.

In an article I published in 1995, I wrote: “In the final analysis, this text, taken at face value, tells more about the sect than about its attitude

<sup>19</sup> J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 257 (Hebrew). The translation is mine.

<sup>20</sup> Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 18–19.

to women. The text suggests that the wife turn informer on her husband's degree of compliance with the sect's laws. The Qumran sect thus favors loyalty to the sect over loyalty to one's spouse. It displays a system which values regulating the lives of its members over respecting their privacy and conjugal intimacy.<sup>21</sup> My comments were never read by Qumran scholars. Neither J.E. Taylor and P.R. Davies, who wrote about women's testimony in 1QSa in 1996,<sup>22</sup> nor D. Rothstein, who wrote about it again in 2004<sup>23</sup> ever refer to it. Yet both articles tend in the same direction. Davies and Taylor read the text together with the *Damascus Document* which rules against engaging in sex with menstruants (CD 5:7). They understand the testimony a wife should give against her husband as one referring to her own state of purity during the act of intercourse. This attitude is one where instead of emending the text, we limit its application. In his article, eight years later, D. Rothstein rejected the limitations set on the topic of the wife's testimony by Davies and Taylor. He wrote: "It is perfectly reasonable to demand that a wife testify on all aspects of her husband's private conduct, including less concrete offences such as her husband's pride and the like . . . while a plausible case can be made for interpreting 1QSa 1:9–11 as referring to something other than testimony by the wife, there is most certainly good reason for understanding the passage to require testimony of the wife against her husband."<sup>24</sup>

There were other stages on the way to this conclusion, which I have skipped in the interest of space,<sup>25</sup> but what it demonstrates in general is the way the interpretation of this text has gone from complete disbelief to complete acceptance of its credibility. In light of this conclusion, I still think my interpretation of 1995 is the most valid, for it takes into account, beyond gender issues, the social-sectarian character of the Dead Sea sect and does not view women's testimony as an indication of an egalitarian society, but rather of a totalitarian one. I thus suggest that it is only a question of time before one will be willing to read the previous verses on

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<sup>21</sup> T. Ilan, "The Attraction of Aristocratic Jewish Women to Pharisaism," *HTR* 88 (1995): 1–33, 32–33.

<sup>22</sup> P.R. Davies and J.E. Taylor, "On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 223–235.

<sup>23</sup> D. Rothstein, "Women's Testimony at Qumran: The Biblical and Second Temple Evidence," *RevQ* 21 (2003): 597–614.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 612–614.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. N.H. Richardson, "Some Notes on 1QSa," *JBL* 76 (1957): 108–122; J.M. Baumgarten, "On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa," *JBL* 76 (1957): 266–269.

the education of children as referring to female ones as well. How could the women of the sect know whether their husbands are fulfilling the laws and obligation when they had not been educated (or should I say indoctrinated) into the sectarian ways?

### 3. THOSE EXCLUDED FROM THE YAḤAD ASSEMBLY

I move from here to 1QSa II:3–9:

וכול איש מנוגע באחת מכול טמאות	3
האדם אל יבוא בקהל אלה וכול איש מנוגע באלה לבלתי	4
החזיק מעמד בתוך העדה וכול מנוגע בבשרו נכאה רגלים או	5
ידיים פסח או עור או חרש או אלם או מום מנוגע בבשרו	6
לראות עינים או איש זקן כושל לבלתי התחזק בתוך העדה	7
אל יבוא [או] אלה להתיצב [ב] תוך עדת א[נ]ושי השם כיא מלאכי	8
קודש בעצתם	9

And every person who is inflicted with one of humankind's impurities should not join the assembly of these, and each who is inflicted with these who cannot hold himself within the congregation and each who is inflicted in this flesh, amputated in his legs or arms, lame or blind or deaf or mute or is inflicted by an infirmity in his flesh visible to the eye or an old tottering man who cannot hold himself within the congregation, should not present himself within the congregation of the people of honor because holy angels are among them (the translation follows the CD text).

This text I suggest reading for women, precisely because of their absence from it. If we would like to know who is not invited to participate in the assembly to which this entire scroll is devoted, we should look to this list. Unlike the list at the beginning of the scroll which includes women and children, this list which excludes a large number of deformed persons, mentions neither women nor children.

Lists of persons excluded from certain activities were quite common in the sectarian literature of Qumran. One is found in the *Damascus Document*. I bring here the text both from the Cairo Genizah manuscript and from one of the *Damascus Document* fragments from Qumran, because the latter complements the former. The text is followed by a translation:

CD 15

אוויל ומשוגע וכל פת[י] ש[ו]גה	15
וכהה עינים לבלתי ראות וחגר או פסח או חרש ונער ז[עטו]ט אל	16
יבוא אי[ש] מאלה אל תוך העדה כי מלאכי קודש	17

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וכול היות אויל	6
[ומ]שוגע אל יבו וכול פתי ושוגה וכה עינים לבלתי ראות	7
[ו]חגר או פסח או חרש או נער זעטוט א[ל יבר] איש	8
[מ]אלה אל תוך העדה כי מלאכ[י] הקוד[ש] בתוכם]	9

A fool, a mentally unstable and every dim witted who rents and the blind and the lame or limping or deaf and a small boy, none of these should come into the community because holy angels . . .

A similar list is also found in the *War Scroll* (1QM VII:3–6):

וכול נער זעטוט ואשה לוא יבואו למחנותם בצאתם	3
מירושלים ללכת למלחמה עד שובם. וכול פסח או עור או חגר או איש אשר מום עולם בבשרו או איש מנוגע בטומאת	4
בשרו כול אלה לוא ילכו אתם למלחמה. כולם יהיו אנשי גדבת מלחמה ותמימי רוח ובשר ועתודים ליום נקם וכול	5
איש אשר לוא יהיה טהור ממקורו ביום המלחמה לוא ירד אתם כיא מלאכי קודש עם צבאותם יחד.	6

And every small child and a woman should not come to their camp when they go forth from Jerusalem to go to war, till they return. And every lame or blind or limping person or a person who has a permanent infirmity in his flesh or one who is inflicted with impurity in his flesh, all these shall not come, and not go forth with them to war. All will be tribute of war and pure of spirit and flesh, and prepared for the day of revenge. And every person who will not be pure at his source on the day of war shall not go down with them, because holy angels are in together with them are in their armies.

I have presented both these texts because both, like 1QSa, also mention the reason for the exclusion as the presence of angels in the community. This issue has been noticed and fully discussed by A. Shemesh. He has compared these lists to similar ones found in rabbinic literature, and concluded that despite different formulations, both fulfill similar functions—exclusion of persons with physical deformities from the divine presence.<sup>26</sup> However, as can be noted in the lists I have presented, the exclusions are not always the same. In CD we find mention of אויל גה [ש]ו[ר] (‘‘a fool, a mentally unstable and every dim witted who rents’’) as well as נער זעטוט (‘‘a small boy’’). On this basis, Shemesh concluded that there is ‘‘a significant difference between the lists in 1QSa and CD. [T]he former’s failure to mention the demented fool, the simple-minded or errant man, evidently [shows that] the author of 1QSa chose

<sup>26</sup> A. Shemesh, ‘‘The Holy Angels are in their Council’: The Exclusion of Deformed Persons from Holy Places in Qumranic and Rabbinic Literature,’’ *DSD* 4 (1997): 179–206.

to concentrate solely on disqualifications due to physical deformities ... Having noted this it becomes readily apparent that the list[s are] ... specific ...<sup>27</sup>

From our perspective, it is interesting to note that while the *War Scroll* lists women and children in its catalogue of exclusions, and the *Damascus Document* lists children, 1QSa lists neither. It should also be noted that this follows on 1QSa I:4, which, as we have observed above, included women and children in the congregation. The text is consistent. Nevertheless, for the record of the history of research on women in Qumran, I am compelled to refer to a recent article by the same A. Shemesh on the issue of women in Qumran. There Shemesh wrote: "From the context it is clear that this passage refers to the assembly of the council of the Yaḥad both for the purpose of discussing issues relevant to the congregation and the study of Torah and for communal meals. It is hard to decide why women are not mentioned in it—is it because they are allowed to participate in the council of the Yaḥad or perhaps the opposite, and the author felt no need to list them specifically since it is so obvious that they are excluded from these gatherings? The second option seems to me more likely."<sup>28</sup> Thus, we see that for the purpose of defining women's position as secondary and insignificant in the sect (as is the thesis in his article), Shemesh employs a different, less rigorous reading strategy than the one he employed when discussing lists of persons with deformities and impurities.

On the other hand, I regard the differences between the lists as very significant. Women and children are mentioned in the *War Scroll* where they are specifically excluded from the war camp because they do not belong to the fighting force. In this attitude the Qumran community is certainly patriarchal and non-egalitarian. In the list of the *Damascus Document*, children are mentioned but not women, because although in formula it is very similar to 1QSa, the context therein shows that we are dealing with neophytes joining the community. The sect could by default accept invalids and fools born in its midst, but did not accept new members from among such disqualified people. Children they did not accept as neophytes because these do not yet know their own minds. Women are not in this list because they were accepted as potential members.

Note also, in this context, that while the 1QSa list includes old people, the list in CD does not. Their inclusion in 1QSa could be explained with

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 196–197.

<sup>28</sup> Shemesh, "Halakhic and Social Status of Women," 541. The translation is mine.



Shemesh, as resulting from the fact that they are infirm and displeasing to the eye, as the community described therein should be.<sup>29</sup> In CD they are not mentioned in the list of exclusions, because apparently old people were allowed to join the sect. Similarly, Shemesh had characterized the list in 1QSa as different from the one in CD, because it does not include mentally challenged people.<sup>30</sup> In this way 1QSa shares a premise with the *War Scroll* list, which also does not mention fools and the mentally sick. Is this omission not significant? Indeed, it is interesting to note that this omission in 1QSa II:3–9 is compensated for in 1QSa I:19–21:

וכול איש פיתי	19
אל יבוא בגורל להתיצב לעדת ישראל לריי[ב מ]שפט ולשאת משא עדה	20
וללהתיצב במלחמה להכניע גויים רק בסרך הצבא יכתוב משפחתו	21

And every foolish man should not be included in the lot to enlist in the congregation of Israel to pass judgment and bear responsibility and enlist in the war to subdue nations. Only his family shall be recorded in the rule of the army.

Here we are informed that the fool (פתי) is excluded from serving as judge and warrior, but is to be enlisted in the army (סרך הצבא). This explains well why these people are not mentioned in the *War Scroll* list. Unlike women and children, fools and the mentally sick were welcome in the war camp.

So as not to be accused of attempting to produce an overtly “feminist” and women-friendly portrait of the Dead Sea sect, let me stress that I do not think that women’s absence from the exclusions list in CD and 1QSa is an indication of the “egalitarian” character of this community. Just as I do not consider the women’s right to testify against their husbands in the sect an indication of gender equality, but rather as an indication of the way the system worked, so too, I view this list as functional. In 1QSa an event is described which includes women and children, as is stated categorically in 1QSa I:4. But women and children (as in rabbinic texts) were often excluded from various cultic activities described in other sectarian texts from Qumran. This can be deduced from two further documents. In the *Temple Scroll* (11QT<sup>a</sup> XXXIX:7), we read in association with the middle court of the Temple: לוא תבוא בה אשה וילד עד יום (“A woman and child shall not enter it until the day . . .”) and in 4Q265 3 3 we read: [אל] יאכלו נער (“A small child and a woman shall not partake in the Pesah sacrifice”). The Dead Sea sect, as other groups in Jewish

<sup>29</sup> Shemesh, “The Holy Angels are in their Council.”

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 196–197.

society during the Second Temple period, was a patriarchal society in which women were secondary participants, and excluded from various activities at random.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4. WOMEN IN THE YAḤAD COUNCIL

I would like to conclude this reading for gender of 1QSa with a completely new suggestion, not previously noted or raised by anyone. In 1QSa I:25–II:3 we read:

ואמ תעודה תהיה לכול הקהל למשפט או	25
לעצת יחד או לתעודת מלחמה וקדשום שלושת ימים להיות כול הבא	26
עת[יד לע]צה אלה הנשים הנקראים לעצת היחד מבן עש. כול	27
ח[כמי] העדה והנבונים והידעים תמימי הדרך ואנושי החיל עמ	28
[שרי השב]טים וכול שופטיהם ושוטריהם ושרי האלפים ושרי[ם למאות]	29

Col. II

ולחמשים ולעשרות והלויים בתו[ך מחל]קת עבודתו, אלה	1
אנושי השם קוראי מועד הנועדים לעצת היחד בישראל	2
לפני בני צדוק הכוהנים.	3

I refrain from suggesting a translation for this section at this point. Instead, I discuss each section and offer my translation of it as I go along. I begin with 1QSa I:27: **אלה הנשים הנקראים לעצת היחד**. The words should probably be translated: “These are the women appointed to the council of the Yaḥad.” But a look at the history of research on this passage quickly indicates that not everyone has read it this way. Beginning with Licht, we find the reading **אלה האנשים** (“these are the men”) printed in his edition. Licht notes here: “(The scribe) began writing **הנאשים**. When he noted his mistake he incorporated the א into the ש following it. The resulting reading **הנשים** is suspect and should be read **האנשים**.”<sup>32</sup> This is an ingenious interpretation and was wholeheartedly adopted by later scholars. So we find it in the text offered by Schiffman, who makes no comment on this reading as an emendation,<sup>33</sup> and so we find it in Hempel’s edition, with an indication that the reading is an emendation, but with no explanation.<sup>34</sup>

The reason why the alternative reading has never been anticipated is because of the way most have understood the syntax of this text.

<sup>31</sup> In this I agree with Shemesh, “Halakhic and Social Status of Women.”

<sup>32</sup> Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 263. The translation is mine.

<sup>33</sup> Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 32.

<sup>34</sup> Hempel, “Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa,” 260.

The words *אלה הנשים הנקראים לעצת היחד* are usually seen as opening a new sentence and followed by a colon. These (*אלה*) refers to the people mentioned thereafter: “All the sages of the congregation and the wise and informed, those of unblemished ways and the warriors with the heads of the tribes and their judges and officers, commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds and fifties and tens and the Levites within their ritual divisions.” Obviously all are men. There is a problem with this reading, however, for in 1QSa II:1–2 we read: *אלה אנושי השם קוראי מועד*, which, if I am translating correctly, means: “These are the men of honor who designate times, who gather to the council of the Yahad in Israel under the leadership of the Sons of Zadok the priests.” If these words are to be contrasted to the words *אלה הנשים*, or as most would read them, *אלה האנשים*, they too should be followed by a colon and by a list of people who stand under this heading (sages, nobles etc). They are not. Instead, this heading is immediately followed by the list of those disqualified from the assembly, which I have discussed previously. Because of this difficulty, Hempel suggested that this last sentence is a gloss, indicating later editorial activity.<sup>35</sup> But this is not the only textual solution to this conundrum. It is possible that the word *אלה*, repeated twice in this text, does not refer forward but rather backward. A nice example of such a use of *אלה הנשים* contrasted with *אלה האנשים* is found in the early tannaitic midrash *Mek. de Rabbi Ishmael*: “כה” *אלה האנשים* to be translated as “Thus you shall say to the House of Jacob’ (Exod 19:3) these are the women, ‘and tell the people of Israel’ (ibid.) these are the men” (*Mek. de Rabbi Ishmael*, Yitro ba-Ḥodesh 2). Although this is a rabbinic midrash, and although it refers back to a biblical verse and not to a formulation suggested by the rabbis, the similarity to the 1QSa text is striking.

If we accept this suggested reading, the words *אלה אנושי השם* must refer back to the “sages of the congregation and the wise and informed, those of unblemished ways and the warriors with the heads of the tribes and their judges and officers etc.” If this reading is correct, we should assume that the words *אלה הנשים* (or *האנשים*) also refer back. Here we should ask ourselves: to what part of the sentence exactly do they refer? The words immediately preceding *אלה הנשים* are: *ואם תעודה תהיה לכול הקהל למשפט או לעצת יחד או לתעודת מלחמה וקדשום שלושת ימים להיות כול הבא עת[יד לע]צה*. Schiffman translated this text with the words: “And if there shall be a

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

convocation of all the congregation for judgment or for a council of the community or for a convocation of war, they shall sanctify themselves for three days, so that everyone who comes shall be pre[pared for the coun]cil.”<sup>36</sup> Such a translation suggests that this is a complete sentence, ending with a full stop, and the words אלה הנשים begin a new sentence. I can imagine a plausible alternative syntax. We can read the first sentence as ואמ תעודה תהיה לכול הקהל למשפט או לעצת יחד או לתעודת מלחמה וקדשום וימים or in English: “And if there shall be a convocation of all the congregation for judgment or for a council of the community or for a convocation of war, they shall sanctify themselves for three days.” The next sentence would begin with the words להיות כול הבא, which could be translated as “All those who come should be.” These words are followed by a lacuna which is restored above (together with Licht and later editions) as עת[יד לע]צה. I do not have an alternative emendation, but this does not mean that I cannot reject this reading. I suggest we read the second sentence as follows: להיות כול הבא עת[ ]צה אלה הנשים, or in English “All those who come should be [...] these are the women.” The next sentence begins with the words: הנקראים לעצת היחד מבן עש[רים] ... [כול ח]כמי [ translated as: “Those appointed to the Council of the Yaḥad from the age of twe[nty ...] all the sa[ges of ]the congregation and the wise and informed, those of unblemished ways etc.” By such a division of this entire paragraph, I suggest we read the women back into the text and assume with the introductory paragraph that women (and children) are included in the events described in this short text. In this paragraph, which describes the עצת היחד (council of the Yaḥad), we learn that it consists of two components: women and men of honor. Following this description, we are informed of those who are excluded from the council.

In this essay I hope to have exemplified my vision for the methodology of “reading for gender” in Qumran. I think M. Grossman got it right that we should discuss whole documents, and I hope I have been able to show that 1QSa lends itself nicely to a similar project. I also know that my suggestion may appear to some rather radical. I am used to finding my suggestions for reading gender and women into unlikely places scoffed at and dismissed. I understand that some readers will dismiss my readings and/or my larger exegetical method. In light of what we have learned and the strides we have made since the Qumran texts were first deciphered,

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<sup>36</sup> Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 29–30.

it would be prudent to wait patiently and see how this entire text (and particularly the last paragraph I discussed) will be understood in say fifteen years.

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE HEBREW  
BIBLE IN LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



THE *HODAYOT*'S USE OF THE PSALTER:  
TEXT-CRITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS (BOOK 2: PSS 42–72)

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The Qumran *Hodayot* make extensive use of biblical texts, in particular of the Psalms. Accordingly, Jean Carmignac, after attempting an exhaustive listing of biblical “citations in the *Hodayot*,” concluded that “l’auteur est surtout nourri d’*Isaïe* et des *Psaumes*.”<sup>1</sup> Although the *Hodayot* writers aimed at conveying ideas expressed by, or associated with, the biblical text, rather than at “quoting” that text, it is likely, nonetheless, that the wording of the source text was at least sometimes reflected in a *Hodayot* author’s new composition. The aim of the present study is to identify and to analyse evidence about the form of the biblical source texts employed by the *Hodayot* author(s) (whether consciously or unconsciously) on the basis of the verbal similarities that exist between various *Hodayot* sequences and biblical ones. Potentially significant text-critical evidence emerges when, for example, a series of words that varies slightly from the Masoretic tradition (or that agrees with the Masoretic tradition when other ancient traditions diverge) appears in contexts where there are no obvious stylistic or exegetical signals for the deliberate manipulation of a biblical text. Similar studies relating to Books 1 and 3 (Pss 1–41; 73–89) have been published and the present paper employs the same analysis for Book 2 (Pss 42–72).<sup>2</sup>

The texts discussed in this article include the eighteen listed by Carmignac (p. 375)—Pss 42:7; 43:1; 44:14; 51:3–4/69:17; 51:6, 7, 8; 52:4; 54:3, 6; 55:23; 57:5 (twice); 64:4; 68:23, 34; 69:22; 71:9—as well as three

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<sup>1</sup> J. Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancien Testament, et spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur dans les Hymnes de Qumran,” *RevQ* 2 (1959–1960): 357–394, 391.

<sup>2</sup> “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 1),” in *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read at the [Thirteenth] Joint Meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België, Apeldoorn [21–24] August 2006* (ed. B. Becking and E. Peels; OtSt 55; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79–108; “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter: Text-Critical Contributions (Book 3: Pss 73–89),” *DSD* 17 (2010): 159–179. A paper covering Book 4 (Pss 90–106) will be published in the proceedings of the IOSOT XX Conference (Helsinki, August 2–4, 2010).



others discussed only by Preben Wernberg-Møller<sup>3</sup>—Pss 51:10; 66:9; 72:19. Psalm 54:5, also presented by Wernberg-Møller, is discussed in the paper on Book 3, in connection with Ps 86:14.<sup>4</sup>

Ps 42:7 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII[XVI]:32–33

Ps 42:6–8, 12 [= 43:5]:

מה־תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶי נַפְשִׁי וְתַחֲמִי עָלַי  
הוֹחִילִי לֵאלֹהִים כִּי־עוֹד אוֹדֶנּוּ יִשׁוּעוֹת פְּנֵי:  
אֵלֵהִי עָלַי נַפְשִׁי תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה עַל־כֵּן אוֹכְרָהּ מֵאַרְץ יַרְדֵּן  
חֲרָמוֹנִים מֵהַר מִצְעָר:  
תְּהוֹם־אֶל־תְּהוֹם קוֹרָא לְקוֹל צְנוּרִיךָ  
כָּל־מִשְׁבְּרִיךָ וְגִלְיָה עָלַי עֲבְרוּ:  
... מה־תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶי נַפְשִׁי וְמֵה תַחֲמִי עָלַי  
הוֹחִילִי לֵאלֹהִים כִּי־עוֹד אוֹדֶנּוּ יִשׁוּעוֹת פְּנֵי וְאֵלֵהִי  
וּרְתַעֲפּוּ עָלַי מִשְׁבְּרִים וְנַפְשִׁי עָלַי תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְכֻלָּהּ

1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII:31–32 [XVI:32–33]:<sup>5</sup>

There is no comparable expression in the rest of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but in MT note also Lam 3:18, וְזָכֹר תִּזְכֹּר וְתִשְׁוֶה עָלַי נַפְשִׁי, and, less strikingly, Ps 44:25a: לְעִפְּר נַפְשֵׁנוּ כִּי שָׁחָה לְעִפְּר נַפְשֵׁנוּ. However, within Ps 42, as Hughes indicates, the words of the *Hodayot* passage “my soul within me is bowed down” might contain an allusion to any one of vv. 6, 7, or 12, or to two, or to all three of them.<sup>6</sup> Hughes is the only commentator I have noticed who also

<sup>3</sup> P. Wernberg-Møller, “The Contribution of the *Hodayot* to Biblical Textual Criticism,” *Text 4* (1964): 133–175.

<sup>4</sup> Unbracketed references are to E.L. Sukenik’s edition, bracketed ones to Martin Abegg’s electronic edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as accessed through the Accordance software, from which the *Hodayot* texts are also taken. (Significant differences from the edition of Sukenik are noted.) Abegg’s edition also includes the text of *Hodayot* MSS from Cave 4, 4QH<sup>a-f</sup> (4Q427–433), as they appear in E. Schuller’s edition in *DJD XXIX* (1999): 69–232.

<sup>5</sup> Note that Sukenik has --- for the first עָלַי; J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Text, Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 139, restores [פְּחִי]; S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 144, 157 n. 68, restores [גִּלְיָה], noting that “wave” is found in Ps 42:8, and that “the following expression [i.e., תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, וְנַפְשִׁי עָלַי] also seems dependent upon Ps. 42.”

<sup>6</sup> J.A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 160. Other sources referred to are: Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1961); A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH): Traduction integrale avec introduction et notes* (Sem 7; Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1957); M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot): Texte hébreu, introduction, traduction, commentaire* (Autour de la Bible; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962); Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*; M. Wallenstein, “A Striking Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls,”

correctly draws attention to the use of מַשְׁבְּרִים “breakers” in line 31, and to its occurrence in Ps 42:8.<sup>7</sup> However, beyond this possible additional parallel and the shared genre of individual lament there is nothing in the verbal or conceptual context of the *Hodayot* passage to link it clearly to v. 6 (or 7 or 12). Indeed, one could even argue that the source of the *Hodayot* sequence here is not the Psalter at all but rather Lam 3:18, noted above.

If, however, we agree with commentators like Carmignac, Licht, and Dec in seeing the primary linguistic influence as coming from Ps 42:7, it is difficult to draw any text-critical conclusions from the difference between וּנְפִשִׁי עָלַי תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה in the Psalm and וּנְפִשִׁי עָלַי תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה in the *Hodayot*. LXX (in all its traditions), Peshitta, Psalterium iuxta hebraicum, and *Tg. Ps.* support the word order of MT. Nevertheless, the absence of a preceding divine name in the *Hodayot* passage and the initial waw (וּנְפִשִׁי) might be seen to support the text division in LXX:<sup>8</sup>

σωτήριον τοῦ προσώπου μου (καὶ) ὁ θεός μου  
πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἢ ψυχῇ μου ἐταράχθη;

or Peshitta:

לְפָנַי וְאֵלֹהֵי  
חַל נַפְשִׁי עָלַי

*BHS* recommends emending MT to: וּנְפִשִׁי תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (cf. 42:12 = 43:5); Briggs and Briggs prefer: וּנְפִשִׁי תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה: “the saving acts of the presence of (Yahweh) my God.”<sup>9</sup> Barthélemy, in his lengthy discussion of the ending of Ps 42:6 and the beginning of Ps 42:7, points out that “[le] très ancien papyrus B24” reads as MT, and may represent

*BJRL* 38 (1956): 241–265; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 157–182; B.P. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (SBLDS 50; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1981); A.M. Gazov-Ginsberg, M.M. Elizarova, and K.B. Starkova, *Teksti Kumrana* (Pamyatniki Kulturi Vostoka, 7; St. Petersburg: Tsentr Peterburgskoe Vostokobedenie, 1996), 181–258; P. Dec, “Zwoje Hymnów Dziekczynnych znad Morza Martwego [Megillôt haHôdayôt] 1QH<sup>a</sup> [1QH<sup>b</sup>/4Q427–4Q440]” (Ph.D. diss., Papal Theological Academy Krakow, 2004); G. Roye Williams, “Parallelism in the Hodayot from Qumran” (Ph.D. diss., Annenberg Research Institute, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 160 n. 111, 171.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. F. Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: Sive Veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, vol. 2: *Jobus—Malachias: Auctarium et indices* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1960), 155b (<http://www.archive.org/stream/origenishexaploro2origuoft#page/154/mode/2up> [21 April 2010]).

<sup>9</sup> C.A. Briggs and E.G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), 1:366, 373.

the original form of MT rather than **פָּנֵי וְאֵלֶיָּהּ**.<sup>10</sup> The *Hodayot* evidence, weak as it is, thus might support the majority view, against Barthélemy.

Ps 43:1b = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:20 [XII:21]

Ps 43:1b: **מֵאִישׁ-מְרָמָה וְעוֹלָה תִּפְלֹטָנִי**  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:20 [XII:21]: **וּתְכַרַּת בְּמִ[שֶׁפ]ט כּוֹל אֲנֹשִׁי מְרָמָה וְחוּזִי תַעוֹת לֹא יִמְצָאוּ עוֹד**

The evidence against this passage being dependent on any specific biblical passage is quite strong. First, the collocation **מְרָמָה אֲנֹשִׁי** only occurs in this one text (although **ה[ה]רְמִיָּה אֲנֹשִׁי** is found at 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:16 [X:18]; 1QS IX:8, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV:14 [VI:25]: **כּוֹל פּוֹעֲלֵי רֶשַׁע וְאֲנֹשִׁי רְמִיָּה**).<sup>11</sup> Secondly, **תַּעוֹת** does not occur in the Bible, so its parallelism with **מְרָמָה** in the *Hodayot* passage is, unfortunately, irrelevant for determining a biblical source for **מְרָמָה אֲנֹשִׁי**. Thirdly, the Psalter's combination of **מְרָמָה** and **עוֹלָה** is not found anywhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls (although **רְמִיָּה** and **עוֹלָה** are found in more or less close combination at 1QS IV:23; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 3 10, 15 [XXI:30, 35]; cf. Job 13:7; 27:4). Thus, one wonders why Ps 43:1 was chosen by Carmignac for this *Hodayot* passage rather than Ps 5:7, **וְאֲנֹשִׁי דָּמִים וְמְרָמָה לֹא-יִחַצְצוּ יְמֵיהֶם**, or Ps 55:24, **אִישׁ-דָּמִים וְמְרָמָה יִתְעַב**.<sup>12</sup> In fact, Holm-Nielsen cites all three passages, whereas Mansoor chooses to refer only to Ps 54:24.<sup>13</sup> Only Delcor agrees with Carmignac in referring to Ps 43:1 alone.<sup>13</sup>

LXX and Peshitta have a different order of adjectives from MT in this Psalms passage (**ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀδίκου καὶ δολίου ὕψισάι με**), but it can hardly be argued that the *Hodayot* passage gives support to the order of MT here.<sup>14</sup>

Ps 44:14 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:9, 33–34 [X:11, 35–36]

Ps 44:14: **תְּשִׁימוּנֵי חֲרָפָה לְשִׁכְנוֹנֵינוּ לְעַנְי וְקָלָס לְסִבִּיבוֹתֵינוּ**  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:9–10 [X:11–12]: **וּתְשִׁימוּנֵי חֲרָפָה וְקָלָס לְבוֹגָדִים**  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:33–34 [X:35–36] = 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428) 3 2–3: **וּוִישִׁימוּנֵי לְבוֹו וְחֲרָפָה בְּפִי כָל דּוֹרְשֵׁי רְמִיָּה**

<sup>10</sup> D. Barthélemy, ed., *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 4: *Psaumes* (OBO 50.4; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005), 252–255.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Dec, "Zwoje Hymnów," 235 n. 559.

<sup>12</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 83 n. 44; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 126 n. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 154.

<sup>14</sup> Pace Wernberg-Møller, "Contribution," 158.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the combination of שים and הרפה is found only in these two *Hodayot* passages. In the Bible, however, the construction is attested not only at Ps 44:14, but also at Ps 39:9: מְכַל־פְּשָׁעֵי הַצִּילֵנִי. Note also 1 Sam 11:2: וְשִׁמְתִיהָ חֶרֶף עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל. Ps 79:4: וְשִׁמְתִיהָ חֶרֶף עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, and Jer 20:8: כִּי־הָיָה דְבַר־רִי, are also mentioned by commentators as possible sources. Although Wernberg-Møller claims that “Our author . . . adapted the Biblical phrase [at Ps 44:14] to suit the requirements of his context,”<sup>15</sup> Holm-Nielsen characterizes the situation as follows: “It is impossible to say where ותשימוני הרפה וקלס is taken from, because the words are found in practically identical sequences in Ps. 44:14 and 79:4, and Jer. 20:8 is a third possibility.”<sup>16</sup>

Of the two *Hodayot* passages, the first (II:9–10) can more credibly claim a link with Ps 44:14, in view of the presence in both texts of, on the one hand, וקלס, and, on the other hand, a noun preceded by -ל, introducing those before whom the speaker fears humiliation: לסביבותינו; לבוגדים (the construction is relatively common in the *Hodayot*).<sup>17</sup> The sequence shared between *Hodayot* and Psalter at the level of lexical identity (ותשימוני הרפה), however, is too short to establish a clear direct link with Ps 44:14, and there are no further contextual clues in the *Hodayot* passage that might point to the same biblical text. If dependency on Ps 44:14 is assumed, however, the *Hodayot* text would confirm MT against the proposal of, for example, Oesterley and Briggs and Briggs to read הָיִינוּ for תְּשִׁימוּנוּ, as at Ps 79:4 (הָיִינוּ חֶרֶף לְשִׁכְנוֹנוּ), because of the repetition of תְּשִׁימוּנוּ in the next verse, Ps 44:15: (תְּשִׁימוּנוּ מִשָּׁל בְּגוֹי),<sup>18</sup> and against the insertion of a -ל before חֶרֶף, as reflected in some Greek and Latin MSS (see the apparatus to the Göttingen edition).<sup>19</sup> As Wernberg-Møller

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>16</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 38.

<sup>17</sup> T. Muraoka, “Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (ed. idem and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 92–149, 141.

<sup>18</sup> W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Psalms: Translated with Text-Critical and Exegetical Notes* (London: SPCK, 1959), 246; Briggs and Briggs, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 1:376.

<sup>19</sup> A. Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis* (3rd ed.; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 218.

points out, there is no evidence from versions or MSS for the singular pronoun of the *Hodayot* (ותשימוני) as against the plural one of MT.<sup>20</sup>

Ps 51:3-4 / 69:17 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:31-32 [IX:33-34];  
 XIII:17 [V:34]; VII:27 [XV:30];  
 XVIII:14 [XXIII:15]; IV:32 [XII:33]

Ps 51:3-4: חֲנִי אֱלֹהִים כַּחֲסֵדְךָ כָּרֵב רַחֲמֶיךָ מִחַה פְּשָׁעֵי: הָרֵב כְּבִסְנִי מְעֻנֵי וּמַחֲטָאתֵי טְהַרְנִי.  
 Ps 69:17: עֲנֵנִי יְיָ כִּי־טוֹב חֲסֵדְךָ כָּרֵב רַחֲמֶיךָ פְּנֵה אֵלַי.  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:31-32 [IX:33-34]: ואתה ברחמיכה וגדול חסדיכה ... טהרתה מרוב עוון

The parallel here with 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:31-32 is claimed only by Wernberg-Møller.<sup>21</sup> The four additional *Hodayot* passages cited (by Carmignac) also include various forms of the combination רוב רחמים. A search of Abegg's electronic version reveals an additional three occurrences (or restorations) in the main *Hodayot* scroll, 1QH<sup>a</sup>, and nine in other Dead Sea Scrolls. The fact that the constituent parts are so common in the *Hodayot* (רחמים is found 44 times in all *Hodayot* texts, including restorations, and רוב 39 times) indicates a strong statistical probability that their combination is a natural result of the use of the Hebrew language (in speech or in writing) by members of the Dead Sea Scrolls community. Demonstration of a direct relationship of any one *Hodayot* text with either of the Psalms passages in which the collocation also occurs would require the presence of additional elements linking that *Hodayot* text to one of those passages.

Counting against any such dependency is the fact that in none of the up to ten occurrences of רוב רחמים in all *Hodayot* texts (including 4Q material) does the prefixed כ-, which characterizes both biblical usages, appear.<sup>22</sup> For Wernberg-Møller, however, Ps 51:3-4 represents a specific source of wording in 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:31-32 [IX:33-34]. The additional גדול in the *Hodayot* passage (וגדול חסדיכה for MT's חסדיך) is seen by Wernberg-Møller as reflecting a LXX-type *Vorlage*:<sup>23</sup> LXX reads κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, which, of course, better fits the parallel כָּרֵב רַחֲמֶיךָ. Similarly, according to Wernberg-Møller, the *Hodayot*'s חסדיכה supports a Hebrew MS that reads the plural form as against the singular חסדיך in all other exam-

<sup>20</sup> Wernberg-Møller, "Contribution," 148.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>22</sup> Wernberg-Møller notes support in Hebrew MSS (see *BHS*) for a reading with כ- rather than כ- at Ps 51:3, i.e., ברחמיכה rather than רחמיך (ibid.).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 168-169.

ples of MT.<sup>24</sup> No light is cast, however, on the additional conjunction that appears in LXX (κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὐκτισιμῶν σου) and Peshitta (see *BHS*). No other commentator agrees with Wernberg-Møller in seeing a connection between these two passages.

Of the four *Hodayot* texts listed by Carmignac, perhaps VII:27 [XV:30] has the clearest immediate claim to a biblical connection of some kind, in as much as it also employs חסד, found in both the Psalms texts:

הודעתני ובהסדיכה לאיש [ ] ברוב רחמיכה לנעוי לב.

Holm-Nielsen also cites IV:36–37 [XII:37–38]: כי נשענ[תי] בחסדיכה והמון [XII:37–38]:  
 Holm-Nielsen also cites IV:36–37 [XII:37–38]:  
 כי נשענ[תי] בחסדיכה והמון [XII:37–38]:  
 רחמיכה.<sup>25</sup> Note also VII:18 [XV:21]:

ואני נשענתי ברו[ב] רחמיכה ובהמון [ ] חסדכה אוחיל.

1QH<sup>a</sup> X:15 [XVIII:18], once restored, might also reflect the penitential thought as well as the language of Ps 51:3:

[ ] לחסדכה בגדול טובכה ורו[ב] רחמיך ואני [ ] אשתעשעה בס[ ] ליחותיכה.

At 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:32, Delcor notes a parallel with Ps 51:3, and Holm-Nielsen refers to Ps 69:17 as well.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, Holm-Nielsen points out “the similar רחמים רבים” in four other biblical texts.

Ps 51:6 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:6 [IX:8]; VII:28  
 [XV:31]; 4 10 [XXII:29]; IX[XVII]:14–15

Ps 51:6:	לְמַעַן תִּצְדַּק בְּדַבְרֵךָ תִּזְכֶּה בְּשִׁפְטֶיךָ
1QH <sup>a</sup> I:6 [IX:8]:	וארוך אפים במשפט [ ] ואת[ה] צדקתה בכל מעשיכה
1QH <sup>a</sup> VII:28 [XV:31]:	ומי יצדק לפניכה בהשפטו
1QH <sup>a</sup> 4 10 [XXII:29]:	ומי יזכה במשפטכה
1QH <sup>a</sup> IX[XVII]:14–15:	כי לא יצדק כול במש[פ]טכה ולא יז[כ]ה ב[ ] רבכה

Of the *Hodayot* texts cited by Carmignac, only frg. 4 10 [XXII:29] has an at least superficially clear correspondence with Ps 51:6, the only biblical passage in which the verbal roots שפט and זכה are collocated. Having said this, in the Psalms passage זכה is stated of God, whereas in the *Hodayot* the purity of any being other than God is questioned. Thus, beyond the fact of broad lexical similarity, there is no clear syntactic or

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>25</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 27 n. 65.

<sup>26</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 154; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 85 n. 81.

conceptual parallelism between the *Hodayot* and the biblical passages, and any dependency can only be of the most general kind.<sup>27</sup>

Ps 51:7 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:29–30 [XII:30–31]

Ps 51:7:	הֵן-בְּעוֹן חוֹלְלֵי וּבְחַטָּא יִחַמְתִּי אָמֵן.
1QH <sup>a</sup> IV:29–30 [XII:30–31]:	וְהוּא מֵרַחֵם וְעַד שָׁבָה בְּאַשְׁמַת מַעַל

It is difficult to see anything beyond a merely conceptual parallel here. For example, Hughes comments: “The all-encompassing phrase, *from the womb and unto old age*, echoes biblical language such as that found in Ps 51:5 [7].”<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Holm-Nielsen: “For the train of thought, cf. Ps. 51:7”; and: “The last words in line 29 and the first in line 30 are possibly inspired by Ps. 51:7.”<sup>29</sup> Mansoor refers “the idea” to Ps 51:7 and Ps 58:4 (זָרוּ רִשְׁעִים מֵרַחֵם תַּעֲזוּ מִבֶּטֶן דְּבָרֵי כֹזֵב); similarly, Delcor, who compares “le contenu doctrinal” of the *Hodayot* passage with that of the Psalm.<sup>30</sup>

Ps 51:8 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:27–28 [XII:28–29];  
VII:26–27 [XV:29–30]; X:4–5 [XVIII:6–7]

Ps 51:8b:	הֵן-אָמַת חֲפִצָּת בְּטָחוֹת וּבְסִתָּם חֲכֵמָה תוֹדִיעֵנִי.
1QH <sup>a</sup> IV:27–28 [XII:28–29]:	כִּי הוֹדַעְתִּי בְּרוֹי פְּלֹאכָה וּבְסוֹד פְּלֹאכָה הַגְּבַרְתָּהּ.
1QH <sup>a</sup> VII:26–27 [XV:29–30]:	כִּי הִשְׁכַּלְתִּי בְּאַמְתַּכָּה וּבְרוֹי פְּלֹאכָה הוֹדַעְתִּי.
1QH <sup>a</sup> X:4–5 [XVIII:6–7]:	כִּי תִשְׁכִּילֵנוּ בְּנִפְלְאוֹת כְּאַלֵּה וּבְסוֹד אִמְ[תְּכָה] תוֹדִיעֵנוּ.

With regard to the second and third *Hodayot* passages, Licht comments that the collocation of *השכיל* and *הודיע* is frequent in the *Hodayot*.<sup>31</sup> Carmignac is virtually the only commentator to draw parallels between the Psalm and any of the three *Hodayot* texts.<sup>32</sup> The only exception is Delcor who supports Carmignac in seeing a possible “allusion” at

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 265 n. 6: “[t]he same usage, but in a different sense.”

<sup>28</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 117.

<sup>29</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 85 n. 74, 88.

<sup>30</sup> Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 129; Delcor, *Hymnes*, 147; see also *ibid.*, 154.

<sup>31</sup> Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 128.

<sup>32</sup> For each passage, Dec, “Zwoje Hymnów,” 236 n. 586, 253 nn. 901–904, 269 n. 1268, notes a variety of *Hodayot* and other Dead Sea Scrolls parallels but no biblical text. At VII:26, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 138–139 n. 2, compares Ps 32:8, וְרוֹיחַךְ אֶשְׁכִּילְךָ וְאוֹרְךָ בְּדָרְךָ-זוֹ, and, in particular, Neh 9:20: וְרוֹיחַךְ הַשּׁוֹבָה נָתַתָּ לְהַשְׁכִּילָם: Dan 9:22, וְרוֹיחַךְ הַשּׁוֹבָה נָתַתָּ לְהַשְׁכִּילָךְ בֵּינָה, and, in particular, Neh 9:20: וְרוֹיחַךְ הַשּׁוֹבָה נָתַתָּ לְהַשְׁכִּילָם.

IV:27–28,<sup>33</sup> but it is difficult to sustain any clear parallel here in lexis or construction. If we accept MT as it stands, the -בּ בְּתָם, refers to the location at which instruction is to take place (in the interior of a human being), whereas in the *Hodayot*, the -בּ always introduces the object, or topic, of instruction. In the *Hodayot*, the object of instruction is never specified as הַכְּמָה and the construction in question is always found in parallel with a clearly synonymous sequence, which is not the case in the Psalms passage.

As an indication of some textual confusion in the biblical passage, note LXX's τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῆς σοφίας σου ἐδήλωσάς μοι (< [?] תְּשִׁמְעֵנִי (בְּטָחוֹת וּסְתֵמוֹת הַכְּמָתָה תוֹדִיעֵנִי), which might reflect a text that was closer in syntactic shape to the construction found in the *Hodayot* (albeit without the introductory -בּ). Even so, there would still no lexical grounds for drawing a parallel between the *Hodayot* texts and the biblical passage. The most that might be argued is that the frequency of the construction represented by the *Hodayot* passages (with two nominal expressions in parallel and suffixed nomen rectum) adds support to a LXX-type *Vorlage* as more original than the text found in MT (for τῆς σοφίας σου note also Peshitta אֲשַׁבְּחֶנְךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְנִשְׁמְעֶנְךָ)

Ps 51:10 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:5–6 [X:7–8]

Ps 51:10: תְּשִׁמְעֵנִי שְׂשׂוֹן וְשִׁמְחָה תְּגַלְּנָה עֲצָמוֹת דְּכִיָּת.  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:5 [X:7]: [וּמִשְׂמִיעֵי שִׂמְחָה לְאֲבֵל יְגִי] וְיָגִי מִבְּשָׂר [שׁ] לְיוֹם לְכֹל הַיּוֹת].

In view of the different verbal forms, “and those who proclaim rejoicing,” as against תְּשִׁמְעֵנִי שְׂשׂוֹן “you cause me to hear gladness,” and the absence of other contextual clues, it is difficult to see any connection between these two passages. In fact, no connection is made by any commentator other than Wernberg-Møller.<sup>34</sup> Mansoor sees here an “allusion” to Jer 31:13, וְהַפְּכֵתִי אֶבְלָם לְשִׂשׂוֹן וְנִחְמָתִים, Est 9:22, וְהַחֲדֹשׁ אֲשֶׁר נָהַפֵּךְ, and similar passages.<sup>35</sup> In any case, the *Hodayot* reading would not support the Peshitta variant here, אֲשַׁבְּחֶנְךָ “satisfy me with.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 154. In lines 29–30, Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 88, also notes a possible reference to Ps 51:7.

<sup>34</sup> Wernberg-Møller, “Contribution,” 157.

<sup>35</sup> Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 104 n. 10.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Wernberg-Møller, “Contribution,” 157; *BHS*.



Ps 52:4 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:26–27 [XIII:28–29] + 4QH<sup>c</sup> (4Q429) 2 8

Ps 52:4: הוֹת תִּחְשַׁב לְשׁוֹנֵה כְּתֹעַר מִלְטָשׁ עֲשֵׂה רְמִיָּה.  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:26–27 [XIII:28–29] + 4QH<sup>c</sup> 2 8:  
 והמה הוֹת לבם יחשובו [ודברי] בליעל פתחו לשון שקר

As the construction הוֹת תִּחְשַׁב is only attested in these two texts, a relationship of dependency of the *Hodayot* author here on the biblical text is at least a *prima facie* possibility.<sup>37</sup> The presence of לשון in both texts and also שקר (in Ps 52:5) might seem to point in the same direction as well. However, the fact that in neither of these general lexical parallels do we find the exact wording of the Psalms text clearly reflected, and that words and concepts expressed in one text are absent from the other, suggests that any dependence was vague and probably unconscious or, alternatively, that there was a conscious and deliberate use of the Psalms text, not, as it were, to *quote*, but rather simply to *employ* some of its elements in a creative way. Along with a reference to the Psalms passage, Holm-Nielsen also notes 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:13–14 [XII:14–15], זמות בליעל יחשובו,<sup>38</sup> a parallel usage that at least raises the possibility that הוֹת תִּחְשַׁב simply represents an expression of the *Hodayot* author's own literary creativity, independent of any real dependence on the biblical text. Significantly, Holm-Nielsen does not indicate Ps 52:4 as a source of the *Hodayot* usage in V:26, and Wallenstein compared והמה הוֹת לבם יחשובו with Mic 7:3, וְהַגְדוֹל דִּבֶּר הוֹת נִפְשׁוֹ, and ופִי־מִרְמָה עָלַי פָּתְחוּ דִבְרוֹ אֲתִי לְשׁוֹן, הוא, and פתחו לשון שקר with Ps 109:2, וְשָׁקֶר.<sup>39</sup>

In any case, the *Hodayot* text is not obviously relevant to the issue of the text division in Ps 52:3–4: see the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, which includes כָּל־הַיּוֹם from the end of v. 3 in MT at the beginning of v. 4: *Tota die injustitiam cogitavit lingua tua*; note also the layout of *BHS*, followed by NRSV and REB, which takes לשון as the subject not of the preceding הוֹת תִּחְשַׁב, but of the following complement: כְּתֹעַר מִלְטָשׁ.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See *DCH* 2:502a; 3:327a.

<sup>38</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 107 n. 32; also Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 105; Dupont-Sommer, *Livre des Hymnes*, 50 nn. 1–2.

<sup>39</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 124; Wallenstein, "Striking Hymn," 253 nn. 5–6.

<sup>40</sup> See also Briggs and Briggs, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2:12, 13, 15; Oesterley, *Psalms*, 275–277.

Ps 54:3 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:18–19 [XII:19–20]

Ps 54:3: אֱלֹהִים בְּשִׁמְךָ הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי וּבְגִבּוֹרֶתְךָ תְּדַיְיִנִי  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:18–19 [XII:19–20]:<sup>41</sup> כִּי אַתָּה אֵל תַּעֲנֵה לָהֶם לְשׁוֹפֵטִים בַּגְּבוּרַתְכָּה

In view of the fact that the limited similarity here is in large measure conceptual rather than lexical, and that both *משפט* / *שפט* and *גבורה* occur so often in the *Hodayot* (77 and 33 times respectively; the noun *דין* is found just once in the *Hodayot*, at IX[XVII]:9), it seems most likely that the usage in this *Hodayot* passage reflects not dependence on a biblical text but rather the natural linguistic creativity of the author or indeed of the Qumran hymn writers in general. Note, for example at 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 i 37:

[כִּי־אֵל הוּא] אֱלֹהִים לְכוֹל מְרַנְנִי {דַּעַת} עַד וְשׁוֹפֵט בַּגְּבוּרָתוֹ לְכוֹל רוּחִי בֵּין

At 1QM (1Q33) XIII:9, *גבורות פלאכה* and *משפטי* might reflect familiarity with this hymnic usage. Apart from Carmignac, only Delcor claims that the *Hodayot* text “se réfère probablement au” Ps 54:3 (although Delcor also draws attention to the difference between *שפט* and *דין*).<sup>42</sup> In any case, *BHS* notes no relevant textual variants in the biblical passage.

Ps 54:6 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:7 [X:9]

Ps 54:6: הִנֵּה אֱלֹהִים עֲזָר לִי אֲדַנִּי בְּסִמְכֵי נַפְשִׁי  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:7 [X:9]: וַתֵּן מַעֲנָה לְשׁוֹן לְעַר [וְלִ] שִׁפְתֵי וַתְּסַמֹּךְ נַפְשִׁי בַּחֲזוּק מוֹתָיִם

The striking declaration *אֲדַנִּי בְּסִמְכֵי נַפְשִׁי* is not clearly reflected in the *Hodayot* passage, where, instead, we probably have no more than an expression of the biblical concept of God's upholding of the faithful, attested not only at Ps 54:6, but also at Ps 51:14, *וְרוּחַ נְדִיבָה תְּסַמְכֵנִי*, and perhaps also Ps 112:8, *כְּמוֹךָ לִבּוֹ לֹא יִירָא*. The idea was widely appropriated among the *Hodayot* writers and other members of the Dead Sea Scrolls community, as indicated by the following texts:

1QH<sup>a</sup> VII:6 [XV:9]: אֹדְכָה אֲדוֹנִי כִּי סִמַּכְתִּי בַּעֲזוּכָה  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVIII:13 [XXIII:14]: לִי־צַר אֲשֶׁר סִמַּכְתָּ בַּעֲזוּכָה  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX[XVII]:32: וּבִאֲמַת נֶכֶן סִמַּכְתִּי וּבְרוּחַ קוֹדֶשְׁכָּה תִשְׁעֶשְׁעֵנִי

<sup>41</sup> At 4QH<sup>d</sup> (4Q430) 1 7, *תענה* is followed by *ב*- rather than *ל*-; see E. Schuller in *DJD* XXIX [1999]: 198.

<sup>42</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 153.

4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> (4Q161) VIII:18: ואל יסומכנו ב'  
 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428) 14 3: אֹתָךְ אֲדוּנֵי זְכַרְתִּי וְנִסְמַךְ לִבִּי  
 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (11Q5) XIX:13: וְעַל חֲסִדִּיכָה אֲנִי נִסְמַכְתִּי

Of commentators consulted other than Carmignac, only Dec links our two passages, saying that the *Hodayot* sequence is a “parafraza” of the one found at Ps 54:6.<sup>43</sup> *BHS* indicates no textual diversity.

Ps 55:23 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX[XVII]:34

Ps 55:23: הַשְׁלֵף עַל-יָיִךְ יְהִיבָהּ וְהוּא יִכְלֹכְלֵךְ  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX[XVII]:34: וְעַד שִׁיבָה אֶתָּה תִכְלֹכְלֵנִי

Here, again, it is difficult to justify any but the broadest conceptual dependency on biblical passages referring to God’s sustaining of the faithful. Three other passages in the Bible and three in the Dead Sea Scrolls make reference to the same idea:

Neh 9:21: וְאַרְבַּעִים שָׁנָה כָּל־כִּלְתָּךְ  
 1 Kgs 17:4: אֶת-הָעֲרֻבִים צִוִּיתִי לְכַלְכֹּלֶךָ שָׁם  
 1 Kgs 17:9: הִנֵּה צִוִּיתִי שָׁם אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה לְכַלְכֹּלֶךָ  
 1QS III:17: וְהוּא יִכְלֹכְלֵם בְּכוֹל חֲפְצֵיהֶם  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX[XVII]:36: וְכֹאֲמֹן בַּחִיק תִּכְלֹכְלֵם לְכוֹל מַעַשׁ [י] כֹּה  
 4QShir<sup>b</sup> (4Q511) 1 8: וְכוֹל בְּנֵי עוֹלָה לֹא יִתְכַלֵּל

Of the Dead Sea Scrolls texts, 1QS III:17 would appear to have a stronger claim than our *Hodayot* one to dependency on the Psalms passage. Holm-Nielsen compares Ps 55:23 and Ruth 4:15, לְכַלְכֹּל אֶת-שִׁיבְתֶךָ, which at least on the linguistic level would seem to be a more likely source of our *Hodayot* passage than Ps 55:23.<sup>44</sup> Among other commentators, only Licht and Mansoor compare Ps 55:23.<sup>45</sup> *BHS* records no textual issues.

Ps 57:5 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:6–7, 9–10 [XIII:8–9, 11–12]

Ps 57:5: נַפְשִׁי בְּתוֹךְ לְבָאֵם אֲשֶׁכְּבָה לְהִטִּים בְּנֵי-אָדָם  
 שְׁנִיָּהֶם חֲנִית וְחַצִּים וְלִשְׁוֹנֵם חֶרֶב חֲדָה  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:6–7 [XIII:8–9]: וְתַתְּן [ ] בְּתוֹךְ לְבִיאִים מוֹעֲדִים לְבְנֵי אֲשָׁמָה  
 אֲרִיֹת שׁוֹבְרֵי עֵצִים אֲדִירִים וְשׁוֹתֵי ד [ם] גְּבוּרִים  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:9–10 [XIII:11–12]: וְתִסְגֹּר פִּי כַפִּירִים אֲשֶׁר כָּחָרֵב שְׁנִיָּהֶם וּמַתְלַעוֹתֶם כַּחֲנִית חֲדָה

<sup>43</sup> Dec, “Zwoje Hymnów,” 223 n. 365.

<sup>44</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 164 n. 157.

<sup>45</sup> Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 149; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 162 n. 2.

Although בתוך is followed by a word for lion only in these two passages, other parallels are rather weak: Carmignac highlights the parallelism of בני אדם and בני אשמה. There is also an overall similarity in the general structure, with the second part of each sequence (as presented above) apparently expanding on the destructive nature of the lion mentioned in the first part. In that case, what appears in MT as לְהִטִּים בְּנֵי-אָדָם “devouring the children of Adam” would correspond to מוֹעֲדִים לְבְנֵי אֲשָׁמָה in the *Hodayot*: “appointed for the children of guilt.” The second part of the *Hodayot* text, “lions breaking the bone(s) of the mighty and drinking the blood of warriors,” might then represent a creative reworking of the second part of MT, focussing on the consequences of the characteristics of the lions as presented in MT: “their teeth (for breaking bones) are a spear and arrows and their tongue (for drinking blood), a sharp sword.” If the idea of this kind of creative reworking is accepted, then it is also already evidenced in the use of בני אשמה for בני אדם, noted above.

The likelihood that the Psalms passage underlies the *Hodayot* one here is somewhat strengthened by possible echoes of the same Psalms passage later in the same *hodayah*. In fact, 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:5–19 [XIII:7–21] is the only literary unit in the *Hodayot* where lions are mentioned, at lines 7, 9, 13, and 19 [9, 11, 15, 21],<sup>46</sup> and an argument for dependence on Ps 57:5 can be made in the first two of these three additional passages.

This is rather clear in lines 9–10[11–12] (see above), which might reflect an inaccurate recollection or a creative reworking of the second half of v. 5 (see above). Whereas Dupont-Sommer (followed by Delcor), simply says that the usage here is “inspiré de Ps., LVII, 5,”<sup>47</sup> Holm-Nielsen sees the parallelism of שְׁנֵי שָׁנִי אֲרִיָּה וּמַתְלָעוֹת לְבִיא לֹ: with that of Joel 1:6: שְׁנֵי שָׁנִי אֲרִיָּה וּמַתְלָעוֹת לְבִיא לֹ:.<sup>48</sup> Mansoor refers additionally to Job 4:10: וְשְׁנֵי כְּפִירִים נִתְּעוּ, for the mention of כְּפִירִים in the *Hodayot* text, although here Gazov-Ginsberg is probably right to identify Ps 58:7, מַתְלָעוֹת כְּפִירִים נִחֵץ י' as the source of both the כְּפִירִים and the מַתְלָעוֹת in the *Hodayot* passage.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Contrast the Psalms, where there are at least eleven references, mainly in Book 1: Pss 7:3; 10:9; 17:12; 22:14, 22; 34:11; 35:17; 57:5; 58:7; 91:13; 104:21.

<sup>47</sup> Dupont-Sommer, *Livre des Hymnes*, 47 n. 2; Delcor, *Hymnes*, 157.

<sup>48</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 97.

<sup>49</sup> Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 133 n. 3; Gazov-Ginsberg, *Teksti Kumrana*, 244 n. 200.

Ps 57:5 might also lie behind the usage found in our *Hodayot* unit's third mention of lions, at line 13[15], ותצל נפש עני במעון אריות אשר שנו, כהרב לשונם, which might recall in a different form וְלִשְׁוֹנֵם הָרֵב הָדָה of the Psalm. Neither Carmignac nor any other commentator consulted, however, makes this connection. Delcor is, of course, correct in seeing the exact words of the *Hodayot* text at the beginning of Ps 64:4, אֲשֶׁר שָׁנָו, כְּהָרֵב לְשֹׁנֵם, said not of lions but of the פְּעֻלֵי אֵן at the end of v. 3.<sup>50</sup> Formal identity with one Psalms passage does not, however, rule out influence from another that is merely similar, especially when the latter passage has already been cited or alluded to once and perhaps even twice in the preceding lines.

Returning to Ps 57:5, then, if dependency of this *Hodayot* text on the biblical one is accepted, there are several textual issues for which the *Hodayot* passage might be relevant.

At the beginning of the verse, in LXX the “soul” (MT נַפְשִׁי, represented in all the versions) is the object of “save”: καὶ ἐξούσατο τὴν ψυχὴν μου. Because of this verb, LXX then reads, apparently, מתוך (ἐκ μέσου) instead of בתוך. Here, however, the *Hodayot* passage, if accepted as relevant, clearly supports MT.

The following word in MT is the hapax לְבָא. Here, most probably, the *Hodayot* writer saw (or heard or interpreted as) the normal לְבִיא. The *Hodayot* reading thus supports MT and LXX (ἐκ μέσου ἀσάτυμων) against both Peshitta, כַּחַם חַלְקָה (in other respects, Peshitta supports, or relies on, LXX here), and *Tg. Ps. במצע שלהובין*.

If the *Hodayot* is dependent on this Psalms passage, its interpretation of לְבָא as לְבִיא is, of course, confirmed by the words that follow: ... אריות, etc. Moreover, the *Hodayot* text would clearly indicate an interpretation in which the בני אדם cannot be the possessors of the destructive teeth and tongues of the second half of the biblical verse, but, rather, their victims. Note here the observation of Gazov-Ginsberg: “the author of the hymn identifies himself not with the persecuted but with the persecutors [my translation]”!<sup>51</sup> The point is probably more accurately expressed by Licht: “the meaning of the imagery is different: in the Psalms, the lions are a symbol of the wicked, but the lions in this *hodayah* are appointed for

<sup>50</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 159; also Dupont-Sommer, *Livre des Hymnes*, 47 n. 11; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 134 n. 1; Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 101; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 96 n. 32, 98.

<sup>51</sup> Gazov-Ginsberg, *Teksti Kumrana*, 243 n. 147.

the wicked; they are a symbol of the punishment threatened against the children of iniquity . . . [,] a symbol of the angels of destruction appointed for the wicked [my translation].”<sup>52</sup>

Nothing corresponding to MT’s אֲשַׁכְּבָה לְהַטִּים, or indeed אֲשַׁכְּבָה לְהַטִּים seems to be present in the *Hodayot*, and thus no light is cast on LXX’s ἐκουμήθητι τετρααγγύμενος (cf. Peshitta: אֲשַׁכְּבָה בְּנִלְמַת אֲנִי); the same applies to the difficult אֲשַׁכְּבָה לְהַטִּים / נִפְשִׁי חִירָא “my soul glows” in *Tg. Ps.*<sup>53</sup>

Because the second *Hodayot* sequence, in lines 9–10[11–12], differs significantly from the corresponding text at the end of Ps 57:5, it can have no obvious text-critical relevance. The text of MT here, חֲדָה שְׁנִיָּהֶם חֲנִית וְחַצְצִים וְלִשְׁוֹנִים הָרֶב חֲדָה, is reflected in the versions, with the slight possible exception of LXX’s ὄπλον “weapon, armour” for חֲנִית “spear.”

Note that Holm-Nielsen makes no reference to Ps 57:5 in connection with lines 6–7, preferring to see the background of the *Hodayot* usage in the biblical account of Daniel in the lions’ den (Dan 6:17–24).<sup>54</sup> Dec does not refer to the Psalms passage in his discussion of “lions” in the Bible.<sup>55</sup> Delcor refers to Ps 56:5 only as one of several passages in which enemies and lions are compared.<sup>56</sup>

At line 9[11], Gazov-Ginsberg sees the primary provenance of the *Hodayot* usage in Dan 6:23: אֱלֹהֵי שְׁלַח מְלֶאכֶה וְסִגְרָא פִּם אֲרִיֹתָא.<sup>57</sup> That Dan 6:17–24 has a primary role here is also accepted by Holm-Nielsen.<sup>58</sup> Curiously, Licht makes no mention of the Daniel story in his introduction to the *Hodayot* passage or in his comments on it (although he cites Dan 6:23 at line 9[11]), but appears to view the Psalm as the primary source of the lion imagery in the *hodayah*.<sup>59</sup> Similar comments apply as well to the treatments of Delcor and Mansoor.

<sup>52</sup> Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 99.

<sup>53</sup> D.M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (ArBib 16; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 115. Cf. Jastrow, 426, 451a, 501b, and the apparatus in Stec, *Targum of Psalms*, 115.

<sup>54</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 92 nn. 7–8, 98.

<sup>55</sup> Dec, “Zwoje Hymnów,” 239 n. 628.

<sup>56</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 156.

<sup>57</sup> Gazov-Ginsberg, *Teksti Kumrana*, 244 n. 200. See Kittel, *Hymns*, 96–97, for an overview of the literary and thematic significance of the lion imagery in our *Hodayot* unit and its background in the biblical story of Daniel.

<sup>58</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 97.

<sup>59</sup> Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 99.

Ps 64:4a = 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:13 [XIII:15]

Ps 64:4a: אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְנוּ כְּחֶרֶב לְשׁוֹנִים  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:13 [XIII:15]: וּתְצַל נַפְשׁ עֲנִי בַמַּעֲוֹן אֲרִיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְנוּ כְּחֶרֶב לְשׁוֹנִים

See above, on Ps 57:5. The text here is identical to Ps 64:4a in MT, for which no significant variants are found. Moreover, the words do not occur elsewhere in this form. The nearest parallel to our sequence in the Bible or Dead Sea Scrolls is *כְּמוֹ-נֶחֶשׁ לְשׁוֹנִים שָׁנְנוּ* at Ps 140:4. The parallel with the *Hodayot* passage has found its way into modern commentaries on Psalms,<sup>60</sup> but it is curious that such an exact coincidence of wording is not highlighted in editions and studies of the *Hodayot*.

Ps 66:9 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:20 [X:22]

Ps 66:9: הַשֵּׁם נִפְשָׁנוּ בַּחַיִּים וְלֹא-נָתַן לְמוֹט רַגְלֵנוּ  
 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:20 [X:22]: אֹדֵכָה אֲדוֹנָי כִּי שָׁמְתָה נַפְשִׁי בְּצַרּוֹר הַחַיִּים

This parallel is not listed by Carmignac nor mentioned by any other commentator apart from Wernberg-Møller.<sup>61</sup> The combination *שֵׁם נִפְשׁ* occurs six times more in the Bible (Judg 12:3; 1 Sam 19:5; 28:21; 1 Kgs 19:2; Isa 53:10; Job 13:14), but in only one of these is God, as in Ps 66:9, the subject: Isa 53:10, *אֵם-תְּשִׁים אֶשֶׁם נִפְשׁוֹ*. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is attested only once elsewhere, again in the *Hodayot*, III:6 [XI:8], where, however, the subject is the author's enemies: *ב[מ] צוֹלוֹת וְיִשְׁיִמוּ נַפְשִׁי [י] כְּאוֹנֵיהַ בְּצַרּוֹר הַחַיִּים*. The combination in our *Hodayot* passage with *שָׁמְתָה נַפְשִׁי בְּצַרּוֹר הַחַיִּים* makes a relationship with the Psalms text more likely (*הַשֵּׁם נִפְשָׁנוּ*), even though it is clear that the dominant imagery is probably drawn from 1 Sam 25:29, *וְהִיטָה נִפְשִׁי אֲדֹנָי צְרוּרָה בְּצַרּוֹר הַחַיִּים* (as noted by the great majority of commentators). Moreover, there are no other elements in the *Hodayot* text that link it obviously with the Psalm. Perhaps we could at best venture to characterize the situation as one in which the imagery of the Samuel passage has been expressed by means of the language and structure of the Psalms one.

To go beyond this statement and argue that the singular suffix in the *Hodayot* passage is of text-critical relevance to the Psalm is much less easy to justify, in view of the reworking of language and imagery that

<sup>60</sup> E.g., A.A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 1: *Psalms 1–72* (The New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 461, probably via Mowinckel.

<sup>61</sup> Wernberg-Møller, "Contribution," 149.

has taken place more generally in the construction of this sequence in the *Hodayot*, whether consciously or unconsciously influenced by one or both of the biblical passages. This argument is, however, defended by Wernberg-Møller, who saw the *Hodayot*'s נפשי as supporting LXX's τῆν ψυχὴν μου against נפשו of MT: "The evidence of G [and VL and V] suggests that the form of the suffix [נפשי] was not merely changed ... to fit ... a new context, but was actually present in Hebrew MSS at the time of the first translation of the Psalter into Greek."<sup>62</sup> Wernberg-Møller's claim assumes the Greek translator faithfully represented a Hebrew text that had a singular pronoun rather than raising the possibility that the translator himself changed from plural to singular for translational or editorial reasons.

Ps 68:23 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> III:6 [XI:7]

Ps 68:23:  
1QH<sup>a</sup> III:6 [XI:7]:

אָשִׁיב מִמְצֻלוֹת יָם.  
וּישִׁימוּ נַפְשִׁי [י] כְּאוֹנִיָּה בְּ[מ] צוֹלוֹת יָם

In the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the combination מצלות ים occurs only in these two passages and Mic 7:19, and there is nothing in the context to recommend the Psalms passage as the closer parallel over the Micah one, where, moreover, there is a prefixed ב-, as in the *Hodayot*. Indeed, Mansoor refers only to Micah, whereas Delcor and Holm-Nielsen compare both biblical verses.<sup>63</sup> In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the noun מצולה is found twice elsewhere in the *Hodayot* (III:14 [XI:15]; VIII:19 [XVI:20]) and six times in other texts. The collocation with ים is unremarkable and might easily reflect the *Hodayot* author's own linguistic creativity rather than any dependency on either of the biblical passages in which this combination is found. It can hardly be used as evidence in support of an LXX *Vorlage* with prefixed ב- (ἐν).<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 112 n. 4; Delcor, *Hymnes*, 100; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 52 n. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. L.C.L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament: With an English Translation and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (London: Bagster and Sons, 1870; repr. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971), 737: "I will bring *my people* again through the depths of the sea" (italics in the original); *Tg. Ps.*: צדיקיא די ישתניקו במצולתיה דימא; *BHS* notes the LXX reading only, as well as some Hebrew MSS.



Ps 68:34 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> III:35 [XI:36]

Ps 68:34:

1QH<sup>a</sup> III:35 [XI:35]:הַן יִתֵּן בְּקוֹלוֹ קוֹל עוֹ  
וּצְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם יִתְּנוּ בְּקוֹלָם

Curiously, this appears to be the only occurrence in the Dead Sea Scrolls of the idiom *נתן (ב)קול*, although it is quite frequent in the Bible.<sup>65</sup> There is no clear evidence from the *Hodayot* usage that Ps 68:34 influenced the *Hodayot* author at this point and the usage at Ps 68:34 is of no particular text-critical significance. Apart from Carmignac, the only commentator to refer to Ps 68:34 is Delcor, although he also notes Ps 77:18, קוֹל נָתַנוּ וַיִּרְיֵעוּ כָּל-בְּנֵי-אֱלֹהִים.<sup>66</sup> To this last reference, Licht adds Job 38:7: וַיִּרְיֵעוּ כָּל-בְּנֵי-אֱלֹהִים.<sup>67</sup> Holm-Nielsen refers instead to Jer 12:8, וַנִּתְּנָה עָלַי בְּקוֹלָהּ.<sup>68</sup> Mansoor cites Ps 77:18; Job 38:7, and Jer 12:8.<sup>69</sup>

Ps 69:22 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:11 [XII:12]

Ps 69:22:

1QH<sup>a</sup> IV[XII]:11–12:וַיִּתְּנוּ בְּכַרְוֹתַי רֹאשׁ וְלִצְמָאֵי יִשְׁקוּנִי חֹמֶץ  
וַיַּעֲצוּרוּ מִשְׁקָה דַּעַת מִצְמָאִים וְלִצְמָאֵם יִשְׁקוּם חֹמֶץ

This example is illustrative of the many cases in which even though a relationship between a *Hodayot* passage and a particular biblical text can easily be seen, the *Hodayot* version adds little to our knowledge of the development of the biblical text. In this example, the words are fairly clearly drawn from a specific biblical passage,<sup>70</sup> but have been morphosyntactically adapted to a different context (even though, as Delcor notes, in both passages the overall context is that of the persecution of the righteous).<sup>71</sup> There are no significant text-critical issues relating to this Psalms passage, and so the only *text-critical* value of the *Hodayot* text here is, broadly, to support MT.

<sup>65</sup> See DCH 5:801a, b.

<sup>66</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 134.

<sup>67</sup> Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 88.

<sup>68</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 73 n. 57.

<sup>69</sup> Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 121 n. 8.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 110: “a very clear allusion to Ps 69:21 [22]”; Delcor, *Hymnes*, 154: “certinement une allusion” to Ps 69:22; Dupont-Sommer, *Livre des Hymnes*, 42 n. 11; Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 92; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 124 n. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Delcor, *Hymnes*, 154.

Ps 71:9 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4 18 [XXII:37]

Ps 71:9: אֱלֹהֵי-תִשְׁלִיכֵנִי לְעֵת זְקֵנָה כְּכֹלֹת כְּחֵי אֱלֹהֵי-תִעֲזָבֵנִי.  
1QH<sup>a</sup> 4 18 [XXII:37]: אֵל תִּעֲזָבֵנִי בְקִצֵי

There is no obvious relationship between the two passages, and the *Hodayot* text could just as easily reflect the use by the author(s) of the combination **לא עזב** five times elsewhere. **הַשְׁלִיךְ** with **לא** or **אל** is not found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. I have seen no specific reference to Ps 71:9 in any commentary. Licht compares Ps 38:22, **אֱלֹהֵי-תִעֲזָבֵנִי** "אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי-תִרְחֹק מִמֶּנִּי, "and similar verses."<sup>72</sup>

Ps 72:19 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> III:4 [XI:5]

Ps 72:19: וּבְרִוּךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹדוֹ לְעוֹלָם.  
1QH<sup>a</sup> III:4 [XI:5]: בְּכִבוֹד עוֹלָם

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, **כבוד עולם** occurs in at least three other places:<sup>73</sup> 1QSb (1Q28b) III:4; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII:6 [V:23]; 4QInstruction<sup>d</sup> (4Q418) 126 ii 8. Wernberg-Møller, who is the only commentator to note a possible biblical parallel, might be right in saying that Ps 72:19 is the best candidate, although Ps 104:31, **יְהִי כְבוֹד יְיָ לְעוֹלָם**, would also be a possibility.<sup>74</sup> In any case, as Wernberg-Møller also accepts: "there is no reason to suppose that the [Qumran] hymnologist modelled his phraseology on that particular passage [i.e. Ps 72:19]."<sup>75</sup>

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the majority of cases, as expected, any specific relationship between a particular *Hodayot* passage and a verse from the Psalter is only tenuous. This applies to the following claimed relationships of dependency: Ps 42:7 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII[XVI]:32–33; Ps 43:1b = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:20 [XII:21]; Ps 44:14 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:9, 33–34 [X:11, 35–36]; Ps 51:3–4/69:17 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:31–32 [IX:33–34]; Ps 51:6 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4 10 [XXII:29]; Ps 51:7 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:29–30 [XII:30–31]; Ps 51:8 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:27–28 [XII:28–29]; VII:26–27 [XV:

<sup>72</sup> Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 229.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Dec, "Zwoje Hymnów," 227 n. 438.

<sup>74</sup> Wernberg-Møller, "Contribution," 160.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 160–161.

29–30]; X:4–5 [XVIII:6–7]; Ps 51:10 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:5–6 [X:7–8]; Ps 54:3 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:18–19 [XII:19–20]; Ps 54:6 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:7 [X:9]; Ps 55:23 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX[XVII]:34; Ps 68:23 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> III:6 [XI:7]; Ps 68:34 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> III:35 [XI:36]; Ps 71:9 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4 18 [XXII:37]; Ps 72:19 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> III:4 [XI:5].

In the case of Ps 52:4 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:26–27 [XIII:28–29], there might have been a conscious use of the Psalms text (הוֹת תִּחְשֹׁב לְשׁוֹנֶה), as a resource for the *Hodayot* writer’s linguistic creativity (והמה הוות לבם יחשבו), although this is far from certain. Somewhat similarly, in the case of Ps 66:9 = 1QH<sup>a</sup> II:20 [X:22], it is possible that with שמתה נפשי בצרור החיים the *Hodayot* writer has merged the imagery and structure of the Psalms passage (הַשֵּׁם) (והיתָה נַפְשִׁי אֲדֹנָי צְרוּרָה בְּצִרּוֹר הַחַיִּים) with that of 1 Sam 25:29 (נַפְשִׁי בְּחַיִּים).

Neither of these two possible parallels provides any defensible evidence of text-critical relevance to the Psalter. In two other parallels, Ps 64:4a (אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְנו כְּחֶרֶב לְשׁוֹנִים) = 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:13 [XIII:15] (אשר שגנו כחרב), and Ps 69:22 (וְלִצְמָאִי יִשְׁקֹנֵי חֶמְץ) = 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:11 [XII:12] (ולצמאם), the similarity of the *Hodayot* sequences to the Psalms texts might be argued to support the Hebrew text that underlies MT, but they do not provide any further text-critically relevant data.

One passage, 1QH<sup>a</sup> V:6–7 [XIII:8–9], ותתן [ ] בתוך לביאים מועדים לבני, אשמה, remains where literary dependency on, although not quotation of, Ps 57:5, נַפְשִׁי בְּתוֹךְ לִבָּאִם אֲשַׁכְּבָה לְהִטִּים בְּנֵי-אָדָם, may be defended and where, if such dependence is accepted, the *Hodayot* text provides various elements of relevance to the textual development of the Psalter in this verse: מתוך with MT instead of ἐκ μέσσω; the regular form לביא instead of MT’s hapax לבא, Peshitta’s حلباء, and Tg. Ps.’s שלהובין; the absence of an equivalent for MT’s אֲשַׁכְּבָה לְהִטִּים or LXX’s ἐλασθηθη τεταραγμένος.

Almost half a century ago, Wernberg-Møller wrote: “The task of detecting the Biblical allusions in the [*Hodayot*] is an arduous and unenviable one.”<sup>76</sup> One cannot escape from Wernberg-Møller’s general pessimism about the very small yield of useful results in proportion to the time needed to isolate and to assess the relevant data. Nonetheless, the one passage with possible text-critical significance presented here, out of the twenty-one passages from Book 2 of the Psalter examined in the light of possible parallels from the *Hodayot*, represents at least no worse a result than the one out of fifty yielded by the study of Book 1.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Wernberg-Møller, “Contribution,” 144.

<sup>77</sup> See my “The *Hodayot*’s Use of the Psalter (Book 1),” 108: “On rare occasions, evidence from the *Hodayot* has a more compelling bearing on a known text-critical issue,

Whatever the end result of all this work and its utility for text-critics, it represents more generally a small part of that move away from the simple, and sometimes simplistic, division of the Dead Sea Scrolls texts and, correspondingly, their study, into biblical and non-biblical, and towards, I hope, a better evaluation of data from the so-called “non-biblical” corpus on the development of the text of the Bible, the message of which and the language in which it was expressed pervaded the consciousness of the “non-biblical” authors at every turn.<sup>78</sup>

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as in the case of its apparent use of Ps. 18:5, although here the Hodayot evidence would simply support MT.”

<sup>78</sup> See my “The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and Some Issues of Canon,” in *Canon and Modern Bible Translation in Interconfessional Perspective* (ed. L.J. de Regt, Istanbul: Bible Society in Turkey, 2006), 1–41, 40–41. The analysis of Book 3 yielded three text-critically significant parallels out of a total of eighteen; see “The Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter: Book 3,” 178–179; in the case of Book 4 (forthcoming), one significant parallel out of sixteen claimed parallels was identified.



HEBREW AND GREEK BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS:  
THEIR INTERPRETATIONS AND THEIR INTERPRETERS

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In this paper I examine the text of three verses from the end of the book of Malachi. I also examine the proposed redactional history of the end of the book of Malachi and the tendency in biblical scholarship to concentrate solely on the masoretic form of the text when attempting to reconstruct the redactional history of biblical compositions. I argue that such reconstructions must take into account all the manuscript evidence for a biblical composition, especially that of the Greek versions.

I use the short passage at the end of the book of Malachi, 3:22–24, and investigate the text according to both Hebrew and Greek witnesses. The reason I use this passage is that a recent reconstruction of the scribal production of the Bible in the Hellenistic period by Karel van der Toorn makes central use of the last three verses of the book of Malachi.<sup>1</sup> Van der Toorn hypothesizes the publication of an edition of all of the Minor Prophets on a single scroll by Jerusalem scribes around 250 B.C.E. He builds on observations of many scholars to hypothesize that the book of Malachi was the creation of the Jerusalem scribes at this time in order to bring the number of Minor Prophets on the scroll up to twelve.<sup>2</sup> Of necessity he argues that the masoretic order of the Twelve Minor Prophets, with Malachi at the end, is the original order in the collection.<sup>3</sup> He further builds on the work of other scholars in suggesting that Mal 3:22–24 is a postscript to the book of Malachi that was intentionally composed as such by the Jerusalem scribes. The postscript functions

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<sup>1</sup> K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 252–253.

<sup>3</sup> See my edition of 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76) in *DJD XV* (1997): 221–231, which seems to preserve the order Malachi-Jonah on the remains of a scroll of the Twelve Minor Prophets dating from ca. 150 B.C.E. See also van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 253, 362–363 n. 68.

to conclude the book of Malachi and the new collection of the Twelve Minor Prophets. Finally, in agreement with scholars such as Rudolph,<sup>4</sup> he holds that Mal 3:22–24 was intended by the Jerusalem scribes to function as a postscript to the scribal edition of the prophets (Joshua through Malachi).<sup>5</sup> Although he understands that the postscript/epilogue was written by the Jerusalem scribes as one piece, he thinks that the two parts of the epilogue allow insight into the concerns of the scribes in creating this multipurpose ending. The first section, which in the masoretic form of the text refers to the Torah of Moses, was intended to indicate that the collection of the prophets was not meant to take the place of the Torah. The second section of the ending, which refers to the coming of the prophet Elijah before the great and terrible day of the Lord, he understands as reflecting the scribes' expectation of the nearness of that day. He claims that the ending "... suggests that the publication of the Prophets is to be situated in a time of messianic expectations."<sup>6</sup>

Van der Toorn's reconstruction is based on the assumption that the masoretic form of the end of Mal 3:22–24 is the original or at least the older form of the text and that the placement of the book of Malachi at the end of the collection of the Twelve Minor Prophets is also original/older than any other form the collection may have taken. The reconstruction does acknowledge the existence of variant forms of the text of Mal 3:22–24, as is found in the Septuagint, and variations in the order of books in other forms of the collection of the twelve such as those found at Qumran, but these are dismissed with little or no consideration for their implications for the reconstruction. It is my thesis that consideration of this evidence has important implications for the canonical history of the Book of the Twelve. Indeed, as a matter of course, all evidence should be considered in the reconstruction of the history of the text.

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<sup>4</sup> W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi* (KAT 13.4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 290–291. Rudolph labels the final section of his commentary on the text of Mal 3:22–24 as "Abschluß des Prophetenkanons."

<sup>5</sup> Van der Toorn cites O.H. Steck, *Abschluss der Prophetie im Alten Testament: Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons* (Biblich-Theologische Studien 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991). See also Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 291.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 254.

## THE TEXT: TEXTUAL WITNESSES

Malachi 3:22–24 shows a difference in sequence in the last three verses of chapter three between the Masoretic Text and the Greek version. The Hebrew textual witnesses are unanimous in sharing the order of verses as found in the Masoretic Text.

Masoretic Text	Septuagint
22 זָכְרוּ תוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי בְּחַרְבַּב עַל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים:	23 καὶ ἴδου ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμῖν Ἡλιαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡνέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ
23 הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי שֹׁלַח לְכֶם אֶת אֱלִיָּה הַנְּבִיא לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא:	24 ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάχω τὴν γῆν ἄρδη
24 וְהָשִׁיב לְבָב-אָבוֹת עַל-בְּנִים וְלֵב בְּנִים עַל-אָבוֹתָם פֶּן-אָבוֹא וְהִכִּיתִי אֶת-הָאָרֶץ חֲרָם	22 μνήσθητε νόμου Μωυσῆ τοῦ δούλου μου καθότι ἐνεταίλαμην αὐτῷ ἐν Ἑωρηβ πρὸς πάντα τὸν Ἰσραηλ προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα

These include the oldest witness to the text of Malachi in Hebrew, the Qumran biblical manuscript 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76) which dates to approximately 150–125 B.C.E.<sup>7</sup>

4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76) IV:14–20 (frgs. 10 & 7)—Malachi 3:22–24

[עשה אמר יהו]ה צבאות <sup>22</sup> זכרו תורת משה [ע]בדי	14	frg. 10
[אשר צויתי או]ת [ו]ב חורב על כל י[שר]אל חקים ו[משפטים]	15	
[הנה אנכי שלח] לכם את אליהו הנב[יא]	16	
[לפני] בוא יום יהוה הגדול וה[נורא]	17	frg. 7
[ ] <sup>24</sup> והשיב לב	18	vacat
אבות [על בנים ולב בנים על אבותם פן אבוא]	19	
[ ] <sup>24</sup> והשיב לב	20	vacat
והכית י[את הארץ] חרם		
[bottom margin]		

<sup>7</sup> R.E. Fuller in *DJD XV* (1997): 221. The following transcription is adapted from *ibid.*, 228.



The major Greek witnesses are unanimous (i.e., W [Washington papyrus, 3rd cent. C.E.], B [Vaticanus, 4th cent. C.E.], V [Venetus, 8th cent. C.E.]) such that Ziegler reconstructed the order shown above as that of the Old Greek in his critical edition.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the book of Malachi is not extant in the important manuscript 8HevXII gr which would surely give us important information on this difference in the two textual traditions.

### THE TEXT: LITERARY CRITICISM

Malachi 3:22–24 is variously described as integral to the book of Malachi and thus from the writer's own hand or as secondary. Those scholars who see this passage as secondary frequently see redactional significance in both vv. 22 and 23–24.<sup>9</sup>

### OBJECTIVE

My objective in this paper is to use the analysis of a single biblical text to illustrate the fact that in studies of the Hebrew Bible it is no longer possible to make the assumption that the Masoretic Text is the oldest form of the text or the original form of the text where there are variant forms of the text. This is especially true because of the wealth of textual evidence from the Judean Desert. Unfortunately, many scholars still make this assumption. It is an assumption with a deep history that goes back at least to the time of Jerome (ca. 347–420 C.E.) but is perhaps as early as the time of Origen (ca. 185–254 C.E.) at least in Christian circles. (It is possible to argue that this tendency can be traced back to the time of the Naḥal Hever Greek Minor Prophets Scroll which is dated from the late Hellenistic Period to the early Roman Period [ca. 100–50 B.C.E.?] in Jewish circles.) Jerome defended the concept of the *Hebraica Veritas*.

<sup>8</sup> J. Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae* (2nd ed.; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967). There are Greek witnesses which agree with the Masoretic Text in the order of these verses, but these seem to be secondary, S<sup>c</sup>, L<sup>n</sup> (86<sup>txt</sup>), C, etc.

<sup>9</sup> S.B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation* (FAT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 131–146.

One Hebrew witness from Qumran exists, 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76) which shows agreement with the Masoretic Text in the order of the verses. The majority of scholars assume the priority of the order in the Masoretic Text.<sup>10</sup>

With the wealth of textual data from Qumran and elsewhere in the Judean Desert we now have a great deal of information which allows us, at least sometimes, to gauge whether or not the Greek translators were free with their *Vorlage*. In many cases where evidence now exists, it is clear that the Greek translators frequently were faithful to their Hebrew *Vorlage*. One might take as an example the well known case of the differences between the Hebrew text of Jeremiah and the Greek text of Jeremiah. While older scholarship was free to assume that the Greek translators had altered their *Vorlage*, access to the Hebrew biblical manuscripts from Qumran shows us that they seem to have been faithful to the Hebrew *Vorlage* that was the basis for their translation (4QJer<sup>b</sup>, etc.). Likewise in the case of Hos 13:4, I have argued that the so-called expansion in the Greek version is matched in a Hebrew fragment of Hosea from cave 4 at Qumran (4QXII<sup>c</sup>).<sup>11</sup> I could give more examples, but these are sufficient to indicate that the Greek translator did not willy nilly expand or alter the text of their *Vorlage*.

The “moral” of the story, so-to-speak, is that where the Greek and Hebrew texts vary from each other we cannot simply make the assumption that the differences between the two texts are a result of changes made in the Greek text. This may have been the case on occasion, but we now possess enough examples to the contrary that scholars must be cautious.

Emanuel Tov has also demonstrated that in many cases—even where we do not have corroborating manuscript evidence—the Septuagint seems to preserve the older form of the text and was faithful to its Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>12</sup>

In the case of Mal 3:22–24, we do not have a Hebrew text which corresponds to the order of the last three verses in the Greek version, but we must not make the automatic assumption that the Greek form of

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<sup>10</sup> See the discussion *ibid.*, 138–139.

<sup>11</sup> R.E. Fuller, “A Critical Note on Hosea 12:10 and 13:4,” *RB* 3 (1991): 343–357.

<sup>12</sup> E. Tov, “Some Sequence Differences Between the MT and LXX and Their Ramifications for the Literary Criticism of the Bible,” *JNSL* 13 (1987): 151–160.

the text represents a deliberate change from the original form of the text, and that the original form is to be identified with the Masoretic Text.

I hypothesize instead that there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to conclude that the order of the last three verses that are preserved in the Greek version are original or at least older than the form of the text preserved in the Masoretic Text and in 4Q76 and that the change in sequence happened in the Hebrew textual tradition. I suggest a time period in which I think this intentional change occurred and I suggest a motivation on the part of the scribe who made the change.

#### THE TIME PERIOD OF THE CHANGE

Ben Sira 49:10,

And may the bones of the twelve prophets  
sprout anew out of their place,  
for they comforted Iakob  
and they redeemed them in confidence of hope.<sup>13</sup>

With its reference to the twelve prophets, is normally taken as evidence that the collection of the twelve prophets was complete before the time of Ben Sira who wrote sometime between 200–180 B.C.E. It is very difficult to narrow down the time of the translation into Greek of the Minor Prophets, but since 8HēvXII gr, which is understood to be a revision of the Greek translation to bring it closer to a developing Hebrew text, may be dated perhaps 100–50 B.C.E., it seems reasonable to assume that the Greek translation of the Twelve was made at least in the century prior to the copying of 8HēvXII gr, that is, perhaps between 200–100 B.C.E. I would suspect closer to 200 B.C.E.

This places the Greek translation of the Minor Prophets relatively close in time to one of the oldest Hebrew copies of the Minor Prophets, 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76) mentioned above. This manuscript is dated to ca. 150–125 B.C.E. on the basis of the paleographic analysis of the editor. 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76) agrees with the Masoretic Text in the order of the last three verses of Malachi. If all of these ruminations about the date of translations and manuscripts are accurate, then the change in the order of the final three verses may be dated some time between 200–125 B.C.E., probably close to

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<sup>13</sup> Translation of B.G. Wright in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title* (ed. A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

the time of the copying of 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76), or roughly put, to the middle of the second century B.C.E.

#### THE REASON FOR THE CHANGE

Why would a scribe in Palestine in the middle of the second century B.C.E. have made such a change in the text of this small prophetic book? Another way of stating the question would be: what was happening in the middle of the second century B.C.E. that might have motivated a scribe to make such a change?<sup>14</sup>

The mid second century B.C.E. is the time of the transition from full Seleucid control of Palestine to the rise of the Hasmonean state. It was apparently a time of religious conflict or at least of conflict in which religion played a role, rhetorically or otherwise. Part of the religious rhetoric was that of the Day of Yahweh and eschatological expectations. Part of the conflict is described as a conflict between generations, not just in Mal 3:23, but also in compositions from the second century B.C.E. such as the book of *Jubilees*:

*Jub.* 23:16

And in this generation children will reproach their parents and their elders on account of sin, and on account of injustice, and on account of the words of their mouth, and on account of great evil which they will do, and on account of their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and himself so that they might be careful and observe all of his commandments and his ordinances and all his law without turning aside to the right or left.<sup>15</sup>

See also the later passage *Jub.* 23:19:

Some of these will strive with others, youths with old men and old men with youths, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the judge concerning the law and the covenant because they have forgotten the commandments and covenant and festivals and months and Sabbaths and jubilees and all of the judgements.

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<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to the excellent discussion of this period and the literary clues to the sects which left us this literature by A. Rofé, "The Onset of Sects in Postexilic Judaism: Neglected Evidence from the Septuagint, Trito-Isaiah, Ben Sira, and Malachi," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism* (ed. J. Neusner et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 39–49.

<sup>15</sup> O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees (Second Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 2:35–142, 101.

These two passages from the book of *Jubilees* describe a generational conflict over the law and the covenant which is connected with the eschaton.<sup>16</sup> The final two verses in the Masoretic Text of Malachi emphasize both the generational conflict, which the prophet Elijah is called upon to resolve, as well as eschatological expectations, in this case for the imminent Day of Yahweh and the threat of complete destruction. The passages mentioned above from the book of *Jubilees* show the same interests. Perhaps this corresponds to the beginning of the Hasmonean revolt against Seleucid rule. The Hasmoneans did not start out as Hellenizers.

I think there is sufficient reason to hypothesize that a scribe, perhaps in Jerusalem, made a simple change in the copy of the text of Malachi, a change which made the text, already critical of the temple in Jerusalem, already eschatological in focus, even more relevant for his time and the conflicts that were occurring and made use of the rhetoric that was being used in those conflicts, contemporary compositions such as the book of *Jubilees*.

If this hypothesis is accepted, that is, if the change in sequence did occur in the Hebrew textual tradition, and not in the Greek textual tradition as is usually assumed, then there are some important implications for recent scholarship outside the area of textual criticism. As mentioned above, the reconstruction of the scribal production of the Hebrew Bible by Karel van der Toorn assumes, as do many other scholars, that the Masoretic Text of Mal 3 preserves the original form of the text. I have argued that the older or original order of the last three verses of Mal 3 are more likely to be preserved in the Septuagint. There, the return of Elijah before the Day of the Lord is mentioned first. The admonition to remember the Torah of Moses, the servant of the Lord closes the book. There is no doubt that these verses allude to both Josh 1 and the book of Deuteronomy. There is also little doubt that Mal 3:22–24 is intended to close both the book of Malachi as well as the collection of the Twelve Minor Prophets. I agree with those scholars who have argued in addition that Mal 3:22 (MT) is intended to recall the beginning of the book

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<sup>16</sup> This is a motif which has its roots in older prophetic material, see for example Mic 7:5–7:

5 Trust no friend, Rely on no intimate; Be guarded in speech With her who lies in your bosom. 6 For son spurns father, Daughter rises up against mother, Daughter-in-law against mother-in-law—A man's own household Are his enemies. 7 Yet I will look to the LORD, I will wait for the God who saves me, My God will hear me. (NJPS)

This older passage however, shows no interest in any sort of eschatological event. The passages in Malachi and in *Jubilees* may adapt this older idea and build upon it.

of Joshua and to link the Prophets with the Torah. However, this literary *inclusio* which hinges on Mal 3:22 (MT) works even better when this verse occupies the final position as it does in the Septuagint and, as I have argued, in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. The change in order at the end of Mal 3 probably takes place in the middle of the second century B.C.E., shortly before our oldest copy of Malachi is made, 4Q76. It is made as part of a scribal “updating” of the text to emphasize the intensifying expectations of the Day of the Lord and the intergenerational conflicts which are alluded to in contemporary writings of this period, such as the book of *Jubilees*.

Van der Toorn’s reconstruction provides us with much insight into the role of ancient scribes in the construction of the Hebrew Bible. Although it offers many insights into scribal practice and culture and the growth of the Hebrew Bible, it is ultimately incomplete. In addition to ignoring the evidence for the text which is offered by the Greek Bible, it does not take into account other evidence which might not fit well with the reconstruction. For example, although 4Q76, which uniquely seems to preserve Jonah in last position in a scroll of the Minor Prophets, this piece of evidence is simply dismissed. In addition, evidence from lists in both Jewish and Christian writers, which attest to the varying order of the Twelve Minor Prophets versus the three “major” prophets, is ignored.<sup>17</sup> To repeat, because recent work on the scribal production of the Bible either ignores or does not adequately take into account the current state of the field, the reconstructions are incomplete. There have been several scholarly reconstructions of the scribal production of the Hebrew Bible. Most of these reconstructions make the assumption that the masoretic manuscripts represent the original form of the Hebrew text, including the sequence of verses and the order of the “books” which became part of the collection. However without taking into account all of the textual evidence and the implications of that evidence for the growth of the collection, these reconstructions lose much of their validity.

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<sup>17</sup> N.M. Sarna, “Bible,” *EncJud* 4 (1971): 827–830. The order of the prophets in Hebrew editions varies only in the order of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The Minor Prophets always follow the Three in Jewish sources, see *b. B. Bat.* 14b: “Our Rabbis taught: the order of the prophets is Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve.” See also E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 3–4, and H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 197–230.

## CONCLUSION

In this brief paper I have used the difference in order of the last three verses of the book of Malachi in the Greek and Hebrew forms of the text to emphasize the necessity of examining all the information that is available for the reconstruction of the production of the Bible. I have argued that the order preserved in the Greek version of Malachi is older than the version preserved in the Masoretic Text. I have also argued that the version preserved in the Masoretic Text has its origin no later than the middle of the second century B.C.E. This is supported by 4QXII<sup>a</sup> (4Q76), which is dated to this time period. I have also suggested that a scribe made the simple change of moving a single verse in order to highlight the eschatological perspective in the last section of Malachi and thus to emphasize the rhetorical language being used in contemporary compositions like the book of *Jubilees*.

STUDYING THE BIBLICAL TEXT IN THE  
LIGHT OF HISTORICO-LITERARY CRITICISM:  
THE REPROACH OF THE PROPHET  
IN JUDG 6:7–10 AND 4QJUDG<sup>a</sup>

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The aim of the present article is to illustrate how much historico-literary criticism is needed for a proper study of the biblical text, especially when the scholar must decide which is the *lectio praeferenda*. In my opinion, this direction of research has unjustifiably been neglected in the last generations. In the first place, there is widespread skepticism toward textual criticism, an attitude also evident from the exegetes' practice to note textual variants without making any comment or decision about them. In addition, there is no little mistrust concerning historico-literary criticism, the "higher criticism," and its achievements for the understanding of the history of biblical literature. And in any case, monographs and commentaries usually do not put together the results obtained by textual criticism and "higher criticism," but let them stay separate.<sup>1</sup> Finally, since textual criticism is considered as a kind of groundwork, while "higher criticism" is taken to be the superstructure, one does not conceive the historico-literary inquiry to be an essential first step in order to obtain the *constitutio textus*.

The task of historico-literary criticism is threefold: to identify in the biblical books sundry documents or layers of composition and redaction, to identify in these documents the various literary genres to which they

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<sup>1</sup> Among present day scholars there are some who elude both higher and lower criticism. This is the case of M. Brettler who in a recent article—"The Composition of 1 Samuel 1–2," *JBL* 116 (1997): 601–612—defined 1 Sam 2:12–17 (MT) as "a midrashic explication of the sins of the sons of Eli" (p. 612). I wonder how a cultic story that ignores the laws of sacrifice of both Deut 18:3 and Lev 7:31–34 could be a "midrashic explication." Brettler describes 1 Sam 2:22–26 as a secondary addition. In his opinion, this perception finds confirmation in the reference to the "women who performed tasks at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting" (1 Sam 2:22) because they are mentioned by the Priestly Document in Exod 38:8. He did not notice that the phrase in v. 22bβ is a gloss; it is absent in 4Q51 (the so called 4QSam<sup>a</sup>) and not represented by the LXX.



belong or which were incorporated in them, and to date the documents, absolutely when possible or at least relatively i.e., vis-à-vis the other biblical compositions.

I maintain here—with no pretension of innovating—that more often than not it is our decision concerning the original cast of a document and its date of composition that will determine our conclusions about primary and secondary readings. This especially applies to those texts in which the Septuagint or one of the Qumran Scrolls present variants of considerable size.

As an example of the method to be followed, I have chosen Judg 6:7–10, a pericope that has recently drawn some attention due to the publication of a hitherto unknown textual witness found at Qumran. In my opinion, one may properly evaluate this witness only by means of the historico-literary criticism, naturally integrated at times with data obtained from other realms of our discipline. The present analysis comes to supplement other, previous studies in which I upheld the need of combining the various directions of research in order to obtain valid results in the study of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>2</sup>

Judg 6:7–10

(7) וַיְהִי כִּי זָעְקוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל ה' עַל אֲדוֹת מִדְיָן: (8) וַיִּשְׁלַח ה' אִישׁ נְבִיא אֶל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם כֹּה אָמַר ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנֹכִי הֵעֲלִיתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם וְאֶצִּיא אֶתְכֶם מִבֵּית עַבְדִּים: (9) וְאֶצֵּל אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וּמִיַּד כָּל לְחָצִיכֶם וְאֶגְרֹשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם וְאֶתְּנֶה לָכֶם אֶת אֶרְצָם: (10) וְאָמַרְתָּ לָכֶם אָנֹכִי ה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לֹא תִירָאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם יוֹשְׁבִים בְּאֶרְצָם וְלֹא שִׁמַּעְתֶּם בְּקוֹלִי:

(7) When the Israelites invoked the Lord on account of Midian, (8) the Lord sent a man, a prophet, to the Israelites who said to them: “Thus said the Lord, the God of Israel: I brought you up from Egypt and took you out of the house of bondage. (9) I rescued you from the Egyptians and from all your oppressors; I drove them out before you and gave you their land. (10) And I said to you: ‘I the Lord am your God. Do not worship the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell.’ But you did not obey Me.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the articles mentioned in nn. 7, 11, 21, cf. A. Rofé, “Textual Criticism in the Light of Historical-Literary Criticism: Deuteronomy 31:14–15,” *ErIsr* 16 (1982): 171–176 (Hebrew); idem, “Historico-Literary Aspects of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 30–39.

<sup>3</sup> Translations from the Hebrew Bible have been adapted from the NJPS.

This short pericope, whose essence is found also in the Septuagint, is absent from a fragment of the book of Judges retrieved at Qumran, 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>, dated on paleographic grounds to the years 50–25 B.C.E.<sup>4</sup> The fragment preserves the text of Judg 6:2–6, 11–13, thus directly connecting the description of Midian's forays and Israel's imploration with the designation of Gideon. No trace remains here of the reproach of the man-prophet mentioned above. Thus the question is pressed upon us: does 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> present an earlier form of the text of the book of Judges or is this sequence the result of a textual accident when a copyist's eye skipped a whole paragraph that even in the ancient manuscripts could have been included between two *parašiyot petuhot* (open sections).<sup>5</sup>

The choice between these two possibilities necessarily depends upon arguments that belong to the realm of higher criticism, because what determines the critic's decision is the date he attributes to the composition of the reproach of the man-prophet. If it was written at an early date, one must conclude that it belongs to an original composition, and its omission was due to error. Vice versa, if the reproach was composed by a later scribe, it will follow that due to its late date of composition, it failed to be introduced in all manuscripts, and the Qumran fragment still attests to a previous stage in the growth of the book of Judges.

The latter alternative has been upheld by Julio Trebolle Barrera who published the fragment. In his opinion:

vv. 8–10 have been generally recognized by modern critics as a literary insertion, attributed in past times to an Elohist source and now generally considered a piece of a late Dtr. redaction . . . Vv. 8–10 cannot be genuine pre-Dtr. or Dtr. material, but a later compilation of juxtaposed Dtr. formulas<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> J. Trebolle Barrera, "Textual Variants in 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges," *RevQ* 54 (1989): 229–245; idem in *DJD* XIV (1995): 161–164.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in the Aleppo and Leningrad manuscripts. Even in our times editorial staffs collate copies or translations with the original in order to ascertain that no paragraph has been left out. As for 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>, Richard Hess has noted that the absent verses are found in the MT between two "open" sections; cf. R. Hess, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Higher Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: The Case of 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures* (ed. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans: Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 122–128. Unfortunately, he deduces from this fact a hypothesis that seems to me as farfetched. The general correspondence between the Isaiah scrolls from Qumran and the MT manuscripts concerning the *parašiyot* has been upheld by Maori. Cf. Y. Maori, "The Tradition of *Pisqa'ot* in Ancient Hebrew MSS: The Isaiah Texts and Commentaries from Qumran," *Text* 10 (1982): 8–1 (Hebrew).

<sup>6</sup> Trebolle Barrera, "Textual Variants," 238. Thus also E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the*

This peremptory verdict has not been backed up by a minute examination of the style and the contents of the reproach. Further on we shall try to fill in this omission. In favor of Trebolle's thesis one must concede, however, that in the books of the Former Prophets one comes upon two instances of late interpolations which did not find their way into all textual witnesses. On the face of it, we have here two analogue cases which, therefore, deserve discussion.

In Josh 20, three verses—vv. 4, 5 and most of v. 6—contradict the substance of that Priestly chapter, stand out by their Deuteronomistic style and are missing in the Septuagint.

(4) וְנָס אֶל אַחַת מֵהָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְעָמַד פֶּתַח שַׁעַר הָעִיר וְדָבַר בְּאָזְנֵי זְקֵנֵי הָעִיר הַהִיא אֶת דְּבָרָיו וְאָסְפוּ אֹתוֹ הָעִירָה אֲלֵיהֶם וְנָתְנוּ לוֹ מְקוֹם וַיֵּשֶׁב עִמָּם: (5) וְכִי יִרְדֹּף גֹּאֵל הַדָּם אַחֲרָיו וְלֹא יִסְגְּרוּ אֶת הַרְצֵחַ בְּיָדוֹ כִּי בְּבִלִי יָדַעַת הַכָּהֵן אֶת רָעָהוּ וְלֹא שָׂנְאָה הוּא לוֹ מִתְמוּל שְׁלֹשׁוֹם: (6) וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּעִיר הַהִיא . . . עַד מוֹת הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אִזּוֹ יָשׁוּב הָרוֹצֵחַ וּבָא אֶל עִירוֹ וְאֶל בֵּיתוֹ אֶל הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר נָס מִשָּׁם:

(4) He shall flee to one of those cities, present himself at the entrance to the city gate, and plead his case before the elders of that city; and they shall admit him into the city and give him a place in which to dwell among them. (5) Should the blood avenger pursue him, they shall not hand the manslayer over to him, since he killed his country-man without intent and had not been his enemy in the past. (6) He shall dwell in that city . . . until the death of the high-priest who will be in office at that time. Thereafter, the manslayer may go back to his home in his hometown, to the town from which he fled.

As noted by the biblicists of the nineteenth century whom I followed,<sup>7</sup> this is a relatively late exegetical addition, written about the fourth century B.C.E. by an epigonic scribe who availed himself of Deuteronomistic idiomatic expressions. In his attempt to describe the judicial procedures for the acceptance of the manslayer in the asylum, this scribe contradicted the Priestly main story of Josh 20. This addition was not copied into the Hebrew manuscript that served as *Vorlage* for the Greek translation and therefore, the reported verses do not appear in the Septuagint. Here we have a tangible proof of the habit of late copyists to interpolate their texts while imitating the style of the classical documents of the Pentateuch.

*Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 344–345. Tov erroneously attributes the same view to Moore and Burney (cf. below, n. 15).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Rofé, “Joshua 20: Historico-Literary Criticism Illustrated,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. Tigay: Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 131–147.

An even more pertinent analogy is extant in

1 Kgs 6:11–13

(11) וַיְהִי דְבַר ה' אֶל שְׁלֹמֹה לֵאמֹר: (12) הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה בֹנֶה אִם תִּלְךָ בְּחֻקֹּתַי וְאֵת מִשְׁפָּטַי תַּעֲשֶׂה וְשִׁמְרַתְּ אֵת כָּל מִצְוֹתַי לִלְכֹת בְּהֵם וְהִקַּמְתִּי אֵת דְּבָרַי אֲתָךְ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵל דָּוִד אָבִיךָ: (13) וְשָׁכַנְתִּי בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא אֶעְזֹב אֶת עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

(11) The word of the Lord came to Solomon saying: (12) “As for this house which you are building, if you follow My laws and observe My rules and steadily keep all My commandments, I will fulfill for you the promise that I gave to your father David: (13) I will abide among the children of Israel, and I will never forsake My people Israel.”

Here too there are signs of interpolation.<sup>8</sup> The prophecy deviates from the context, which is entirely dedicated to the technical description of the building of the Temple. Besides, this intrusive section is delimited by a *Wiederaufnahme*, which is an evident sign of expansion, mostly by a second hand. Here we note the repetition:

v. 9:

ויבן את הבית ויכלהו

v. 14:

וויבן שלמה את הבית ויכלהו<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, the style of this section is a mix of expressions from the Holiness Code (cf. Lev 26:3, 14, 15) and the Priestly Document (Exod 25:8), again two major documents of the Pentateuch. Finally, the passage in question does not obtain in the LXX. No doubt, there is enough evidence to establish the secondary provenience of the prophecy of 1 Kgs 6:11–13 and its late insertion into the report concerning the building of the Temple.

The similarity of Judg 6:7–10 and 1 Kgs 6:11–13 is great indeed. Both passages present a prophetic speech uttered directly by the Lord or through an *iš nābî*, a speech that expresses the theological outlook of the author. Prophecies of this kind, which we may define as “historiographic,” are present all along the biblical historical-writings. The

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the exhaustive analysis by C.F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903; repr. New York: Ktav, 1970), 68–69.

<sup>9</sup> One must admit, however, that here the *Wiederaufnahme* is not a neat one, because it is “disturbed” by vv. 9b–10. Important contributions on the *Wiederaufnahme* are: I.L. Seeligmann, “Hebräische Erzählung und biblische Geschichtsschreibung,” *TZ* 18 (1962): 305–325; M. Anbar, “La ‘reprise,’” *VT* 38 (1988): 385–398.

genre is still employed by the Chronicler who scolds King Amaziah by means of an anonymous prophet, because the king has worshiped the gods of Seir (2 Chr 25:14–16). Thus, one should not be surprised if even in later times epigonic scribes introduced into the texts their own views disguised as the word of God, pronounced by Him or by His prophet.

Should we conclude, then, that all “historiographic prophecies” belong to such a late date? Not really. In 1 Sam 2:27–36 a Man of God blames Eli, Priest of Shiloh, and forecasts the rejection of his line from being priests and its substitution by another house of priests, a righteous and devoted one. Several *indicia* show that this prophecy is not that late or, at least, contains some early elements:<sup>10</sup> The election of the House of Eli took place in Egypt, “at (the service of [?]) the House of Pharaoh” (v. 27), not in Sinai, not in connection with Moses and Aaron. Among the duties of the priests are the carrying of the *’ēpôd* (v. 28)—a function that was put to silence by the D document in its records of the priestly duties (Deut 10:8; 18:5; 20:2–4; 21:5; 24:8). What is said about the future priest “who will walk before (= serve) my anointed evermore” (v. 35) ignores the fall of the monarchy and the rise of the priestly predominance in postexilic times. Finally, the description of Eli’s descendants who will go to beg admittance to one of the priestly offices (*kěhunnôt*) not just work (*’abôdâ*) in order “to eat a morsel of bread,” ignores the distinction between priests and Levites announced by Ezekiel (44:6–24), established by the Priestly Document and enhanced by the Chronicler. It is hard indeed to assign a precise date of composition to the reproach of the Man of God to Eli. Its content, however, appears to precede the emergence of the two major schools of the seventh to fifth centuries, the Deuteronomistic and Priestly. Evidently, this prophecy was written during monarchical times, not in the exilic-postexilic periods.

We may conclude that even if one establishes the secondary character and the relatively late date of composition of an anonymous prophecy, this does not determine that date in absolute terms. The age can fluctuate between the eighth and the fourth centuries, namely between the period

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. C. Steuernagel, “Die Weissagung über die Eliden (1 Sam 2<sup>27–36</sup>),” in *Alttestamentliche Studien: FS R. Kittel* (ed. A. Alt et al.; BWAT 13; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), 204–221; M. Tsevat, “Studies in the Book of Samuel, I: Interpretation of 1 Sam. 2:27–36—The Narrative of Kareth,” *HUCA* 32 (1961): 191–216. The various opinions expressed on this passage have been reviewed by H.F. van Rooy, “Prophetic Utterances in Narrative Texts, with Reference to 1 Samuel 2:27–36,” *OTE* 3 (1990): 210–215.

of composition of the Ephraimite history<sup>11</sup> and that of the Chronicler. The dating of the pericope in Judg 6:7–10 will be established, therefore, by an exact scrutiny of this text, not by analogy with comparable passages.

In the first place, one has to assess the function of this passage vis-à-vis its context. The reproach details the favors of the Lord to Israel in the past (vv. 8–9), specifies the duties He imposed on the people (v. 10a), and ends with mentioning the latter's disobedience (v. 10b: *ולא שמעתם בקולי*). In vain one looks for the ensuing divine reaction to the sin of the nation. Taking as an example Judg 10:10–16, one could expect to read about the people's repentance. This too is missing. How come? The reason lies in the function of the passage: it answers Gideon's assertions. He mentioned one favor of the Lord: the exodus from Egypt (v. 13). The pericope answers with a whole list of favors, six lines long, reaching from Egypt to the inheritance of the Land (vv. 8–9). Besides, Gideon assailed the angel saying: "If the Lord is with us, why has all this befallen us" etc. (v. 13). The reproach of the man-prophet replies that it is the sin of the people that caused "all this."<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the passage, even being secondary, has a clear function in the saga of Gideon. Such was not the case with 1 Kgs 6:11–13 where the speech of the Lord did not connect at all with the report of the Temple's construction. This clear difference between the two divine speeches indicates a different origin for each of them.

The next step is the analysis of style. The accumulation of recurrent idioms conveys the impression of an imitative pastiche; yet, taken one by one, the idioms are not late. The verb *העלה*, "bring up," concerning the Exodus, is not typical of the main, relatively late, documents of the Hexateuch: D, H and P. They usually employ *הוציא*, "bring out," while *העלה* features in passages that were attributed in the past to the Elohist Document (E).<sup>13</sup> The definition of the Egyptian bondage as *בית*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. Rofé, "Ephraimite versus Deuteronomistic History," in *Storia e tradizioni di Israele: Scritti in onore di J.A. Soggin* (ed. D. Garrone and F. Israel; Brescia: Paideia, 1991), 221–235.

<sup>12</sup> This has been brought to my attention by Dr. Michael Segal (Hebrew University, Jerusalem). Most commentators consider the pericope as a justification of the Midianite oppression described in vv. 1–6. Thus, also Y. Amit, *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing* (Biblical Interpretation Series 38; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 250. Nevertheless, on p. 251, she maintains that vv. 7–10 "explain why an atmosphere of disappointment was widespread among the people and why Gideon uttered such harsh things, doubting the presence of the Lord among his people and his desire to save them."

<sup>13</sup> J.E. Carpenter and G. Harford, *The Composition of the Hexateuch* (London: Longmans, 1902), 392.

עבדים, “house of slaves,” does not belong to the original layer of the Ten Commandments, as quoted for instance in Ps 81:10–11,<sup>14</sup> but it appears in the “lawsuit against Israel” in Mic 6:1–5, which has the flavor of early literature (cf. in v. 4 the role of Miriam as leader of Israel). The phrase **אני ה' אלהיכם**, “I, the Lord, am your god” (v. 10) is indeed the hallmark of legal collections, H in particular, but when connected to **לא תיראו** **את אלהי האמרי**, “do not worship the gods of the Amorites,” it sounds as a paraphrase of the two first commandments. Thus, from the stylistic point of view, the passage in question does not show signs of recent phraseology.<sup>15</sup>

As for the contents, several elements point towards a relatively early date. V. 9: “I rescued you from the Egyptians and from all your oppressors; I drove them out before you and gave you their land.” This is not the representation of the conquest as delineated by the D-Dtr school. According to the latter, the wars of Canaan were actively fought by Israel under the Lord’s guidance (Josh 1–11). Here, to the contrary, Israel is passive: upon entering the Land they were harassed by its inhabitants (cf. Judg 4:3, which states that Sisera harshly oppressed the Israelites). Then the Lord intervened to succor his people. Such a description of a passive Israel is common to Judg 6:7–10, as well as Josh 24:5–18, and the speeches of Samuel at the election of Saul (1 Sam 10:18–19a; 12:8–11). We encounter here the theological concept of what was once defined as “the late Elohist school,” which I prefer to term as Ephraimite.<sup>16</sup>

The Lord chased out (גרש, v. 9) the inhabitants of the Land before Israel. This is the image of the conquest extant in the older, pre-Deuteronomistic documents, such as Exod 23:20–33; 33:2; 34:11 and Josh 24:12, 18. The D-Dtr school has a completely different portrayal: an annihilation under the ban, *herem*, as explicitly prescribed in Deut 7. In the latter chapter, moreover, there is a restatement of Exod 23: the Lord arrogates to

<sup>14</sup> Hos 13:4 also paraphrases the first two commandments. A paraphrase of the first commandment alone is given in Hos 12:10; Ps 50:7.

<sup>15</sup> Among the scholars who attribute the reproach to a pre-Deuteronomistic, Elohist author or redactor one counts some of the leading names: Budde, Moore, Lagrange, Burney and Cooke; cf. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel: Ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau* (Giessen: Ricker, 1890), 107–108; idem, *Das Buch der Richter* (KHC 7; Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck, 1897); G.F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC 7; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895; repr. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1976); M.J. Lagrange, *Le livre de Juges* (EBib; Paris: Lecoffre, 1903); C.F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons, 1918; repr. New York: Ktav, 1970); G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Judges* (Cambridge Bible; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. n. 11.

himself the functions of the angel, and the ban substitutes the expulsion of the Canaanites.<sup>17</sup> The Dtr story of the conquest in the book of Joshua (chs. 1–11) follows suit: all inhabitants of the Land are exterminated under the ban. We note here a fundamental difference between the two schools, the Elohist-Ephraimite on one hand and the D-Dtr on the other. Evidently, the reproach of the man-prophet in Judg 6:7–10 aligns itself with the older documents which preceded the D-Dtr school.

But the decisive proof that we are not dealing here with a redactional Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic layer comes from v. 10: “And I said to you: I the Lord am your God. Do not worship the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell.” At first sight it looks as a repetition of trite expressions, taken from older injunctions, but it is not. When did the Lord impart this command? According to the order of events, only after the inheritance of Canaan. It is not part of the Sinai or Plains of Moab legislation. And indeed, the precept does not run “the gods of the Amorites in whose land *you are going to dwell*,” rather, “the gods of the Amorites *in whose land you dwell*.” According to this wording, the command was intimated *in the Land* after the settlement.<sup>18</sup> It was not given to Moses, nor contained in the Torah.

Such a concept cannot be late, because late biblical authors, in the latter half of the Persian period, already attributed all divine laws to the Mosaic legislation. The concept cannot be Deuteronomistic either, because the D document in Deuteronomy considers the laws as part and parcel of Moses’ speeches. Thus, Judg 6:7–10, as it precedes the emergence of those proto-canonical tenets, most plausibly belongs to an older document.

In search for additional tracks of this old concept of divine legislation given to Israel in the Land, we come upon the reproach of the angel of the Lord at Bokim in Judg 2:1–5.<sup>19</sup> There, at vv. 1b–3 one reads:

(1b) וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיךָ אֲתָכֶם מִמְצֵרִים וְאֵבִיא אֶתְכֶם אֶל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם וְאָמַר  
 לֹא אֶפְרָ בְרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם לְעוֹלָם: (2) וְאַתֶּם לֹא תִכְרְתוּ בְרִית לְיוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת . . . וְלֹא  
 שְׁמַעְתֶּם בְּקִלִּי מֵהַ זֶה וְזֹאת עֲשִׂיתֶם: (3) וְגַם אִמַּרְתִּי לֹא אֶגְרֹשׁ אֹתְכֶם מִפְּנֵיכֶם וְהָיוּ לְכֶם לְצַדִּיקִים  
 וְאֵלֵהֶם יְהוָה לְכֶם לְמוֹקֵשׁ:

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. Rofé, *The Belief in Angels in the Bible and in Early Israel* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1979), 280–298 (Hebrew), and the bibliography quoted there. Pride of place should be given to D. Neumark, *The Philosophy of the Bible* (Cincinnati: Ark Publication, 1918), passim and especially p. 73.

<sup>18</sup> To my knowledge, the first to note this point was G. Schmitt, *Der Landtag von Sichem* (AzTh 1/15; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1964), 43–45.

<sup>19</sup> For the text-reconstruction and a study of this pericope cf. Rofé, *Belief in Angels*, 256–271.



(1b) I brought you up from Egypt and I took you into the land which I had promised on oath to your fathers and I said “I will never break My covenant with you. (2) And you must make no covenant with the inhabitants of this land . . .” But you have not obeyed Me; what have you done! (3) Therefore, I have resolved: “I will not drive them out before you; they shall become hunters<sup>20</sup> against you and their gods will become your traps.”

One faces here an author distinct from the one of Judg 6:7–10. In the first place, because the story contains an etiology explaining the sanctity of the place: an angel of the Lord appeared there and therefore the people built an altar on the spot. No such *hieros logos* is extant in Judg 6:7–10. Accordingly, the messenger of the Lord differs: an angel here, a man-prophet there. It looks as if the author of Judg 6:7–10 transferred the role of the angel to the prophet! And yet, some common elements are extant: Judges 2:3 too does not mention the ban (*herem*), but rather the expulsion (*gērēs*) of the Amorites by the Lord; here too, the making of the covenant with the relative imposition of commands on Israel are recorded after the entrance to the Land. The latter point is confirmed by the very diction of the commands: “you must make no covenant with the inhabitants of *this* land.” Judges 2:1–5 corroborates Judg 6:7–10 concerning the place and time of the Lord’s covenant with Israel.

However, the fundamental text that tells the giving of the Lord’s laws to Israel in the Land is Josh 24. There, at vv. 25–26, one reads:

(25) וַיִּכְרַת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּרִית לְעָם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וַיִּשֶׂם לוֹ חֹק וּמִשְׁפָּט בְּשֵׁכֶם: (26) וַיִּכְתֹּב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה בְּסֵפֶר תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִים וַיִּקַּח אֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה וַיִּקְיֶמָהּ שָׁם תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר בַּמִּקְדָּשׁ ה':

(25) Joshua made a covenant for the people on that day and set them law and rule at Shechem. (26) And Joshua wrote these words in a book of Torah of God. He took a great stone and set it up at the foot of the oak, which is in the sanctuary of the Lord.

The text is explicit: Joshua made a covenant with the tribes of Israel—there is no reference to an earlier covenant made by Moses—he set them “law and rule” at Shechem—same formulation as in Exod 15:25 referring to Moses in Marah—and wrote in a (or: the) book of Torah of God. What did Joshua write? If not the “law and rule” mentioned above, then what is meant is all the event of the making of the covenant, inclusive of the preface and the negotiation with the people. In any case, the prescription of “law and rule” to Israel and the writing in a/the book of

<sup>20</sup> Read *ṣadīm* or *ṣōdīm*.

Torah single out Josh 24 as against the whole concept first proclaimed by Deuteronomy (and then accepted by Jews and Christians until the beginning of historical criticism) to the effect that Moses, the single legislator to Israel, was the author of the Torah.<sup>21</sup>

We have here a segment of a pre-Deuteronomistic literary layer, which I elsewhere defined as “Ephraimite.” According to this layer, the laws were delivered to Israel in the Land. Coherently, this composition, while scolding Israel for his sins, does not make appeal to the book of Torah, but to his duty of faithfulness and obedience towards the Lord (cf. Judg 10:11–16; 1 Sam 8:7–8; 10:18–19a). In the same way, “the law of kingship” mentioned in this work (1 Sam 10:25), not to be confused with “the practice of the king” (1 Sam 8:9–18), originates with old Samuel, not in the Mosaic Torah.

In this state of affairs, how should one explain the absence of Judg 6:7–10 from 4QJudg<sup>a</sup>? It is just an omission due to *parablepsis*, i.e., the copyist’s eye skipped a whole paragraph. The omission, however, was favored by the contents of the pericope in question. Although not being a late addition from the end of biblical times, nevertheless an addition it is, a relatively ancient one, aiming to reply to Gideon’s complaint “why has all this befallen us” (Judg 6:13). Its quality as appendix is evident also from the way it connects to the preceding section:

Judg 6:6–7

(6) וַיִּדַל יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֵד מִפְּנֵי מִדְיָן וַיִּזְעַקוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל ה': (7) וַיְהִי כִּי זָעַקוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
אֶל ה' עַל אֲדוֹת מִדְיָן:

(6) Israel was reduced to utter misery because of the Midianites and the Israelites cried to the Lord. (7) When the Israelites cried to the Lord on account of Midian<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. S.D. Sperling, “Joshua 24 Re-examined,” *HUCA* 58 (1987): 119–136; C. Brekelmans, “Joshua XXIV: Its Place and Function,” in *Congress Volume Leuven* (ed. J.A. Emerton; VTSup 43, Leiden: Brill, 1991), 1–9; A. Rofé, “The Assembly at Shechem (Joshua 24, 1–28.31): The Text, Literature and History,” in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29—August 5, 1997*, Division A: *The Bible and its World* (ed. R. Margolin; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), 17–25 (Hebrew).

<sup>22</sup> V. 7a (to the *atnah*) is lacking in the LXX<sup>B</sup>. It was probably omitted due to *homoio-teleuton*; cf. J. Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Massora des Buches der Richter* (AnBib 7; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1957), 47.

Elsewhere I defined this kind of connection as a “related expansion.”<sup>23</sup> It occurs when a new author attaches his contribution to an existing report, quoting the last words of the latter and then going on with his own appendage. Let me emphasize that all the passages identified so far as related expansions are extant in the various textual witnesses, a fact that demonstrates the relative antiquity of this technique. To conclude: it is because of its character as addition, even an ancient one, that the absence of the passage examined here, was not noted by one (or: some) of the copyists once it had been omitted by a banal error of *parablepsis*. The passage was not essential to the continuity of the narrative.

One cannot avoid the question, how much the conjecture and the reconstruction here suggested are credible. Three phases have been proposed: (a) a given text; (b) its secondary amplification; (c) its undergoing a textual mishap that restored the text to its original shape in one of the textual witnesses. I will answer this question with the example of a similar case in Jer 39. Vv. 4–13 are not represented in the LXX. One cannot expound here the literary and textual history of that chapter.<sup>24</sup> Suffice it to say, that the case of Jer 39 is even more convincing, because there the textual accident (phase c) did not obliterate all the results of the preceding literary activity (phase b).

A general conclusion emerges. The biblical books have a long history of composition, hundreds of years long. Our textual witnesses, such as the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint and the Qumran Scrolls, when compared with one another, can reveal the textual vicissitudes that occurred at the end of that long history. They can also disclose the last literary operations performed in these books, between the end of the Persian and the beginning of the Hellenistic periods. But by their very date, they cannot tell us much about the preceding literary history, when the large historiographical works, the Ephraimite and the Deuteronomistic, were composed, between the eighth and the fifth centuries B.C.E. The fortunes of these works should be conjectured

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. A. Rofé, *The Book of Balaam: Numbers 22:2–24:25* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1979) (Hebrew). The passages listed there as “related expansion” are Num 22:22 (to v. 20); Josh 4:1 (to 3:17); 1 Sam 15:20 (to v. 19); 18:6 (to 17:57); 23:15 (to v. 14). To my examples Y. Zakovitch added one more; cf. his review in *Kiryat Sefer* 54 (1979): 785–789. At p. 788 he pointed out as “related expansion” 1 Sam 5:2 (to v. 1). Fourteen years later, Frank Polak renamed this phenomenon as “linkage”; cf. F. Polak, *Biblical Narrative: Aspects of Art and Design* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999), 79–80 (Hebrew).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the outstanding discussion of R. Goldstein, “Life of a Prophet: The Traditions about Jeremiah” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), esp. 170–180 (Hebrew).

with the means of historico-literary criticism. Plausibly, processes that occurred to biblical books at the time of their creation were utterly different, perhaps even opposed, to the processes inherent to the later textual transmission.



ANCIENT SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



# THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

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## A. HEBREW

On the eve of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, the study of pre-medieval Hebrew and Aramaic looked considerably different from what it would look like just a few years after the publication of the first manuscripts. In this paper I trace in broad strokes the impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the study of Hebrew and Aramaic, as well as their influence on the question of language contact between Hebrew and Aramaic at the close of the Second Temple period.<sup>1</sup> I begin with the pre-Dead Sea Scrolls era, move on to the years immediately following the publication of the first Scrolls, and then on to subsequent scholarship. I conclude with an evaluation of the contribution of the Scrolls to current linguistic research.

### *I. Pre-1947 Research into Hebrew*

Research into Hebrew before 1947 tended to concentrate on three topics:

1. Biblical Hebrew as reflected in the Tiberian tradition of vocalization. This was by far the most widely-studied field of Hebrew.
2. Other traditions of Biblical Hebrew, namely, those reflected in the Babylonian and Palestinian vocalization systems, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Hebrew traditions underlying the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Hebrew found in the Septuagint, the

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<sup>1</sup> Neither the earlier (4th century) Wadi el-Daliyeh documents nor the contemporaneous Nabatean documents from the Judean Desert are included in this survey.



Hexapla, and the writings of St. Jerome.<sup>2</sup> These traditions received far less attention than the Tiberian tradition.

3. Tannaitic Hebrew. A quiet revolution was taking place in Palestine as scholars began to shift their focus from the printed editions to manuscripts and the living oral traditions.<sup>3</sup> This led to a gradual but dramatic change in the grammatical description of the language of the Tannaim.

## II. Post 1947—Present Research into Hebrew

The publication of the first partial descriptions of the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls in 1948 by Eliezer Lipa Sukenik in מגילות גזרות in Jerusalem,<sup>4</sup> and by Millar Burrows<sup>5</sup> and John Trever<sup>6</sup> in their articles in the American periodicals *Journal of Biblical Literature* and the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, caught the immediate attention of scholars, which intensified with the full publication by Burrows in 1950 of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (the Great Isaiah Scroll) and 1QpHab (*Pesher Habakkuk*), and in 1951 of 1QS (the *Manual of Discipline*).<sup>7</sup> Articles soon followed both in Israel and abroad, in which the most striking linguistic peculiarities were

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Ostens: Die ältesten punktierten Handschriften des Alten Testaments und der Targume* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913); idem, *Masoreten des Westens* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927–1930); Z. Ben-Hayyim, “Samaritan Hebrew,” *Leš* 12 (1943–1944): 45–60, 113–126 (Hebrew); G. Lisowsky, *Die Transkription der hebräischen Eigennamen des Pentateuch in der Septuaginta* (Basel: Theologische Fakultät der Universität Basel, 1940); E.A. Speiser, “The Pronunciation of Hebrew According to the Translations in the Hexapla,” *JQR* 16 (1925–1926): 343–382; 23 (1932–1933): 233–265; 24 (1933–1934): 9–46; E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus auf Grundlage der Mercatischen Fragmente der zweiten Kolumne der Hexapla des Origenes* (Abhandlungen über die Kunde des Morgenlandes 28; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1943); A. Sperber, “Hebrew Based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations,” *HUCA* 12–13 (1937–1938): 103–274.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., articles of Henoah Yalon in the volumes he edited, קונטרסים לעניני הלשון העברית, vols. 1–2 (Jerusalem: n.p., 1937–1939) (Hebrew), and עניני לשון (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1942) (Hebrew); E. Porath, *Mishnaic Hebrew as Vocalised in the Early Manuscripts of the Babylonian Jews* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1938) (Hebrew).

<sup>4</sup> E.L. Sukenik, מגילות גזרות מתוך גניזה קדומה שנמצאה במדבר יהודה: סקירה ראשונה (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1948).

<sup>5</sup> M. Burrows, “Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript,” *BASOR* 111 (1948): 16–24, 113 (1948): 24–32; idem, “Orthography, Morphology, and Syntax of the St. Mark’s Isaiah Manuscript,” *JBL* 68 (1949): 195–212.

<sup>6</sup> J.C. Trever, “Preliminary Observations on the Jerusalem Scrolls,” *BASOR* 111 (1948): 3–16.

<sup>7</sup> M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery* (2 vols.; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950–1951).

noted, viz., extreme plene orthography, weakening of gutturals, lengthened pronominal forms, pausal-looking forms in context, frequency of lengthened imperfects (the cohortative), and presence of Aramaic-like forms.

The most significant initial linguistic contributions were undoubtedly those of Henoah Yalon, whose studies were not well known in Europe and North America, because he published in Hebrew periodicals in Palestine.<sup>8</sup> Yalon went beyond pointing out the surprising forms that deviated from the Tiberian Masoretic norm. In an impressive display of erudition, he gathered parallel phenomena from other sources: Classical Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, various biblical traditions (not only Tiberian, but also Babylonian, Samaritan, and Greek and Latin transcriptions), Tannaitic Hebrew, Paytanic Hebrew, the medieval Hebrew reading traditions (Sephardic, Babylonian, Yemenite), works of Hebrew medieval grammarians, and Aramaic. His approach stood in sharp contrast with that found in several other early articles, which tended to focus on the differences between the text of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and the Masoretic Text and similar readings in the Septuagint and the Targum. Yalon's illuminating comparison to other Hebrew sources determined the path for all future linguistic investigations.

During the first decade of the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Yalon, and others who followed his lead, showed that the language of the Scrolls supplied missing pieces in the history of ancient Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> As argued by paleographers and now confirmed by carbon-14 dating, the Scrolls fitted in chronologically between Classical Biblical Hebrew and Tannaitic Hebrew;<sup>10</sup> linguists demonstrated that they were contiguous to Late Biblical Hebrew, the Samaritan oral and written traditions of the Pentateuch, as well as the original language underlying the medieval exemplars of

<sup>8</sup> H. Yalon, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Philological Essays (1949-1952)* (Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1967) (Hebrew). See also additional notes on the language of the Scrolls in his collected papers, *Studies in the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1971), 478-481 (Hebrew).

<sup>9</sup> E.g., M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* (Jerusalem: Orient, 1960); Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1954), 77-92; idem, "Traditions in the Hebrew Language, with Special Reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 200-214.

<sup>10</sup> See the seminal article of F.M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (ed. G.E. Wright; Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 133-202. For a summary of paleographic research, see B. Webster in *DJD XXXIX* (2002): 352-362. On carbon-14 dating, see idem in *DJD XXXIX* (2002): 362-368.

Ben-Sira and the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah. Though a linear development between Classical Biblical Hebrew, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Tannaitic Hebrew could not be shown, these corpora do, nonetheless, share isoglosses that prove their geographical and chronological proximity.

Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher's 1959 book on the language and linguistic background of the Dead Sea Scrolls was a tour de force and arguably the most important book written on Hebrew linguistics in the 20th century.<sup>11</sup> Kutscher presented a comprehensive analysis of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and other Dead Sea Scrolls in the light of Classical Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, Tannaitic Hebrew, Greek and Latin transcriptions, Aramaic dialects, and Northwest Semitic in general. He composed a detailed linguistic profile of the language and concluded that 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> was a popular version of the book of Isaiah, whose language reflected "the linguistic situation prevailing in Palestine during the last centuries B.C.E."<sup>12</sup> Or to be more precise, "the linguistic anomalies of IIsa<sup>a</sup> reflect the Hebrew and Aramaic currently spoken in Palestine towards the end of the Second Commonwealth."<sup>13</sup> He argued that the language of the Scrolls was literary with occasional vernacular features that had penetrated the text. He thought that the scribes of the Scrolls attempted to imitate Late Biblical Hebrew as much as possible and their language "should be considered as the last offshoot of Late Biblical Hebrew."<sup>14</sup>

I think it is accurate to say that Kutscher's view of the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls as essentially literary prevails even today, though it is not shared by all. Already in 1954 both Shelomo Morag and Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim emphasized the vernacular in the Scrolls. Morag, in discussing the origin of the lengthened independent pronouns הוּאָהּ and הִיאָהּ,<sup>15</sup> concluded that they were authentic living forms of a previously unknown Hebrew dialect, and Ben-Ḥayyim explained several curious orthographic practices in the Dead Sea Scrolls as reflecting a pronunciation that was similar to that found in the oral tradition of Samaritan Hebrew, and which reflected the pronunciation of Hebrew during the

<sup>11</sup> E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959). An English translation appeared under almost the same title, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)* (Leiden: Brill 1974).

<sup>12</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, IX (Hebrew edition).

<sup>13</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 3 (English edition).

<sup>14</sup> E.Y. Kutscher, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew Language," *EncJud* 16:1584.

<sup>15</sup> S. Morag, "The Independent Pronouns of the Third Person Masculine and Feminine in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *ErIsr* 3 (1954): 166–169 (Hebrew).

period when Aramaic was the lingua franca in Palestine.<sup>16</sup> Elisha Qimron has continued this approach and for the past twenty years has argued forcefully in his 1976 and 1986 grammars and in many articles that the Hebrew in the Scrolls reflects a previously unknown Hebrew dialect.<sup>17</sup>

The linguistic picture that emerged from the first published Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1950's differed significantly from the language of documents from Wadi Murabba'at (legal contracts as well as letters, including those written by Shim'on Bar Kosiba) and the *Copper Scroll* (3Q15), which Józef T. Milik prepared for publication in the early 1960's in *DJD* II and *DJD* III.<sup>18</sup> These documents clearly demonstrated that the language of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and that of the other scrolls (e.g., 1QS, 1QH) was not the only language-type attested in the Judean Desert. The Bar Kosiba letters, from a slightly later period than the Qumran material, were written in what was clearly a variety of Tannaitic Hebrew and showed unequivocal signs of being a vernacular text. Milik designated the language of the *Copper Scroll* "dialecte mishnique" on the basis of its similarity to Tannaitic Hebrew, in particular, its use of the relative particle װ- as opposed to the biblical אשר, and the m.pl. nominal morpheme -n as against the biblical -m.<sup>19</sup>

4QMMT (*Miqṣat Ma'āseh ha-Torah*, originally designated 4QMish), which was published officially by Qimron and John Strugnell only in 1994 in *DJD* X, though it circulated earlier, added further to the evidence of linguistic heterogeneity. Qimron and Strugnell summarized the language of 4QMMT as "most closely reflects the Hebrew spoken at Qumran. Its vocabulary resembles that of MH more than that of BH: its grammar resembles BH's more than MH's. . . . Its similarity to MH results from the fact that both MMT and MH reflect spoken forms of Hebrew current in the Second Temple period."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Ben-Ḥayyim, *Studies*, 77–92.

<sup>17</sup> E. Qimron, "A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976) (Hebrew); idem, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); idem, "Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–361; idem "The Nature of DSS Hebrew and Its Relation to BH and MH," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 232–244.

<sup>18</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD* II (1961): 67–180 and *DJD* III (1962): 201–302.

<sup>19</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD* II (1961): 222.

<sup>20</sup> E. Qimron and J. Strugnell in *DJD* X (1994): 108.

Following their lead, Morag sought to analyze all the Hebrew material from Qumran typologically and concluded that the evidence points to three different language varieties.<sup>21</sup> According to Morag, most Scrolls were written in “General Qumran Hebrew,” 4QMMT in “Qumran Mishnaic,” and as for the difficult language of 3Q15, he chose the neutral term “Copper Scroll Hebrew.”

Today, now that almost all the manuscripts have been published, and with the perspective of sixty years of research, it is clear that the Dead Sea Scrolls have left an indelible mark on Hebrew linguistic research:

1. They have demonstrated beyond doubt that the written Hebrew of the Second Temple period was not monolithic. The literary remains attested in the late books of the Hebrew Bible, Ben-Sira, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, betray varying features and constellations of Classical Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, Tannaitic Hebrew, and Aramaic. The existence of different dialects in ancient Palestine cannot be denied, though it is not certain that all the differences in language between the corpora are dialectal and not due to genre and literary conventions.
2. The Scrolls have focused scholarly discussion on the question of spoken versus written language during the Second Temple period. After six decades of research, however, the linguistic nature of the Dead Sea Scrolls is still contested: some argue that the Scrolls reveal a literary Hebrew with occasional vernacular forms; others believe that the language *in toto* reflects a vernacular. All agree that vernacular forms have penetrated the literary texts found at Qumran; the disagreement lies in the extent of the phenomenon. It should be stressed that it is only the Bar Kosiba letters from Wadi Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever, though from a later period, that provide certain colloquial evidence, and no less important is the fact that the vernacular of Bar Kosiba differs considerably from the vernacular elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
3. The verbal system attested in the language of the Scrolls has, I think, been one of the unnoticed catalyzing factors in the renewed investigation into the debate over the temporal vs. aspectual nature of the Classical Biblical Hebrew verbal system. Though Hans Reichenbach’s 1947 book on relative tense has also played an important role,

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<sup>21</sup> S. Morag, “Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations,” *VT* 38 (1988): 148–164.

the evidence for the breakdown of the classical system attested in Late Biblical Hebrew and paralleled in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., the less frequent and non-classical use of *waw*-consecutive forms), together with the fact that the Tannaitic verbal system is temporal, has led to a reassessment of the Classical Biblical Hebrew system on the part of some scholars, who argue that the Classical system was in fact temporal from the start.<sup>22</sup>

## B. ARAMAIC

Research into pre-medieval Aramaic before the discovery of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls dealt with

1. The small corpus of Old Aramaic inscriptions.
2. Tiberian Biblical Aramaic.
3. The Elephantine papyri.<sup>23</sup>
4. Targumic Aramaic, both that of *Targum Onqelos*, on the one hand, and that of the so-called Jerusalem Targumim, on the other hand, i.e., *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (*Tg. Yer I*), and the *Fragment Targum* (*Tg. Yer II*).
5. Nabatean and Palmyrene.

The publication of Aramaic Qumran fragments in 1955 by Dominique Barthélemy, Józef Milik, Maurice Baillet, and Michel Testuz, and of the first lengthy Aramaic manuscript in 1956, 1QapGen (the *Genesis Apocryphon*) by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, ushered in a new era in Aramaic studies since it provided scholars for the first time with documents of early Palestinian provenance.<sup>24</sup> Two years later in 1958, Kutscher described the language of 1QapGen in an article that has had

<sup>22</sup> H. Reichenbach, *Elements of Symbolic Logic* (New York: Free Press, 1947). For a survey of the different views of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system, see K.M. Penner, "Verb Form Semantics in Qumran Hebrew Texts: Hebrew Tense, Aspect, and Modality between the Bible and the Mishnah" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 2006).

<sup>23</sup> A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923).

<sup>24</sup> D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik in *DJD I* (1955): 134–135, 150–152, 147–148; J.T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406; M. Baillet, "Fragments araméens de Qumran 2: Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle," *RB* 62 (1955): 222–245; M. Testuz, "Deux fragments inédits des manuscrits

a significant impact on Aramaic dialectology.<sup>25</sup> Kutscher stressed the importance of the Palestinian background of the document and examined its linguistic profile in the light of later Palestinian Aramaic corpora and other Aramaic corpora in general. Among other things, he showed the influence of Biblical Aramaic on the language of 1QapGen, and also pointed out affinities with later Palestinian Aramaic dialects (Galilean Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Samaritan Aramaic) as well as with *Targum Onqelos*, whose origin had been disputed (Palestinian or Babylonian?). Kutscher demonstrated by means of salient features in 1QapGen that *Targum Onqelos* was roughly contemporaneous and also originally composed in Palestine, though this view has come under attack in the past two decades by Edward M. Cook and Christa Müller-Kessler.<sup>26</sup>

Kutscher's comparative Palestinian approach to the language of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls has continued to guide research in Qumran Aramaic to this day. It views the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the harbinger of later Palestinian Aramaic. Abraham Tal has demonstrated the value of this approach in a series of articles that lay out a linear development of certain grammatical features from the Dead Sea Scrolls up until the Western Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ma'lula. The features he examined include the suffixed *nun* on verbal and non-verbal forms, demonstrative pronouns, and infinitival forms.<sup>27</sup>

The Aramaic documents from the Dead Sea published before 1960 were literary works. In the beginning of the 1960's, however, Aramaic

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de la Mer Morte," *Sem* 5 (1955): 37–38, 38; N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Description and Contents of the Scrolls, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX–XXII* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956).

<sup>25</sup> E.Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A Preliminary Study," *ScrHier* 4 (1958): 1–35.

<sup>26</sup> E.M. Cook, "A New Perspective on the Language of Onqelos and Jonathan," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context* (ed. D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara; JSOT 166; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 142–156. In the same volume, S.A. Kaufman ("Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums," 118–141, 123–124) attacks Abraham Tal's analysis of the language of *Targum Jonathan* as also being of Palestinian origin. See A. Tal (Rosenthal), *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and Its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, 1975) (Hebrew). See also C. Müller-Kessler, "The Earliest Evidence for Targum Onqelos from Babylonia and the Question of Its Dialect and Origin," *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 3 (2001): 181–198.

<sup>27</sup> A. Tal, "Layers in the Jewish Aramaic of Palestine: The Appended Nun as a Criterion," *Leš* 43 (1979): 165–184 (Hebrew); idem, "Studies in Palestinian Aramaic: The Demonstrative Pronouns," *Leš* 44 (1980): 43–65 (Hebrew); idem "The Forms of the Infinitive in Jewish Aramaic," in *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Professor Zeev Ben-Hayyim* (ed. M. Bar-Asher et al.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 201–218 (Hebrew).

legal documents (marriage and divorce contracts, deeds of sale, IOU's) and letters from two other sites in the Judean Desert (Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever) were made accessible, the most famous being the Aramaic letters of Bar Kosiba.<sup>28</sup> As was the case with the Hebrew letters of Bar Kosiba, here, too, the language revealed itself to be markedly different from the literary Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as from the legal documents, which by nature are conservative. Kutscher was the first to publish a comprehensive analysis of the Aramaic Bar Kosiba letters from Naḥal Ḥever.<sup>29</sup> As he did with the language of 1QapGen, Kutscher stressed the importance of the letters as genuine documents of Palestinian Aramaic (as opposed to *Tg. Yer I and II*) and showed their affinities with Christian Palestinian Aramaic and *Targum Onqelos*. A more recent treatment of the letters can be found in *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*.<sup>30</sup>

A decade went by and the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls took a new turn. The publication of 11QtgJob (*Job Targum*) in 1971 by Johannes van der Ploeg and Adam van der Woude<sup>31</sup> presented scholars with a slightly different type of Aramaic from that of 1QapGen, which was reflected in orthography, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. Various explanations were advanced, some attributing the differences to genre, others to chronology, degree of archaizing, or even provenance. On the basis of word order and dissimilation of gemination by insertion of *nun*, Takamitsu Muraoka went so far as to argue that it represented an Eastern type of Aramaic and thus was not native to Palestine.<sup>32</sup> This idea dovetailed with the argument that there was a library at Qumran containing works from elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> Milik in *DJD* II (1962): 67–171; Y. Yadin, "Expedition D," *IEJ* 11 (1961): 36–52; E.Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the Hebrew and Aramaic Letters of Bar Kosiba and His Contemporaries: 1. The Aramaic Letters," *Leš* 25 (1960–1961): 117–133 (Hebrew).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002). The language of the letters is also included in U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte, 1. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l'étude des langues de l'Orient ancien 5; Lausanne: Zèbre, 2004).

<sup>31</sup> J.P.M. van der Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude with the collaboration of B. Jongeling, *Le targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971). See also M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1974).

<sup>32</sup> T. Muraoka, "The Aramaic of the Old Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI," *JJS* 25 (1974): 425–442.



Subsequently published manuscripts and fragments from Qumran have not changed the general picture of the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The contribution of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls to the study of Aramaic is no less striking than was the contribution of the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls to the study of Hebrew. I consider the following to be noteworthy and of lasting importance:

1. The Aramaic reflected in the literary documents does not reflect spoken speech. This was not the initial view of some scholars who claimed early on to have found the spoken language of Jesus. As is true for Hebrew, the Aramaic of the Scrolls is a written language that occasionally reveals colloquialisms. Jonas Greenfield argued that “Qumran Aramaic is also Standard Literary Aramaic but written on Palestinian soil.”<sup>33</sup>
2. The concept of “Standard Literary Aramaic,” a term coined by Greenfield, helps to explain the strong influence of the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel on the language of the Aramaic Qumran documents.<sup>34</sup>
3. Based on a comparison with the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the dating and Palestinian provenance of *Targum Onqelos* is widely, though not universally, accepted.
4. The evidence from Qumran, along with an increase in material from all periods of Aramaic, has led to a replacement of the old periodization of Aramaic (Old, Middle, and Late Aramaic) proposed by Franz Rosenthal into a more detailed chronological division (Old, Official, Middle, Late, and Modern) suggested by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, in which the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls together with other documents from the Judean Desert, Nabatean, Palmyrene, Hatran, Edessan, *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan to the Former Prophets*, and the Aramaic words found in Josephus and the New Testament, all belong to Middle Aramaic (200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.), a period in which clear local differences distinguish the Aramaic corpora.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> J.C. Greenfield, “Standard Literary Aramaic,” in *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris 16–19 juillet 1969* (ed. A. Caquot and D. Cohen; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 280–289, 286; repr. in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. S.M. Paul, M.E. Stone, and A. Pinnick; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 1:111–120, 117.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., H.H. Rowley, “Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G.R. Driver* (ed. D.W. Thomas and W.D. McHardy; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 116–129.

<sup>35</sup> F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Lei-

## C. HEBREW AND ARAMAIC LANGUAGE CONTACT

Finally, I turn to the prevailing views on the linguistic situation in Palestine at the end of the Second Temple period current before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The topic aroused considerable interest among scholars of Christianity and Judaism. In the case of the former, there was a strong desire to identify the language or languages that Jesus spoke. At the time, the only way to attempt to recover his language was through the investigation of the Semitisms in the Greek New Testament. For many, Aramaic rather than Hebrew, seemed to be their source. See, e.g., Gustaf Dalman's influential *Die Worte Jesu* from 1898, in which he argued that Jesus spoke Aramaic.<sup>36</sup> Of the dialects known in Dalman's time and available for comparison, he considered the closest to the language of Jesus to be those of *Targum Onqelos* and the Jerusalem Talmud.<sup>37</sup>

For scholars of Judaism, on the other hand, the language question was important for determining whether or not Hebrew was still spoken at the end of the Second Temple period and in the Tannaitic period. The evidence was thought to lie in the late books of the Hebrew Bible and especially in the Mishna. During the 19th century, Abraham Geiger had argued that the Rabbis during the Tannaitic period spoke Aramaic but wrote a Hebrew that had no basis in the spoken reality, a *Gelehrten-sprache*.<sup>38</sup> Other scholars followed him, arguing for the primacy of Aramaic and the artificiality of Hebrew. In 1908 Moshe Hirsch Segal took Geiger and those who adopted his view to task in a seminal article in which he downplayed the effect of Aramaic on Tannaitic Hebrew and demonstrated that features of Tannaitic Hebrew could only be explained if they came from a living language.<sup>39</sup>

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den: Brill, 1939); J.A. Fitzmyer, "Phases of the Aramaic Language," in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 57–84. Fitzmyer first proposed this classification in *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (BibOr 18; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1966), 19–20 n. 60.

<sup>36</sup> G.H. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898). See also the revised English and German editions: *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (trans. D.M. Kay; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909); *Die Worte Jesu mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930).

<sup>37</sup> Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 88.

<sup>38</sup> A. Geiger, *Lehr- und Lesebuch zur Sprache der Mischnah* (Breslau: Leukart, 1845), 1.

<sup>39</sup> M.H. Segal, "Mišnaic Hebrew and its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and to Aramaic,"

Today, the existence of Hebrew documents and of Aramaic documents at Qumran and elsewhere in the Judean Desert, as well as the Hebraisms in the Aramaic documents and the Aramaisms in the Hebrew documents, prove conclusively that speakers in Palestine before and after the turn of the Common Era were bilingual.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the similarity between the Bar Kosiba letters and the language of the Tannaim reinforces the view that Tannaitic Hebrew was a living and developing language. This was recognized immediately by Milik in 1961 when he published the Hebrew letters of Bar Kosiba: “La thèse de savants comme Segal, Ben Iehuda et Klausner, d’après lesquels l’hébreu mishnique a été une langue parlée par la population de la Judéa aux époques perse et greco-romaine, n’est pas plus un hypothèse, elle est un fait établi. Plusieurs actes de Murabba‘ât son rédigés en mishnique.”<sup>41</sup>

Nonetheless, one gets the impression that some scholars today still seem to find it difficult to accept the notion that Tannaitic Hebrew, in addition to Aramaic, was a natural vernacular for large numbers of Jews. See, e.g., Fitzmyer: “but pockets of Palestinian Jews also used Hebrew, even though its use was not widespread”;<sup>42</sup> or Klaus Beyer: “If one bears in mind the fact that Greek too was used in the larger cities, it is difficult to see where Hebrew could have been still spoken in Jesus’

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*JQR* (Old Series) 20 (1908): 647–737. See also M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927) and the expanded Hebrew version, *דקדוק לשון המשנה* (Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1936).

<sup>40</sup> For a recent and thorough investigation of Hebraisms in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, see C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg 11; Heidelberg: Winter, 2008). Greek papyri, inscriptions, and literary works also point to a trilingual situation among some speakers.

<sup>41</sup> Milik in *DJD* II (1961): 70. See also C. Rabin, “If mishnaic hebrew was a spoken language in the first century C.E., we are entitled to assume that it must have been spoken, in some form or other, for some centuries previously” (“Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* [ed. S. Safri and M. Stern; 2 vols.; CRINT 1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976], 2:1007–1039, 1025).

<sup>42</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.,” *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–531, 531; repr. in *Wandering Aramean*, 29–56, 46. Cf., e.g., “In all likelihood Hebrew was used in the villages of Judea during this period, Aramaic was used in the Jewish urban areas and in the Galilee, while Greek was used in the Hellenistic cities throughout the land and along the coast” (J.C. Greenfield, “The Languages of Palestine, 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.,” in *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations: Proceedings of Regional Conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the University of Michigan and New York University in March–April 1975* [ed. H.H. Paper; Cambridge: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978], 143–154, 149; repr. in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah*, 376–387, 382).

time ... Hebrew had not been spoken in Palestine since 400 B. C.<sup>43</sup> The desire of others to attribute the use of Hebrew at Qumran mainly to reasons of holiness, or the use of Hebrew by Bar Kosiba primarily to reasons of nationalism ignore the demonstrated vitality of Tannaïtic Hebrew during this period.<sup>44</sup> A more nuanced position is that of Hanan Eshel, who believes that the use of Aramaic in Mur 42 stems from the author's difficulty to express himself in Hebrew.<sup>45</sup> Those familiar with research into the field of Tannaïtic Hebrew and into the dialectal varieties it evidences will surely take strong exception to what appears to be a lingering prejudice from a bygone era.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 40–43. Cook writes in response: “Beyer’s position on Hebrew (that it died c. 400 BCE) is a futile attempt to turn back the clock” (E.M. Cook, “Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* [ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSupp 3; Louvain: Peeters, 1992], 1–21, 21).

<sup>44</sup> See, e.g., S. Schwartz, “Language, Power, and Identity in Ancient Palestine,” *Past and Present* 148 (1995): 3–47. Holiness and nationalism no doubt contributed to the choice of Hebrew, but they were surely not the factors that enabled the writing of a colloquial type Hebrew that differed from the more prestigious biblical language. For bibliography on the choice of Hebrew at Qumran and during the period of Bar Kosiba, see H. Eshel, “Hebrew in Economic Documents from the Judean Desert,” *Leš* 63 (2001): 41–52 (Hebrew).

<sup>45</sup> Eshel, “Economic Documents,” 41. In the same vein he points out P.Yadin 3:12–15: “It was written in Greek because of no means having been found to write it in Hebrew.” See H. Lapin, “Palm Fronds and Citrons: Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba’s Administration,” *HUCA* 64 (1993): 111–135, 114–115. In a more recent treatment of the papyrus by Hannah M. Cotton, however, the difficulty of the Greek reading and its interpretation is stressed and discussed. She dismisses the older interpretation of the lines and suggests that Soumaios is not Simeon Bar Kosiba, but rather a Nabatean, and for this reason he has difficulties writing in the Jewish Aramaic (as opposed to Nabatean) script. At any rate, Eshel’s interpretation of the papyrus is far from certain. See H.M. Cotton, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt and the Documents from the Judean Desert: Nabataean Participation in the Revolt (P.Yadin 52),” in *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt Against Rome* (ed. P. Schäfer; TSAJ 100; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 133–152. As indicated above, I prefer to see the use of Aramaic in Hebrew documents (and Hebrew in Aramaic documents) as proof of the widespread and natural use of the two related languages.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., M. Bar-Asher, “The Study of Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar Based on Written Sources: Achievements, Problems, and Tasks,” *ScrHier* 37 (1998): 9–42; idem, *L’hébreu mishnique: études linguistiques* (Orbis Supplementa 11; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 3–45.



TWO ISSUES IN QUMRAN HEBREW:  
SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVES\*

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INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

§ 1 The study undertaken here is designed to situate the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls<sup>1</sup> in the historical context of written Hebrew, which stretches more than 1300 years:<sup>2</sup> beginning with Biblical Hebrew, through the Qumran scrolls, and ending with the language of the Tannaim. Throughout this time, a spoken language stood behind this written heritage. The intent here is not to embark upon a general study, or to arrive at general conclusions regarding the relationships between these three strata of classical Hebrew. General conclusions require comprehensive examinations upon which to build, and what is necessary is this type of examination of many grammatical and lexical issues. I would like to offer here studies of just two linguistic issues, which provide insights into the diachronic developments that encompassed these three strata. It is clear, however, that every linguistic fact that can be examined through diachronic lenses will add to the general picture of the language.<sup>3</sup>

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\* My learned friends Devorah Dimant, David Talshir, Mordechai Mishor, and Steven Fassberg read this article, brought a few bibliographic items to my attention, and added important comments. I thank them all for their help.

<sup>1</sup> Obviously, I mean here the scrolls that were actually composed in the time of Qumran—roughly the beginning of the second century B.C.E. through the second half of the first century C.E. The scrolls from Qumran that were copied from earlier texts without any significant changes, such as the second Isaiah scroll from Cave 1, are not representative of Qumran Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> In other words, from archaic biblical poetry of the eleventh or tenth century B.C.E. through literature of the Tannaim, redacted in the third century C.E.

<sup>3</sup> There have been many studies of linguistic issues—whether grammatical or lexical—which have focused on the three major strata of classical Hebrew: Biblical, Qumran (together with Ben Sira), and Mishnaic. I will mention only a few of these studies: first and foremost is Kutscher's book on the Great Isaiah Scroll (Y. Kutscher, *הלשון והרקע הלשוני של מגילת ישעיהו* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959]); H. Yalon, *מגילות*

Before turning to the data themselves, I would like to make two further introductory comments.

§ 2 First: it goes without saying that the Hebrew reflected in the Qumran texts should be described, on its own terms, as an independent entity. Scholarship should first establish its lexicon<sup>4</sup> and describe the grammar of the various texts within Qumran Hebrew (QH).<sup>5</sup> More than a few scholars have disputed the claim that QH is nothing more than a repository of Hebrew words and forms drawn from disparate sources, and that in this repository biblical Hebrew occupies pride of place, and Aramaic forms are found in abundance. S. Morag and E. Qimron, each in his own way, see in QH an independent entity, i.e., an independent dialect and not merely artificial or literary forms.<sup>6</sup> But clearly even this approach does not deny the necessity to study QH in its diachronic context, in a sequence beginning with biblical Hebrew and ending with Mishnaic Hebrew.

§ 3 Second: there is an important methodological difficulty in this type of study. On the one hand the dates of the Qumran texts are relatively

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מְדַבֵּר יְהוּדָה: דְּבָרֵי לֶשֶׁן (Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1967) also should be mentioned. Of course, the important works by M. Kister and E. Qimron belong here, too (see below, nn. 4–5). I, too, have tried my hand in this field (cf. “A Few Remarks on Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic in Qumran Hebrew,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* [ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 12–19, and “על כמה לשונות” *Leš* 64 [2002]: 7–31). Further literature is listed in Muraoka and Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well*, 275–307; see further the list at the end of that book, 309–310 (which are not paginated). I should also mention that whenever I speak of the Hebrew of Qumran or the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, I refer to what S. Morag called “General Qumran Hebrew” (= GQH; S. Morag, “קווי מבנה ומהותם: חקירת מדינת יהודה: חקירת מדינת יהודה” in *לשונות של מגילות מדבר יהודה: הכנס העברי המדעי השישי באירופה (לונדון תשמ”ד)* [Jerusalem, 1988], 11–19, 11–12; idem, “Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations,” *VT* 38 [1988]: 149–164, 149).

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the sources mentioned in the previous note, Kister’s articles on the lexicon in QH and the Hebrew of Ben Sira belong here (M. Kister, “Some Observations on Vocabulary and Style in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Diggers at the Well*, 137–165, and his other studies listed in Muraoka and Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well*, 289).

<sup>5</sup> Here E. Qimron’s books should be mentioned (“דקדוק הלשון העברית של מגילות מדבר יהודה” [Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976] and *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986]) and his many articles (see Muraoka and Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well*, 296–297). Qimron is currently working on an expanded and improved edition of his grammar of QH.

<sup>6</sup> See Morag, “Qumran Hebrew,” and E. Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–361, and idem, “The Nature of DSS Hebrew and its Relation to BH and MH,” in *Diggers at the Well*, 232–244; against this see J. Blau, “A Conservative View of the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Diggers at the Well*, 20–25.

well-known to us: they date from a period of roughly three hundred years, from the beginning of the second century B.C.E. until the second half of the first century C.E. Additionally, the texts come to us directly, without the intervention of scribes' tampering hands.

On the other hand, the Bible, which was completed—or, better, which crystallized—apparently around 200 B.C.E., and which includes texts written centuries earlier, reached us in copies dating only from the second half of the first millennium C.E. (the time of the Masoretes). In other words, a tremendous amount of time separates the dates of the biblical books' compositions from the dates of their earliest textual witnesses.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, Tannaitic literature, which was edited between the end of the second- and beginning of the third-century C.E., was transmitted orally for many generations prior to being written, and the earliest manuscripts date no earlier than the eighth century; the best manuscripts we have are partly from the end of the first millennium and primarily from the beginning of the second millennium. So in some senses, QH is earlier not only than Mishnaic Hebrew, but than biblical Hebrew, as well.

Fortunately, however, we do not have to operate with only these texts in a vacuum. The historical study of Hebrew in the nineteenth- and especially the twentieth-centuries has shown that the Masoretes, in Tiberias, elsewhere in Palestine, and in Babylonia, transmitted a linguistic system whose basic features match the late biblical period, around 200 B.C.E., and that only very few later influences made their way into the Masoretic text. The reliable manuscripts of rabbinic literature, too, reflect a Hebrew which preserves the basic nature it possessed centuries earlier when it was a spoken dialect. It should be emphasized that with regard to both the Bible and the Mishnah, the consonantal texts of the best witnesses—without the vocalizations—clearly reflect authentic representations of the original languages, or at least the languages spoken when these texts were finally edited.

It is therefore clear that we can trace phenomena diachronically, in the accepted chronological order: Bible, Dead Sea Scrolls, Mishnaic Hebrew. And it is understood that any phenomenon in the Hebrew of Qumran that is investigated in the context of this sequence needs to be checked carefully to ensure that the proper historical sequence is used.

I now turn to the two phenomena to be discussed here, one nominal form and one verbal form.

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<sup>7</sup> Obviously this is probably less acute with regard to the biblical books that were copied at Qumran.



## מְבוֹא/מְבוֹי (מְבוֹאִי)

§4 The noun מְבוֹא occurs twenty-five times in the Bible. It can be said that it has two<sup>8</sup> basic meanings:<sup>9</sup>

- a. A verbal noun of the *qal*, which denotes the action done by one who is בָּא, in either of the two meanings of בָּא: one who arrives at a place, or one who enters a place. In other words, in this meaning מְבוֹא is the equivalent of the verbal noun—known from QH itself, and from MH—בִּיאָה.<sup>10</sup> This meaning is found in verses such as וַיְבוֹאוּ אֵלַיךְ וַיָּשְׁבוּ עִמָּךְ לְפָנֶיךָ “they will come to you as a people comes and sit before you” (Ezek 33:31), and בָּבֹאוּ בְּשַׁעְרֶיךָ כְּמְבוֹאֵי עִיר מְבֻקָּעָה “when he enters your gates, as men enter a breached city” (Ezek 26:10).
- b. A noun denoting the place<sup>11</sup> through which one enters into a different place. In other words, in this meaning, מְבוֹא is an equivalent of the nouns פֶּתַח and שַׁעַר. This is the meaning in verses such as מְבוֹא ה' הַשְּׁלִישִׁי אֲשֶׁר בְּבַיִת ה' (Jer 38:14) and עוֹמֵד עַל-עַמּוּדוֹ בְּמְבוֹא ה' “standing by his pillar at the entrance” (2 Chr 23:13). This meaning should also be seen, in the derived meaning “port” < “place of entry into the sea,” in הַיִּשְׁבֵּת עַל-יָם “who dwell at the gateway of the sea” (Ezek 27:3). Another

<sup>8</sup> Here I follow Ben-Yehudah's dictionary s.v. (E. Ben-Yehuda, הלשון העברית הישנה, [17 vols.; Berlin-Schöneberg: Langenscheidt, 1908–1959], 6:2767–2768), except that I am presenting the meanings in reverse order: what is given there as meaning 2 is cited here as meaning 1, and what is given there as meaning 1 is here meaning 2.

<sup>9</sup> There are some who detect more than two meanings in the biblical attestations, since they divide the two meanings into various sub-areas (with no adequate justification). This is, for example, the view of HALOT; there one will find four meanings.

<sup>10</sup> In its only appearance in BH (וְהָיָה מִצְפּוֹן לְשַׁעַר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סִמְלֵי הַקְּנָאָה הַזֶּה בְּבֹאָה) “and, behold, north of the gate of the altar was the infuriating image [סִמְלֵי הַקְּנָאָה] in the entrance” [Ezek 8:5]), the noun בִּיאָה has the second meaning of מְבוֹא: a noun meaning “opening, entranceway.” In Qumran, on the other hand, the word functions as a verbal noun, as in לתחלת ביאתם לארץ “for the beginning of their entry into the Land” (4Q379 12 5; ed. C. Newsom in *DJD* XII [1996]: 270; although the editor reads בואתם, the text should be read בִּיאָתָם). This verbal noun בִּיאָה also appears a few times in 4Q324, which was published by S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer in *DJD* XXI (2001). For example, in 4Q324 1 1, 4, 7 (104–105) we read: [ביאת אלישיב] “the coming of Eliashib,” ביאת אמר “the coming of the ‘mr,” [ביאת חזיר] “the coming of h[zyr].” The issue of the verbal noun in MH does not need to be discussed at length here. It is found in general use, such as ביאת המקדש (*m. Naz.* 7:4); and in specialized usages: “sunset” (found in expressions like ביאת שמשו “his sunset” [*b. Ber.* 2a]), and sexual relations, such as ביאת לביאה בין חלק בין ביאה לביאה (*m. Yebam.* 6:1).

<sup>11</sup> This fits the pattern with the many other nouns of the pattern מִקְטֵל which denote places, such as מגדל, מדור, מקדש, and מושב.

sub-meaning apparently derived from this one is מְבוֹא in the sense of “the place of entry (= setting) of the sun”—i.e., the West<sup>12</sup>—in the expressions אַחֲרֵי דֶרֶךְ מְבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ “beyond the western road” (Deut 11:30), שֶׁמֶשׁ יָדַע מְבוֹאוֹ “the sun knows its setting” (Ps 104:19), מִמְזֶרְחָ - שֶׁמֶשׁ וְעַד - מְבוֹאוֹ “from where the sun rises to where it sets” (Mal 1:11), and more.<sup>13</sup>

§5 By Mishnaic, or, more precisely, Tannaitic Hebrew changes had befallen the word מְבוֹא with in both morphology and meaning. There were two morphological changes:

- a. מְבוֹא > מְבוֹי: Very often, instead of some roots containing a medial *wāw* and a final *’ālep*, in MH we find forms with medial *wāw* and final *yōd*. Although most forms, both nominal and verbal, from the root בּוֹ'א appear in manuscripts (and in printed editions) as derived from בּוֹ'א, rather than the secondary root בּוֹ'י—like בְּיָאָה, הִבְאָה, תִּבְוֹאָה, בָּאָתִי, מְבוֹא, לְבוֹא, מְבִיא, הִבִּיא, and more—a few forms do appear as derived from בּוֹ'י. Besides the noun מְבוֹי, the third person fem. sg. perfect in the *qal* appears as בָּאת,<sup>14</sup> which is the form

<sup>12</sup> A. Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Qiryat Sefer, 1988), s.v., was not correct when he defined מְבוֹא as sunset. In all the contexts in which מְבוֹא appears in the construct attached to the sun, it denotes the place, and not the act, of setting. Even if historically השמש מְבוֹא once meant sunset, its meaning changed to the *place* of sunset, as noted in *HALOT* s.v.: “descent, setting . . . esp[ecially] of the sun > the west.”

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that the expression מְבוֹא השמש is “the place into which the sun enters”: not the entrance itself, but the entire area beyond the entrance. If this is true, we have two sub-meanings: מְבוֹא “entrance” and מְבוֹא “area into which one enters through the entrance.”

<sup>14</sup> For example, of the eighteen occurrences of the third person fem. sg. *qal* perfect, 17 are vocalized in MS K as בָּאת (e.g., *m. Yebam.* 15:1[2]). The only exceptional occurrence of בָּאָה, as if from the root בּוֹ'א, is in *m. Neg.* 5:1 (ספק שהיא היא, ספק שאחרת באה תחתיה). In MS Parma de Rossi 497 (Parma B), too, only בָּאת appears (e.g., *m. Nid.* 8:3; *m. Yad.* 3:1[2]). But in the passage in *m. Neg.* 5:1, Parma B also reads בָּאָה. G. Haneman, *תורת הצורות של לשון המשנה על פי מסורת כתב-יד פרמה (דה-רוסי 138)* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980), 396 already noted that Parma de Rossi 138 (Parma A) always reads באת, again excepting the passage in *m. Nega'im*, where Parma A, too, reads באה. According to Haneman, the *tāw* with which the following word begins (“באה תחתיה”) explains this exception as “nothing but a mistaken division of the continuous phonetic string in which the *taws* were caught.” In other words, באת תחתיה was analyzed as באה תחתיה mistakenly. Another possibility is that the form is not a perfect at all, but a participle; syntactically there is no obstacle to this interpretation.

expected from a final *yôd* root, and not the form *בָּאָה*,<sup>15</sup> as expected from a final *'ālep* root.<sup>16</sup>

I want to emphasize that the form *מְבוּי*, known to us from printed editions, is found already in reliable texts; this is the form in the “Eastern” sources of the Mishnah, such as Parma B,<sup>17</sup> MS Antonin (A),<sup>18</sup> and the Mishnah with Babylonian vocalization.<sup>19</sup> However, reliable “Western” texts show two other realizations: (a) *מְבוּי* (*mābōyi*)—in which the diphthong has been broken up, *oy* > *oyi*;<sup>20</sup> (b) *מְבוּאֵי* (*mābōy* > *mābōyi* > *mābō'i*)—with an *'ālep* in place of the *yôd*.<sup>21</sup>

- b. In biblical Hebrew two different plural forms appear: *מְבוּאִים* as well as *מְבוּאוֹת*. Both, however, appear only in the construct: *כְּמְבוּאֵי עִיר* “at the entrances of the city” (Ezek 26:10); *מְבוּאוֹת יָם* “gateways of the sea” (Ezek 27:3). In rabbinic literature, on the other hand, only the plural ending *-וֹת* is attested, and the form is written *מְבוּאוֹת* in the absolute. It should be noted that all the reliable witnesses vocalize the form *מְבוּאוֹת* (with the *קמץ* preserved!): MS K reads *וּבְמְבוּאוֹת אֶפְרַיִם* (*m. Ter.* 11:10) and *וּבְמְבוּאוֹת אֶפְרַיִם*<sup>22</sup> (*m. Pesah.* 4:4), and Parma A and MS Paris 328–329, too, read *מְבוּאוֹת* (twice). This was also the reading of the Babylonian tradition—*וּבְמְבוּאוֹת*, with a plene spelling

<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, it is worth emphasizing that the scribe who wrote the last pages of MS K (K2), in the single example within his corpus, reads *בָּאָה* and not *בָּאָת* *מעשה באשה בָּאָה* (*m. Yad.* 3:1).

<sup>16</sup> In other verbs and nouns from roots which were originally final *'ālep*, we also find III-*yôd* forms alongside III-*'ālep* forms. For example, we have *נִשְׂאָתִי*, *מְשַׂאֵי*, and *נִשְׂאוֹתַי* on the one hand, but *נִשְׂאוֹתִי/נִשְׂאוֹתַי* (*nip'al* third person fem. sg. perfect forms) on the other hand. We even find suppletion within a single paradigm: *מְצַיְנוֹ* alongside *מְצַיְנוֹ*.

<sup>17</sup> For example, *בְּמְבוּי . . . הַמְבוּי* (*m. Nid.* 7:1, Parma B).

<sup>18</sup> For example, *בְּמְבוּי . . . הַמְבוּי* (ibid., A).

<sup>19</sup> This is the form cited by Y. Yeivin, *מסורת הלשון העברית המשתקפת בניקוד הבבלי* (Jerusalem: Hebrew Language Academy, 1985), 1023.

<sup>20</sup> In MS K there are thirteen attestations of *מְבוּי* (e.g., *m. 'Erub.* 1:2) or *מְבוּי* (e.g., *m. 'Erub.* 1:1), but we also find *מְבוּי* (*m. 'Erub.* 1:2) and *מְבוּי* (*m. Nid.* 7:2) with the diphthong intact. In Parma A, too, the form *מְבוּי* predominates (e.g., *m. Šabb.* 16:1). According to Haneman, 20–21, the dot under the *yôd* is not a *ḥireq*, but a *mappiq*; in other words, the form in front of us is *mābōy*, not *mābōyi*. On the other hand, the existence of the form *מְבוּאֵי* in MS K, as we cite below, supports the understanding of *מְבוּי/מְבוּי* in this MS as a form with the diphthong broken up, *mābōyi*; in *מְבוּאֵי* the glide /y/ was replaced by the glottal stop /-/. Further on this issue, cf. my book *של יהודי פרקים במסורת לשון חכמים* ('Edah ve-Lashon 6; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1980), 43–45.

<sup>21</sup> There are eight examples of *מְבוּאֵי* in MS K (e.g., *m. 'Erub.* 5:2 [2×]; 6:8; 9:3).

<sup>22</sup> The letter between the פ and the ל in this word is certainly a *wāw*, not a *yôd*.

with *'ālep*, or without it, רבמבואות<sup>23</sup>—and so, too, in a Yemenite manuscript of *m. Terumot* (11:1).<sup>24</sup> The vocalization מבואות (in the two mishnayot just mentioned) is found in the editions printed in Amsterdam in 1646, Venice in 1737, Mantua in 1777, and Livorno in 1929. This was also the vocalization adopted by H. Yalon, as well as by H.N. Bialik (in *m. Terumot*).

§6 The (only?)<sup>25</sup> meaning of מבוי (מבוי, מבואי, מבואי) in MH (and in the language of the Amoraim) is “a type of street . . . between two rows of houses.”<sup>26</sup> It is surprising that whoever wrote the entry for מבוי in Ben-Yehudah's *Thesaurus* began the entry, “כמו מבוא,” intending, apparently, to equate MH מבוי with BH מבוא. They are clearly not the same, however: in MH there is something of an expansion of the meaning of the term, and also some specialization: מבוי cannot denote the entranceway into a house or a city, but only a small street which serves as the conduit into courtyards and to a large street.<sup>27</sup> It should be emphasized that מבוי, which means most basically “small street,”<sup>28</sup> is not only found in the rabbinic laws of *'Erubin*, but in other contexts as well. For example, it appears in the laws of ritual purity, as in the case עד שיאמר בדקתי, למפרע, עד שיאמר במבוי מטמא למפרע, “a [ritually impure] creeping animal which was

<sup>23</sup> The vocalization of מפול-pattern nouns with the preservation of the קמץ in the plural is found also for the noun משוטות: משוטות (m. Makš. 5:7)—so in MSS K, Parma B, Antonin, and the Babylonian vocalization (Yeivin, *מסורת הלשון העברית*, 1025), as well as MS Paris.

<sup>24</sup> The evidence from the Babylonian vocalization and the Yemenite tradition is cited by Yeivin (from the Babylonian vocalization and the Yemenite tradition is cited by Yeivin, *מסורת הלשון העברית*, 1023); he also cited the form במבוי in a Yemenite manuscript of the *piyyutim* of R.S. Shabazi.

<sup>25</sup> See below, n. 28.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ben-Yehudah's *Thesaurus*, s.v., 2678 (“כעין רחוב . . . בין שתי שורות בתים”). A similar definition can be found in H.Y. Kosowsky, *Thesaurus Mishnae* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Massada, 1959), s.v. (“רחוב צר שלפני שורות חצרות הפתוחות לה. והוא פתוח לרחובה של עיר—”). (“שהמבוי פתוח אליו”).

<sup>27</sup> Compare Kosowsky's definition, cited in the previous note.

<sup>28</sup> It must be said that in one mishnah, at least, it is difficult to understand מבוי as a type of street: in the opening mishnah of *'Erubin*, the rule is given that מבוי שהוא גבוה מעשרים אמה ימעט “a *mābōy* which is taller than twenty cubits, he shall reduce [it].” It is not, of course, possible that the rule is enjoining the reduction of the street itself by using a לחי and a קורה; instead, only the opening into the entranceway is being reduced. Perhaps מבוי here means the gate (opening) of the street, like the second meaning of the BH lexeme, as discussed above—in other words, an *opening* into the street whose top is more than 20 cubits (אמות) to drive needs to be made shorter. I wonder if this may not be an example of an early mishnah in which the word is used in its meaning as in BH, as we often find that early mishnayot utilized typically biblical elements (J.N. Epstein and E.Z. Melamed, *מבואות לספרות התנאים* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1957], 27; cf. recently my article, “רושמי לשון,” *המקרא במשנה* [eds. M. Bar-Asher, J. Levinson, and B. Lifschitz; Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 2005], §4).

found in a small street (מבוי) defiles retroactively, [as far back as] until one says, 'I checked the small street (מבוי) and there was no creeping animal there'" (*m. Nid.* 7:2). In other words, this is a legitimate general feature of MH.

§7 I now turn to the data in QH, and to the conclusions that can be drawn from them. There are now sixteen attestations of the noun in the texts from Qumran, and another three in restored passages in fragmentary texts.<sup>29</sup> I begin by commenting on the word's morphology at Qumran, and then move on to its meaning.

§8 a. The singular form appears eleven times. It is almost always written מבוא, i.e., its biblical form. In the absolute we find דלתי מגן לאין (מבוא) (Hodayot: 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI:27–28).<sup>30</sup> The rest of the attestations are in the construct. Two examples are במבוא מועדים לימי חודש (Community Rule: 1QS X:3)<sup>31</sup> and מבוא אור (Hodayot: 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:4).<sup>32</sup>

Once, however, we find the spelling מוצא משמיעים פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: 4Q405 23 i 9).<sup>33</sup> It would appear that the common spelling in the Scrolls—מבוא—is an imitation of the biblical form, but that the spelling מבואי<sup>34</sup> in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* points towards the form known to us from rabbinic literature. This, then, provides us with evidence that the “rabbinic” form—מבוי/מבוי/מבואי—was already in use in the living language in Palestine centuries earlier than its attestation in the Mishnah. To put it another way, the common writing with the biblical form reveals a literary conservatism whereas the single exceptional spelling provides us with crucial insight into the living language.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> There is one example in the *War Scroll* (1QM XIV:13; cf. Y. Yadin, *מגילת מלחמת בני אור*, [2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957], 342), עם מ[ב]וא יומם ולילה, and two examples in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: [א]ולמי מ[ב]ואי (11Q17 IV:4; cf. F. García-Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar in *DJD* XXIII [1998]: 275) and עם מ[ב]וא (4Q402 1 1; cf. C. Newsom in *DJD* XI [1998]: 223).

<sup>30</sup> See J. Licht, *מגילת ההודיות ממגילות מדבר יהודה* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 117.

<sup>31</sup> J. Licht, *מגילת הסרכים ממגילות מדבר יהודה* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 209.

<sup>32</sup> Licht, *מגילת ההודיות*, 172. Once we find the word written defectively, מ[ב]וא: “עם מ[ב]וא” (Hodayot: 4Q427 8 ii 11; cf. E. Schuller in *DJD* XXIX [1999]: 110).

<sup>33</sup> See Newsom in *DJD* XI (1998): 335.

<sup>34</sup> Prof. E. Qimron accepts the reading מבואי, but suggests considering also the reading מבוא, in which the final vowel of *mābō*<sup>3</sup>, following the quiescence of the *’ālep*, is realized not as a long vowel /ō/, but as a doubly long vowel /ō:/. For a different explanation of מבואי proposed by Qimron, see his “A Review Article of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition* by Carol Newsom,” *HTR* 79 (1986): 349–371, 353–354.

<sup>35</sup> In other places where the graphemic string מבואי is found, the plural construct form מבואי seems to be meant, e.g., מבואי מלך (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: 4Q405 14–15 4;

b. It should be noted that the only plural form so far attested at Qumran is **מבואים**. Here, too, it appears in the construct, **מבואי**,<sup>36</sup> and with suffixed pronouns: **הרחוקים מפתחיה הנדחים ממבואיה** (11QPs<sup>a</sup> XVIII:5–6),<sup>37</sup> and **אולמי מבואיהם** (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: 4Q405 14–15 4).<sup>38</sup>

§9 The main uses of **מבוא** at Qumran are as follows:

a. A verbal noun with the meaning “coming” (arriving at a certain place or entrance into a certain place): for example, **עם מבוא אור** [ממעור]נתו (*Hodayot*: 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:4), meaning “with the coming (= arrival) of the light from its resting spot” (i.e., the morning);<sup>39</sup> **דלתי מגן לאין מבוא** (*Hodayot*: 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI:27–28), in which the word means “entrance” (the action of the enterer), meaning **מגן דלתי** “which does not allow entrance.”

The word **מבוא** also means “arrival” in the sense of “beginning,” as in **במבוא מועדים לימי חודש** (*Community Rule*: 1QS X:3), meaning the beginning of the festivals (“תחילתם של המועדים,” as indicated by Licht<sup>40</sup>). The same is true for the line **מבוא יום וליילה** (*Community Rule*: 1QS X:10<sup>41</sup>); as Licht insightfully noted, “מבוא . . . the beginning of a period of time.”<sup>42</sup> There are other examples of the same.

b. A noun meaning “gate, opening,” as in **אולמי מבואיהם** (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: 4Q405 14–15 4), which the editor, C. Newsom, perceptively translated, “the vestibules of their entryways,”<sup>43</sup> and

cf. Newsom in *DJD* XI [1998]: 330, and **במבואי אלי דעת** (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: 4Q405 23 i 8).

<sup>36</sup> See the examples cited in the previous note.

<sup>37</sup> See J.A. Sanders in *DJD* IV (1965): 39.

<sup>38</sup> See Newsom in *DJD* XI (1998): 330.

<sup>39</sup> Licht, *מגילת ההודיות*, 172.

<sup>40</sup> Licht, *מגילת הסרכים*, 209. Others, too, have translated correctly; cf. e.g., P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STD) 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 36, who translates “At the entering of the times,” which is approximately the translation of J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert, *Les textes des Qumran traduits et annotés*, vol. 1: *La Règle de la Communauté, La Règle de la Guerre, Les Hymnes* (Paris: Letaille et Ane, 1961), 66, as well: “A l’entrée des saisons.”

<sup>41</sup> Licht, *מגילת הסרכים*, 215.

<sup>42</sup> This is how it is translated by Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 37, as well: “the entering of day and night”; Carmignac and Guilbert, *Les textes des Qumran*, 70, translate, “l’arrivée du jour et de la nuit.”

<sup>43</sup> See above, n. 38. It might be noted that the expression **אולמי מבואיהם** can be well explained as an inverted construct phrase, equivalent to **מבואי אולמיהם**. This is a phenomenon well-known in QH, as was shown already years ago by Yalon (*מגילות מדבר*) (יהודה, 85), but which I cannot elaborate here.

פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים כבוד המלך (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*: 4Q405 23 i 9), in which the first four words were translated by the editor, “the portals of entrance and the gates of exit.”

§ 10 In essence, the two meanings of מבוא in QH are the same as those in BH: a verbal noun, “coming,” meaning both “arrival” and “entrance,” and a noun meaning “gate, entryway.” There are, however, two differences between BH and QH that should be stressed.

- a. The first meaning, “coming,” also serves with units of time to mean “the beginning.” The expression מבוא מועדים is parallel to ראשי מועדים in the same text (*Community Rule*: 1QS X:4–5), and equivalent to the biblical phrase ראש (י) חדשים; מבוא and ראש are, in other words, synonyms meaning “beginning.”
- b. The expression מבוא יום in QH means, therefore, “beginning of the day,” as opposed to מבוא השמש in BH, which originally meant “the coming of the sun” into the west, and later on denoted “the west” itself.

Grammatically, however, מבוא is used in QH exactly as it is used in MH. The one exceptional form מבואי in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* proves that this form, previously known only from later rabbinic literature, already existed at this early stage. In other words, this establishes that the transition to a form based on a final-*yôd* root (מבוא > מבוי > מבוי/מבואי), known from Tannaitic literature, occurred in Second Temple times, long before the destruction in 70 C.E., and centuries prior to the redaction of the Mishnah.

§ 11 The following table summarizes the data in the three levels of the language:

Morphology		
Biblical Hebrew	מבוא	מבואים/מבואות <sup>44</sup>
Qumran Hebrew	מבוא/מבואי <sup>45</sup>	מבואים <sup>46</sup>
Mishnaic Hebrew	מבואי > מבוי > מבוי	מבואות <sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> These two forms are attested only in the construct, מבואי- and מבואות-, as mentioned above (see also below, n. 49). The form מוכבאיך (2 Sam 3:25) seems to be a singular form, analogous to מוצאיך, and there is no reason to take it as a plural; the LXX, for example, translates these words with singular nouns of its own: τὴν ἔξοδόν σου καὶ τὴν εἰσοδόν σου “your exiting and entering.”

<sup>45</sup> As already discussed, מבוא is an imitation of the biblical form, whereas מבואי reflects the form known in the then-current living language.

## Semantics

Biblical Hebrew	1. Verbal noun, “coming” (“arriving,” “entering”) 2. Noun meaning “opening, entryway”; the phrase מְבוֹא שְׁמֶשׁ means “west”
Qumran Hebrew	1. Verbal noun, “coming” (“arriving,” “entering”); with periods of time: “beginning” 2. Noun meaning “opening, entryway”
Mishnaic Hebrew	“Small street between two rows of houses” (the biblical meaning “opening” may be attested in one mishnah <sup>48</sup> )

§ 12 To summarize, the morphological change (III-*ālep* > III-*yôd*) took place already during Second Temple times, as the one attestation of מְבוֹא in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* shows, although scribes continue to write מְבוֹא in its biblically-attested form. The semantics of the word remain constant through the Bible and Qumran, however, with two differences: (a) the phrase מְבוֹא שְׁמֶשׁ is attested only in BH, and מְבוֹא יוֹם in QH means morning, not evening; (b) מְבוֹא in QH also means “beginning” (of a period of time). In MH, on the other hand, מְבוֹא is not used with the meanings it possesses in BH and QH, even in the tractates *Middot* and *Tamid*, which deal with the Temple. Its meaning was specialized, as described, to just a small narrow street between two rows of houses.

## הַעֲשֵׂה (הַעֲשִׂיָא) AND עָשָׂה

§ 13 As is known, the verbal root עִשׂ meaning “to do, to make,” appears in the Bible only in the *qal*<sup>49</sup> and *nip'al binyanim*, and the contrast

<sup>46</sup> The form is attested only in the construct (מְבוֹאֵי-) and with suffix pronouns (מְבוֹאֵיהֶם). The pl. construct alone is not enough, of course, to allow us to reconstruct the absolute form with certainty, since there are nouns with plurals ending in וֹת- whose construct form nevertheless shows the ending יֹת־. Cf. the excellent article by S. Sharvit, “שמות כפולֵי צורה בריבוי בלשון התנאים,” *Mehqarim ba-Lašon* 4 (1990): 335–373, on nouns with two plural endings.

<sup>47</sup> The form is preserved in all reliable witnesses, as detailed above (§ 5b).

<sup>48</sup> See n. 28, above.

<sup>49</sup> In *HALOT*, עִשׂ “to do” is listed as עִשׂ I, and in the entry are given a number of examples of the verb in the *qal* which are in fact derived from other roots, such as בְּעִשׂוֹת (Ezek 23:21), which is from עִשׂ II “to squeeze, crush.” Actually, though, בְּעִשׂוֹת may be explained as a development of an original בְּעִשׂוֹת (*piel*), as is indicated in *HALOT* later on (compare לְעִשֵּׂר < לְעִשֵּׂר). *HALOT* also lists עִשׂ III (cognate with Arabic عُشِيَ “to cover”) and עִשׂ IV (cognate with Arabic عُشِيَ “to come, turn, outstretch”); see *ibid.*



between them is active/passive,<sup>50</sup> as is the contrast between *qal* and *nip'al* for many verbs. Other forms in other *binyanim* differ either in meaning or etymology. For example, עָשׂוּ (Ezek 23:3, 8) means “press, crush.”<sup>51</sup> There are no attestations of the root, with the meaning “to do,” in the causative, whether *hip'il* or *pi'el*. In other words, there is no verb comparable to Modern Hebrew הִפְעִיל “to cause one to do” (from *qal* פָּעַל “to do”)<sup>52</sup> or עָסַק הִפְעִיל from *qal* עָסַק.

§ 14 It is worth broadening the scope of this point. There are other words that have meanings similar to עָשָׂה, such as בָּרָא, יָצַר, עָבַד, פָּעַל, and יָגַע. It is true that some of these have more specific or limited meanings, such as the exertion implied by יָגַע and the intensive activity implied by many occurrences of עָבַד, but they are all squarely in the same semantic field as עָשָׂה.

The verbs פָּעַל and יָצַר also do not have causative forms attested, either *hip'il* or *pi'el*.<sup>53</sup> The verb בָּרָא, too, appears only in the *qal* and the *nip'al*, and the one example of the *hip'il* (1 Sam 2:29) means “to feed, to fatten,” and is irrelevant to this discussion.

§ 15 The words יָגַע and עָבַד, on the other hand, do have corresponding causative *hip'il* forms. The two verbs appear together in two verses in Isa 43: בְּלִבְנֹהַּ וְלֹא הוֹגַעְתִּיךָ בְּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הוֹגַעְתִּיךָ בְּלִבְנֹהַּ “I have not burdened you with meal offerings, nor wearied you with incense” (v. 23) and הִעֲבַדְתִּנִּי בְּעוֹנֹתֶיךָ בְּחַטָּאוֹתֶיךָ הוֹגַעְתִּנִּי בְּעוֹנֹתֶיךָ “you have burdened me with your sins, you have wearied me with your iniquities” (v. 24).<sup>54</sup> It is easy to see that in these verses the verbs carry additional semantic baggage beyond simply “cause to work”: in הוֹגַעְתִּי there is the additional sense of “to cause fatigue, exertion, and exhaustion,”<sup>55</sup> and the same is true for the other two attestations of הוֹגַעְתִּי in BH: הוֹגַעְתֶּם ה' בְּדַבְרֵיכֶם וְאִמַּרְתֶּם בְּמַה הוֹגַעְנוּ “you have wearied the Lord with your talk, but you ask, ‘With what have we wearied [Him]?’” (Mal 2:17).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> No examples of the *nip'al* with a reflexive meaning are found.

<sup>51</sup> See n. 52 above. The form עָשִׂיתִי (Ps 139:15), which looks like a *pu'al*, is not necessarily related to the *pi'el* form עָשׂוּ cited in the text. Note that the Targum of Psalms translates at this place, אֲתַעֲבִידִית (“I was made”), and it is possible that this is a *qal* passive form—namely the passive of עָשָׂה “to do”—rather than a *pu'al*, as mentioned by HALOT.

<sup>52</sup> I mean the root פִּעַל in the *qal* and the *hip'il*.

<sup>53</sup> The form יוֹצֵר (Isa 54:11) is best explained as a *qal* passive form, rather than a *pu'al*.

<sup>54</sup> The Targum translates הוֹגַעְתִּיךָ with אֲתַקִּיפִית עִלְךָ “I overpowered you” and הוֹגַעְתִּיךָ with אֲתַקִּיפְתָּא קִדְמִי “you became strong in front of me.”

<sup>55</sup> Compare the Targum’s translations (cited in the previous and following notes).

<sup>56</sup> Here the Targum translates אֲהַלִיתֶן אֱלֹהֵינוּ “you have tired (s.o. out)” and אֲהַלִינוּא (“we have tired (s.o. out).”

§ 16 In the two verses from Isa 43 just cited, הָעֵבֶד, too, carries additional semantic weight: it indicates forced labor, even actual servitude.<sup>57</sup> This is also seen in other biblical texts, such as Jer 17:4, וְהָעֵבֶדְתִּיךָ אֶת-אֵיבֶיךָ, which the Targum translates ותשתעבדון לבעלי דדביכון. In other verses, however, this semantic component seems to be absent from העבִיד, and all that remains is the causation; if the text does indicate that the labor is forced and difficult, this is weight not carried by the verb, but by other words in the sentence, as in וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ מִצְרַיִם אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּפָרֶךְ “the Egyptians forced the Israelites to work ruthlessly” (Exod 1:13). וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ in this sentence means only “caused that others might work (‘עבד’),” and the servitude is indicated by the prepositional phrase בַּפֶּרֶךְ. And in fact, here *Tg. Onq.* does not translate with שְׁעָבַד, but with אֶפְלַח ית: ואפלו מוצראי ית: אפלו. So, too, the Targum of Ezek 29:18, נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ-בָּבֶל, הָעֵבֶד אֶת-חֵילוֹ עֲבָדָה גְדוּלָה אֶל-צָר נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ דְּבַבֵּל אֶפְלַח: ית משרייתה פולחן רב על צור. The difficulty of the work is indicated by the internal direct object פולחן רב = עבודה גדולה.

§ 17 To sum up, in BH, הוֹגִיעַ means “to cause to work with fatigue or exhaustion”; הָעֵבֶד sometimes means simply “to cause to work,” and on other occasions denotes “to enslave, to force (someone) to labor.”

§ 18 I must stress, though, that nowhere in the Bible do we find any expression of causing another to perform the will of God, fulfill His teaching, or obey His commandments. We do find the opposite: alongside הָטָא we have the word הִחָטִיא, and the two even appear in tandem: אֲשֶׁר הָטָא וְאֲשֶׁר הִחָטִיא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל “(the sins) he committed and led others to commit” (1 Kgs 14:16; 15:30). The opposite, positive, expression, however, is not attested in the Bible. One may cite the verse mentioned above (§ 15), לֹא הָעֵבֶדְתִּיךָ בְּמִנְחָה, (Isa 43:23), as an exception, but from the context it is clear that the meaning here is, “I did not weary you through the bringing of a meal offering,” and not “I caused you to bring a meal offering to the Temple.”

§ 19 In contrast, the use of the *hip'il* and *piel* of עָשָׂה are attested in MH to denote “to cause to do.” In some of the cases, there is nothing more than causation involved; in others, there is an element of force implied. Among the many examples are some in which the context reveals that

<sup>57</sup> Again, compare the Targum: אַסְגִּיתִי “I have multiplied” and אַסְגִּיתָא “you have multiplied.”

the agent is causing another to do the will of God or fulfill His laws. Here are some examples:<sup>58</sup>

- a. “Once Hezekiah, king of Judah, caused the community to do (העשה) the Second Paschal Lamb (*pesah*)” (*t. Pesah* 8:4).<sup>59</sup> Here the king is causing the people to perform a commandment, the paschal lamb, and it would appear that some element of force was involved, as well. Immediately thereafter the text continues, לא מפני שהעשי את הצבור לעשות פסח שני “not because he forced the community to do the second *pesah* ... but because he forced the community to do the second *pesah*” (*t. Pesah* 8:5).<sup>60</sup> The same incident finds echoes in the Yeruśalmi: חזקיה העשי לציבור לעשות פסח שני “Hezekiah forced the community to do the second *pesah*” (*y. Ned.* 9:6 [39d]) and עישה יחזקיהו לציבור לעשות פסח שני “Hezekiah forced the community to do a second *pesah*” (*y. Sanh.* 1:2 [18d]). It is mentioned in the Bavli, as well: מפני שהעשיא את ישראל לעשות פסח שני<sup>61</sup> (*b. Sanh.* 12a).
- b. The expression גט מעושה/מעוסה is well known (*m. Git.* 9:8).<sup>62</sup>
- c. There are also contexts in which הַעֲשֵׂה (הַעֲשִׂיא) is spoken of as a positive: כל המעשה<sup>63</sup> את חבירו לדבר מצוה מעלה עליו הכתוב כאילו עשאה

<sup>58</sup> The texts quoted here (from rabbinic literature, *piyyut*, and other sources) are from the databases of the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language.

<sup>59</sup> Alongside the reading שהעשה of MS Vienna, we find also שעשה in MS Erfurt and שהעסיא (as if from a III-’*ālep* root) in MS London. A confused form appears already in the *editio princeps*: שמעשה, which appears to be a mistaken development from Erfurt’s שעשה with the addition of a מ, or of a plene spelling of MS Vienna’s שהעשה, with the confusion of a ה with a מ. These data and those cited in the following note are quoted, of course, from S. Lieberman, ed., *The Tosefta According to Codex Vienna, with Variants from Codices Erfurt, London, Genizah Mss and Editio Princeps* (Venice 1521), vol. 2: *The Order of Mo’ed* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962) (Hebrew).

<sup>60</sup> MS London has שהעסיא ... שהעשיא, and MS Erfurt has שהעשי ... שעשישה.

<sup>61</sup> The Vilna edition reads שהשיא, which is derived from שהעשיא with the loss of the *‘ayin*.

<sup>62</sup> In later Hebrew, the same expression appears with forms of the *binyan* נתפעל: נתעשה (found a number of times in ספר הישר by Joshua b. Judah, in the translation by Jacob b. Šim’on, in the eleventh century; this according to the databases [Ma’agarim] mentioned above, n. 58).

<sup>63</sup> Of course, the orthographies מעשה and מעשין (participles), and יעשו and יעשה (futures) could be either *pi’el* (מַעֲשֵׂה, מַעֲשִׂין, יַעֲשֶׂה, יַעֲשִׂוּ) or *hip’il* (מַעֲשֵׂה, מַעֲשִׂין, יַעֲשֶׂה, יַעֲשִׂוּ), and for good reasons, they are taken to be *pi’el* forms by the reading traditions of the Sephardim and the Yemenites. It is possible that the *hip’il* forms—the participles מַעֲשֵׂה and מַעֲשִׂין—were rejected because they were identical to the singular and plural forms of the

“whoever causes his fellow to perform a commandment, Scripture counts it as if he performed it himself” (*b. Sanh.* 99b).

- d. Also to be mentioned in this discussion is the well-known expression, גדול המעשה יותר מן העושה (*b. B. Bat.* 9a)<sup>64</sup> whose meaning is clear: even more important than performing the commandments oneself is causing another to perform them.<sup>65</sup> Many similar examples can be cited in *piyyutum*.

§ 20 It has recently become clear that the idea of הַעֲשֵׂה (הַעֲשִׂיָא) with regard to Torah and religious obligations, which is found in Tannaitic literature and later, already held sway in the intellectual world and language of Qumran. Thus we find in 4Q470, in speaking of the righteousness of Zedekiah: “to do and to cause (others) to do”<sup>66</sup> the entire Torah” (1 4).<sup>67</sup> The orthography להעשות could represent the infinitive of the *nip'al* or the *hip'il*, but the context makes it certain that it is the *hip'il* that was intended.<sup>68</sup>

It is true that syntactically the use of להעשות here in QH differs from its use in MH—here we find להעשות את התורה, and in MH we have העשיא את הפסח הציבור לעשות את הפסח—but the aspect of causation is common to both.

§ 21 To summarize: When we speak of “doing” and its causation in biblical Hebrew, we find the pair יגע and הוגיע, which denote doing accompanied by fatigue or exhaustion, and we find the pair עָבַד and הֶעֱבִיד, the latter of which on occasion denotes simply “to cause to do” (as in הֶעֱבִיד

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noun מַעֲשֵׂה, and the future forms יַעֲשֶׂה and יַעֲשֶׂוּ were rejected because they were identical to the *qal* forms. Only the participial and future forms with final 'āleps (מעשיא/מעשי and יעשיא/יעשי) could be preserved; we in fact find the form למעשיאיהם in Yannai (קדושתות השנה, *Devarim*, כי אתנן הם, and in *Pesiq. Rab.* 33: מעשי וְהַשׁוֹטֵר' מעשי את הדין [מעשיא/מעשין]).

<sup>64</sup> This phrase expresses clearly the opposite of the הָטָא/הֶטָיָא contrast found in the Bible and discussed above, although the syntax of this line differs from that one.

<sup>65</sup> The forms מעשיא/מעשי and העשיא/העסיא/העסי (see n. 63 above) are not the only evidence for a shift from III-*yôd* "עש" to III-*'ālep* א"ע. For this, see M. Bar-Asher, “לתצורת”, 33–35 (1992): 39–51, 43, § 16.

<sup>66</sup> The same combination of words, in reverse order, appears in a *piyyut* of Yannai: קדושתות לשבתות השנה) לשמוע ולראות להעשות ולעשות (אשרי נאמן, *Shemot*, קדושתות לשבתות השנה).

<sup>67</sup> This fragment was published by E. Larson, L.H. Schiffman, and J. Strugnell in *DJD* XIX (1995): 237.

<sup>68</sup> So, too, the editors (*DJD* XIX [1995]: 239). In 4Q440 3 i 21 (published by E. Schuller in *DJD* XXIX [1999]: 252), we find כּוּלּוּנּוּ לְהַעֲשׂוּתּוּ כִּיָּא. This form of the verb could represent the *nip'al* infinitive (לְהַעֲשׂוּתּוּ) or the *hip'il* infinitive (לְהַעֲשׂוּתּוּ). The editor preferred the first (judging from her translation *ibid.*, 253), the fragmentary state of the text does not allow for certainty in either direction, and so no edifices can be constructed on this basis.

אֶת־הִילֹ),<sup>69</sup> but on occasion denotes “to force to work hard, to enslave” (as in וְהַעֲבֹדְתֶיךָ אֶת־אֵיבֶיךָ).<sup>70</sup> If we focus specifically on doing, or causing another to do God’s commandments or Torah, we find that the concept is not attested in the Bible at all, although its negative counterpart—הִטָּא and הִחֲטִיא—is well attested: הִטָּא is the basic word, and הִחֲטִיא denotes the causation of a sin of one party by another. As opposed to the biblical state of affairs, in Qumran we find both the idea and the language of עָשָׂה and הִעֲשָׂה; this is true also for Tannaitic literature and all later literature, as well, where we find עָשָׂה and הִעֲשָׂה/עִישָׂה.<sup>71</sup> Again, here are the results summarized in tabular form:

	Basic action	Causative
Biblical Hebrew	עָשָׂה	— <sup>72</sup>
Qumran Hebrew	עָשָׂה	הִעֲשָׂה
Mishnaic Hebrew (and later)	עָשָׂה	הִעֲשָׂה/הִעֲשִׂיא/עָשָׂה

#### CONCLUDING COMMENTS

§ 22 As I indicated at the outset, I would not venture general conclusions at this point regarding the diachronic relationship between the three layers of Hebrew discussed here—Biblical, Qumran,<sup>73</sup> and Mishnaic (specifically Tannaitic); I prefer to suffice with what arises from the two issues studied here. In conclusion, I would like to emphasize a number of aspects:

§ 23 (a) We have empirical evidence that the word מְבוּא turned into מְבוּי during Second Temple times already, and the only form attested in rabbinic literature (מְבוּי > מְבוּי > מְבוּאי) is already glimpsed in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but only once. In the remainder of the cases, the scribes hewed closely to the biblical orthography.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. above, §§ 15–16.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. there.

<sup>71</sup> Other examples from *piyyut* of the pairing of עִישָׂה with הִעֲשָׂה are found elsewhere in Yannai: עוֹשִׂי[הם כּמְעַשִׂיאֵהם; 4, כל השומע, Devarim, קדוּשַׁתוֹת] וּשְׂכַר עוֹשֶׂה וּמַעֲשֶׂה שִׁירֵיתָהּ; 6, אִם לֹא חוֹקוֹתֵי, Vayyikra, קדוּשַׁתוֹת]

<sup>72</sup> Cf. what I wrote above (§§ 15, 18) regarding בּמִנְחָה.

<sup>73</sup> Clearly, when one wishes to speak of the Hebrew used in the period between the Bible and the Mishnah, one ought to include the Hebrew of Ben Sira alongside that of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and attention should also be paid to Hebraisms which are visible to us in translations, such as the LXX. But this is not the place to elaborate.

Also with regard to עָשָׂה and הֶעֱשָׂה (or הֶעֱשִׂיא or עָשָׂה), the Qumran text reveals that what was seen in Tannaitic literature, and into the Amoraic period and *piyyut*, was in fact already a feature of the Hebrew in use in Hasmonean times. Furthermore, it is not only the linguistic fact, but the idea itself—that one who causes another to fulfill the Torah or commandments is listed alongside one who fulfills them him/herself—which was already formulated in the time of the Qumran sect. This idea has no expression in the Bible.

We see, then, that in both issues studied here, the data from Qumran show that aspects of Tannaitic Hebrew are actually far older than we would have otherwise known.

§ 24 (b) In contrast, when it comes to the semantics of מְבוֹא/מְבוֹי, we find that the dividing line is drawn sharply between biblical and Qumran Hebrew on the one hand, and Mishnaic Hebrew on the other. In the former, מְבוֹא (מְבוֹאי) is a verbal noun (“coming” and “onset [of time]”) and a noun meaning “entrance, opening,” whereas in MH the meaning of מְבוֹי (and מְבוֹי/מְבוֹאי) has become restricted to “a narrow street . . . between two rows of houses.” If there is even one attestation of the older meaning of מְבוֹי in the Mishnah, it is a borrowing from the language of the Bible.<sup>74</sup>

§ 25 (c) This is how diachronic analysis must proceed: every lexeme and every grammatical feature has its own history. Sometimes important thematic developments underlie a word’s development, as when the idea of causing another to fulfill a commandment comes to take its place alongside one’s own fulfillment of the commandments, giving prominence to the term הֶעֱשָׂה (הֶעֱשִׂיא). The real significance of this painstaking method, following each feature through all the stages of its history, is not only in the details thus uncovered, however; it also allows us to contextualize every stage within a diachronic framework stretching over many generations. It is especially important to realize that the transitions take place at different times for different features;<sup>75</sup> regarding one issue, Qumran may line up with biblical Hebrew and against later Mishnaic Hebrew, while in other cases Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew are set off from biblical Hebrew.

§ 26 (d) Additionally, each of the two later layers of the language may go in one of two directions:

<sup>74</sup> Cf. n. 28 above.

<sup>75</sup> For a penetrating study of the idea of a “transition language” in general, and in the history of Hebrew in particular, see M. Mishor, “מן העבודה בתולדות המילים,” *Lešonenu la-‘Am* 39 (1988): 186–199.

- a. They may reveal the changes that have taken place in the language, by utilizing forms from the living language of the time. In our context, the uses of *מבואי/מבוי* and *העשה* in Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew are examples of this.
- b. They may utilize forms borrowed from the Bible: both the scribes of Qumran (to a great extent) and those of rabbinic literature (to a lesser extent) mimic biblical forms in their own texts. Here we have seen the examples of the biblicizing spelling *מבוא* at Qumran and, less certainly, the use of *מבוי* with the meaning “entryway” in the first mishnah of *‘Erubin*.

Often distinguishing between these two is difficult work for the researcher, but accuracy in describing the language depends on success in puzzling out these details.

THE LEXEMES תְּרוּמָה AND מְנָה IN THE  
POETIC TEXTS OF QUMRAN: ANALYSIS  
OF A SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT

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0.0. INTRODUCTION

In the poetic texts of Qumranic Hebrew (QH) the lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה occur with semantic values that are unknown in Biblical Hebrew (BH). In QH תְּרוּמָה can refer both to an “offering of a prayer” and to a “contribution of knowledge,” while מְנָה denotes a “selected prayer.” The new semantic values of the lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה do not substitute any biblical lexeme, and could therefore lexicalise new concepts. As I shall demonstrate, these new notions consist in a positive connotation of speech and speech acts, which clearly results from the new syntagmatic and paradigmatic structures of תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה in QH. Interestingly enough, the innovative usages of תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה only apply to texts which current scholarship understands as “sectarian” and could therefore reflect particular aspects of an explicitly Qumranic ideology.

The present paper aims at investigating the main syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects of the semantic shift of both lexemes from BH to QH, thereby providing an explanation of its possible conceptual grounds.

0.1. *Poetic Texts of Qumran*

As far as a possible definition of the “poetic texts” of Qumran is concerned, I refer to both lists of “Poetic and Liturgical Texts” and “Sapiential Texts” identified by Armin Lange and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, since my specific focus is of a linguistic kind, I would also include among this group passages from other kinds of texts (e.g., rules) which are qualified by “poetic” content, context, and vocabulary.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert in *DJD* XXXIX (2002): 115–164.

<sup>2</sup> An exhaustive list of or Qumranic works reflecting a “poetic language” is available in



### 0.2. *Prayer and Sacrifice in Qumran: A Debated Issue*

The new usages of the lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מִנְחָה in QH are linked to the debated issue of the relationship between prayer and sacrifice in Qumran. As far as this subject is concerned, one may refer to at least two opposing positions.

#### 0.2.1. *Prayer as a Substitution of Sacrifice*

The first perspective consists in understanding prayer as a substitution for the sacrificial system. This thesis is well supported by Georg Klinzing.<sup>3</sup> In his monograph, Klinzing exhaustively analyses the issue of the new trends of liturgy and cult in the Qumranic community: the *Yahad* was without Temple and, therefore, without the possibility of regularly practicing a sacrificial cult.<sup>4</sup> The *Yahad*, thus, found a symbolic solution to this problem: it redefined itself as “Temple” and its prayers as sacrifices. Furthermore, Klinzing argues “daß das gesamte Leben der Gemeinde in den Kultus einbezogen wurde. Nicht nur der hochgeschätzte Lobpreis, der ganze ‘untadelige Wandel’ (1QS 9,5) der Gemeinde und ihre Leiden im Exil (1QS 8,3) treten an die Stelle des Opfers, und werden unter kultischem Aspekt gesehen.”<sup>5</sup> This perspective is also supported by more recent papers, for instance, that of Esther G. Chazon who argues that in Qumran prayer “provided an alternative means of worship as well as an instrument for the atonement of sin. The sectarian documents regularly refer to prayer in sacrificial terms, equating it with sacrifice metaphorically as well as functionally.”<sup>6</sup>

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I. Zatelli, “The Study of Ancient Hebrew Lexicon: Application of the Concepts of Lexical Field and Functional Language,” *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 5 (2004): 129–159, 141.

<sup>3</sup> G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 40–41, Klinzing argues: “nach dem Willen Gottes mußte jetzt an die Stelle des blutigen Opfers etwas anderes treten. Ohne Opfer sollte das göttliche Wohlgefallen erworben werden.” Furthermore, Klinzing points out that “es gibt eine Reihe von Stellen, die zeigen, daß man sich wirklich mit diesen Fragen beschäftigte. ... Was konnte an die Stelle des gottwohlgefälligen Opfers treten? Auf welche Weise konnte im Exil Sühne erlangt werden?” (*ibid.*, 93).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>6</sup> E.G. Chazon, “An Introduction to Prayer at Qumran,” in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine* (ed. M. Kilyz et al.; London: Routledge, 1997), 9–13, here 9–10.

### 0.2.2. *Prayer as a Mere Expression of Righteousness*

According to the second position, one should not understand the relationship between prayer and sacrifice in terms of substitution or equivalence. Russell Arnold, for instance, argues that in Qumran “the essential comparison is made between the wicked and the righteous, not prayer and sacrifice,” even admitting that “Qumran texts do use sacrificial language in connection with prayer.”<sup>7</sup> Prayer, concludes Arnold, “should be understood, ultimately, not as means of communicating with the divine nor as a way of filling the void left because of the community’s alienation from the sacrificial cult, but, rather, as a communal act of righteousness.”<sup>8</sup> A similar position is also supported by Paul Heger who also notices that speech acts (Heger refers to the lexeme שִׁפָּה) are closer to teaching than to praising.<sup>9</sup> In my opinion, this perspective does not provide a sufficient account of the completely new usage of the sacrificial vocabulary of the Bible, which Klinzing extensively analyses.

### 0.2.3. *Is a Third Way Possible?*

A convincing hypothesis is brilliantly discussed by Eileen M. Schuller and consists in slightly changing the focus of the problem.<sup>10</sup> The substitution of prayer to sacrifice might have been plausible, argues Schuller, but one should understand it as a “present expediency rather than a theological rejection.”<sup>11</sup> From a theological point of view, Schuller also notices that many eschatological hopes conveyed by the Qumran texts actually refer to the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem, i.e., of the sacrificial cult. Thus, according to Schuller, “it seems that the recitation of prayers is not to replace, indeed cannot replace, ultimately the sacrificial system ordained by God for all eternity in the Torah; only in the present ‘time of Belial’ did it need to take on that role.”<sup>12</sup> A similar perspective is suggested

<sup>7</sup> R.C.D. Arnold, “Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness,” *JQR* 95 (2005): 509–529, here 511.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 512.

<sup>9</sup> P. Heger, “Did Prayer Replace Sacrifice at Qumran?” *RevQ* 22 (2005): 213–233, esp. 232.

<sup>10</sup> E.M. Schuller, “Worship, Temple and Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, part 5: *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1: *Theory of Israel* (ed. A. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner, and B. Chilton; HO 56; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 125–143.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

by Daniel K. Falk who argues that “both prayer as sacrifice and prayer as response to exile can be found. The two are not mutually exclusive, but it does not seem possible to distinguish roughly between praise as metaphorical sacrifice and petitionary prayer—including confession of sins—as deriving from an exile ideology.”<sup>13</sup>

However one chooses to understand it, the relationship between prayer and sacrifice in Qumran cannot be analysed separately from an exhaustive semantic investigation aimed at showing how the language itself expresses it.

## 1.0. THE LEXEMES תְּרוּמָה AND מְנָה IN BH

### 1.1. תְּרוּמָה: *Cultic Contribution, Tax*

In BH תְּרוּמָה is a lexical item typical of sacrificial vocabulary. The lexeme often denotes a cultic contribution. Exodus 35:24 represents a good example of this generic usage of תְּרוּמָה: תְּרוּמָה הַבִּיאוּ: תְּרוּמָת כֶּסֶף וְנִחֻשֶׁת הַבִּיאוּ. In this context, תְּרוּמָה lexicalises the giving of goods for the construction of a common cultic building. Besides this general use, in the cultic texts of BH the lexeme תְּרוּמָה can denote a specific tax to be paid in order to atone for the census (see e.g., Exod 30:14).

The poetic-sapiential texts of BH (cf. Prov 29:4) point to an interesting secular use of the lexeme תְּרוּמָה, which might refer to a generic kind of taxation, namely to an important instrument that should be properly used by the rulers of a nation.

### 1.2. מְנָה: *Portion of the Sacrificed Animal, Gift of Food*

In the biblical texts, the lexeme מְנָה is partially linked to the sacrificial lexicon. The word in fact denotes the gift of portions of the sacrificed animal, which are not necessarily intended for the priests. This usage might be exemplified by the passage in 1 Sam 1:4: וַיִּזְבַּח אֶל־קִנְיָהּ וַנְתֵן לַפְּנֵיהָ: אֲשֶׁתוֹ וְלִכְל־בְּנֵיהָ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ מְנוֹת. As we can see, the recipients of the מְנָה are not members of the priestly group. Interestingly, in the cultic texts

<sup>13</sup> D.K. Falk, “Prayer in the Qumran Texts,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3: *The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury, W.D. Davies, and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 852–876, here 875–876.

as well, the recipient of the מִנָּה is not necessarily a priest.<sup>14</sup> In this regard Exod 29:26 and Lev 7:33 act as useful pieces of evidence. In the former verse, the recipient of the מִנָּה is Moses. The latter verse is more problematic, since the recipient of the מִנָּה actually belongs to the בְּנֵי אֹהֶרֶן. An analysis of the context of the verse, however, shows that the recipient of the מִנָּה is entitled to receive it not because of his family, but, rather, because he happens to be the one performing the sacrifice.

As far as the lexeme מִנָּה is concerned, traces of a semantic shift can be found in Late Biblical Hebrew (cf. Esth 9:19, 22; Neh 8:10, 12), where the lexeme refers to the gift of food dishes served at a banquet. A further new usage of מִנָּה is found in Ben Sira (26:3), where it occurs with reference to a “deserved portion,” i.e., “good fate, destiny.” In this case the lexeme מִנָּה is used to connote a good wife (אִשָּׁה טוֹבָה).

### 1.3. *Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Relations of the Lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מִנָּה in BH*

In BH the lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מִנָּה are qualified by well defined syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, which I exhaustively analysed in my doctoral thesis.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, תְּרוּמָה shows syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations with the sacrificial lexicon which the following lexemes can exemplify: מִשְׁאֵת (“cultic contribution”), נְדָבָה (“spontaneous gift to God”), קֹרְבָן (“offering to God”), עֹלָה (“burnt offering”), מַעֲשֵׂר (“tithes”). On the other hand, מִנָּה frequently occurs in a syntagmatic relationship with the verb זָבַח “to sacrifice” and with lexemes referring to specific parts of the sacrificed animals which are offered as a present and then eaten.

In the next part of this paper I aim to demonstrate that the semantic coordinates of these two lexemes patently vary in QH.

<sup>14</sup> In this regard I would not agree with J. Conrad (“מִנָּה” *ThWAT* 4:979–980) as he writes that “in priesterschriftlichen Texten bezeichnet *manah* den Anteil der Priester am (Schlacht-)Opfer (Ex 29,26; Lev 7,33 ...).”

<sup>15</sup> For a revised version thereof see F. Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of “Gift” in Ancient Hebrew* (SSN 54; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

## 2.0. THE LEXEMES מְנוּחָה AND תְּרוּמָה IN QH

2.1. תְּרוּמָה: *Distribution*

In QH almost one third of the 26 occurrences of the lexeme תְּרוּמָה can be found in poetic-sectarian compositions. This distribution is at variance with BH, where the poetic occurrences of תְּרוּמָה are only five out of a total of 76. As I shall demonstrate, this innovative poetic *milieu* is likely to affect the semantic structures of תְּרוּמָה. Noteworthy is that the cultic Qumran texts still reflect the main context of usage of the lexeme in QH and that תְּרוּמָה maintains its typical reference to a cultic contribution. In this section of the paper I focus only on the new usages of the lexeme, thereby analysing the main syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of תְּרוּמָה, “offering of a prayer” and “contribution of knowledge.”

## 2.1.1. תְּרוּמָה “Offering of a Prayer”

The use of the תְּרוּמָה with reference to an “offering of a prayer” occurs five times (1QS IX:4-5; X:6, 14; 4QS<sup>b</sup> [4Q256] XIX:4, 4QShir<sup>b</sup> [4Q511] 63-64 ii 4).

## 2.1.1.1. 1QS X:14

The passage in 1QS X:14 is a good example of the syntagmatic relations reflected by the new usage of תְּרוּמָה.

ואברכנו תְּרוּמָת מוּצָא שְׁפָתַי

and I will bless him (with) the תְּרוּמָה of that, which comes out from my lips<sup>16</sup>

תְּרוּמָה is here used outside of its typical sacrificial context and occurs within a new syntagmatic *milieu*, where the references to the semantic domain of speech acts play a key role. The lexeme, in fact, can function (a) as the (prepositional) object of the verb בָּרַךְ, and (b) as the nomen regens of the genitival syntagm תְּרוּמָת מוּצָא שְׁפָתַי (“the תְּרוּמָה of that, which comes out from my lips”), which metonymically refers to an act of speech, namely to an utterance.

## 2.1.1.2. 1QS X:6

One may find similar syntagmatic structures in 1QS X:6 (par. 4QS<sup>b</sup> [4Q256] XIX:4).

<sup>16</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

{oo} תְּרוּמַת שְׁפָתַימָּה הִבְרַכְנוּ כַּחֲזֹק חֲרוּת לְעַד

(with) the תְּרוּמָה of lips I will bless Him, as a statute forever engraved

Once again, תְּרוּמָה functions as the *nomen regens* of the genitival syntagm תְּרוּמַת שְׁפָתַימָּה (“תְּרוּמָה of lips”). The lexeme שְׁפָתַימָּה (“lips”) metonymically refers to an utterance. This syntagm should be understood as a subjective genitive, referring to an offering (of a prayer as well as of a blessing) performed by the lips.<sup>17</sup> The lexeme also functions as the (prepositional) object of the verb בָּרַךְ.

#### 2.1.1.3. 1QS IX:4–5

The passage in 1QS IX:4–5 represents an interesting syntagmatic case.

לְכַפֵּר עַל אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע וּמַעַל חֲטָאת וּלְרַצוֹן לְאַרְצָּהּ מִבֶּשֶׂר עוֹלוֹת וּמַחֲלָבֵי זֶבַח וּתְרוּמַת שְׁפָתַימָּה לְמִשְׁפַּט כְּנִיחוּחַ צְדָקָה

in order to atone for the guilt of transgression and the rebellion of sin, becoming an acceptable (sacrifice) for the land through the flesh of the burnt offerings, and the fat parts of the sacrifices, and the תְּרוּמָה of the lips becoming justice, just like a sweet savour of righteousness

In this passage תְּרוּמָה clearly occurs within a specific sacrificial context which the following lexical items highlight: כָּפַר (“to atone”), מְנַחָּה (“vegetable offering”), עֹלָה (“burnt offering”), זֶבַח (“sacrifice”), and בֶּשֶׂר (“flesh”). In spite of this typical sacrificial context, I take the position that the lexeme תְּרוּמָה is actually used here with its new semantic value. In fact, the genitival syntagm תְּרוּמַת שְׁפָתַימָּה (“תְּרוּמָה of lips”) attests to the reference to an “offering of a prayer.” The mention of justice and righteousness, which one would not expect to find in a sacrificial context, is also consistent with this.

#### 2.1.1.4. 4QShir<sup>b</sup> (4Q511) 63–64 ii 4

The occurrence of תְּרוּמָה in 4QShir<sup>b</sup> (4Q511) 63–64 ii 3–4 provides a slightly different contextual *milieu*.

בְּרִישִׁית כּוֹל מַחֲשַׁבֶּת לִבָּב דַּעַת וּתְרוּמַת מוֹל שְׁפָתַי צְדָקָה

at the beginning of every purpose of the mind is knowledge, and (at the beginning) of a תְּרוּמָה of an utterance are lips of righteousness

תְּרוּמָה occurs here within a context of thanksgiving, blessing, and praise to God. Once again, the lexeme functions as a *nomen regens* in a genitival relation with a lexical item referring to a speaking act (מוֹל, “utterance”).

<sup>17</sup> See in BH, the genitival syntagm תְּרוּמַת יָדְכֶם (“the תְּרוּמָה of your hand,” Deut 12:6, 11) which refers to the contribution offered by the hands of the sender.

The lexeme שפתים (“lips”) also occurs in the passage.

To conclude, תרומה “offering of a prayer” reflects the following syntagmatic relations.

- a. תרומה always occurs as a *nomen regens*, and is always used in a genitival relationship with the lexeme שפתים (“lips”) and with other lexical items referring to speech acts. These genitival syntagms are so consistent and recurrent that it is possible to understand them as fixed pairs. In these cases, I would tend to analyse the genitival syntagm as a single semantic unit, since there cannot be a clear-cut division between the meaning of a lexeme and the meaning of the genitival syntagms in which it repeatedly occurs.
- b. In three occurrences (1QS X:6, 14; 4QS<sup>b</sup> [4Q256] XIX:4) תרומה functions as the (prepositional) object of the verb ברך (“to bless”).

In light of these data one could argue that תרומה denotes a specific act of praise and blessing. From a syntagmatic point of view, the main difference between BH and QH clearly consists in using a typical lexical item of the sacrificial lexicon within a new context qualified by constant references to speech acts.

### 2.1.2. תרומה “*Contribution of Knowledge*”

The use of תרומה with reference to a “contribution of knowledge” involves three poetic occurrences (4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> [4Q400] 2 7; 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> [4Q403] 1 ii 26; 4QShirShabb<sup>f</sup> [4Q405] 23 ii 12). The syntagmatic structures of these verses are different from those of תרומה “offering of a prayer.” Such differences, as I contend, would attest to a further new usage of the lexeme. תרומה would here occur with a cognitive *nuance* reflecting recurrent syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations with lexemes of the semantic domain of knowledge.

#### 2.1.2.1. 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) 2 7

The passage in 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400) 2 7 represents a good example of the syntagmatic relations qualifying תרומה “contribution of knowledge.”

[מה] תרומת לשון עפרנו בדעת אל[ים]

[what] is the תרומה of the tongues of our dust (compared) with the knowledge of the g[ods]?

תרומה here functions as the *nomen regens* in the genitival syntagm תרומת לשון (“the תרומה of the tongue”). The cognitive *nuance* clearly results from the paradigmatic opposition between the syntagms לשון עפרנו (“the

תְּרוּמָה of the tongues of our dust”) and דַּעַת אֱלִים (“the knowledge of the g[ods]). In the poetic texts of Qumran the lexeme דַּעַת denotes a “true knowledge (of spiritual realities).”<sup>18</sup> In light of this specific value given to דַּעַת, the genitival syntagm לְשׁוֹן עֲפָרָנוּ תְּרוּמָה (“the תְּרוּמָה of our tongues of dust”) would then refer to a human, i.e., *typically rough*, kind of knowledge. Thus, the syntagm לְשׁוֹן תְּרוּמָה, subjective genitive, would denote the contribution of knowledge performed by human utterances.

#### 2.1.2.2. 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 ii 26

One may find a similar syntagmatic context in the passage from 4QShir-Shabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 ii 26:

לֵאלֹהִים מֶלֶךְ הַטְהוֹר וְתְרוּמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם ] שְׁבַע רִזֵי דַעַת

to the God of gods, King of splendour, and the תְּרוּמָה of their tongues  
[seven mysteries of knowledge

The verse is rather fragmentary. Nonetheless, one can identify the following syntagmatic data.

- a. תְּרוּמָה functions as the nomen regens of the genitival syntagm תְּרוּמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם (“the תְּרוּמָה of their tongues”). The third person masc. pl. pronominal suffix refers to the previously mentioned “chiefs of the congregation of the King in the assembly.”
- b. The syntagm תְּרוּמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם occurs in syntagmatic and paradigmatic relation to the lexeme דַּעַת.

In light of these syntagmatic data one may assume that the genitival syntagm תְּרוּמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם is used with reference to knowledge. What kind of knowledge could it denote, if compared with the perfection of the דַּעַת? According to lines 27–29 these tongues of knowledge are supposed to “grow strong sevenfold” (תִּגְבַר שִׁבְעָה). The aim (or the result?) of this growth could be expressed by line 35, which refers to “those who cause knowledge (דַּעַת) to shine among all the gods of light.” Thus, the kind of knowledge referred to by the syntagm תְּרוּמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם is supposed to grow, perhaps in order to reach the perfect level of knowledge which the substantive דַּעַת lexicalises. In this framework, thus, one may conclude that the syntagm תְּרוּמַת לְשׁוֹנֵיהֶם denotes a *perfectible* kind of knowledge.

<sup>18</sup> M.P. Sciumbata, “Il campo lessicale dei sostantivi di ‘conoscenza’ in ebraico antico” (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Firenze, 1996), 106–108.



2.1.2.3. 4QShirShabb<sup>f</sup> (4Q405) 23 ii 12

The passage in 4QShirShabb<sup>f</sup> (4Q405) 23 ii 12 is the most problematic in the group.

כבודו *vacat* בראשי תרומות לשוני דעת [ו] ברכו לאלוהי דעת בכול מעשי כבודו

(of) His glory *vacat* in the chiefs of the תרומות of the tongues of knowledge [and] they bless the God of knowledge together with all the works of his glory

Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar interpret the syntagm דעת בראשי תרומות לשוני as a nominative clause,<sup>19</sup> thereby interrupting the genitival chain and interpreting תרומות as an absolute state. In light of the data resulting from the analysis of the previous occurrences, however, one would expect תרומות to be in the construct state, and the syntagm דעת בראשי תרומות לשוני to be a subjective genitive. At present, however, I do not see any plausible alternative to García Martínez's and Tigchelaar's translation. Apart from the problematic rendering of this text, one may observe that תרומה once again occurs in a syntagmatic relationship with the lexeme לשון as well as, in the following lines, with lexical items belonging to the semantic domain of knowledge, such as דעת, בינה ("comprehension"), and שכל ("understanding").

To conclude, תרומה "contribution of knowledge" reflects the following syntagmatic relations.

- a. תרומה always<sup>20</sup> functions as the nomen regens of the genitival syntagm לשון תרומת. As in the case of תרומת שפתים, one should understand לשון תרומת as a subjective genitive, referring to a contribution (of knowledge) performed by a speech act. The relationship between תרומה and לשון is so close and recurrent that I would tend to analyse both lexemes as a fixed pair, as I did for the lexemes תרומה and שפתים.
- b. תרומה "contribution of knowledge" always occurs in syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations with lexical items belonging to the semantic domain of knowledge (e.g., דעת and בינה). In some occurrences there is enough evidence to argue that the whole syntagm לשון תרומת refers to a human and perfectible kind of knowledge.

<sup>19</sup> See F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 2:837.

<sup>20</sup> In the case of 4QShirShabb<sup>f</sup> (4Q405) 23 ii 12 this is debatable.

2.2. מנה: *Distribution*

In QH seven out of nine occurrences of מנה belong to sectarian poetic compositions. This distribution is rather surprising, when compared with BH, where מנה never occurs in poetic texts. The usage of מנה within a poetic *milieu* actually affects the semantic value of the lexeme which occurs with the reference (unknown to BH) to a “selected prayer.”

## 2.2.1. מנה “Selected Prayer”

This new use of מנה is found in six<sup>21</sup> poetic occurrences (1QS X:8; 4QS<sup>d</sup> [4Q258] IX:7; 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> [4Q403] 1 i 40; 1 ii 20; 4QPoetic Text A [4Q446] 1 4; 4QBarkhi Nafshi<sup>a</sup> [4Q434] 7b 2).

## 2.2.1.1. 1QS X:8

The passage in 1QS X:8 (par. 4QS<sup>d</sup> [4Q258] IX:7) represents a good example of the semantic coordinates qualifying the usage of מנה with reference to a “selected prayer.”

[ ... ] ובכול הייתי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי {אשא}

and for my whole life, engraved statute on my tongue, as fruit of praise,  
and I will lift the מנה of my lips

The usage of the lexeme מנה is qualified by syntagmatic relations to lexemes referring to speech and prayer, thereby providing interesting analogies with the usage of תרומה “offering of a prayer.” In fact, (a) מנה occurs in a syntagmatic relationship with the lexemes לשון and שפתים, which metonymically refer to an act of speech; (b) מנה functions as the nomen regens of the genitive מנת שפתי. Furthermore, the passage highlights a parallelism between the genitival syntagms פרי תהלה (“the fruit of prayer”) and מנת שפתים. Both syntagms refer to the same subject, i.e., a praise. The former (פרי תהלה) makes explicit reference to it, and the latter (מנת שפתים) metaphorical. Thus, the lexeme תהלה describes the concrete effects of the speech act (שפתים), whereas the lexeme פרי (“fruit”) helps us to understand the reference of the lexeme מנה which would then denote the *best part*, the *selected part* of a prayer.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> I excluded 4QpapPrFêtes (4Q509) 280 1, since the text is highly fragmentary: אִין [מנה]. The scroll consists in fragments of texts probably referring to festivals.

<sup>22</sup> Moreover, as Klinzing notices (*Umdeutung*, 96) the lexeme פרי (“fruit”) is itself a sacrificial term used outside of its specific technical context and transposed onto the context of prayer. Klinzing furthermore interprets the form מנת in 1QS X:8 as a

2.2.1.2. 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 i 40

The passage in 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 i 39–40 patently confirms the syntagmatic relations between מנה and the semantic domains of speech and prayer, which here also involve singing and rejoicing.

זמרו לאֱלֹהֵי עוֹ בְּמִנַּת רוּחַ רוּשׁ לְ[מִזְמוֹן] בְּשִׂמְחַת אֱלֹהִים

let us sing praise to the God of Might with a מנה of choicest spirit to [a son]g of divine joy

Three data are worth mentioning: (a) the lexeme מנה functions as the prepositional object of the verb זמר (“to sing praise”); (b) it occurs as the nomen regens of the genitival syntagm מנת רוח רוש (“a מנה of choicest spirit”); (c) it once again occurs together with lexical items referring to a selection (or the result of a selection—cf. פרי “fruit” in 1QS X:8), namely the lexeme רוש (“head, top, choicest”).

## 2.2.1.3. 4QPoetic Text A (4Q446) 1 4

וּבִלְשׁוֹנִי מִנּוֹת הַדּוֹדָ[ת]

and in my tongue are מנות of thanksgiving

מנות functions here as the nomen regens of the genitival syntagm מנות הודות (“מנות of praise, thanksgiving”). The lexeme is also used in close syntagmatic relationship with the lexeme לשון.

2.2.1.4. 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 ii 20

The passage in 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403) 1 ii 20 represents an interesting occurrence.

וּרְוַמְוֹהוּ רֵאשֵׁי נְשִׂאִים בְּמִנַּה פְּלֵאִיר

and exalt him, o chief princes with a מנה, his wonder

מנה functions as the prepositional object of the verb רום (*po'lel*, “to exalt”). Moreover, the passage shows that מנה can also occur *in the absolute state* with reference to an act of praise. This fact is extremely relevant semantically, since it shows that מנה can also *independently* lexicalise a speech act of praise. I would like to suggest that מנה here reaches a

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“Schreibfehler für מנחת” (*Umdeutung*, 96). In my view, the occurrence in the passage of the lexeme מנחה can be refuted in light of syntagmatic and paradigmatic pieces of evidence: the occurrence of sacrificial terms *together with* lexemes belonging to the semantic domains of speech acts does not apply to the use of מנחה (neither in BH nor in QH), whereas it constitutes a recurring feature of the use of מנה in QH. To conclude, it is in light of the lexical context of 1QS X:8–9 that one should here *paradigmatically* argue for the occurrence of the substantive מנה instead of מנחה.

deeper level of lexicalisation than תְּרוּמָה, since its new meaning is not necessarily expressed by genitival syntagms. Unfortunately, the available textual evidence is too exiguous to argue that, and this explanation must remain hypothetical.

To conclude, מְנָה “selected prayer” reflects the following syntagmatic relations.

- a. מְנָה always occurs in close syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations with lexical items of the semantic domains of speech and prayer.
- b. These relations are often rendered by genitival syntagms, where מְנָה functions as a *nomen regens*, such as מְנַת שְׁפִתַיִם (“the מְנָה of my lips”), מְנַת רוּחַ (“מְנָה of spirit”), and מְנוֹת הוֹדוֹת (“מְנוֹת of praise, thanksgiving”). One should understand these syntagms as objective genitives referring to “selected portions, i.e., offerings, of speech acts” aimed at praising God. These syntagmatic relations are so close and recurrent that, just like in the case of the lexeme תְּרוּמָה, the study of the meaning of the lexeme מְנָה cannot be separated from the investigation of these relations.
- c. Interestingly, מְנָה happens to occur in the absolute state. I consider this specific case proof that the semantic range of the lexeme מְנָה itself includes the reference to speech acts, which does not need to be explicitly expressed through a genitival relationship.

### 3.0. A NEW CONNOTATION OF SPEECH IN QH

The data resulting from the semantic analysis of תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה in QH show that both lexemes can occur outside of their specific biblical contexts. In QH both substantives are in fact transposed onto a new poetic context which consists in recurrent syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations with the semantic domains of speech acts (mostly prayer, praise and blessing) and knowledge. One should also notice (a) that the new usages of both words do not actually substitute any previous biblical lexeme, and (b) that they specifically apply to sectarian writings. This begs the question of whether these new meanings actually result from extra-linguistic factors (i.e., whether they reflect new concepts such as beliefs, feelings, and perceptions) which one should understand as typical of the Qumran community.

In this regard, one should also notice that the semantic domain of speech, at least as far as the occurrences of מְנָה and תְּרוּמָה are concerned, always reflects a positive connotation. Lips (שְׁפִתַיִם) and tongue (לִשׁוֹן)

are understood and described as positive instruments aimed at exalting God. Moreover, the act of praising God and His nature often coincides with reaching a deeper level of knowledge and results from a process of acknowledgment and comprehension. Within this specific framework it became clear that comparing the connotation of the semantic domain of speech in BH and QH could be useful to detect the presence of new concepts. A difference in the connotation of this semantic domain could in fact reflect a process of conceptual shift, of which the new meanings of the lexemes תרומה and מנה would just be a part. In light of the data resulting from the analysis of תרומה and מנה, my expectation was to understand the positive connotation of speech as a typical feature of QH. Working from this premise, I analysed the occurrences of the lexemes שפתים and לשון in both *corpora*, and the result I could find would actually confirm my preliminary assumption. In the last part of the paper I compare some data concerning the connotation of the lexemes לשון and שפתים in BH and QH.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.1. *Speech in BH and QH*

In both BH and QH three kinds of connotations qualifying the usage of the lexemes לשון and שפתים can be identified, namely a “neutral connotation,” a “negative connotation,” and a “positive connotation.” The connotation is neutral if the lexemes merely refer to specific parts of the mouth, to geographical entities or to concrete objects. The connotation is negative if the lexemes are used together with lexical items referring to falsehood, evil, destruction, lie, and the like. The connotation is positive if the words are used together with lexical items belonging to the semantic domains of praise, prayer, wisdom, knowledge, and the like. As I shall demonstrate, the connotation of these lexemes changes remarkably between BH and QH.

#### 3.1.1. לשון

##### 3.1.1.1. BH

In BH לשון is frequently used with neutral and with negative connotations; each kind of connotation involves 43 % of the occurrences of the

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<sup>23</sup> Obviously this is not supposed to be an exhaustive study of the whole semantic domain of “speech” in both BH and QH; rather, this is an attempt to see how the usage of the lexemes לשון and שפתים may reflect the perception of this concept.

lexeme. In the first case לִשׁוֹן can refer to the part of the mouth, to a language, to geographical entities (e.g., headland), and to concrete objects (e.g., flames and blades). In its negative connotation, לִשׁוֹן denotes an aspect of the human nature<sup>24</sup> linked to exuberance and exaggeration (see e.g., לִשׁוֹן מִדְּבַרֵּת גְּדוּלָה, Ps 12:4), which can easily become perversity (תְּהַפּוּכוּת, Prov 10:31) and cause calamities (הוּת, Prov 17:4; cf. also Ps 52:14). The tongue is a means of communication between human beings and an instrument of interrelation between man and God. It often provokes mischief, evil, deceitfulness (תְּרִמִּית, Zeph 3:13; cf. also Ps 52:6; Jer 9:7), blasphemy, and falsehood (שִׁקְרָה, Prov 6:17; 12:9; 21:6; 26:28; Jer 9:2; Ps 102:9; cf. also Prov 25:23).<sup>25</sup>

Only 14 % of the occurrences of לִשׁוֹן in BH (mostly in the Psalms) reflect a positive connotation: in these passages the lexeme is used with specific reference to an act of prayer. In this context, the tongue becomes “the pen of a ready writer” (Ps 45:2; cf. also Pss 66:17; 71:24; 119:172), who aims at declaring and singing God’s righteousness (Pss 35:28; 51:16). Such themes will have a predominant role in the usage of the lexeme in QH.

### 3.1.1.2. QH

The connotation of לִשׁוֹן in QH clearly shows an inverted trend. Half of the occurrences of לִשׁוֹן in QH are qualified by a positive connotation, showing an increase of 36 %. In these passages the lexeme denotes a part of the human body and nature concretely linked to the act of praising, blessing, and exalting God. In such occurrences לִשׁוֹן is frequently used in syntagmatic relationship with the lexeme שִׁפְתַּיִם. Thus, lips and tongue generate a fountain of words (מִקּוּר, 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII:10; 4QShir<sup>b</sup> [4Q511] 63 iii 1 etc.) which are more pleasing than wine (4QNarrative and Poetic Composition<sup>b</sup> [4Q372] 3 5).<sup>26</sup> Each word “forms the foundation of joyous songs” (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX:4–5). In this positive context, the tongue shall be pure (טוהר, e.g., 4QMyst<sup>b</sup> [4Q300] 3 i 2; דְּכִי, 4QEschatological Work B [4Q472] 2 3) and purged from any kind of abomination (שִׁקּוּצִים, 1QS X:22). “Human rebellion” and “impure and crafty design” shall not

<sup>24</sup> See also B. Kedar-Kopfstein (“לִשׁוֹן,” *ThWAT* 4:601): “bei diesen und ähnlichen Versen geht aus dem Textzusammenhang deutlich hervor, daß לִשׁוֹן nicht einen einmaligen Aussageakt darstellt, sondern eine, allerdings sich in der Rede realisierende, Wesenart.”

<sup>25</sup> An exhaustive list of this kind of connotation is available *ibid.*, 603–605.

<sup>26</sup> The *Hodayot* are numbered according to M. Abegg in *Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* 5; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

belong to the praise to God (1QS X:24). The necessary prerequisite of praise is the recognition of God's power, nature, and glory (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:17 etc.). In this regard, praising sometimes results in an experience of pure knowledge which can be demonstrated as follows: the tongue shall sing and *at the same time* the mind (לב) shall understand "the secret of the origin of the work of all men" (4QShir<sup>b</sup> [4Q511] 63 iii 1) as well as the mysteries of knowledge (רזי דעת, 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> [4Q403] 1 ii 27). Furthermore, God has engraved "a measuring line (קו) [to] declare to the human vessel his lack of understanding" on the tongue of the man (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII:11). With "purposeful speech" (במעני לשון, 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1-10 iv 27) the tongue shall be ready to utter holy words (דברי קודש, 4QBarkhi Nafshi<sup>c</sup> [4Q436] 1a+b i 7), and its level of understanding will grow in strength (תגבר, see 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> [4Q403] 1 ii 27-32; 4QShirShabb<sup>f</sup> [4Q405] 11 4-5).

### 3.1.2. שפה

#### 3.1.2.1. BH

Half of the occurrences of שפה in BH are qualified by a neutral connotation: the lexeme explicitly refers to "the fleshy edge of the mouth,"<sup>27</sup> to natural and geographical entities, and to objects (hems, edges). In BH the usage of the lexeme שפה more frequently reflects a negative connotation (31% of the occurrences) than a positive connotation (19% of the occurrences). Thus, if negatively connoted, the lips represent an instrument of lying (שקר, Prov 10:18; 12:22; 17:7b; Ps 31:19), deceitfulness (מרמה, Ps 17:1), and flattery (חליקה, Ps 12:3, 4). Lips can cause trouble (און, Prov 17:4), if they are the lips of a fool (Prov 18:6; Qoh 10:12; cf. also Prov 10:8, 10), as well as transgression (פשע, Prov 12:13) and perversion (לזות, Prov 4:24), if they are unclean and impure (טמא, Isa 6:5). Positively connoted, the lips are used "to keep knowledge" (דעת, Prov 5:2; Mal 2:7) and wisdom (חכמה, Prov 10:13). Moreover, the opening of lips (מפתח שפתי, Prov 8:6) shall consist in utterances of truth (אמת, Prov 8:7) and right things (מישרים, Prov 8:6). In the Psalms the lexeme is often used with reference to the act of praising God (see. e.g., Pss 51:17; 63:4; 71:23).

#### 3.1.2.2. QH

In comparison to BH, the proportion between negative and positive connotations in QH is patently inverted. In fact, the usage of the lexeme

<sup>27</sup> B. Keder-Kopfstein, "שִׁפָּה," *ThWAT* 7:841. For the English translation see *TDOT* 14:176.

שפה in the Dead Sea Scrolls is largely qualified by a positive connotation which shows an increase of 26%. If positively connoted, the lips are shown to have great new features: by the power of the lips the wicked ones can be killed (1QS<sup>b</sup> [1Q28b] V:24), and with this very power God generates all the eternal spirits (4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> [4Q403] 1 i 35). In light of these new positive features the texts repeatedly state that “foolish things and wicked lying [and de]ceptions and falsehoods” shall no longer be found on the lips (4QS<sup>f</sup> [4Q260] V:3; cf. also 4QShir<sup>b</sup> [4Q511] 18 ii 5), but, rather discipline (מוסר, 4QSapiential-Didactic Work A [4Q412] 1 5), fidelity (אמונה, 4QInstruction<sup>d</sup> [4Q418] 148 ii 8), and righteousness (צדק, 4Qcrypt A Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn [4Q298] 1–2 i 3). The utterances of the lips constitute a direct link between man and God through praise, thereby “forming the foundation of joyous songs” (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX:5). In this regard, the praise requires mighty lips (שפתי עוז, 4QH<sup>a</sup> [4Q427] 7 i 16), because it has to be like a spring, like a fountain (מקור, 4QInstruction<sup>d</sup> [4Q418] 81 + 81a 1; 4QShir<sup>b</sup> [4Q511] 63 iii 1), and like the music of a flute (חליל שפתי, 1QS X:9), so that he who praises God can do it properly. Finally, it should be noticed that if the lexeme שפה refers to a prayer, it may also occur together with lexical items of the sacrificial vocabulary.

### 3.1.3. Conclusions

The analysis of the connotation of the lexemes לשון and שפה in BH and QH highlights a remarkable difference between the two corpora. Thus, in BH the usage of both lexemes frequently reflect a negative connotation, whereas QH attests to a positive connotation. The increase in the positively connoted occurrences in QH is clearly remarkable for both lexemes. As far as לשון is concerned, this increase directly corresponds to a significant decrease in the negatively connoted occurrences, which is also noticeable for the lexeme שפה, even if it is in a smaller scale.

What kind of interpretation could be drawn in the light of these quantitative data? How are they linked to the new semantic values of the lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה? I consider these results as evidence that (a) in Qumran an innovative and positive concept of speech is found, and that (b) this positive perspective on speech is likely to be linked to the special cultic and liturgical situation of the *Yahad*.

Thus, these results highlight a shift from a negative perspective on the concept of speech to a positive one. In fact, according to the Qumran texts, speech is no longer (or mostly not) linked to perversion, falsehood,



and mischief. Speech acts, rather, consist in praising and exalting the true nature of God, which must be at first fully comprehended. The act of praising, therefore, originates from a cognitive (perhaps mystical?) process that brings the speaker/petitioner to a deeper level of knowledge.<sup>28</sup> Within this framework, at least in the Qumranic “sectarian” texts such a mixture of praise and true knowledge would become the preferred way to communicate with God. It may also assume the form of an “oral sacrifice” which one perhaps should understand as a substitution of the animal sacrifices to be offered in Jerusalem. This reference to the sacrifice is highlighted by the explicit usage of the biblical sacrificial vocabulary which is actually transposed onto these new conceptual coordinates and adapted to them.

I argue that that this whole framework is deeply consistent with the new usages of the lexemes תְּרוּמָה and מְנָה in QH. Actually, it represents the conceptual prerequisite of their two new semantic values. In their new meanings, in fact, both lexemes patently lexicalise these innovative relations between praise, true knowledge, and “oral sacrifice.”

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<sup>28</sup> The close relation between prayer and knowledge is clearly highlighted by S.C. Reif, “Prayer in Ben Sira, Qumran and Second Temple Judaism: A Comparative Overview” in *Ben Sira’s God: Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference, Durham—Ushaw College 2001* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel; BZAW 321; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 321–341, 330: “the Scribe is expected to develop intellectually, to understand God’s mysteries, and to express himself intelligently and ethically. He should at the same time, however, appreciate that all this is intended as a religious exercise. He should also therefore humbly and enthusiastically seek and praise God, pray for the forgiveness of his sins, and take pride in mastering (and teaching?) the Torah.”

# ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN IN LIGHT OF NEW EPIGRAPHICAL FINDS<sup>1</sup>

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## A. INTRODUCTION

Four Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 correspond to the third part of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 1 *En.* 72–82, which is titled “The Book of the Revolution of the Luminaries of Heaven.” Since none of these manuscripts preserve parts of the other Enochic books, it was suggested that these scrolls circulated independently from the other Enochic works, and that these four scrolls represent four different copies of a single composition. Those scrolls document the “synchronistic calendar,” which is believed to be the earliest known full synchronization of the movements of the moon and the sun during the 364 day year. In his monumental work on the Aramaic fragments of 1 *Enoch* published in 1971, J. Milik presented an edition of these manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> to which E.J.C. Tigchelaar and F. García Martínez later added some unpublished fragments.<sup>3</sup>

## B. 4QENASTR<sup>d</sup> AR (4Q211)

In what follows, I would like to shed some light on one of these scrolls, 4QEnastr<sup>d</sup> ar (4Q211), based upon two new ostraca found in Mareshah, which also shed light on the cultural connections between Babylon and southern Syria during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The *Astronomical Book of Enoch* is dated to around the middle of the third century

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank my colleague, Jonathan Ben-Dov, for his helpful remarks and for sharing with me the relevant parts of his book prior to its publication, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 273–297.

<sup>3</sup> E.J.C. Tigchelaar and F. García Martínez in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 95–171.

B.C.E.<sup>4</sup> 4Q211 stems from the second part of the *Astronomical Book of Enoch*, corresponding to 1 *En.* 76–78, and also contains the conclusion of the work, which is lost in the Ethiopic Enoch. 4Q211 was dated to the second half of the first century B.C.E. based on paleographic grounds. It reads as follows:<sup>5</sup>

4QEnastr<sup>d</sup> ar (4Q211) 1 ii

	דן מן משחתה <sup>ו</sup> 2
	מעשר תשיע ח]ד 3
תשיע חד וכוכב[בין] נזחו ב[תרע] שמיא קד[מא] ובאדין[ נפקו 4	
ביומא קדמיא [חד] מעשר [בשתי]ת חד ותנינא חד מן חמשת 5	
עשר בשתית ח[ד]ו תלתיא ח[ד]מ[ן] תלתין בשתית חד vacat 6	

- 2 this [...] from its measure [...]
- 3 a tenth (part) of a ninth (part) [... a tenth (part)]
- 4 of a ninth (part). And the sta[rs] move through the fi[rst gate] of heaven; [and then] they come forth.
- 5 On first days, [one] tenth [by] one [six]th; on second (days), one fif-
- 6 teenth by o[ne] sixth; on third (days), o[ne] thirtieth by one sixth [...]

4Q211, was described by Milik as a manuscript which “is preserved practically only in a single fragment, a horizontal strip containing from six to two lines of the text, which comes from three successive columns placed towards the end of the scroll. Column i contains a description of winter; so it should be placed after the existing conclusion of the *Astronomical Book* in the Ethiopic Enoch, where we have the description of the two first seasons only, spring (*En.* 82: 15–17) and summer (82: 18–20),” while the Aramaic original probably included all four seasons.<sup>7</sup> As noted by J. Ben-Dov, the context of the specific passage included in frg. 1 ii quoted above, are the “temporal hours,” which resemble calculations documented in some Neo-Assyrian texts.<sup>8</sup> Thus, scholars are in agreement as to the scientific knowledge of the author of the so-called “synchronistic calendar,” being “an offshoot of a Mesopotamian

<sup>4</sup> The earliest manuscript of the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* (4QEnastr<sup>d</sup>) was dated by Milik to the beginning of the second century B.C.E., see Tigchelaar and García Martínez in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 106.

<sup>5</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 296–297.

<sup>6</sup> Milik, *ibid.*, 296 reconstructs: [ב[תרע]י] שמיא קד[מ]יא. The reconstruction of [ב[תרע]י] שמיא קד[מ]יא was suggested by Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 194 n. 194.

<sup>7</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 274.

<sup>8</sup> J. Ben-Dov, “Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran: Sources and Trends” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2005), 162 (Hebrew). As for the question of the placement of this passage in 1 *Enoch*, see his discussion *ibid.*, 22, 157–162.

intellectual tradition, reflected in the astronomical series Mul.Apin,<sup>9</sup> which is dated to the seventh century B.C.E. As has been shown, “the Aramaic fragments describe the movements of the sun and the moon through the various gates, thus suggesting not only solutions to the temporal gaps but also to the gaps in space.”<sup>10</sup>

In 4Q211 1 ii 2, we find the phrase מן משחתה. The word משחה was interpreted as “measurement” and translated as “from its measurements.”<sup>11</sup> This noun is known in other Aramaic texts from Qumran.<sup>12</sup> The closest in context, albeit fragmentary, is the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which mentions both שמיא and משחה (1QLevi<sup>a</sup> [1Q21] 37 2–3). Milik connected frg. 37 with the *Testament of Levi*, chs. 2–3, where the description of heaven is included, thus suggesting that frg. 37 might be identified as one of Levi’s visions.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, no reference to measurements is included in these chapters of the *Testament of Levi*. A reference to the measurements of heaven can be found in Isa 40:12 בשלש עפר ושמים בורת תכן וכל בשלש עפר ומשחת שמיא כאלו בורתא, which was translated in the Targum as: ומשחת שמיא כאלו בורתא ומתקנין ועפרא דארעא כאילו במכילא איתכל, “and the length of the heavens as if with the span established, the dust of the earth as if measures in a measure . . .” Thus, we might tentatively conclude, based on Isaiah, that both *Aramaic Levi Document* 37 and 4Q211 refer to the measurements of the heavens, or are somehow connected with it.

4Q211 1 ii 4 mentions that [מא] קד שמיא [ב[תרעו] גווחו [בין] וכוך [בין] “the sta[rs] move through the fi[rst] gate] of heaven,” and in lines 5–6 of the same column, a series of days is mentioned, followed by numerical figures, most of which are fractions. Various interpretations were suggested to these lines,<sup>14</sup> concluding, that “it clearly forms part of the

<sup>9</sup> J. Ben-Dov, “The Initial Stages of Lunar Theory at Qumran,” *JSJ* 54 (2003): 125–138, 127, with references to earlier discussions.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>11</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 297; see M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (2nd ed.; Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 333–334. משחה translates the biblical מדה in both *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg. Onq.*

<sup>12</sup> E.g. in 2QN] ar (2Q24) 1 4 [פרזיתא] כול משחת [וי]ני [אח]יני, “... And so he showed me the measurement of all [the blocks];” M. Baillet in *DJD* III/1 (1962): 85.

<sup>13</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD* I (1955): 90; see J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 230–231.

<sup>14</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 297; O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus* (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 347; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 169; M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994), 61–66.

Mul.Apin-type astronomical teaching.”<sup>15</sup> In what follows, I would like to discuss the usage of the verb נָחַח in two additional astronomical texts, the first is a newly discovered ostrakon, found in Mareshah, and the second is the so-called “Birth of Noah” text (4Q535), where, based on the occurrence of נָחַח, I would like to suggest a new interpretation of this text. But first some introductory words are necessary with regard to the two ostraca discovered in Mareshah.

### C. THE MARESHAH OSTRACA

Mareshah (or Marisa), is located in the Shephela, 30 km north-east of Ashkelon. The site was partly excavated in the 1900s by Bliss and Macalister and by Peters and Tiersch.<sup>16</sup> More recent excavations were conducted by A. Kloner.<sup>17</sup> Mareshah is mentioned in the Bible, where its earliest reference appears among the cities of Judah (Josh 15:44). After the destruction of the First Temple, Mareshah, together with all of southern Judah, became Edomite territory. In the Hellenistic period Mareshah replaced Lachish as the capital of Idumea, and during that period a Sidonian community settled in Mareshah.

Between 1989 and 1999 seventy-two sherds inscribed with Semitic script were found in Mareshah by Kloner. The majority can be dated from the fourth to the second centuries B.C.E., based on their paleography. The first assemblage to be published in the near future includes a Hebrew ostrakon dated to the seventh century B.C.E.; 64 Persian and Hellenistic inscriptions written in Aramaic language and script; two fragments of a Persian inscription written in Phoenician script; two Edomite inscriptions dated to the Hellenistic period and written in Aramaic script; and three inscriptions in Jewish script dated to the first or second centuries C.E.<sup>18</sup> Important additions to this assemblage are fragments of four

<sup>15</sup> Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 195.

<sup>16</sup> F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898–1900* (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902); J.P. Peters and H. Tiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1905).

<sup>17</sup> A. Kloner, “Mareshah (Marisa),” *NEAEHL* 3:948–957. For the first in a series of final reports on the excavations at Mareshah during the 1980s and 1990s, see A. Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report I: Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70* (IAA Reports 17; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> E. Eshel, “Chapter 2: Inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician Script,” in A. Kloner, E. Eshel, and C. Korzakova, *Maresha Excavations Final Report III* (IAA Reports; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, forthcoming).

bowls bearing scribal exercises, some of which are inscribed on both the recto and the verso. All together there are 16 inscriptions of which seven, written on two bowls, were recently published.<sup>19</sup> In later excavations carried out in the last two years by Kloner, more than one hundred and fifty inscribed sherds and ostraca written in Semitic scripts were discovered. I would like to express my gratitude to A. Kloner for granting me the responsibility to publish all Semitic inscriptions found in Mareshah. On the basis of paleographic considerations, it is possible to date most of these inscriptions to the Persian and Hellenistic periods. Included in this corpus is a group of twenty-five Aramaic ostraca with inscriptions of various types, all sharing the formula הן . . . הן, “If X then Y,” but sometimes either the protasis or the apodosis is missing, or is not included. The first published Mareshah text of this kind includes a quotation from an otherwise unknown wisdom text, copied as a scribal exercise on a bowl.<sup>20</sup>

Among the new finds are two ostraca with the formula “If X then Y,” which might help us interpret 4Q211. Based on paleographical grounds, these inscriptions should be dated to the second century B.C.E. From their content they seem to be related to the Akkadian commentaries on the omen series.<sup>21</sup>

Ostracon no. 1 was written on a body sherd of a jar which measures 73 × 83 mm. This ostracon includes seven written lines. Above the first line remains of ink are visible, which might show that the original inscription included at least another written line. It reads as follows:

*Ostracon No. 1 from Mareshah*

○○○○	1
מחשא הן מן אלהין נוח	2
<i>vacat</i> נוחהא	3
—————	
ונוך חווא הן מן אלהין	4
והן חוהי	5
—————	
אין(?) נגפת בלליתא	6
]ושתקו והן אותוקא]	7

<sup>19</sup> E. Eshel, E. Puech, and A. Kloner, “Aramaic Scribal Exercises of the Hellenistic Period from Mareshah: Bowls A and B,” *BASOR* 345 (2007): 39–62.

<sup>20</sup> Eshel, Puech, and Kloner, “Aramaic Scribal Exercises,” 41–47.

<sup>21</sup> Wayne Horowitz, Shaul Shaked, and myself are now preparing these two ostraca for publication.

*Translation*

- 1 [...]
  - 2 A comet (is seen) it is from the gods, it moves
  - 3 its movement
  - 4 And [or: should] a comet in sight (= is seen), it is from the gods,
  - 5 and indeed, you see it!
  - 6 If you are hurt by Lilith [or: if you meet Lilith],
  - 7 and (by) ŠTQW, and if (you are hurt by) 'WTWQ' [...]

The subjects of the first readable four lines are two objects, *מחשא* and *נוך*, which are moving or seen. Concerning these two objects it is said: *הן מן אלהין* “it is from the gods.” The key to the interpretation of this passage is provided by the word *נוך* which occurs twice in the second ostrakon found in Mareshsah (written as *נויך*).

The noun *נוך* is known from 11QtgJob, where it translates the word *חנית* of Job 39:23. As noted by J. Greenfield and S. Shaked, “the word *NZK* is of Iranian origin, and has been known to be of that origin, as it exists as a widely used loan-word in both Syriac *naizkā* and Arabic *nayzak* [and *nayzaq*].”<sup>22</sup> The same term, *naizkā*, is used in the Peshitta to Job 39:23 mentioned above. The Syriac *naizkā* means not only “lance, spear, javelin,” translating the biblical words: *בידון*,<sup>23</sup> *חנית*,<sup>24</sup> and *צונה*,<sup>25</sup> but can also be used with an astronomical connotation for “shooting stars,” or “meteors,”<sup>26</sup> and can thus refer to a comet, such as Halley’s comet. We therefore suggest interpreting the Aramaic word *נוך* in the two Mareshah ostraca as related to an astrological object, i.e. to Halley’s comet, which is shaped like a spear when seen in the sky. Ancient sources even feature descriptions of the appearance of Halley’s comet as a spear.<sup>27</sup> The historical significance assigned to Halley’s comet in antiquity will be discussed below.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> J.C. Greenfield and S. Shaked, “Three Iranian Words in the Targum of Job from Qumran,” in J.C. Greenfield, *‘Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. S.M. Paul, M.E. Stone, and A. Pinnick; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 1:344–352, 349.

<sup>23</sup> Josh 8:18; Job 39:23; 41:21; Jer 6:23; 50:42.

<sup>24</sup> Ps 46:10; Nah 3:3.

<sup>25</sup> Ezek 23:24; 38:4; 39:9; see further Jdt 11:2.

<sup>26</sup> C. Brockelman, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1928), 427; R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901), 2360; J. Payne-Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 338.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. *Midrash ha-Gadol* to Numbers, and *Sib. Or.* 3:672–679, 796–800; 5:155–166; 206–213.

<sup>28</sup> For a general study, see H. Hunger et al., *Halley’s Comet in History* (ed. F.R. Stephenson and C.B.F. Walker; London: British Museum Publications, 1985).

Next, lines 1–2 of the first Mareshah ostrakon read: נוּחַ נוּחֵהָא. The basic meaning of the root נוּחַ is “to move.”<sup>29</sup> The phrase נוּחַ נוּחֵהָא is to be compared with the internal (or: cognate) object known from Biblical Hebrew, where it is defined as “an abstract noun of action, identical with, or analogous to the action expressed by the verb.”<sup>30</sup> It can be found used together with intransitive verbs.<sup>31</sup> Thus, we might translate the phrase נוּחַ נוּחֵהָא as “it moves its movement.” In lines 3–4 of this ostrakon we might encounter a word-play of נוּחַ with *kāp* and נוּחַ with *hêt*.

Since נוּחַ appears in an astrological context in the Mareshah ostrakon, it can be compared to two Qumran Aramaic texts of similar character. The first text is 4Q211 1 ii which was mentioned above, and which reads: וּכּוּכַב [בִּין] נוּחּוּ ב [תּרע] שְׁמִיא קד [מא ובאדין] נפקו: “And the sta[rs] *move* through the fi[rst] gate] of heaven; [and then] they come forth” (line 4).

The verb נוּחַ is also mentioned in 4Q535, the so-called “Birth of Noah” text. This composition was preserved in three copies (4Q534–536).<sup>32</sup> The first two copies include fragmentary descriptions of a certain features of a human body which include different sorts of marks and moles, as well as the weight of a newborn. The subject of this text is a figure entitled “the elect of God,” whose name did not survive in the Qumran fragments. Various identifications of this figure were suggested, among them the Messiah, Noah, Melchizedek, and the eschatological high priest.<sup>33</sup> I am inclined to agree with the identification of this figure as Noah. In this text one finds a few mentions of the figure’s מוּלְדָה “birth,” which probably refers to his horoscope; and more specifically, we read in a broken context זמן מוּלְדָה “his time of birth.”<sup>34</sup> It is possible to attribute predictive value to

<sup>29</sup> See J.C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Aramaic Vocabulary,” in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah*, 1:472–492, 477, who connected it to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic נוּחַ/נוּחֵהָא, which appears in Magic bowls and means “to move.” Cf. M. Sokoloff: *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 739.

<sup>30</sup> Jouön § 125q.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. e.g. Ezek 18:21 חִיָּה יִחִיָּה “he will live life.”

<sup>32</sup> É. Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 117–170.

<sup>33</sup> For a summary of the various suggested identifications, pointing to the possibility of being a prototype of the Merkavah mystic, see J.R. Davila, “4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 367–381.

<sup>34</sup> Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 156 (4Q535 2 1); see F. Schmidt, “Ancient Jewish Astrology: An Attempt to Interpret 4QCryptique (4Q186),” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and*



the references to marks and moles on his body, but it is equally possible that they are being used as identity markers.<sup>35</sup> In one of those fragments we read as follows:

4Q535 frg. 3 (par. 4Q536 frg. 1)<sup>36</sup>

*upper margin*

]עד (די) (ל)הו[ה מתילד והוין מרמש כחדה]	1
והוא בשעה חמ]ש בליליא מתילד ונפק של]ם	2
[תקל תקלין תלת מאה וחמ]שין (וחד)	3
]יו]מיא דמך עד מפלג ית]י]ומיא ש]	4
[ ביממא עד משלם ש]נין תמנה	5
]נוחה לה מנה]ו]לב]תר שניא תמונא	6

*lower margin*

- 1 [... until] is born and they shall be together from the evening [...]
- 2 and he at the fi[f]th[ hour is born at night and comes out who[le ...]
- 3 [... at a ]weight of three hundred and fi[fty-(one)] shekels [...]
- 4 [... in the d]ays, he sleeps until half his days are done [...]
- 5 [...] in the daytime until the completion of [eight yea]rs [...]
- 6 [...] shall be moved from him; [and] af[t]er e[ight year]s.<sup>37</sup>

The editor of this text, É. Puech, explains the word נוחה in line 6 as a fem. participle of נוה originating from Hebrew נוה I, and translates it as “shall be moved from him.”<sup>38</sup> As we have seen, 4Q211 1 ii 4, reads: וכוכ]בין, “And the sta[rs] move through the fi[rst gate] of heaven.”

Based on this parallel I would like to suggest connecting נוה with the movement of the stars, thus tentatively reconstructing the text of 4Q535 as something like “[and a star] shall [not] move from him.” This would connect this phrase to some astrological prediction related to the figures’ future, based on his horoscope.

To come back to line 4 of the first Mareshah ostrakon, its second, hitherto unknown object is מחשא. Of it the ostrakon says נוחה נוחה, “it moves its movement.” One possible interpretation would be to relate this word to

*Associated Literature*, 12–14 May, 1996 (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 189–205, 196 n. 26.

<sup>35</sup> For a study of horoscope texts found in Qumran, see K. von Stuckrad, *Frömmigkeit und Wissenschaft: Astrologie in Tanach, Qumran und früh-rabbinischer Literatur* (Europäische Hochschulschriften XXIII/572; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1996), 117–132.

<sup>36</sup> Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 157–159.

<sup>37</sup> D.W. Parry and E. Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005), 3:377.

<sup>38</sup> Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 159; see *HALOT* 1:266.

מחוש, “pain, sickness,”<sup>39</sup> which can go well with *הן מן אלהין*, but less so with *נוה נזחהה*. This would be best translated as two separate sentences: “[...] the pain (or: sickness) is from the gods. It moves its movement.” The subject of the movement is not mentioned. Nevertheless, since both *מחשא* and *נוך* are said to be “from the gods,” since I interpret *נוך* as a comet, and since as mentioned above, the verb *נוה* is also found in 4Q211 in connection with *מחשא* and the stars, one might be tempted to interpret *מחשא* as a heavenly phenomenon as well. A possible interpretation of *מחשא* is a metathesis of the Akkadian *mišhu* A, meaning “a luminous phenomenon in the sky, usually produced by stars or a meteor.”<sup>40</sup>

The word *חזוא* in line 4 can be found in an astronomical context in 4QEnastr<sup>b</sup> ar (4Q209) 26 5–6, which parallels 1 En. 78:17 (according to the Ethiopic version).

4QEnastr<sup>b</sup> ar (4Q209) 26 5–6<sup>41</sup>

[...] בליליא מן ] קצת דמי חזוא דן כדמות אנש ] וביממא מן ] קצת (?) 5  
 [...] גהור[ה] בלחודהי ... ] 6

5 in the night, for] part (of the time), this appearance looks as if it was the image of a man; and by day for [part(?) (of the time)

6 [...] her [light] only ...

From line 6 on of the Mareshah ostrakon the text of the ostrakon seems to move to a new subject, i.e. to demons, as we are told: “If you are hurt by Lilith,” or: “if you meet Lilith.” The female demon Lilith, here *ליליתא*, is mentioned once in the Bible, in Isa 34:14, but is known since the third millennium B.C.E. in Mesopotamia and later also in Syria. The name Lilith appears in the Aramaic magical texts and in the scriptures of Mandaean literature of southern Mesopotamia.<sup>42</sup>

The last line of the ostrakon mentions *שתקו והן אורתוקא* “and (by) ŠTQW, and if (you meet) ’WTWQ” —which, like Lilith, seem to be two additional demons. Starting with *אורתוקא*, this noun should be compared with the Akkadian evil demon *utukku(m)*.<sup>43</sup> The second noun *שתקו* seems to

<sup>39</sup> Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 299.

<sup>40</sup> CAD 10/2:120–121.

<sup>41</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 163–164. This verse was interpreted by Ben-Dov as part of Version II of “Moon I” type (1 En. 78:10–14, 17), describing the light of the moon at night and day during one lunar moth, as well as its distance from the sun (not from the gates of heaven); see Ben-Dov, “Astronomy and Calendars,” 87–90 (Hebrew), [10–11] (English).

<sup>42</sup> M. Hutter, “LILITH לילית,” *DDD* (2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 973–976.

<sup>43</sup> J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, eds., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (2nd ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 430.

be related to the root שתק, meaning “to be silent,” which is used in Aramaic in both *pa'el* “to silence” and *itpa'el* “to be silent.”<sup>44</sup> In the Mareshah ostrakon we might explain it with regard to a demon whose power is to make people deaf-mute, or paralyzed. The term can be compared with the name שתיקא mentioned on an amulet found in the Cairo Geniza.<sup>45</sup>

Moving on to the second ostrakon found in Mareshah, only four lines have survived from this text, the last of which preserves only the head of a *lāmed*. Since no remains can be seen above the first line, it might have been the first line of this ostrakon, or else a continuation of now lost text (see below). In what remained, the right margin can be seen, but the left end of the lines is missing, thus the width of the ostrakon cannot be reconstructed. The ostrakon measures 65 × 30 mm. It reads as follows:

*Ostrakon No. 2 from Mareshah:*

1 מנדת יתקטירת ד]o  
 2 והן נווך והן רוחא ]  
 3 זי נווך בחווא מללתא די]  
 4 ]ל.

*Translation*

1. period comes to an end (or: a payment will be recieved) *d*o[...]
2. and if a comet, if the spirit [...]
3. that a comet in appearance, MLLT' *dy*[...]
4. [...]*l*[...]

This ostrakon refers to both celestial bodies (נווך) as well as to demons (מללתא, רוחא). The first line can be read in various ways, and might have been the beginning of the texts or a continuation of now lost text. It starts with מנדת יתקטירת. This enigmatic phrase can be interpreted in various ways:

- a. We can interpret מנדת from the Akkadian *middatu*, which means “measure” of either capacity or length, area, and time.<sup>46</sup> If we interpret it as “measure of time,”<sup>47</sup> and understand יתקטירת as related to the Akkadian verb *qatû* in the *quttû* form (4c), meaning “to go to the end of a period of time,” here in line 1 it means something like “a period comes to an end.”<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 569.

<sup>45</sup> T.-S. AS 142.12 line 36; see P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, vol. 1 (TSAJ 42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 85.

<sup>46</sup> CAD 10/2:46–47.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>48</sup> CAD 13:181.

- b. Another possibility is to interpret יתקטירת as a form of the root קטר in the context of an incantation. The use of the noun קטרא in Aramaic magic bowls where it designates a “knot, tying,” (cf. “Further, I adjure, invoke . . . all mysteries of sorcerers . . . knots [קטרין], blows, spells . . .”<sup>49</sup>) could argue as much for this interpretation as their use of the verb קטר in the *pa’el* (“to tie,” e.g.: “Thoroughly bound, sealed, tied [קטורי יטרין] and charmed [may you be] by the Name [(namely, of God)]”<sup>50</sup>), and in *itpa’el* (e.g. “[...] the sons and daughters of Shelta, may they be tied and [לייתקטרין] bound by an evil, strong and clasping binding”<sup>51</sup>). This meaning probably goes back, as noted by Sokoloff,<sup>52</sup> to Akkadian *kiširu* “knot, made for magic purposes,” (e.g. “you tie seven and seven knots and you recite an incantation over every [knot] you tie”<sup>53</sup>). In this interpretation, the meaning of מנדת remains unclear.
- c. Another possible interpretation of מנדת יתקטרת is in the context of payment. The word מנדת/מנדה or its emphatic form מנדתא, meaning “payment, duty,” can be frequently found in the Elephantine papyri,<sup>54</sup> as one of their economic loan-words,<sup>55</sup> originating from the Akkadian term *maddattu* (*mandattu*), which has various meanings, among them “tribute,” or “rent (for field etc.), additional fee.”<sup>56</sup>

The term קתרא (which is the parallel of קטרא), meaning a “tie, receipt” is found in an Aramaic receipt from the Bar Kokhba period, P.Yadin 43.<sup>57</sup> In this papyrus, the term is used for the partial payment of a lease. If this third interpretation is accepted, the term מנדת יתקטרת might be translated as: “[...] a payment will be received.” As in omen-lists (see

<sup>49</sup> J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 124–125, Bowl 19:5–6.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 113, Bowl 14:1.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 139–140, Bowl 26:4.

<sup>52</sup> Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 1012.

<sup>53</sup> CAD 8:437; see R.C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts from the Originals in the British Museum* (New York: AMS Press, 1982), no. 104:14.

<sup>54</sup> DNWSI 2:656; see also B. Porten and J.A. Lund, *Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 222–223.

<sup>55</sup> See T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 377 (no. 22), 380.

<sup>56</sup> CAD 10/1:13–16.

<sup>57</sup> Reading in line 7: קתרא דנן יהוא קים, “This ‘tie’ shall be valid”; see Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri* (JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 152–155, and the discussion of this term on pp. 373–379.

below), we would have in this case in the second Mareshah ostracon an apodosis of an unpreserved protasis. The whole sentence could be reconstructed as: “[If X is seen or happened], then a payment will be received.”

Line 2 of the ostracon mentions together with גוֹרֵךְ, i.e. Halley’s Comet, also רוּחָא “the spirit,” which is either anonymous, or named in the missing part of the line. In line 3 we read מַלְלֵתָא. This word either means “evil speech,”<sup>58</sup> or is a name of a demon.<sup>59</sup> Of these two options the second seems to fit our context better. This demon can be found in the Aramaic incantation text from Nippur which reads: “... with them are repressed all evil spirits and impious amulets spirits and Liliths male and female ... and counter-charms and MLLT” (מַלְלֵתָא).<sup>60</sup> It can also be found in a Mandaic golden amulet, which reads: “... and sealed against the seven speaking ones (מַלְלֵאֲתָא)—male and female—who are sent against men and women” (lines 17–21);<sup>61</sup> as well as in an Aramaic incantation bowl, which reads “... the evil sorcerers, the plaguing demons, the commanding demons and the speaking ones (מַלְלֵתָא) came against me” (lines 5–6).<sup>62</sup>

If we are to conclude what we have learnt from the two ostraca discussed here, they include short and enigmatic sentences, formed as “if X,” sometimes followed by the sentence הֵן מִן אֱלֹהִין probably to be translated as “it is from the gods.” These short sentences refer to either astronomical objects, the most popular is גוֹרֵךְ (גוֹרֵךְ), “a comet” or “Halley’s comet,” or another “luminous phenomenon produced by the stars or a meteor,” if we accept such an interpretation for מַחְשָׂא. A general reference to the zodiac cycle might also be found in the second ostracon, if we accept the interpretation of the phrase: מְנֻדָּת יִתְקַטֵּירָת as “a period comes to an end.”

<sup>58</sup> For example, דַּאִיסְתֵּרְתָּא, ומַלְלֵתָא דַּאִיסְתֵּרְתָּא, “and the speech of the (female) goddesses,” in the Babylonian-Aramaic Bursippa Bowl 1:5; as well as in the construct state: וּמִן מַלְלֵתָא, “and from the (evil) speech of the (slandering) tongue” (line 10); see C. Müller-Kessler, “Aramäische Koine: Ein Beschwörungsformular aus Mesopotamien,” *BaghM* 29 (1998): 342–344. Thanks are due to Christa Müller-Kessler for her notes and references concerning this word.

<sup>59</sup> Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 682.

<sup>60</sup> J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1913), 141–144, no. 6:9.

<sup>61</sup> BM 135791 obverse; see C. Müller-Kessler, “A Mandaic Gold Amulet in the British Museum,” *BASOR* 311 (1998): 83–88, 84.

<sup>62</sup> BM 135563; see C. Müller-Kessler and T. Kwasman, “A Unique Talmudic Aramaic Incantation Bowl,” *JAOS* 120 (2000): 159–165, 162–163.

As an integral part of these astrological objects we can find references to various demons: לליתא, שתוקו, אורתוקא, and מללתא as well as to רוחא “the spirit” whose name might have been lost.

The most significant term found in this inscription is נויך or גויך. A detailed description of a comet—maybe Halley’s comet, is found in Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 2.89–94.<sup>63</sup>

“Javelin-stars” quiver like a dart; these are very terrible portent. To this class belongs the comet about which Titus Imperator Caesar in his 5th consulship wrote an account in his famous poem, that being its latest appearance down to the present day. The same stars when shorter and sloping to a point have been called “Daggers”; these are the palest of all in color, and have a gleam like the flash of a sword . . .<sup>64</sup>

(Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 2.89)

#### D. HALLEY’S COMET IN JEWISH TEXTS OF THE HELLENISTIC AND EARLY ROMAN PERIODS

An appearance of Halley’s comet was understood as an important turning point in various Jewish texts of the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, of which the most significant ones are:

1. In *Sib. Or.* 3, as part of the prophecies on the Nations, among them Gog and Magog,<sup>65</sup> we hear of a reference to the appearance of Halley’s comet. It reads as follows:

- [333] All your land will be desolated and your cities desolate ruins.  
[334] But in the west a star will shine which they *will*<sup>66</sup> call “Comētēs,”

<sup>63</sup> Pliny, *Natural History* (trans. H. Rackham et al.; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938–1962), 1:230–239.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 232–233. For the study of Halley’s comet and its appearances through history, suggesting that the appearance of Halley’s comet in 540 B.C.E. fits the description of Isa 14:12–15 and refers to the end of Nabonidus, see D.V. Etz, “Is Isaiah XIV 12–15 a Reference to Comet Halley?” *VT* 36 (1986): 289–301.

<sup>65</sup> J.J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974), 26–27; see *idem*, “Sibylline Oracles (Second Century B.C.—Seventh Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 1:317–472, 369 n. j2. For another reference to such astral event, see *Sib. Or.* 8:190–193: “[190] All the stars will fall directly into the sea [191] all in turn, and men will call a shining comet [192] ‘the star,’ a sign of much impending toil, [193] war, and slaughter.”

<sup>66</sup> A. Wolters, “Halley’s Comet at the Turning Point in Jewish History,” *CBQ* 55 (1993): 687–697, 691, added “will,” because he assumed it was a future event from the vantage point of the composition.

- [335] a sign to mortals of sward, famine, and death,  
 [336] destruction of the leaders and of great illustrious men.<sup>67</sup>

The author of this text is usually identified as a Jew living in Egypt, and the quoted verses are defined as the most ancient part of this book, dated to the middle of the second century B.C.E.<sup>68</sup> A. Wolters suggested a connection between this reference in the *Sibylline Oracle* and the appearance of Halley's comet in 164 B.C.E., and the various crucial events of that year, among them the sudden death of Antiochus IV and the purification of the Jerusalem Temple, by Judah the Maccabee.<sup>69</sup> As evidence for the appearance of Halley's comet in 164 B.C.E. Walters refers to some cuneiform tablets.<sup>70</sup>

2. As noted by Wayne Horowitz, there is evidence in some Babylonian tablets of yet another comet (not Halley's), which appeared in the ancient Near Eastern sky a year later, in 163 B.C.E. This comet was seen also in Judaea. Horowitz suggested that this astronomical event fortified the Jewish believe in their victory during the Hasmonean Revolt.

3. A comet was said to have been seen in Judea in 66 C.E., at the outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt, as described by Josephus: "So it was when a star, resembling a sword, stood over the city, and a comet (κομήτης) which continued for a year" (Josephus, *J.W.* 6.289).<sup>71</sup> H. Newman suggests that this event actually refers to two stars, seen one after the other. The first star Newman identifies with a comet seen by Chinese astronomers in the summer of 65 C.E., while for Newman the second is Halley's comet which was seen at the beginning of year 66 C.E.<sup>72</sup>

4. Newman suggested that a fourth appearance of the Halley's comet occurred before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, in the year

<sup>67</sup> Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," 369.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

<sup>69</sup> Wolters, "Halley's Comet," 687–697.

<sup>70</sup> See W. Horowitz, "Halley's Comet and Judaeian Revolts Revisited," *CBQ* 58 (1996): 456–459, who adds two more Babylonian astronomical diaries which refer to this event. See further D. Gera, "Antiochus IV in Life and Death: Evidence from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries," *JAOS* 117 (1997): 240–253.

<sup>71</sup> *Josephus* (trans. H.S.J. Thackeray et al.; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965), 2:460–461; see Horowitz, "Halley's Comet," 458–459.

<sup>72</sup> H. Newman, "The Star of Bar Kokhba," in *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt* (ed. H. Eshel and B. Zissu; Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2001), 95 (Hebrew).

129/130 C.E.<sup>73</sup> A hint to such event can be found, according to Newman, in *Sib. Or.* 5, written after 117 C.E. when Hadrian became Roman Emperor. It reads as follows:

- [155] But when after the fourth year a great star shines
- [156] which alone will destroy the whole earth, because of
- [157] the honor which they first gave to Poseidon of the sea,
- [158] a great star will come from heaven to the wondrous sea
- [159] and will burn the deep sea and Babylon itself
- [160] and the land of Italy, because of which many
- [161] holy faithful Hebrews and a true people perished.<sup>74</sup>

Thus, Newman argued that the appearance of a comet or comets before the Bar Kokhba Revolt was understood by the Jews as a sign for the coming redemption, as we have seen in the First Revolt. Newman also found later references to these events in some Medieval *Midrashim*.<sup>75</sup>

As argued above, such mention of celestial objects and demons, phrased in “if X” formula, initially brings to mind the omen lists known from the Ancient Near East. Nevertheless, omen lists are usually built in protasis formula: “if something is seen,” followed by an apodosis: “then something (good or bad) will happen.” But in the Mares Shah ostraca the apodosis is missing. Ostrakon no. 1 seems to preserve seven complete lines, though we might be missing additional lines, which preceded the extant text, but did not survive. With regard to ostrakon no. 2, it is clear that the end of its lines are missing, so that one cannot be sure whether the original ostrakon included the apodosis or not. Therefore, in what is preserved it cannot be defined as a regular omen text, but as a text related to this *genre*.

#### E. THE MARESHAH OSTRACA AND MESOPOTAMIAN COMMENTARIES TO OMEN TEXTS

As suggested by W. Horowitz, the fragments found at Mares Shah are reminiscent of Mesopotamian commentaries to omen texts which typically quote a full omen (protasis and apodosis), or passages from an omen, and then offer exegesis to a difficult word or words. Many examples from the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* are available in astronomical reports from the

<sup>73</sup> Newman, “The Star of Bar Kokhba,” 97.

<sup>74</sup> Collins, “Sibylline Oracles,” 397.

<sup>75</sup> Newman, “The Star of Bar Kokhba,” 96–97.



seventh century to the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal,<sup>76</sup> but late-Babylonian examples also survive in tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil* and its commentaries. More directly relevant to the Mareshah fragments may be another type of astrological text that preserves short comments on astronomical observations and/or phenomena drawn from *Enūma Anu Enlil*, but without quoting the omens themselves. These are collected in the *Enūma Anu Enlil* series in what is today known as Assumed Tablet 50.<sup>77</sup> This tablet is known from Neo-Assyrian sources, but parallels are available from the late-Babylonian period as well.<sup>78</sup> In this tablet, short astrological comments are added as a sort of exegesis to the main entry which comes before. A good example can be found in the entry for Scorpio, where it is explained that observations of Scorpio (the constellation “The Scorpion”) can be correlated with the price of sesame:

The star which stands after it is Scorpio, (the goddess) Išhara—For the price of sesame, favora[ble].

The ostraca from Mareshah may have been making use of the same type of learned exegesis in their astrological materials related to comets, especially if we accept the interpretation of *מנדה יתקטירת* in line 1 of Ostrakon no. 2 as: “[If X is seen or happened], then a payment will be received.”

Bearing in mind that the majority of Mareshah’s inhabitants were Edomites, it is interesting to note, that I. Eph’al has shown that the Jews were not the only nation returning from their exile in Babylon, but that some Arameans also returned to Nirab. The cuneiform tablet discovered in Tell Tawilan, a village not far from Petra, proves that some Edomites might have been familiar with Mesopotamian culture, since they had returned from Babylon to Edom in the Persian period, bringing cuneiform tablets with them.<sup>79</sup> We therefore conclude that finding texts

<sup>76</sup> H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (SAA 8, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press), 1992.

<sup>77</sup> E. Reiner and D. Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens*, part 2: *Enūma Anu Enlil Tablets 50–51* (BMes 2.2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1981), 28–51.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. BM 55502 from Hellenistic Babylon; see W. Horowitz and J. Oelsner, “The 30 Star-Catalogue HS 1897 and the Late Parallel BM 55502,” *AfO* 44–45 (1997–1998): 176–185.

<sup>79</sup> For the cuneiform tablet discovered in Tell Tawilan, a village not far from Petra, see: S. Dalley, “Appendix A: The Cuneiform Tablet from Tell Tawilan,” *Levant* 16 (1984): 19–22. According to the editor, it is a contract “concerning a sale of livestock, in which the sellers were Samsa-yadi and Samsa-idri, and the buyer was Qusušama‘ son of Qusu-yada.” As noted by the editor, the sellers have Aramaic names “with a possible parallel for the writing of the Sun god name Samsa (with which they are compounded) from Neirab

that resemble Mesopotamian commentaries on omen series at Mareshah, the first of which are found in alphabetic script, is of significance and that they might shed light on the cultural connections between Babylon and southern Syria during the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

#### F. THE KNOWLEDGE OF ASTRONOMY IN SOUTHERN SYRIA IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

As for the existence of the knowledge of astronomy in southern Syria in the Hellenistic period, one should mention three astronomical compositions known from Qumran:

- a. As noted above, the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* is preserved in four Aramaic manuscripts in Qumran. I argued that its synchronistic 364-day-calendar was dependant on the seventh century B.C.E. cuneiform composition of MUL.APIN.<sup>80</sup>
- b. 4QZodiology and Brontology ar (4Q318) includes two types of texts: A *selenodromion* and a *brontologion*. The *selenodromion* indicates the movement of the moon through the various zodiacal signs in the sky during the twelve months of the year. Based on the surviving text the editors suggest that the original text began with the month of Nisan, and that it was based on a year of 360 days. Thus they argued that, “This 360-day calendar has its origin in Mesopotamia . . . This calendar is used in traditional Mesopotamian astronomical works from the late second millennium BCE and the first half of the first millennium BCE, such as the astrolabes and MUL.APIN.”<sup>81</sup> The second text of 4Q318 is a *brontologion*. It includes two distinct types of brontological texts: the first part is “a table in which the days of the twelve synodic months?—in each of which the new moon occurs in one of twelve synodic months—are correlated with the sign in which the moon is on that day,” and

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tablets” (19), while the buyer and his father have Edomite names. This document proves that the Edomites were familiar with the Mesopotamian culture, since some Edomites had returned from Babylon to Edom; see I. Eph'al, “The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries BC,” *Or* 47 (1978): 74–90.

<sup>80</sup> For further dependence of Qumran texts recording lunar phases (4Q320, 321, 321a) on the Akkadian MUL.APIN and *Enūma Anu Enlil*, see J. Ben-Dov, “*Dwq* and Lunar Phases in Qumran Calendars: New Mesopotamian Evidence,” *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 3–28 (Hebrew).

<sup>81</sup> J.C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 264.

the second is “A set of predictions based on thunder occurring in each zodiac sign.”<sup>82</sup> E.g. “[If in Taurus] it thunders (there will be) *msbt* against [...] affliction for the province, and a sword [in the cou]rt of the king, and in the province ...” (4Q318 VIII:6–7).<sup>83</sup> Regarding the latter part of 4Q318 they argued that, “This goes back to a well attested section in the Akkadian omens series *Enūma Anu Enlil*.” But based on a comparison with a Greek parallel (Supp. gr. 1191), D. Pingree has suggested that the *brontologion* of 4Q318 is “a version of either the Akkadian original or one of its Greek descendants.”<sup>84</sup>

- c. 4QPhysiognomy ar (4Q561).<sup>85</sup> As shown recently by M. Popović, this text includes only physiognomic teachings (and not astrology).<sup>86</sup> Since this text also includes some non-scientific material, which is written in narrative style, Holst and Høgenhaven suggested that the scientific section was part of a larger apocalyptic composition,<sup>87</sup> while Popović argued that 4Q561 was an independent scientific composition. As for the practical application of 4Q186, it might have been used “as a diagnostic tool during a physiognomic inquiry.” Such diagnosis “was believed to determine people’s horoscopes and the nature of their zodiacal signs and spirits.”<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless, as we suggested earlier, the two Mareshah ostraca are not only dealing with astrology and astronomy, but also with demonology. Thus, we suggest the following interpretation: The first ostrakon mentions sighting a comet, which comes from the Gods. It then mentions some demons, among them Lilith. It thus combines astrology and astronomy with demonology. This combination is even more evident in the sec-

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 270–271.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 263–264.

<sup>84</sup> See the discussion of D. Pingree in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 270–274.

<sup>85</sup> M. Geller, “New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic,” in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus Gordon* (ed. M. Lubetski, C. Gottlieb, and S. Keller; JSOTSup 273; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 227–229. A somewhat related text is 4Q186, which in cryptographic Hebrew has many similarities with 4Q561. See Schmidt, “Ancient Jewish Astrology,” 189–205; Stuckrad, *Frömmigkeit und Wissenschaft*, 117–132.

<sup>86</sup> M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 54–55.

<sup>87</sup> S. Holst and J. Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy and Eschatology: Some More Fragments of 4Q561,” *JJS* 57 (2006): 26–43.

<sup>88</sup> Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 57.

ond ostracon, where we have astrology or astronomy, combined together with demonology. One might speculate that another unpreserved part might have followed presenting a solution to the problem of being hurt by a demon. The solution may have involved sympathetic magic.

Such a combination of the various fields of ancient knowledge, such as astrology, demonology, magic or medicine can be traced in various ancient texts, among them in some Qumran scrolls such as 4Q186 mentioned above.<sup>89</sup>

4Q186 also mentions a specific אבן צינום “granite stone,” which might have associated certain stones with zodiacal signs and spirits, “used for purposes of magico-medicinal treatment, or as preventative, apotropaic elements.”<sup>90</sup> This text might have been used, as suggested by M. Popović, for both “preventive measure, which regulates membership of the group and prevented wrong people and their zodiacal spirits from entering and threatening the community, as well as a diagnostic tool, similar to the magico-medical context, to determine the kind of treatment and cure for community members attacked by zodiacal spirits of a less harmful nature.”<sup>91</sup> As indicated by 4Q186, the nature of someone’s zodiacal spirits is modified according to the position of the zodiacal sign at the moment of birth, which also brings to mind the “Birth of Noah” text mentioned above.

Another such combination is known from the *Testament of Solomon*. This text, as described by C.C. McCown, “is a collection of astrological, demonological, and magical lore, brought together without any attempt at consistency . . . [the producer of the text] is a compiler rather than an author.”<sup>92</sup> A major part of the text combines astrology and demonology, when demons and human beings are said to reside in a star, or a sign of the zodiac. The most detailed relevant descriptions are those in ch. 18, which lists the names of “heavenly bodies” who are demons, the harm they cause to humans, and the means for driving them away and curing people. As noted by P. Alexander, this catalogue combines demonology

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<sup>89</sup> Popović argued, that the word, “spirit” (רוח) is used in 4Q186 “to refer to spirits that are related to the zodiacal signs,” that is, “the spirits mentioned in the text are zodiacal spirits; one for each of the zodiacal signs” (ibid., 195). This meaning of רוח might also be applied to Ostracon no. 2 from Mareshah, interpreting רוחא as also referring to the Zodiacal spirit.

<sup>90</sup> Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 237.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 239.

<sup>92</sup> C.C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922), 43.

with astrology.<sup>93</sup> An interesting connection between demons and astrology is found later in ch. 20, with respect to the demon Ornias. In a description of how demons ascend into heaven it says: “But we who are demons are exhausted from not having a way station from which to ascend or on which to rest; so we fall down like leaves from the trees and the men who are watching think that stars are falling from heaven. That is not true . . .” (*T. Sol.* 20:16–17).<sup>94</sup>

The second century C.E. physician Galen, in his *On the Temperament and Forces of Simple Drugs* ridicules a man names Pampilus for claiming to use thirty-six sacred herbs of the demons (= horoscopes) and decans from a hermetic text, and also for his use of incantations and spells when gathering these herbs. This criticism shows that at least some people believed in existing connections between astrology, demonology, and medicine in an intricate and meaningful way.<sup>95</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

We have examined some enigmatic texts found in Qumran, all sharing knowledge of the various fields of astronomy, astrology and demonology. We were able to suggest better translations for two Aramaic terms which are documented in 4Q211, by introducing evidence from two ostraca of about the same date, but of different origin. The two ostraca are from pagan Mareshah, which was populated by various ethnic groups, such as Edomites and Sidonites. These ostraca were based on Babylonian knowledge of astrology and demonology, as were some Qumran texts. We were able to draw some parallels in terminology, such as the usage of the noun מְאִוָּה to be interpreted as referring to a luminous phenomenon

<sup>93</sup> P.S. Alexander, “Contextualizing the Demonology of the Testament of Solomon,” in *Die Dämonen—Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt—The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K.F.D. Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 613–635, 632.

<sup>94</sup> Translation according to D.C. Duling, “Testament of Solomon (First to Third Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 1:935–987, 983.

<sup>95</sup> *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 6 pr, in *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia* (ed. C.G. Kühn; 20 vols.; Leipzig: Cnobloch, 1821–1833; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964–1965), 11:796–798. See T.S. Barton, *Power of Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics, and Medicine under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 53–54, 196 n. 127. We would like to thank M. Popović for drawing our attention to this text.

made by stars or meteors. This in turn, might help us to interpret מִשְׁחָתָה found in 4Q211 as referring to the same phenomenon. Further, I suggest, based on the usage of the verb נָזַח to describe the movement of the Halley's Comet in the Mareshah ostraca, that this word is used in the same way in the "Birth of Noah" text, thus probably referring to the horoscope of the "Elect of God."

Finally, we have looked at the broad context of these texts and compared them with other contemporaneous texts that combine knowledge of astrology, astronomy and demonology, trying to draw some conclusions as to the cultural connections between Babylon and southern Syria during the Persian and Hellenistic periods.



# FOUR DIMENSIONS OF LINGUISTIC VARIATION: ARAMAIC DIALECTS IN AND AROUND QUMRAN\*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

A significant contribution of the Qumran Aramaic texts to the study of Aramaic has been the clarification it forced in our ideas of Aramaic dialectology. This has found expression, for example, in the shift they provoked from a tri-partite division of the history of Aramaic to a history consisting of five parts.<sup>1</sup> This paper argues that this revision did not go far enough, however, and that the new data provided by the Aramaic texts from Qumran and elsewhere in the Judean Desert cannot be accommodated by simply refining our old models of Aramaic dialectology. Instead, we need to replace them with new multi-dimensional models to account for the variability now evident in our corpora.

One comment must be made before proceeding. Nearly everything said below has been said by others, and the intention is to articulate a realization which, it seems, has been implicit in much recent work.

Both the older tripartite model and the newer five-part model rely heavily on chronological divisions to make sense of the history of Aramaic. In addition, geography plays an important role in all descriptions of the Aramaic dialects, and the division between Western and Eastern dialects is a particularly well-studied subject. If we suffice with the two dimensions of chronology and geography, we ought then to be able to conclude that texts composed in the same area at the same time will look similar linguistically; yet this is not the case. We need not admit that chaos reigned, however: by discussing some aspects of the Aramaic language situation in Roman-era Palestine, roughly 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.,

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<sup>1</sup> For details and references, see S.E. Fassberg's contribution to this volume.



it may be possible to show that a dialectological model which includes more dimensions of variation can accommodate the data more fully.

## 2. LANGUAGES IN PALESTINE: HEBREW, ARAMAIC, GREEK, LATIN, ARABIC, ARABIAN

As is well known, Palestine in the last two centuries B.C.E. and the first two centuries C.E. was awash in a dizzying array of languages. Fitzmyer's survey of the languages involved focused on four: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin.<sup>2</sup> The choice of languages may not have been altogether justified, but this is not the place to re-open this issue.<sup>3</sup> Instead, I wish

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<sup>2</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–531; repr. in J.A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 29–56. See also J.A. Lund, "The Languages of Jesus," *Mishkan* 17–18 (1992–1993): 139–155; B. Spolsky, "Triglossia and Literacy in Jewish Palestine of the First Century," *International Journal of Sociology and Language* 42 (1983): 95–109; J. Myhill, *Language in Jewish Society: Towards a New Understanding* (Multilingual Matters Series 128; Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004), 109–111.

<sup>3</sup> The role of Latin is not of the same type as the other three; see the recent study of W. Eck, "The Language of Power: Latin in the Inscriptions of Iudaea/Syria Palaestina," in *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity: Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch E. Levine* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 123–144, concluding that it was used exclusively by people who were "the representatives of (the ruling) power," and even they only used it "when representing Rome." Still, the Latin loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew show that it had a real effect on the speakers of Hebrew in Israel, and there have been excellent recent studies of Latin bilingualism more generally which should illuminate these issues; see especially the masterful work of J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). On the other hand, two languages which are discussed far less in this context, but which probably belong in the discussion, are Arabic and the North Arabian dialects. Texts in both are found relatively nearby to Jerusalem and Qumran. The Arabian dialects are being spoken and written just 30 to 100km away from Jerusalem and Qumran. Dozens of texts in Thamudic scripts B, C, and D have been found in the Negev (cf. N. Tsafir, "New Thamudic Inscriptions from the Negev," *Mus* 109 [1996]: 137–167) and many more just over the Jordan River; indeed, the longest texts ever found in Thamudic E come from the Madaba region south of Amman; D.F. Graf and M.J. Zettler, "The Arabian 'Thamudic E' Inscription from Uraynibah West," *BASOR* 335 (2004): 53–89. We also know that writers of Safaitic texts had good reason to keep tabs on what happened in Palestine: see the texts discussed in M.C.A. MacDonald, "Herodian Echoes in the Syrian Desert," in *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy* (ed. S. Bourke and J-P. Desceudres; Mediterranean Archaeology Supplements 3; Sydney: MeditArch, 1995), 285–290, and discussed in D.F. Graf, "Language and Lifestyle as Boundary Markers: The North Arabian Epigraphic Evidence," *Mediterranean Archeology* 16 (2003): 27–56, 40. We also have long

to focus on another issue: can one really speak of “the Hebrew” or “the Aramaic” of Roman Palestine?

### 3. VARIETIES OF HEBREW AND OF ARAMAIC

The simple answer is no: it is well known that neither Hebrew nor Aramaic of Roman-era Palestine were monolithic. While this is a dialectological given regarding spoken languages, this diversity is more striking when encountered in the written record, especially since a few centuries earlier the literary dialects we call Standard Biblical Hebrew and Imperial Aramaic were so dominant, even if the homogeneity of each of these is not as great as it sometimes appears.<sup>4</sup>

My focus will be on the Aramaic side, but let me survey the Hebrew situation briefly first. Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew must have been spoken somewhere, and the *Copper Scroll* and MMT reflect its close kin. Qumran Hebrew is of course very different, and the question of whether it was a spoken dialect or not need not detain us here. The Bar Kosiba letters are different again, and the Hebrew documents from the time of the Great Revolt, such as Mur 29 and 30, show still more dialectal differences,<sup>5</sup> such as the preservation of the ך of the definite article even after

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first-century texts in what appears to be classical Arabic from both ‘En ‘Avdat in the Negev and Uraynibah, 35 km east of the Dead Sea; cf. A. Negev, with a contribution by J. Naveh and S. Shaked, “Obodas the God,” *IEJ* 36 (1986): 56–60, and the much improved reading of D. Testen, “On the Arabic of the ‘En ‘Avdat Inscription,” *JNES* 55 (1996): 281–292. Of course, Arabs had been living in the Negev for centuries: see, for example, the onomastic evidence in I. Eph‘al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996); cf. the discussions in A. Kloner and I. Stern, “Idumea in the Late Persian Period (Fourth Century B.C.E.),” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. O. Lipschits, G.N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 139–144, and E. Eshel, “The Onomasticon of Mareshah in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 145–156, as well as D.F. Graf, “The Origin of the Nabataeans,” *ARAM* 2 (1990): 45–75, 50.

<sup>4</sup> For studies emphasizing the heterogeneity in these corpora, see especially I. Young, *Diversity in Pre-exilic Hebrew* (FAT 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993) for biblical Hebrew, and M.L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995) for Imperial Aramaic.

<sup>5</sup> H. Cotton, “Survival, Adaptation and Extinction: Nabataean and Jewish Aramaic versus Greek in the Legal Documents from the Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever,” in *Sprache und Kultur in der kaiserzeitlichen Provinz Arabia* (ed. L. Schumacher and O. Stoll; Mainzer Althistorische Studien 4; Mainz: St. Katherinen, 2003), 1–11, 8.

the prepositions  $\text{-בְּ}$ ,  $\text{-פְּ}$ , and  $\text{-לְ}$ .<sup>6</sup> With the exception of Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew, whose home territory is unknown, the other three dialects are attested within 20 km of each other. This proximity of *findspots*, when taken together with the linguistic diversity among the texts, makes a point which recurs often: where texts are found is irrelevant and potentially misleading.

Turning now to Aramaic, we can begin up north with the Galilean Aramaic dialect. In the south there was the Judean Aramaic dialect seen in the Yadin papyri, as well as the literary dialects of texts such as the *Aramaic Levi Document* and the *Targumim Onqelos* and *Jonathan*, the different dialect of the *Job Targum* from Qumran, the again different dialect of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (more on which below), and Nabatean—again, found within 20 km of each other. Somewhat more distantly, Wajsberg has shown in admirable detail that the language of the early Palestinian rabbis quoted in later Babylonian sources is not Babylonian and not Galilean, and does not precisely match any other known dialect, either.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4. MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF VARIABILITY

What do we do with this variability? Within models which utilize only the axes of chronology and geography, this situation will appear chaotic; multi-dimensional models, on the other hand, will be driven by data just such as these. There are probably around half a dozen dimensions required in a model that can account for all the Middle Aramaic data from Palestine, but three will be explored here. The discussion will begin with two examples of the impact geography can have, in order to illustrate its impact beyond the division into Eastern and Western dialects. The

<sup>6</sup> Cf. especially D. Talshir, “העברית במאה השנייה לספירה: לשון האפיגרפיה בהשוואה ללשון עיונים בלשון חכמים: תקצירי ההרצאות לסדנה על הנושא דקדוק לשון חכמים ומילונה,” in *התנאים* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Academy for Advanced Research, 1996), 42–49, and also E. Qimron, “Observation on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–361; M. Mishor, “מייחודי: ‘הלשון של התעודות מוזמן המרד הגדול,’” *Leš* 63 (2000–2001): 327–332; J.F. Elwolde, “3Q15: Its Linguistic Affiliation, With Lexicographical Comments,” in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. G.J. Brooke and P.R. Davies; JSPSup 40; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 108–121, and J. Lübke, “The Copper Scroll and Language Issues,” in *Copper Scroll Studies*, 155–162.

<sup>7</sup> E. Wajsberg, “ההלשון הארמית של היצירה הארץ-ישראלית בתלמוד הבבלי,” *Leš* 66 (2004): 243–282; 67 (2005): 301–326; 68 (2006): 31–61.

discussion will then turn to one syntactic phenomenon which may be a function of a text's genre, and finally a brief comment on the role of linguistic ideologies in dialectology will be offered.

### a. *Geography*

Geographical variability exists, but in many cases we ignore it and make the “simplifying assumption” of geographic homogeneity.<sup>8</sup> Geography imposes a sense of order when it divides dialects, but geography also blurs neat *Stammbaum* pictures when wave effects spread through dialects which dwell in close proximity but are not closely related.<sup>9</sup> No pretense is being made of offering an exhaustive analysis for the examples below. Instead, they are meant to serve as illustrative examples; full descriptions and explanations of each would require a more robust presentation than is allowable here.

#### i. *Waves: Non-Metathesis*

One of the distinctive morphological features of some of the Middle Aramaic Palestinian dialects is the non-metathesis in the infixed -t-stem forms of initial-coronal roots.<sup>10</sup> Metathesis in such contexts is the rule in Hebrew and in most earlier and later dialects of Aramaic,<sup>11</sup> but the situation in Roman Palestine seems to have been exceptional.<sup>12</sup> The Yadin papyri and the Bar Kosiba letters show a “consistent lack of the expected

<sup>8</sup> See recently R.C. Steiner, “Variation, Simplifying Assumptions, and the History of Spirantization in Aramaic and Hebrew,” in *Sha'arei Lashon: Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher*, vol. 1: *Biblical Hebrew, Masorah, and Medieval Hebrew* (ed. A. Maman, S.E. Fassberg, and Y. Breuer; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), \* 52–\* 65.

<sup>9</sup> This is of course well known when *language* contact is studied, but is more difficult to ascertain, and therefore less often studied, when what is in contact is not distinct languages but different dialects of the same language.

<sup>10</sup> For a generative phonological account of the metathesis (setting aside all philological discussions), see E. Aim, “Aramaic & Hebrew Metathesis,” *Proceedings of the Israel Association for Theoretical Linguistics* 20 (2004), available online at <http://linguistics.huji.ac.il/IATL/20/Aim.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> Exceptional unmetathesized forms may not be unique to the Roman period; cf. **תשמט** in Sefire I A 29, and possibly also **תמין** and the like in BA. See the discussion in E. Qimron, *Biblical Aramaic* (2nd ed.; The Biblical Encyclopedia Library 10; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2002), 48–49.

<sup>12</sup> For most of this data, see M.L. Folmer, “Metathesis in Jewish Aramaic: A So-Called ‘Pan-Semitic Feature’ Reconsidered,” in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed.

sibilant metathesis,” with forms like אַתּוֹבֵן (P.Yadin 7:16), מַתּוֹנֵן (P.Yadin 10:14), הַתְּשֻׁדֵר (P.Yadin 53:3), and יַתְּשֻׁכָּה (P.Yadin 54:10).<sup>13</sup> Nabatean also shows this lack of metathesis,<sup>14</sup> but the forms in the *Genesis Apocryphon* do conform to the metathesis rule.<sup>15</sup>

This last point is a red herring, though: since the *Genesis Apocryphon* was not written at Qumran, all the dialects known to have been used in the area around the Judean Desert (Yadin papyri, Bar Kosiba letters, and Nabatean) share this feature. Especially significant is that similar Hebrew forms from this period are attested, as well, in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and the Qumran *Hodayot*.<sup>16</sup> Since this list of dialects crosses all genealogical diagrams of the dialects’ ancestry, this suggests that the non-metathesis spread through these neighboring dialects areally, crossing genealogical lines in doing so.

## ii. Stammbaum Issues: Mareshah Bowls and the Aramaic Written in Idumea

Geography can create different results when a dialect lives alone for an extended period of time. Some recent additions to our Aramaic mix are the texts on bowls from Mareshah, published by Eshel, Kloner, and Puech, which are dated by the editors to around 200 B.C.E. and understood by them to be scribal practice texts.<sup>17</sup> Although the editors

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M.F.J. Baasten and W.T. van Peursen; OLA 118; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 233–243, esp. 241. See also her comments in M.L. Folmer, “The Spelling of the Aramaic Bar Kosiba Letters Compared to Contemporary Documents,” *Dutch Studies* 5.1–2 (2003): 59–74, 70.

<sup>13</sup> And הַתְּשֻׁכָּה (P.Yadin 54:6), which is suspected of being an error for הַתְּשֻׁדֵר. The quotation is from B. Levine and A. Yardeni, in Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 23. On the “preservation” of the initial ה, see below, at n. 18. The non-metathesis is not entirely consistent if the uncertain reading תְּשֻׁדֵרִין is correct in P.Yadin 55:4, 6; see the epigraphic notes in *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 315.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Morgenstern, “The History of the Aramaic Dialects in the Light of Discoveries from the Judean Desert: The Case of Nabataean,” *ErIsr* 26 (1999): 134\*–142\*, 139\*.

<sup>15</sup> The *Genesis Apocryphon* has מִשְׁתָּי (II:2), אִשְׁתָּי (II:11), אִשְׁתְּבִשְׁן (V:16), אִשְׁתָּי (XIX:18), and אִזְדָּמִי (XXI:25); see J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 280.

<sup>16</sup> E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959), 266 (Hebrew).

<sup>17</sup> E. Eshel, É. Puech, and A. Kloner, “Aramaic Scribal Exercises of the Hellenistic Period from Maresha: Bowls A and B,” *BASOR* 345 (2007): 39–62. See also E. Eshel, “Two

do not comment on the language of the texts, there are a number of very striking details. This is not the place for a full discussion, but two features will be singled out, one notably progressive, and the other archaic.<sup>18</sup>

On the progressive side, the texts show the word for “wood, tree” as **עא**, with the dissimilation of the earlier double **ע**. This is the same form

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Aramaic Ostraca from Mareshah,” in *A Time for Change: Judah and Its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods* (ed. Y. Levin; Library of Second Temple Studies 65; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 171–178.

<sup>18</sup> The texts also show *hap’el* forms with the ⟨h⟩ (/h/?) preserved, at least word-initially, although it was being lost already in the Hermopolis papyri centuries earlier. For the claim that the shift of the *hap’el* to *ap’el* was long complete, see, e.g., S.A. Kaufman, review of S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, *BO* 34 (1977): 94–95, based on the sporadic writings in biblical Aramaic; also D.M. Gropp, “The Language of the Samaria Papyri: A Preliminary Study,” *Maa’arav* 5–6 (1990): 169–187, 176–177, and Qimron, *Biblical Aramaic*, 36 (§ 3.1.1.2). Both the Hermopolis papyri (T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 113–116) and the Aramaic incantation in cuneiform (M.J. Geller, “Philology versus Linguistics and Aramaic Phonology,” *BSOAS* 69 [2006]: 79–90, 86) show a mixture of the two. Even the particularly stubborn Nabatean scribes cannot preserve more than a handful of *hap’els*, and those only in the perfect (Morgenstern, “History of the Aramaic Dialects,” 138\*–139\*). For differing explanations of the shift, see S. Kaufman, “Aramaic,” *ABD* 4:177 (“weakening of the *Hap’el* [hktb/yhktb] to *ap’el* [’ktb/yktb]”) and I.A. Yun, “A Case of Linguistic Transition: The Nerab Inscriptions,” *JSS* 51 (2006): 19–43, 37 (syncopation of intervocalic ה in the prefixed conjugation followed by analogical pressure on the suffixed conjugation), and the idiosyncratic presentation in Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 113–114. In the *Genesis Apocryphon* the ⟨h⟩ is entirely gone, but the scribe of 11QtgJob preserved it in word-initial position. To accommodate the data from Nabatean and 11QtgJob, E.M. Cook, “Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. T. Muraoka; *AbrNSup* 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 1–21, 14 simply rules that these are “unrepresentative archaisms in the whole spectrum of Middle Aramaic, which uniformly has gone over to the ’Aph’el [sic].” This data suggests, however, that the transition was not as uniform as portrayed (M. Sokoloff, “Qumran Aramaic in Relation to the Aramaic Dialects,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* [ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000], 746–754, 753). Further complicating the picture are the forms **התשכר** (ה’התשכר?) and **התשדר** in the Bar Kosiba letters (also above, at n. 13). These have been explained as Hebraisms by E.Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the Hebrew and Aramaic Letters of Bar Kosiba and His Contemporaries: 1. The Aramaic Letters,” *Leš* 25 (1961): 117–133, 122 and this view has remained the conventional wisdom (cf. E.M. Cook, “The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* [ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999], 1:359–378, 374), although in light of the 11QtgJob examples, perhaps this should be re-examined; especially noteworthy in this regard is that the Aramaic within the Mishnah uniformly preserves the ה. Furthermore, in the recently published legal document from Beit ‘Amar, the form **התקבלת** appears; attention was drawn to this by M. Bar-Asher, “On the Language of the Document from Beit ‘Amar,” *Cathedra* 132 (2009): 25–32, 26 n. 8 (Hebrew). A full study of the Aramaic within the Mishnah is needed.

as appears in the *Genesis Apocryphon*,<sup>19</sup> but a more progressive form than the עע that appears in the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242 1–3 8) and other Qumran Aramaic texts.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, the word חזר “to return” appears, with a ʔ for \*d. Lest this be explained as a Hebraism, it may be added that the relative pronoun appears as ʔ, not ʔד, and I have found no examples in these texts of graphic ʔ for etymological \*d in actual lexemes.<sup>21</sup> The phonological shift of \*/d/ → /d/ is supposed to have been complete by late Imperial times.<sup>22</sup> Because scribes are trained to mask phonological changes in their written texts,<sup>23</sup> we expect most examples of \*/d/ to be written with ʔ in Imperial Aramaic, which is what we in fact find. What is surprising is that the scribes at Mareshah, working two to three centuries later, are actually more stubborn than the Imperial Aramaic scribes.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> It appears in XIV:11, but there U. Schattner-Rieser, *Textes araméens de la Mer Morte: Édition bilingue, vocalisée et commentée* (Langues et cultures anciennes 5; Brussels: Safran, 2005), 68 reads עע. I do not know if this is just a typographical error or a different reading. See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 168.

<sup>20</sup> See J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–675, 673.

<sup>21</sup> The single counter-example is a PN בעלדכר (mentioned as an example of the use of בעל in PNs in Eshel, “The Onomasticon of Mareshah,” 147), but PNs are obviously subject to different rules than normal language. This is because if etymological \*/d/ was actually pronounced [d] at this time, the scribes would have to memorize a list of words in which they said [d] but were to write ⟨z⟩. (This should not surprise writers of English or French.) When it came to a PN, however, the scribe would presumably write what he heard. For a very similar example, compare the PN קוסדכר attested in the Wādi Dāliyah papyri (WDSP 9:1), in a corpus which is otherwise distinguished by its rigorous use of ⟨ʔ⟩ for etymological \*/d/ (on the name see recently F.M. Cross, “Personal Names in the Samaria Papyri,” *BASOR* 344 [2006]: 75–90, 84).

<sup>22</sup> See U. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte, I. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l'étude des langues de l'Orient ancien 5; Lausanne: Zèbre, 2004), 36. Schattner-Rieser also points out (65) that in 4QEn<sup>g</sup> ar (4Q212) 1 iii 25 the scribe first wrote ʔ and then corrected the ʔ to a ʔד. Might this point to a scribe who was trained in a place like Mareshah, where he was taught to write ⟨ʔד⟩, and then moved to a place like Qumran where he had to be re-taught to write ⟨ʔד⟩?

<sup>23</sup> See especially R.C. Steiner, “Papyrus Amherst 63: A New Source for the Language, Literature, Religion, and History of the Aramaeans,” in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (ed. M.J. Geller, J.C. Greenfield, and M.P. Weitzman; JSSSup 4; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 199–207.

<sup>24</sup> Something similar is true for the Samaria Papyri, and Gropp notes: “In spite of being chronologically later [than Egyptian Imperial Aramaic texts], the language of the Samaria Papyri is even more consistently conservative.” Note the comment of D.M. Gropp to this effect in *DJD* XXVIII (2001): 4, and see Gropp’s fuller study: “The Language of the Samaria Papyri,” 169–185.

Remaining in the same geographic area, but glancing backwards chronologically, we find that almost all of the texts we have from the Negev show this same pattern. The fourth-century ostraca published by Eph'al and Naveh, for example, also use ף consistently, although there is one other example of \**d* written ד.<sup>25</sup> In the fourth-century Arad ostraca, too, the relative pronoun is ף.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, the fourth-century texts have the Imperial Aramaic form for the word “wood,” עק.

What does this show? If in fact the Negev should be treated as a scribal monolith (an open question at this point), the shift of \*/d/ → ⟨d⟩ took place apparently at some point after the third century, whereas the writing of \*/d/ shifted from ⟨עק⟩ to ⟨אע⟩ rather quickly—between the fourth and third centuries.<sup>27</sup> By strict chronological guidelines, the Mareshah bowls apparently should be classified as Middle Aramaic. But clearly this is too broad a brush with which to paint our picture: the scribes in the Negev did not follow the same rules as the scribes in Qumran or Syria, and there is no reason to have expected that they would.<sup>28</sup>

#### b. Genre

In response to the claim that Qumran Aramaic represented a vernacular dialect, J.C. Greenfield argued that it was a late representative of the literary dialect he termed Standard Literary Aramaic. This dialectal claim has now been buttressed with detailed morphological and syntactic data

<sup>25</sup> Eph'al and Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca*; the exception is the word דכר “ram” (no. 46). Here, too, the initial ה in the *hap'el* is still preserved, even intervocally in prefix-conjugation forms. עק appears in nos. 25 and 167; *hap'el* forms are הנעל (passim in the corpus), המטא (no. 26), הקבלה (no. 199), הקים (no. 199), and מה [ה] (no. 199). The last form is restored מה[ה]ף by Michael Sokoloff in his review of Eph'al-Naveh, *IEJ* 47 (1997): 283–286, 284 n. 5. Similar—but less certain—patterns can be seen in the texts published by A. Lemaire: *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël* (Transeuphratène suppl. 3; Paris: Gabalda, 1996), and *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, vol. 2: *Collections Moussaïeff, Jesselsohn, Welch et divers* (Transeuphratène suppl. 9; Paris: Gabalda, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> J. Naveh *apud* Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 168 (inscription no. 41).

<sup>27</sup> One may wonder whether the scribes in the Negev ever learned to write עע, or whether the phonological dissimilation was immediately reflected in their scribal practices.

<sup>28</sup> It is worth emphasizing that this is presumably a matter of scribal training rather than dialectology, although without more data, it is difficult to be certain.



by Fassberg.<sup>29</sup> The full significance of this claim is not limited to the detailed analysis of Qumran Aramaic, but makes an important claim about the language used in a written text. If Greenfield is correct, one must ask what would prompt a writer to utilize a standard literary dialect, as opposed to a vernacular, in writing a particular text. But this also opens the door to ask whether there was only one standard literary dialect of Aramaic: perhaps different types of texts would be composed in differing literary dialects. Were there different registers of Aramaic appropriate for different genres of texts?

One isogloss which does seem to illustrate the significance of genre is the syntax of direct objects.<sup>30</sup> There are three constructions attested in Aramaic: pronominal suffixes, a synthetic construction with the direct object marked with the particle 𐤀(𐤁), and a similar construction with the object marked with the preposition -ל. Pronominal suffixes are attested in Old Aramaic already, but those same texts also show the particle 𐤀(𐤁); notably, the texts from Tel Dan and Bukān both show this construction. On the other hand, this particle is not attested in the (eastern?) Faḥariya inscription, and is later almost certainly missing from (eastern?) Imperial Aramaic, as well.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See J.C. Greenfield, "Standard Literary Aramaic," in *Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, Paris 16–19 juillet 1969* (ed. A. Caquot and D. Cohen; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 281–289; repr. in *‘Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. S.M. Paul, M.E. Stone, and A. Pinnick; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 1:111–120; S.E. Fassberg, "Salient Features of the Verbal System in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls," *Aramaica Qumranica: The Aix-en-Provence Colloquium on the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. Stökl Ben Ezra and K. Berthelot; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup> Most of the data is collected by A. Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization* (HSS 57; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 91–127 (esp. 94–105 and 115–121), but the little analysis he provides is idiosyncratic, and this is most likely not an example of grammaticalization. Earlier important studies (not superseded by Rubin's) are Kutscher, "Language of the Hebrew and Aramaic Letters," 129–133, esp. 131 n. 59𐤁, and A. Tal, "The Dialects of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch," *Sef* 46 (1986): 441–448; see also Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," 4. There is still much more to be said about the history and distribution of this syntactic feature in the various dialects.

<sup>31</sup> The western distribution makes a possible connection with Hebrew 𐤀𐤁 tempting, and it seems likely that this is a feature whose early history will include a description of areal spread.

In Middle Aramaic, it is found only a handful of times in all of the Qumran Aramaic texts (never in the *Genesis Apocryphon*),<sup>32</sup> but often in Nabatean and consistently in epigraphic Judean Aramaic, as represented by the Bar Kosiba letters and the texts from Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever. It is also standard in later epigraphic Judean Aramaic, such as the synagogue inscriptions of Ein Gedi and Jericho, and in CPA, as well as the fragments of Palestinian Targumim.<sup>33</sup>

Eastern dialects, on the other hand, mark the direct object with a -ל: this is found occasionally in Imperial Aramaic, and is standard in Mandaic and Syriac and in certain syntactic environments in JBA,<sup>34</sup> as well as the *Genesis Apocryphon* and other Qumran Aramaic texts,<sup>35</sup> as well as the non-translational parts of *Targum Onqelos* and *Jonathan*.<sup>36</sup> The third syntax, suffixed objects, falls out of favor in most Middle Aramaic dialects but is often used in Nabatean and Qumran Aramaic, and turns out to be the norm in Galilean JPA.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> It appears, for example, in the chronograph that is 4Q559 (3 3 עמ[ר]ם), and probably five more times in the same text); for the possible implications, see M.O. Wise, "To Know the Times and the Seasons: A Study of the Aramaic Chronograph 4Q559," *JSP* 15 (1997): 3–51, 22 and below.

<sup>33</sup> E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (trans. M. Sokoloff; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1976), 4 n. 14.

<sup>34</sup> M. Morgenstern, "המושא הישיר בארמית הבבלית," *4–5 העברית ואחיותיה* (2005): 167–187. The particle ית appears in JBA only in the more archaic and/or literary dialect; cf. M. Sokoloff: *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 44; esp. with the comments of E. Wajsborg, "ארמית דיאלקטית במילון החדש לארמית הבבלית היהודית," in *Sha'arei Lashon: Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher*, vol. 2: *Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic* (ed. A. Maman, S.E. Fassberg, and Y. Breuer; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 393–407, 397.

<sup>35</sup> See for example the comments of Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit," 666 with n. 40, regarding the consistent use of -ל rather than ית in 4QTob<sup>a-d</sup> ar (4Q196–199).

<sup>36</sup> It should be mentioned that this is attested in BH as well: cf. 1 Sam 23:10; 2 Sam 3:30; Job 5:2, and Amos 1:6 according to R. Gordis, "Studies in the Book of Amos," *PAAJR* 46/47 (1979/1980): 201–264, 207. P.K. McCarter, *II Samuel* (AB 9; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 110 claims that these are influenced by Aramaic, but since the Aramaic picture is far from uniform, this is not a helpful suggestion.

<sup>37</sup> For Nabatean Arabic influence has sometimes been suspected, but (a) the syntax is native to earlier Aramaic, (b) this would leave Qumran and Galilean Aramaics unexplained, and (c) early Arabic does show -J prefixes marking direct objects. (For this last point, see S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic Based Upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984], 209–210.)

	Synthetic 1: ת	Synthetic 2: -ל	Pronominal suff.
<i>Old Aramaic</i>	Frequent (note Dan and Bukān), but not Faḥariya		Frequent
<i>Imperial Aramaic</i>	No	Yes	
<i>Middle Aramaic</i>	Tg. Onq. and Ps.-J. only translating BH תא Epigraphic Judean Aramaic (Bar Kosiba letters, Wadi Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever [and later inscriptions of Ein Gedi and Jericho]) Nabatean Sporadically in Qumran Aramaic	Tg. Onq. and Ps.-J. in non-translational passages 1QapGen ar and other QA texts	Nabatean
<i>Late Aramaic</i>	JBA in "literary or archaic passages"	Mandaic, Syriac, JBA	Galilean JPA

There is clearly much to say about this distribution, but here the focus here is on the Qumran texts, and especially on the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Setting aside the Targumim as a geographic wild-card, we note that the *Genesis Apocryphon* lines up with the *Eastern Late Aramaic* dialects. If we insist on geography as our sole organizing criterion, we would be forced to conclude that the *Apocryphon* is eastern. Although this possibility should not be ruled out a priori, it seems unlikely.<sup>38</sup>

A better possibility, it seems, is to consider the fact that the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Targumim, which alone among the Middle Aramaic dialects share the use of the -ל, are also related by genre. Certainly this would not be a simplistic question of "formal" as opposed to "colloquial" registers,<sup>39</sup> but the economical explanation is to divide up these texts

<sup>38</sup> Dialectological discussions of Middle Aramaic texts of unknown provenance are particularly complicated because many of the isoglosses characteristic of later Eastern Aramaic texts are difficult to date. For example, the Uruk incantation has imperfects with initial *yod*, for example, but seems to have plurals in -ē. For discussions of the former, see S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (AS 19; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 124–126, whose theory has since been confirmed by the Faḥariya inscription (and the summary in A. Rubin, "On the Third Person Preformative *n-/l-* in Aramaic, and an Ethiopic Parallel," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 44 [2007]: 1–28).

<sup>39</sup> See also M.O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (JSPSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 107 n. 16. Interestingly, Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," 3–14 n. 13 notes that although Beyer claimed that the shift of intervocalic *yod* > *aleph* was supposedly a phenomenon of the vernacular Judean Aramaic, it is not found in the Bar Kosiba letters.

by genre: epigraphic texts (Nabatean, Bar Kosiba, Naḥal Ḥever, Wadi Murabba'at) which use תִּי vs. literary or biblically-oriented texts (Targumim, *Genesis Apocryphon*) which use -לִי.<sup>40</sup> Neither is necessarily “colloquial,” and neither can be assumed to clearly reflect the spoken dialect. It may be a question of register (one more self-consciously literary, and the other more prosaic), or simply a matter of genre: different grammatical structures would be used for different types of literary products in different literary genres.

### c. Ideological

The final variable I would like to mention here is ideology. For lack of space, I will forego a specific example, and just note that there is ample evidence not only that Aramaic speakers in Roman Palestine paid attention to what language they and others were speaking, but that they made language choices in part based on ideologies and value-judgments—like all speakers in multilingual societies throughout human history. This linguistic consciousness is occasionally articulated in Qumran and *Jubilees*, but is covertly expressed in a number of ways.

Little has been done in studying the ideological values of the different Aramaic dialects, although the use of Nabatean and Judean Aramaic dialects in such close proximity provides excellent raw material for the study of at least one example. Another example is the use of Standard (Jewish) Literary Aramaic studied now by Fassberg. If he is correct, this is an ideologically charged dialect whose use is meant in part to connect the work being written to earlier works such as the book of Daniel.<sup>41</sup>

The ideological power and uses of Hebrew has been studied more. One of the striking examples is the use of Hebrew by the rebels of the Great Revolt as well as Bar Kosiba's revolt.<sup>42</sup> There have also been a few attempts

<sup>40</sup> For 4Q559, Wise plausibly suggested that the use of תִּי indicates that it was a private text, made for independent study, and not a literary composition. Note that elsewhere, Wise insists that there are no autographs among the Qumran corpus (*Thunder in Gemini*, 121–122 n. 58), which would necessitate at least a modification of the idea that any text would be simply a scholar's independent notes, so to speak.

<sup>41</sup> Fassberg, “Salient Features of the Verbal System in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls.”

<sup>42</sup> H.M. Cotton, “The Languages of the Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean Desert,” *ZPE* 125 (1999): 219–231; H. Eshel, “Documents of the First Jewish Revolt from the Judean Desert,” in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology* (ed. A.M. Berlin and J.A. Overman, London: Routledge, 2002), 157–163; H.M. Cotton, “Language Gaps in Roman Palestine and the Roman Near East,” in *Medien*

at reading the ideology of Qumran Hebrew, but these have not yet been entirely convincing, I think.<sup>43</sup> According to Seth Schwartz, the composition of the Mishnah in Hebrew was also an ideological statement.<sup>44</sup> Although some have expressed reservations, I think the suggestion has much to commend it, if it can be appropriately nuanced. Moshe Bar-Asher has pointed to the lack of foreign loanwords in rabbinic prayers, as opposed to rabbinic texts, and explained this as an ideologically-driven decision;<sup>45</sup> I would add that this shows an impressive level of linguistic sophistication on the part of the formulators of the prayers.<sup>46</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FORWARD

Before concluding it is worth stressing a point that has long been known and has recently been emphasized by Schattner-Rieser: the heterogeneity

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*im antiken Palästina: Materielle Kommunikation und Medialität als Thema der Palästinaarchäologie* (ed. C. Frevel; FAT 2/10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 151–169.

<sup>43</sup> W.M. Schniedewind, “Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–252; S. Weitzman, “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?” *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35–45; W.M. Schniedewind, “Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245–255.

<sup>44</sup> S. Schwartz, “Language, Power and Identity in Ancient Palestine,” *Past & Present* 148 (1995): 3–47; idem, “Hebrew and Imperialism in Jewish Palestine,” in *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context* (ed. C. Bakhos, JSJSup 95; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 53–84. Compare also I. Gluska, “הנאמנות הלשונית של דוברי העברית בתקופת הבית השני,” *Balšanut Ivrit* 41–42 (1997): 33–43.

<sup>45</sup> M. Bar-Asher, “Les Formules de Bénédiction forgées par les Sages (Étude Préliminaire),” *REJ* 166 (2007): 441–461, esp. 446–448.

<sup>46</sup> All this is worth stressing because in both the Gospel of John (5:2; 19:13, 17, 20; 20:16) and in Acts the word *Hebraisti* seems to be used for Aramaic. Some explain that this shows “the apparent perception of ancient Palestinian Jews that Hebrew and Aramaic were essentially the same language” (J.M. Watt, “The Current Landscape of Diglossia Studies: The Diglossic Continuum in First-Century Palestine,” in *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* [ed. S.E. Porter; JSNTSup 193; Studies in New Testament Greek 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 18–36, 32–33; so, too, Fitzmyer, “The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.,” 43). If this is correct, it is strikingly different from the situation in the Jewish texts just analyzed. A case can be made, however, that the authors of John and Acts do mean to refer to Hebrew, not Aramaic at all. But if *Hebraisti* really does refer to Aramaic, what does this say about the culture out of which the Gospel of John and Acts emerged? I leave these questions to others to sort out. It should suffice to emphasize that if John or Paul equates Hebrew with Aramaic, he is living in a different world than the Jews of Roman-era Palestine.

of the Aramaic texts found at Qumran.<sup>47</sup> It is not just 11QtgJob and the *Genesis Apocryphon* that are exceptional, as there are clearly different groups of texts among the smaller ones, as well. Schattner-Rieser has suggested that some of the texts date from the Persian period, some from Hellenistic times, and some from later on,<sup>48</sup> and this is probably true, but as I have been arguing throughout, chronology need not be our sole explanatory model. Geography, genre, and ideological affiliation may also dictate language choices.

It must be admitted that this makes life more difficult. A final example regarding the *Genesis Apocryphon* may make these difficulties clear. One of the linchpins of Kutscher's theory of *Onqelos'* origins was that the language of the consonantal text of *Onqelos* matched that of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and so was Palestinian in origin. But two objections ought to be raised to this line of argumentation. First, the place of origin of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is unknown. Second, there may be other explanations for the features shared by these texts, such as that of genre discussed above, which may supersede considerations of time and place. I do not wish to contest the point that the Targumim have their roots in Eretz Israel of the first century, but I do wish to question the assumption that shared features must be explained on the basis of geography and chronology alone. One could easily think of other reasons the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Targumim may share a linguistic heritage, whatever the origins of each. The Roman Period was linguistically fluid, politically and socially tempestuous, and culturally rich, and all sorts of interesting things happen in environments like that.

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<sup>47</sup> Contrast, for example, Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," 7–8.

<sup>48</sup> Schattner-Rieser, *Laraméen*, 25 divides the corpus into Hellenistic texts (parts of 4QEn ar, 4QLevi ar, 4QVisions of Amram ar, 4QPrNab ar), more recent texts (11QtgJob, 1QapGen ar), and Persian period texts (parts of 4QEn ar, 4Q550 [formerly called "Proto-Esther"], 4QPrNab ar [!]).



## THE LINGUISTIC HERITAGE OF QUMRAN ARAMAIC

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This article<sup>1</sup> continues my study, “The Earliest Evidence for Targum

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations and Sigla employed: < BTA = has BTA influence; ! = new reading; AL = Aramaic London bowls in the Samir Dehays Collection; ALD = *Aramaic Levi Document*; AMB A, B = J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985); Amulet A–B, Paul Gherty Museum = R. Kotansky, “Two Inscribed Jewish Amulets from Syria,” *IEJ* 41 (1991): 267–281; AO = *Antiquité Orientale*, Louvre; APM = Allard Pierson Museum in K.A.D. Smelik, “An Aramaic Incantation Bowl in the Allard Pierson Museum,” *BO* 35 (1978): 175–177; BM = British Museum; BS = Bowl Syriac; BTA = Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic; CBS = Collection of Babylonian Section, Philadelphia in J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Publications of the Babylonian Section 3; Philadelphia: University Museum, 1913); C. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena 7; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005); CPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic; GA = Galilean Aramaic; Geller A–D = M.J. Geller, “Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” in *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (ed. G. Rendsburg; New York: Ktav, 1980), 47–60; Gordon A–F = C.H. Gordon, “Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums,” *ArOr* 6 (1934): 319–334, pls. 10–15; Gordon G = C.H. Gordon, “An Aramaic Exorcism,” *ArOr* 6 (1934): 466–474; Gordon H = C.H. Gordon, “Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls,” *ArOr* 9 (1937): 84–106, pls. 2–13; Hermitage bowl = A.J. Borisov, “Epigrafičeskie zametki,” *Epigrafika Vostoka* 19 (1969): 3–13; HS = Hilprecht-Collection in Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*; HSM = Harvard Semitic Museum; IM = Iraqi Museum; JDA = Documentary Jewish Aramaic (Naḥal Ḥever, Murabbaʿat, and others); JTS = Jewish Theological Seminar; KS = Koine Syriac; M = Mandaic; Moriah bowl = C.H. Gordon, “Magic Bowls in the Moriah Collection,” *Or* 53 (1984): 220–241; Moussaieff = D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls* (London: Kegan, 2003); Moussaieff 1 = S. Shaked, “‘Peace be Upon You, exalted Angels’: on Hekhalot, Liturgy and Incantation Bowls,” *JSQ* 2 (1995): 197–219; Moussaieff 164 = D. Levene, “‘If You Appear as a Pig’: Another Incantation Bowl (Moussaieff 164),” *JSS* 52 (2007): 59–70; Moussaieff amulet = M.J. Geller, “More Magic Spells and Formulae,” *BSOAS* 60 (1997): 327–335, pls. 1–4; MSF A, B = J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993); QA = Qumran Aramaic; S = Syriac; SA = Samaritan Aramaic; SD = Samir Dehays Collection in D. Levene and S. Bhayro, “‘Bring to the Gates . . . upon a Good Smell and upon Good Fragrances’: An Aramaic Incantation Bowl for Success in Business,” *AfO* 51 (2005–2006): 242–246; SLAT = Standard Literary Aramaic in Babylonian Talmud; SLBA = Standard Literary Babylonian Aramaic in magic bowls; TA = Targum Aramaic; TJPA = Targum Jewish Palestinian Aramaic; VA = Vorderasiatisches Museum; WA = Western Aramaic;



Onqelos from Babylonia and the Question of Its Dialect and Origin.<sup>2</sup> In this article I argued that the language of the two official Targums, *Onqelos* and *Jonathan*, is based on a linguistic import from Palestine. This language transfer occurred at the latest after the destruction of the Second Temple, but before the devastation of Nehardea. I discussed the theory of Edward Cook, who claimed that Syriac and both official Targums share certain morphemes found in Palmyrene and Qumran Aramaic.<sup>3</sup> He classified them as Central Aramaic, following an earlier suggestion of Daniel Boyarin.<sup>4</sup> Cook selected the following linguistic features for his arguments: 1. The independent personal pronoun of the third plural masculine; 2. The independent personal pronoun of the second singular masculine and the first plural; 3. The demonstrative pronouns of nearness; 4. The suffixes of the third singular masculine on plural nouns and verbs and the third singular feminine; 5. The suffix of the masculine plural on participles of the verbs lamed-*yod* (III-*y*).<sup>5</sup>

For the inflection of the imperfect, Cook considered a different set of problems and postulated a double series for the imperfect, one indicative with *y*-prefix and one jussive with *l*-prefix.<sup>6</sup> This, however, raises the question of how the *l*-prefix can occur in certain Aramaic dialects and

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Wiseman bowl in Müller-Kessler, *Zauberschalentexte*, 11d. Certain bowl texts that do not belong to large public collections are cited by its publication or accepted standard abbreviations, e.g., Geller A or Gordon H.

QA texts are quoted according to their official Qumran editions. In case of diverging reading this is specifically noted. The TA, SLAT and Geonic examples can be taken from the references dictionaries and grammars and are only indicated in case of important divergence. The data of the Aramaic bowls in SLBA is more extensively cited, since there exist no comprehensive study or overview to date. Preference is given to quoting the collection number of the text material as many text editions carry reading mistakes or list the data under incorrect grammatical categories, e.g. Levene, *Corpus*, see C. Müller-Kessler, "Of Jesus, Darius, Marduk . . . : Aramaic Magic Bowls in the Moussaieff Collection," *JAOS* 125 (2005): 49–70.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 3 (2001): 181–198. The journal is a forerunner of *Aramaic Studies*, Sheffield Academic Press, now Brill, Leiden.

<sup>3</sup> See E.M. Cook, "A New Perspective on the Language of Onqelos and Jonathan," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (ed. D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara; JSOTSup 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 142–156, esp. 150–155. It continues his article on the position of Qumran Aramaic, see *idem*, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSup 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 1–21.

<sup>4</sup> See D. Boyarin, "An Inquiry into the Formation of the Middle Aramaic Dialects," in *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns* (ed. Y. Arbeitman and A.J. Bombard; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1981), 613–649.

<sup>5</sup> See Cook, "New Perspective," 150–153.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 152.

periods, such as in Tell Fekheriye, at an early stage but not in the Aramaic docketts and endorsements (seventh to sixth centuries B.C.E.) from Upper and Lower Mesopotamia. The feature is not at home in Imperial Aramaic of the West (Egypt) and the East (Mesopotamia, Iran, including the recently published few texts from Baktria and unpublished Ostraca from Babylon). *l-* is attested, however, in Biblical Aramaic (only for הרי) and in a number of Qumran Aramaic texts (*Book of Giants*, *1 Enoch* [various sources], *Targum of Job*), the private documents from Wadi Murabba'at (only for הרי) but not in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and other Judean desert documents. The usage of the *l-* prefix did not live on in Western Aramaic at all. It is considered an Eastern Aramaic feature that merged later with *n-* as a positional variant. It is also not a morpheme in SLBA, comprising TA, SLAT, Aramaic in magic bowls, and the Geonic *responsa*. While one could still argue that on account of the *y-* prefix *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* were translated in Palestine and later redacted in Babylonia, this cannot be said of the magical bowl texts and Geonic *responsa* that share between them more features (graphical conventions, morphemes, syntagms, lexemes) with Targumic Aramaic than with any of the Western Aramaic dialect, despite some minor variations.

Cook only dealt with grammatical phenomena, as the lexical affinities were not an issue in his article. I claimed, however, that the background of the eastern Targum Aramaic dialect is probably the "Rabbinic" literary language as found in the Aramaic of Qumran. This is the dialect that had been transferred to Babylonia at the latest after the Revolt of the Jews against the Romans. It forms a mutual group with Syriac, based on common lexemes.<sup>7</sup> This dialect stands in contrast to Western Aramaic (Christian, Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan Aramaic) and the true Eastern Babylonian Aramaic dialects (Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, *koiné* Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic). The Hebrew loanwords in Targum Aramaic have to be exempted from the lexical comparison as they are not relevant for Syriac. These loans are often not identical to the ones attested in the surviving text corpus of Qumran Aramaic.<sup>8</sup> The documentary language type from the Judean desert also continued in Babylonia but only in the style of transmission of text formulae in the Babylonian Talmud.

<sup>7</sup> A. Tal, *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Tel Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1975), XI (Hebrew), dealt with this relationship.

<sup>8</sup> See now C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg 11; Heidelberg: Winter, 2008).

In his monumental work on the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, Klaus Beyer defined the term Babylonian Documentary Aramaic (siglum **u** in grammar and glossary) as a continuation of Hasmonean. It is attested in the legal language of the divorce writ, the *Fast Scroll*, etc., and is closer related to the texts from Qumran than to Babylonian Targumic (siglum **bt**). It shows the following features: אַנְתִּי “you f.”; יְכִי- “your f.”; דִּי “who”; דְּנָן and דְּדִין “this”; עֶשֶׂר “ten”; בַּת “daughter of”; תִּי- suffix 1 sg. with verbs III-y; יִי- suffix 2 sg.f. on verbs III-y.<sup>9</sup> The diverse terms used by Beyer for the Aramaic dialects before and after the turn of the Common Era in Palestine and Babylonia are more than confusing. The Jews did not stop using certain literary dialects and later created new ones according to period and geographical surrounding. These dialects were either transferred to Babylonia<sup>10</sup> or underwent further developments within the Western Aramaic dialects of Palestine (CPA, GA, SA, TJPA = Beyer **gt**).

The Aramaic as found in the Qumran texts, in Nabatean, partially in JDA, and later in SLBA that includes the official Targums (*Tg. Onq.*, *Tg. Jon.*), SLAT (Babylonian Talmud), most of the magic literature on bowls, and writings of the Geonim is rather fixed and continues the SLA type from Imperial Aramaic onwards with incorporated loans from Hebrew and certain innovations (see below, § 12). That this SLA type had been under the influence of the linguistic geography where it was in use is not surprising, since such loans are to be expected. For example, the first appearance of the *nota accusativi* is in Nabatean and Qumran Aramaic. This makes the final redaction of the Aramaic part of the book of Daniel rather late, where it occurs only once. It does not occur in the Idumea ostraca.<sup>11</sup> The full development of the usage of יִי can be better observed in SLBA (see below, § 8) than in good Western Aramaic dialects such as CPA that restricts its use to pronominal suffixes. The western amulet texts from Palestine and Syria in Aramaic script, however, display similar usage.

<sup>9</sup> See K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Aramaistische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik/Wörterbuch, deutsch-aramäische Wortliste, Register* (2 vols. and Ergänzungsband; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984/1994/2004), 1:40.

<sup>10</sup> Also Beyer is of the opinion that this dialect (**bt**) continues as import in Babylonia, see K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 20.

<sup>11</sup> This particle is not attested in the Idumea texts.

It stands to reason that the Qumran Aramaic text witnesses do not show a homogenous language type as the SLBA texts do.

The only intermediary text between Qumran, JDA, and SLBA in Babylonia is the *ALD* from the Cairo Genizah. Another potential witness would be the lead roll incantation from the Moussaieff collection, but it is unprovenanced.<sup>12</sup> It cannot be denied that the *ALD* shows common features with *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.*, as some authors have rightly pointed out, but the language is not so advanced as the latter. The forerunner of the *ALD* points to a compilation soon after the transfer of SLA from Palestine to Babylonia, at the latest after the revolt against the Romans (135 B.C.E.). The arguments are the following: the historical ה- prefix for *hafel* and once for *itpa'el* are partially in use; non-assimilated spellings are still extant להנסקה (7:3); מהנסק (8:3); the long imperfect of הוי occurs; the conjunction ארי is employed; the demonstrative pronouns דן, דנה, and אילן occur outside fixed idioms; historical spellings such as in the conjunctions די “that” and כדי “when” (frequent) are extant;<sup>13</sup> √חמי (התחמיון) is plausible as a root in SLBA too, e.g., מיתחמי “is appearing” (Moussaieff 112:6); it preserves the nouns אע “wood, tree,” עאן “flock,” and the verb רהע “to wash” (frequently attested)<sup>14</sup> that are not in use in Late Aramaic on account of total dissimilation א < ע (see below, § 11.1); Hebrew lexemes are found: הרה “to conceive,” כבוד “honour,” and כותל “wall” etc.<sup>15</sup>

The innovations that make the *ALD* from the Cairo Genizah an eastern text source are the following: plene spellings: צוארה “his neck” (8:4); pl. emph. ירכאתא “haunches” (8:4); the perfect suffix תי- with the verb group III-γ (e.g., הויתי 11:10; חזיתי 7:4; 12:9; קראתי 11:8; קריתי 13:1; שריתי 13:1); the nominal ending אה- for adjectives, ordinals, and gentilics: טומאה “unclean” (6:1, 3); the use of the lexemes נחשירותא “chase” < Iranian and נצפתא “conflict” might point to a close lexical affinity of Targum Aramaic with Classical Syriac, but need not be the result of Syriac influence,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> This intermediary text has not been incorporated as such by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, vol. 2.

<sup>13</sup> J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 240, have listed it as an “adverb,” although it is a conjunction.

<sup>14</sup> The intermediary forms of רהק “to wash, rinse” and of מהק “to smite” are still unattested.

<sup>15</sup> See S.E. Fassberg, “Hebraisms in the Aramaic Documents from Qumran,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 48–69. קטר “to smoke” is not just limited to Hebrew as indicated by Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 240, but it also occurs in QA and in Eastern Aramaic (TA, BTA, M).

<sup>16</sup> This was proposed by Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 23.

since both share many lexemes.<sup>17</sup> The same is true for **וישפא**, a term for “a special sort of fine flour,” which is now attested for QA and in the preceding Idumea ostraca. The *ALD* also shows eastern overtones that appear in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.*, such as the plural of the emphatic state ending **י- /-ê/** and infinitive forms of the derived stems **קיטולי** and **אקטולי**. But other Babylonian features are not found in this Targum yet.

By describing a written dialect and its graphic features, one can obtain a certain idea of its geographical affinity. Since we are dealing with a literary language type that was in use as a “Kunstsprache” or “scholarly language,” however, spellings tend to be rather conservative.<sup>18</sup> The following selected features are intended to demonstrate the close relationship of QA and the Aramaic attested in the documents from the Judean Desert with their linguistic heir in Babylonia, i.e., SLBA. The various linguistic features that are in use in these texts hardly deviate from each other. Among the SLBA bowl texts there exists a certain conformity, as can be demonstrated in the tables below.

## 1. GRAPHIC FEATURES

### 1.1. *Final hê*

The most striking graphical trait is that final /ā/ is frequently marked by *hê* instead of *ʾālep* in SLBA. Spellings may vary from text to text or even in one and the same text.<sup>19</sup> It is not only limited to the emphatic state as Beyer claimed,<sup>20</sup> but can also be found in other morphemes. Often it depends on the provenance of the text source. *ʾĀlep* in this position is the rule in the Eastern Aramaic dialects such as Syriac and Mandaic, and is also predominant in BTA.

<sup>17</sup> See Müller-Kessler, “Earliest Evidence,” 184.

<sup>18</sup> See G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1905), 13, who understood TA as a “Kunstsprache” and belongs to the group of scholars who favour a Western origin.

<sup>19</sup> One cannot simply generalize this spelling convention as done by Beyer, *Aramaic Language*, 33.

<sup>20</sup> See Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:47.

1.1.1. *Pronouns*

אנה “I” (AMB B6:6; CBS 16020:1); הנה “this” (MSF B18:1).

1.1.2. *Emphatic State*

אסיה “the healer” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 4’); ארעה “the earth” (HSM 2036:1; Moussaieff amulet obv. 6’); בישאתה! “evil” (Geller A4, 5); בליליה “at night” (HS 3016:6); בני אינושה “the human beings” (Moussaieff 123:8); דברה “the desert” (CBS 16020:2); חרצה “the loin” (BM 139524:9);<sup>21</sup> חשוכה “the darkness” (BM 139524:4, 7); יומה “the day” (Moussaieff amulet rev. 3’); ליליאתה! “Liliths” (Geller A5, 13); מלאכה “the angel” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 5’); מומתה! “the oath” (Geller A17); צילמה “the picture” (MSF B18:1); קמיעה “the amulet” (Geller A2); רבה “great” (Geller A4, 15, 17; BM 139524:3; Moussaieff amulet obv. 3’, 4’, 15’); רבתה “great” (CBS 16020:8); שלניתה “the plunderess” (CBS 16020:2); שמה “the name” (Geller A4, 15, 17); שמתה “the ban” (IM 56544: inner circle c); and many other examples.

1.1.3. *Perfect pe‘al of Verbs III-y*

הוה “he was” (Geller A4;<sup>22</sup> CBS 9010:2).

1.1.4. *Active/Passive Participles Singular Feminine or Masculine of Verbs III-y*

מיתדמיה “is appearing (*itpe‘el* sg.m./f.)” (MSF B18:2; B25:2); דנסבה “who takes (sg.f.)” (Moussaieff 155:11); מחיה “(Lilith) plagues (sg.f.)” (HS 3034:2); אפיכה “overturned (sg.f.)” (HSM 2036:1); etc.

<sup>21</sup> The meaning of this common Aramaic and Hebrew term for “loin, hip” eluded the editor: “חרצה: The meaning is supplied from context, since although the Mishnaic Hebrew passive participle חרץ “decreed, decided,” is common, an Aramaic noun חרצה seems to be unattested.” See Geller, “Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” esp. 56 n. 9. This Aramaic word, however, changes in Aramaic between /r/ and /l/ on account of phonetic conditions depending on the dialect, and is well attested since Biblical Aramaic onwards in the standard dictionaries, see *HALOT* 5:1880; J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1867–1868), 284b; Jastrow 505b.

<sup>22</sup> Occurs in periphrastic tense עליכון וזרית ומורתה! אשבעית וזרית עליכון “who ruled over evil spirits. I adjured and decreed upon you” and not “which rules over all evil spirits. I adjure and I decree against you” as Geller, “Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 49.

### 1.2. Graphic $\psi$ for \*⟨ś⟩ instead of ס

This orthographic trait prevails in Aramaic square script texts in QA, JDA, and SLBA, and even in good BTA texts.<sup>23</sup>

#### 1.2.1. Etymological Cases

QA, JDA show always  $\psi$  for \*⟨ś⟩ instead of ס. This feature also continues in SLBA: **בשר** “flesh” (AMB B13:10 < BTA); **בישריה** “his flesh” (AMB B7:8 [KBA]); **ישראל** “Israel” (Moussaieff 50:6; 101:10; 164:4 < BTA) but **ישראל** with supralinear correction (Moussaieff 164:6 < BTA); **שמלהון** “their left hand side” (CBS 2916:10); **שעריהון** “their hairs” (APM 9163:2); const. **שר** “prince of” (Moussaieff 103:9) but **סרא** “the prince” (Moussaieff 103:10; amulet obv. 2’).

#### 1.2.2. Non-Etymological Cases

QA, JDA: **שלעין** “Selas” (XHev/Se 10 3).—SLBA: **לשצטמא** “to shackle” (Moussaieff 101:1); **משצטמת** “you (sg.m.) are shackled” (AMB B12b:3). All are variant spellings of a *safel* **ססטם**;<sup>24</sup> **שרפוהי** “his Seraphs” (Moussaieff 123:4).

### 1.3. Non-Spelling of Final yod in Nouns of Roots III-y

QA: **מומה** “an oath” (4Q560 1 ii 5); **מומתה** “the oath” (4Q197 5 12 [Tob 9:4]\*); JDA: **מומא** frequent—SLBA: **מומתה** (Geller A17; frequent in TA).

## 2. PHONETIC FEATURES

To describe phonetic features in a written standard dialect or language is a speculative endeavour. Nevertheless, historical spellings such as graphemes for gutturals are extant in QA, JDA, and SLBA. It should be pointed out that in good SLBA texts one does not find any mixing of these

<sup>23</sup> See for this graphical trait already Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:46–47, 51.

<sup>24</sup> See for more examples of this particular verb in magical context in C. Müller-Kessler, “SṢṬM, ŚṢṬM, ŚṢṬM, SṢṬM or ŚṢṬM: A Technical Term for Shackling Demons: Contributions to the Babylonian Aramaic Dictionary,” *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 37 (2000): 224–228. It is also to be noted in a collated reading: **מיסטום** instead of **מיסטון** (Moussaieff 121:3) as in Levene, *Corpus*, 81.

graphemes. This absence has already been observed for *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* as well as for the Geonic *responsa*. It is a graphical trait comparable to QA and JDA text material where the orthography appears in the etymological form. How can any loss of gutturals in an established and fixed literary language be proved anyway? It does not come as a surprise that Babylonian scribes could still handle this literary language and write it without major scribal slips. One must presume that during their training, word lists were probably used, although none have been preserved, from which the scribes drew their spelling skills, since one is dealing here with a written language where spellings were fixed. It speaks for a good scribal practice that was later transferred to Babylonia. A comparable situation existed for many centuries in Europe in the form of “Gelehrtenlatein.”

## 2.1. Retaining Gutturals

### 2.1.1. Retaining ʾālep, hê, and ʾayin

Gutturals are retained in QA and JDA. This is also the case in reliable text sources in SLBA,<sup>25</sup> especially when ʾālep occurs as a second radical in a root.

QA: *afel* pass. participle pl.m. מְבַאשִׁין “ill” (4QapocrLevi<sup>b</sup>? ar [4Q541] 7 5\*).—SLBA: pass. participle pl.m. מְבַאשִׁין “ill” (AMB B6:7); it is also attested in the impf. פְּגַרְהָא יִתְּ דְתַבְאִשְׁןִי “that you (pl.m.) will make her body ill” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 13’).

Biradical nouns in QA, JDA retain the augmented *hê* in the plural.<sup>26</sup>—The same is to be noted for SLBA: אַבְהַתְנָא “our fathers” (MSF B19:8); pl. abs. אַמְהָא “maids” (SD 34:4); שְׁמַהַתָּא “the names” (AMB B2:7). How conservative spellings in Geonic and SLAT can be is demonstrated by the word for “thigh” עֲטַמְיָה “his bones” *b. Giṭ* 69b [Geonic source]; *Sword*

<sup>25</sup> There is no confusion of gutturals to be found in the SLBA bowl texts as claimed by Levene, *Corpus*, 6. When it occurs, it is limited to KBA texts (Moussaieff 102; CBS 2945 + 2923; 2972; BM 91771; 91776; K 2080) or BTA texts (BM 135563; Moussaieff 145); BS (AO 17.284; IsIAO 5206); KS (AMB B10; MSF B26; IM 60960) or text formulas drawn from Mandaic (e.g. AMB B13) that are so far in the minority. Even there the spelling conforms to the expected orthography. This is comparable to the diversity of language layers in the Aramaic part of the Babylonian Talmud. The magical bowl texts in Aramaic square script cannot be taken as a homogenous dialect. Studies like H. Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts* (StudOr 86; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 1999), introduced more confusion than describing the actual dialect diversity in the magical text corpus on account of the lack of a methodological approach.

<sup>26</sup> For relevant examples, see Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, vols. 1 and 2.



of *Moses* 40:14; in a SLBA bowl it appears already without ע: טמין: 'bones' (Gordon H10). In QA and JDA this lexeme is not attested.<sup>27</sup>

### 2.1.2. 'Ālep is Unstable in the Verb Group I-א.

It is reduced to a vowel when closing a syllable since the earliest Aramaic attestations. Sometimes even the vowel letter in first syllable is not expressed in the script.—SLBA: √אבדון: תיבדון: אבד: "you (pl.m.) shall perish" (Moussaieff 131:4) but תיאבדון (Moussaieff 123:8); √אול: תזלין: אול: "you (sg.f.) shall go" (MSF B25:11);<sup>28</sup> √אסי: תיתסי: אסי: "you (sg.m.) may be healed" (Moussaieff 103:2); √אסר: למיסר: אסר: "to bind" (Moussaieff 101:1); √אתי: תיתי: אתי: "the flame) will come" (AMB B9:4); לא יתון: "they shall not come" (MSF B25:4); לא תיתון: "you (pl.m.) shall not come" (Moussaieff 101:7).

### 2.2. Non-Apocope of Final Consonant

Despite a few examples extant in text editions, one has to point out that all these are based on misreadings and are in need of being corrected: שקילנא: "I take" (CBS 9010:1).<sup>29</sup> The old reading אוקינא would be a case of syncope or assimilation but not of apocope. Only the Syriac variants of this formula show a syncopated form.

#### 2.2.1. Non-Assimilation of Initial nûn to a Pharyngeal

QA: הנחתה: "to bring down" (11QtgJob XXXI:3).—SLBA: אונחתנא: "we brought down" (CBS 9013:9; 2976:9\* < BTA).

#### 2.2.2. Non-Assimilation of nûn to tāw

QA: אנתתה: "wife" (1QapGen XX:23); JDA: אנתתי: "my wife" (Mur 19 16).—SLBA: אנתתיה: "his wife" (BM 91755:9; Geller B6); אינתתיה (HS 3016:1; Moussaieff 149:7); אינתיה (Moussaieff 142:6); אינתה (HS 3001:1, 5); cf. אנתי: "my wife" (Mur 19 3, 14),<sup>30</sup> but there are already cases of assim-

<sup>27</sup> The statement by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:419 is perplexing, since he does not indicate in which of the dialects an apheresis of 'ayin occurs in אטמא.

<sup>28</sup> According to C. Müller-Kessler, "Die Beschwörung gegen die Glaukom-Dämonin: Eine Neubearbeitung der aramäischen Zauberschale aus dem Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. (MSF B25)," *WO* 37 (2007): 78–89; esp. 79.

<sup>29</sup> See J.N. Epstein, "Gloses babylo-araméennes," *REJ* 73 (1921): 27–58; esp. 37.

<sup>30</sup> Is obviously a mistake for the independent personal pronoun 2 sg.f.

ilation as in the independent pronoun of the second person in certain bowls with eastern overtones: אִתְּהָ "the wife" (Moussaieff 101:6);<sup>31</sup> אִיתְּתִיָּה (CBS 2963:3; 9013:4, 10, 16); אִיתְּתָה "his wife" (Moussaieff 121:2); אִיתְּתָא "the wife" (BM 91716:2; 91720:17; 91758:11).

### 2.3. Assimilation of Final *nûn* in the Preposition מן to the Following Consonant

A Western Aramaic trait inherited from Hebrew is the assimilation of final *nûn* in the preposition מן to the following consonant. In Biblical Aramaic it is attested in Ezra 6:8, 14; Dan 4:22, 30 and in QA it occurs in *Targum of Job*, *ALD*, rarely in *JDA*.<sup>32</sup> Further it is attested in a number of cases in *Tg. Neof.*, and it is most frequent in the Eastern Targumim<sup>33</sup> and in the SLBA bowl texts: מאַחֲרָה "from behind" (MSF B22:3); מֵאַחַי "from Ahay" (Moussaieff 123:8); מֵאַרְבַּע כּוֹנְפֵי אַרְעָה "from the four corners of the earth" (Gordon D14); מֵאַיְמֵי "from Immay" (Moussaieff 123:8); מֵאַתְר "from a place," מֵמִדִּינָה "from a town" (SD 34:12); מִבְּנוֹהֵי "from his sons" (Moussaieff 123:9); מִבֵּיתִיהָ "from his house" (Moussaieff 123:9); מִחֶלְבֵיֶיהֶן "from their (f.) milk" (Moussaieff 155:11); מִכֹּל "from each" (MSF B22:4; CBS 16020:0); מִכְּסוּתֵהוֹן "from their garment" (CBS 8694:6); מִלְּבוּשֵׁהוֹן "from their clothes" (CBS 8694:6); מִלּוֹת "with" (CBS 2963:3); מִלְּעֵילָא "from above" (Gordon D14); מֵעֵיבֵר "from beyond" (CBS 2976:8; 16020:9); מֵעֵיבְדֵיהָ "from his deed(s)" (Wiseman bowl 6); מִלְּרַע "below" (Gordon D14); מֵעֵיל "above" (CBS 8694:6); מִפּוֹם "from the mouth of seven rivers" (Moussaieff 164:11 < BTA); מִשְׁמִיהָ "from his name" (Wiseman bowl 5); מִשְׁעוֹתֵיהָ "from his story" (Wiseman bowl 6); מִתַּחַת כּוֹרְסֵי יְקָרִיהָ "from below the throne of his honour" (Hekhalot bowl line 11' [German private collection]) but אִישְׁתָּא "fire went out below the throne of his honour" line 10.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See Müller-Kessler, "Of Jesus, Darius," 225.

<sup>32</sup> See Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:626; *Ergänzungsband*: 375; 2:432. In Mandaic it never occurs, in contrast to Beyer's listing.

<sup>33</sup> See Dalman, *Grammatik*, 227.

<sup>34</sup> C. Müller-Kessler, "Eine ungewöhnliche Hekhalot-Zauberschale" (paper presented at the XXVIII. DOT, Bamberg 1 April 2001).

## 3. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN

## 3.1. הוא “he”

Striking is the phenomenon that the spellings of the independent personal pronouns in QA, and also JDA correspond to later SLBA. The historical spelling of הוא in QA and JDA appears again in SLBA bowls, Geonic Aramaic, as well as in standard phrases in the Babylonian Talmud. The common eastern variant is הו without *’ālep* (KBA, M except for BTA איהו). הוא is rarely employed in SLBA as an independent pronoun, but it functions as a copula or object pronoun. A few examples are והוא וזהיא “and he was in the presence (lit. at the seat) of R. Joshua bar Perahiya” (Moussaieff 50:1);<sup>35</sup> הוא גדיה וחילקיה “he, his lot, and his part” (Moussaieff 163:2).<sup>36</sup>

## 3.2. היא “she”

The same as for the masculine pronoun can be said of the feminine. In QA and JDA היא is the regular form. This feminine variant is hardly ever attested. Only one example can be noted in a KBA bowl text היא תיפרוסינון “she (Dilbat) will spread them (the mysteries)” (CBS 2972:4).<sup>37</sup> In the unpublished variant CBS 2937 + 2977 only the first letter *hê* is legible. In the function as a copula it occurs in הדא היא עיזקתא “this is the seal-ring” (Istanbul uncatalogued line 1).<sup>38</sup>

## 3.3. אנתה “you (sg.m.)”

QA: אנתה frequent; JDA: not attested.—Recently more examples of this non-assimilated variant have surfaced in SLBA: אסירת וחתימת אנתה שידה

<sup>35</sup> According to the Syriac parallels it should be the deictic pronoun of distance.

<sup>36</sup> Levene, *Corpus*, 143, lists quite a number of attestations, but most of them are not the independent personal pronoun “he.” M112:13 and M117:1 are Hebrew forms in a Hebrew sentence, M155:4, 8, 10; M163:23, 25, 26, 27 are participles of the auxiliary verb הו “to be” used in the periphrastic tense, M102:12 reads הוה “was,” and M102:13 is the demonstrative pronoun ההוא “that.” This leaves only the following passages in Levene’s glossary: M50:1; M102:4, 11 and M163:2 with the independent personal pronoun.

<sup>37</sup> היא occurs in unclear context in BM 91719:10, see J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 53.

<sup>38</sup> In H.V. Hilprecht, *In the Temple of Bêl at Nippur* (Philadelphia: Department of Archaeology, 1904), photo after p. 446.

בישה “you are bound and sealed, you, evil Šeda” (23AL:9 unpublished); variant: *אנתא מגלגלג סרה רבה דעלמה* “you MGLGLG, the great prince of the world” (SD 34:7–8); by analogy it is also employed for the second feminine singular to stress the object after the perfect: *דשבקית ופטריית אנתה ליליתה* “since I forsook and let go, you, Lilith” (HS 3019:4–5). The assimilated form *את*, however, is frequently attested (Exod 15:11 = HS 3030:6; Wiseman bowl 3; AMB B13:6<sup>1</sup> < BTA influence)<sup>39</sup> of Late Aramaic in general with the exception of Mandaic *’n’t*.<sup>40</sup>

### 3.4. *אנתי* “you (sg.f.)”

QA, JDA: *אנתי* frequent.—SLBA: *אנתי* (BM 91767:2; CBS 16020:2; Moussaieff 103:7; Moussaieff 156:7, 9, 10; frequent). However, an apocopated variant occurs in *אסירת והתימית אנת הי ליליתה* “bound and sealed are you, you, Lilith” (Moussaieff 164:1 < BTA). Late Aramaic dialects tend to assimilated forms *אתי* (CPA, SA, GA) or apocopated forms *אנת* (BM 91763:2) or *’n’t* (M) for both genders. Syriac, however, shows the same orthographical spelling but with assimilated pronunciation.

### 3.5. *אנה* “I”

The spelling of the first singular plural is often attested with final *hê* as in QA, JDA and Western Aramaic (JPA).—SLBA: *אמר אנה* “I said” (8AL:3 unpublished).

### 3.6. *א(י)נון* “they (m.)”

QA *אנון* and in JDA *א(י)נון* are already spelled without initial *hê* and defectively.—SLBA: in Babylonia the pronoun mostly occurs in plene spelling: *אינון* (MSF B15:3; BM 91767:6; Moussaieff 155:10) but in defective spelling *אנון* (CBS 2976:16; BM 91742:8) as well.

<sup>39</sup> The text should not be emended to *את(א)* as suggested by the editors, since it makes better sense to emphasize the subject with the pronoun before the imperatives *את! מריא גיס קריב עליהון* “you, lord, come, meet (and) come upon them”; see C. Müller-Kessler, “More on Puzzling Words and Spellings in Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Related Texts,” *BSOAS* (in print) for the new interpretation. Cf. also in *על חליצו חריו על אתון אסורו* “you, bind and harness and gird against” (CBS 16018:13).

<sup>40</sup> Magic bowl texts hardly ever contain a second singular masculine, since mostly female demons are addressed in the singular or plural feminine.

### 3.6.1. *Syntactical Usage of Independent Pronouns*

In QA and JDA the independent pronouns show similar syntactical usage as in the SLBA bowls in Babylonia. It can be well demonstrated by the example of the third person plural masculine אינון.<sup>41</sup>

#### 3.6.1.1. Independent Pronouns as Object Pronouns

Object pronoun יקרא אינון “he will call/name them” (31AL:8 unpublished); as object suffix and pronoun: אכריינון אינון עלי “he proclaimed them against you (sg.f.)” (Moussaieff 1:15); in use in TA as well בלת אנון (Exod 15:12 *Tg. Onq.* = 3 N 130:4).<sup>42</sup>

#### 3.6.1.2. Independent Pronouns for the Usage as Copula

Copula: בניהון אנון “(who) are their children” (CBS 2976:16); אינון מלאכין “they are angels” (CBS 8694:4); דכארמין אינון בהיווא דליליא “who are vineyards in the vision of the night” (7AL:10 unpublished).

#### 3.6.1.3. Independent Pronouns to Stress the Subject

To stress the subject: וPN דגן בר PN וPN דא בת PN אינון ובניהון “and this PN bar PN and this PN bat PN, they and their sons” (Gordon D5–6; similar Gordon B3–4).

#### 3.6.1.4. Independent Pronouns before the Imperfect

To stress the subject before the imperfect: אינון יתברון “they shall break” (Moussaieff 155:7); אינון יבטלון וישמתון “they shall annul and ban” (CBS 9009:9); אינון יתון ויפקון “they shall go and go out” (CBS 16009:5–6); אינון ייבשון ויבטלון דמה “they shall dry and remove her blood” (Moussaieff 155:10).

#### 3.6.1.5. Independent Pronouns to Form the Active Participle Present

To form the active participle present: די מפקדין אינון “because they command” (Moussaieff 156:4).

### 3.7. אינון “*they (f.)*”

QA: אינון—SLBA: אינון (8AL:11 unpubl.; BM 136204:7).

<sup>41</sup> For examples in QA, see Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:563 and 2:385.

<sup>42</sup> See Müller-Kessler, “Earliest Evidence,” 179.

## 3.8. אנתון “you (pl.m.)”

QA and JDA has still אנתון, while SLBA shows only assimilated spellings אתון (BM 91767:10; CBS 16018:13; Wiseman bowl 7, 8).

## 3.9. אנתין “you (pl.f.)”

For QA and JDA exist no attestations. The long variant אנתין does not occur in a magic bowl, since the text has the assimilated variant אתין (Hermitage bowl 3:3).<sup>43</sup>

## 3.10. אנהנא “we”

The long form אנהנא is attested in QA and JDA (1QapGen XIX:12; 1QEnGiants<sup>c</sup> 19 3 etc.)—It is in use in SLBA texts,<sup>44</sup> among them the magic bowls (Moussaieff 142:5; CBS 8693:14). All the non standard Late Aramaic dialects tend to shortened variants אגן, אנה (BTA, CPA, GA, SA), in M *’nyn*.<sup>45</sup>

One can conclude that the standard forms of the independent personal pronouns were transferred to Babylonia and are retained in Eastern Aramaic only in the artificial language of SLBA.

## 4. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

The pronominal suffixes conform in QA, JDA and in SLBA to the same spelling.

## 4.1. -יהי “his”

QA: אברוהי “his (body) members” (4Q561 III:4); שנוהי “his teeth” (4Q561 III:3); JDA: not attested.—SLBA: עלוהי “against him” (CBS 2976:15); קדמוהי “before him” (CBS 2976:11; 16059:13; Moussaieff 164:5 < BTA); שרפוהי “his Seraphs” (Moussaieff 123:4).

<sup>43</sup> Old reading in M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 147a.

<sup>44</sup> See *ibid.*, 144b.

<sup>45</sup> אגן is listed under bZauberschalen in Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:350. This is not the case, since only the long form אנהנא is attested except for one KBA text (BM 91776:a5), where a short form אנהן is to be noted.

## 4.2. הַא- “her”

QA: הַא- is frequent in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *ALD*, while other QA and JDA texts show only ה-.—SLBA: הַא- is sometimes attested: ספּוּתָהּא “her lips” (Num 30:7 *Tg. Onq.*); לֹא תַעֲיִקֶן לְהָא “do not cause her distress” (Moussaieff amulet rev. 13’);<sup>46</sup> לֹא תַשְׁלִטֶן בְּהָא “do not take hold of her” (Moussaieff amulet rev. 14’); פּוּרְהָא “her body” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 13’).

## 4.3. יְכִי- “your (sg.f.)”

QA, JDA:<sup>47</sup> יְכִי-; יִכ-.—SLBA: יְתִיכִי “you” (CBS 2922:3; Moussaieff 1:15; 156:10); לִיכִי “to you” (Moussaieff 103:6, 7); לְכִי “to you” (CBS 9013:7); סִפְר תִּירוּכְכִי “your letter of separation” (CBS 2976:14); עֲלִיכִי (CBS 9013:13; BM 91767:2, 7); עֲלִיכִי “against you” (CBS 2976:15; Moussaieff 1:15).

## 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Another striking similarity is to be noted for the demonstrative pronouns that are retained in the non-augmented stage in SLBA. One cannot just speak of archaic forms like Epstein<sup>48</sup> and Sokoloff<sup>49</sup> when a certain literary language style did not cease. Other SLA lexemes were retained as well and are not specifically indicated in the JBA Dictionary of Sokoloff as archaic.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> This text without a collection number appears on a lead amulet strip written in ink and was published by Geller, “More Magic Spells and Formulae,” 331–335. It displays rather conservative spellings. Although the object has no provenance it has the eastern filiation type with בַּת instead of בְּרַתָּהּ ד- as in Palestinian amulets.

<sup>47</sup> The singular masculine form יְ- in use for the feminine in XḤev/Se 12:1, 6, 7 is obviously caused by analogy.

<sup>48</sup> See J.N. Epstein, *A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1960), 23–24 (Hebrew).

<sup>49</sup> See Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 14.

<sup>50</sup> The article by G.W. Nebe on deictic pronouns is more in the style of “Wörterbuch-Philologie.” The pronouns are not drawn from primary text studies. Therefore many unchecked readings based on unattested spellings are found in his “Zu den Bausteinen der deiktischen Pronomina im babylonisch-talmudisch-Aramäischen,” in *Der Odem des Menschen ist eine Leuchte des Herrn* (ed. R. Reichman; Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg 9; Heidelberg: Winter, 2006), 251–272.

## 5.1. דין, דין “this”

QA: דין frequently attested; JDA: not attested.—SLBA: this plene spelled form דין of the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun of nearness occurs more or less in fixed expressions that were already in use in QA. Only one example so far occurs outside a fixed expression: דין איסורה “this (magical) bond” (MSF B18:2); דין יומא מכל יומא “this day of all days” (CBS 16020:0); דא ולעלם<sup>51</sup> “from this day and this hour for ever” (Moussaieff 101:7); מן יומא דין ולעלם “from this day and for ever” (MSF B19:9; B18:2 similar); דין קמיעה “this amulet” (Moussaieff 155:9); דין רוא “this mystery” (MSF B19:1).

## 5.2. דה, דה “this”

QA: דה (frequent); JDA: דה (Babatha archive); דה (Murabba‘at).—SLBA: an exception is the spelling דה ושעתא “and this hour” (HSM 2036:4). The more frequent spelling is דה דה מומתא “this oath” (Moussaieff 101:5); PN PN דה בת “this PN bat PN” (Gordon D6); מן יומא דין ושיעה דה וילעולם “from this day and this hour till forever” (Moussaieff 107:9).

## 5.3. דנין, דנין “this”

QA: not attested; JDA: דנין is typical for the Engedi documents מן יומא דנין עד עלם (Mur 47 7); דנין כתבה “this document” (P.Yadin 47:6).—SLBA: דנין רוא “this mystery” (AMB B6:1); PN דנין בר PN “this PN bar PN” (Gordon D5–6); mostly in fixed expressions: מן יומא דנין ושעתא דה וילעלם “from this day and this hour for ever” (HSM 2036:4); מין יומא דנין ולעלם “from this day for ever” (MSF B25:4, 7; similar דנין Moussaieff 121:5; 123:9; 138:12; 142:8; AMB B8:II6; BM 91742:6); דנין קבילו קובלא<sup>52</sup> “receive this counter-charm” (Moussaieff 155:12).

## 5.4. דינה “this”

QA: frequent; JDA: frequent.—SLBA: not attested.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The reading should better be קובלא and not קיבלא as often found in various editions, since it is the verbal noun *pa“el* of *qbl*. Cf. Mandaic *qwbl*, however, in Syriac it is *qybl*.

<sup>52</sup> The only attestations known so far is a misreading by Montgomery (*Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, 165) in a magic bowl AIT 10:1 (CBS 16014), where the text shows דינה.



## 5.5. אילין “these”

QA and JDA have only defectively spelled forms אַלן, אַלִין.—SLBA: here the spelling may vary and occurs without initial *hê* in the historical form: דאָלִין אַלִין! “these who go” (APM 9163:4); אַלִין אַסִירִין “these bonds” (AMB B2:8; BM 91713:8; 91758:9); אַלִין אַתּוּתָא! “these signs” (MSF B15:8); אַלִין שְׁמֵהָא “these names” (BM 91745:3); כּוּלְהוֹן אַלִין “all these” (BM 91723:2); שְׁמֵהָא אַלִין דְּמַתְקֵרן “these names who are called” (BM 91742:6); אַלִין (BM 91751:10; 91767:6).

## 6. NOUN PATTERNS

The noun pattern *qatōl/ūl* for the directions of the wind was borrowed from Hebrew into QA and JDA. Its usage continued in WA and it is also extant in SLBA.

## 6.1. Colour Terms

The noun pattern for colours are borrowed from Hebrew into QA, and later WA: אַכּוּם “black” 4QEn<sup>d</sup> 2 i 26; ירוֹק “green” 11QtgJob XXXII:7 and JDA: שְׁמוּקָא “red.”—SLBA: ירוֹק “green, yellow”; סְמוּקָתָא “red” Deut 19:2 *Tg. Onq.*; the eastern pattern *quttāl*, however, is also attested.

## 6.2. Directions of the Wind

The noun pattern for the directions of the wind צְפוּנָא “north” and דְּרוּמָא “south” are the regular forms in QA and WA. The other set, as known from Syriac, Mandaic גְּרִבְיָא “north” and תִּימָן “south”—probably the original Aramaic ones—only occur in 1 *Enoch*. They are also extant in later SLBA.

QA: דְּרוּמָא 1QapGen XVII:12; צְפוּנָא 1QapGen XVI:10; JDA: דְּרוּמָא P.Yadin 11:6; צְפוּנָא P.Yadin 7:6.—SLBA: common in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* and in the magic bowls: דְּרוּמָא (VA 2422:10; BM 91707:13); צְפוּנָא (VA 2422:10; similar BM 91707:13).

## 7. PREPOSITIONS AND CONJUNCTIONS

## 7.1. אם “if” &lt; Hebrew

QA: אם frequent; JDA: not attested.—SLBA: ואם לא אתי<sup>sic</sup> עליכון מיא מיפום “and if I did not bring water upon you (pl.m.) from the mouth of seven rivers” (Moussaieff 164:11 < BTA); אם תיהוין ראשהא ושליטא “if you (sg.f.) will be head and have power” (Moussaieff 103:6); ואם לא תיזחון ותיפקון מן ביתיה “and if you (pl.m.) do not go out and leave from his house” (Moussaieff 164:12 < BTA).

## 7.2. אף “also”

QA and JDA: אף.—SLBA: אף. If *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* would have been composed in Palestine, the conjunction would have been spelled אוף as in CPA, GA and SA.

## 7.3. ארי “since”

QA: While this conjunction occurs in QA, it is not attested in JDA.—SLBA: In TA it is the conjunction of cause. For the SLBA bowl texts including the Geonic *responsa* there are no examples. This conjunction ארי derives from the interjection ארו. It is not in use in Western Aramaic.

## 7.4. בדיל “on account of”

QA: The preposition בדיל is already attested in the *Genesis Apocryphon* but not in JDA.—Later it is extant in WA (CPA [*lbdl*], SA, JPA) as well as in TA, Geonic, and in the SLBA bowl texts: בדיל שמייה רבה “because of his great name” (Moussaieff 155:5–6). It is the eastern preposition מטול that is only attested in 11QtgJob in the non-assimilated variant מן טלל.

## 7.5. בדיל ד- “because”

The conjunction בדיל די occurs a few times in QA but is not attested in JDA.—TA, Geonic: The use of בדיל די continues there as well. It appears once in an unclear passage of a KBA bowl text (CBS 2972:4).

## 7.6. - כמה ד "how"

The conjunction - כמה ד is loaned from Hebrew and is extant in QA but not in JDA. It is extant in the eastern Targums (TA) and the SLBA bowl language. There are also passages found in the Babylonian Talmud and later in the Geonic literature that make use of this "Western" conjunction. SLBA bowl attestations are: כמה דעינין לכוך "as you (pl.m.) have eyes" (AMB B6:4); כמא דאיתמחי שימה "as his name is blotted out" (AMB B9:12); כמא דשתין שידי גיטי כיתבין לנשיהון "as the sixty Šedas write their *Geš*-document for their wives" (HS 3026:7); כמה דשני שידא קדמאה "as the first Šeda changed (his path)" (Moussaieff 155:12); ... כמה דפרישו! מן "as they parted from ..." (Moussaieff 156:11); כמה דאיתברו כרבין! תקיפין "as powerful Cherubin were broken" (Moussaieff 156:10) etc.

## 8. DIRECT OBJECT MARKERS

In QA and JDA the direct object is very often not marked, very rarely introduced by the marker borrowed from Hebrew, known as *nota accusativi* ית, randomly by -ל. The option with the direct object suffix<sup>53</sup> is given preference. A case as described by T. Muraoka is the verb חוי "to show" which can either take a direct object (object suffix) or an indirect object. This is not correct.<sup>54</sup> The option for verbs in Aramaic is that they might merge between transitive or intransitive usage. Different text sources (4QEnastr<sup>b</sup> 26 6; 4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> 2 ii+6–12 13; 4QVisions of Amram<sup>f</sup> 1 ii–2 14 with -ל and 11QtgJob XXXVI:9\*; XXXVIII:4<sup>55</sup> with object suffix or not marked) may show variation in usage.

In SLBA one finds a different situation. Here ית is the predominant feature to introduce the direct object. It occurs more often than -ל as accusative marker or the object suffixes. An Aramaic origin of this morpheme can clearly be ruled out, although many studies still claim that

<sup>53</sup> An object suffix cannot be termed a proleptic suffix as by T. Muraoka, "The Verbal Rection in Qumran Aramaic," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 99–118; esp. 101.

<sup>54</sup> Muraoka, "Verbal Rection," 103, is vague on the matter of direct and indirect objects, whereas the glossary in Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, is far more reliable, since it especially lists prepositional objects and gives detailed information on verbs with direct and indirect objects. A preposition in Semitic languages can always give a verb a different meaning.

<sup>55</sup> The syntagm יהוה להון עבדיה[ן] (11QtgJob XXXVI:9) has to be understood "he will inform them (concerning) their deeds" with accusative.

the Hebrew *Vorlage* is responsible for its usage in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.*<sup>56</sup> This position can no longer be maintained on account of its frequent occurrence in SLBA in general. This particle makes its appearances from Nabatean and Qumran Aramaic onwards and cannot be considered archaic but an innovation at that period. It stands out in the dialect geography of Babylonia as an alien morpheme and can only be taken as an artificial linguistic institution that developed into regular usage. Only in instances when the *Vorlage* is dependent on a Jewish text, even magic bowls inscribed in Syriac script, do texts employ ית as well.<sup>57</sup> This particle ית takes only singular suffixes and never plural ones.<sup>58</sup>

Since vague ideas still persist in Aramaic studies concerning the linguistic details in the magic bowl material, it should be pointed out that good SLBA bowl texts do not make use of object suffixes, but consistently introduce the accusative by ית and not by -ל. In some glossaries of magic bowl publications (e.g., MSF; Levene, *Corpus*) one finds incorrect attributions. There the preposition -ל is declared as an “acc. particle.”<sup>59</sup> This misinformation is caused by the fact that the editors do not distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs.<sup>60</sup> -ל, however, is employed in this magic text group as a preposition,<sup>61</sup> or can denote with pronominal suffixes possession.<sup>62</sup> Also in the passage וְלֹא תִקְרְבוּן לֵיהוֹן “do not go near them” (Gordon G8) -ל shows the function of a dative particle,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup> See among the supporters of this view Muraoka, “Verbal Recton,” 101.

<sup>57</sup> The particle is attested in only two texts: *npqwn ytky* “they shall drive you out” (VA 3383:6). The other example occurs in a number of variants in the same text *dmqbl y'th* (CBS 2943:7) *dmqbyl y'th* (BM 91712:6); corrupted variant *y'h* (Finnish National Museum VK 5738:3:6); *y'twh* not with *Seyāmē*, but dot on *hē* (AMB B1:6).

<sup>58</sup> According to Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*, 128, יתיכי is a plural suffix, although יכי is the expected suffix of 2 singular feminine in SLBA.

<sup>59</sup> It had been listed as such in the glossary of Naveh and Shaked, *Magic*, 260 that was later taken over by Levene, *Corpus*, 146, in the glossary, but in M102:5, 6, 7, 8, 11 (KBA), ליהוניה “I ask him” M145:9 (BTA), and M163:16, 19 (< S) -ל is introducing a direct object.

<sup>60</sup> In Levene, *Corpus*, 146: M50:2; M59:8, 12; M101:7; M103:13; M103:1, 6; M119:1, 6; M123:5; M138:8; M142:7; M145:10; M156:7.

<sup>61</sup> See *ibid.*: M142:10; M156:1, 3, 9.

<sup>62</sup> See *ibid.*: M59:8; M102:23; M103:7; M119:7; M121:2; M163:5, 7, 13, 24.

<sup>63</sup> Also in *wlmytlyh dgbryn* “and for the coming to him of men” (SD 34:3) *l-* cannot be a dative particle as explained by Levene and Bhayro, “Bring to the Gates,” 245, since an intransitive verb אתי “to come” cannot govern a direct or indirect object. According to the syntax it has to be here a proper name or noun “possession” < \**m'yt lyh* “what he has” as it stands parallel to *tyhwy lyh l PN br PN wl'ysqwpt bytyh wlsrywt ydyh d PN ... wlmytlyh* “(healing) shall be for PN bar PN and for the threshold of his house and for the loosening of PN ... and for what he has/owns/PN” (SD 34:1–3).

since the text employs *ית* in other passages to introduce the direct object. In a case where *-ל* introduces the direct object, it is mostly before proper names with the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עוק}}$  in the *afel*: PN ליה ליה “who distresses PN” (Gordon H13), PN למעיק לה לה “and distresses PN” (AMB B3:3, דלא, דלא PN ליה ליה תיעיקין! ליה ליה “so that you do not distress PN” (MSF B25:6)<sup>64</sup> but דלא דלא תעיקון להא “so that you do not distress her” (Moussaieff amulet rev. 13’).<sup>65</sup> All the other examples derive from texts that are composed in an eastern style dialect, e.g., BTA or KBA, or have eastern linguistic overtones.<sup>66</sup> One more example occurs in a set of variant texts with identical clients מומנא ומשבכענא ליכי “I adjure and put an oath upon you (sg.f.)” (Moussaieff 103:7; 119:7; MS 2053/209:7; MS 2053/253:7). All text variants show what is probably an eastern form with a reduced *-ל* < על, as partially attested in BTA and Mandaic.<sup>67</sup> The *afel* of *שבכע* always governs either *ית* or על.<sup>68</sup>

### 8.1. Direct Object without Marker

There are hardly any cases in SLBA texts to be noted where the direct object follows without a marker, e.g., יבטלון חרשי “they shall annul sorcery” (Gordon C1–2); לבטלא שידא “to annul šeda” (Gordon B8); דקטיל גברא מילות איתתיה “who kills a man with his wife” (CBS 2963:2–3), and more examples in the same text.

### 8.2. Direct Object with Object Suffixes

The direct object can also be indicated by object suffixes. This more historical Semitic way of expressing the direct object occurs infrequently in QA and JDA and later continues in TA. That TA (*Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.*) gives preference to object suffixes is another argument to deny any

<sup>64</sup> According to Müller-Kessler, “Glaukom-Dämonin,” 79.

<sup>65</sup> לא דבכת לטורא קדישא “you did not reach the Holy Mountain” (1QapGen XIX:8) has to be a second person and not a first singular with object suffix, since דבכת requires a direct object. The first person needs to be expressed in the following style \*לדבכת לה לטורא.

<sup>66</sup> In the SLBA bowl texts this construction is only attested with the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עוק}}$ . It is noteworthy that the *afel* of  $\sqrt{\text{עוק}}$  in WA is attested either as intransitive in CPA, JPA or transitive in JPA (before PN without marker; *ית* and *-ל* with pronominal suffixes or without in *Tg. Neof.*).

<sup>67</sup> See T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1875), 193, 353–357.

<sup>68</sup> *-ל* occurs in *לך משבכ'נה* (Papyrus of Oxyrhynchus 11:2), see M.J. Geller, “An Aramaic Incantation from Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 58 (1985): 96–98.

Palestine origin, since in WA object suffixes are rarely employed, whereas *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* show plenty of examples. Not all can be adduced to a Hebrew *Vorlage* in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.*, since the translators were writing in a good Standard Aramaic. Attestations in SLBA bowls are very rare: אכריונין אינון “he proclaimed them” (Moussaieff 1:15); ילבשוה “they will clothe her” (CBS 8694:6); יכסוה “they will cover her” (CBS 8694:6); לא תרתנינה ולא תשרגינה! “do not make (sg.f.) her quiver and do no enrage her” (Moussaieff 156:13); לא תריתוהי! “do not cause him to quiver” (MSF B25:7).<sup>69</sup> Both bowl texts show Babylonian Aramaic overtones in other morphemes and syntagms as well.<sup>70</sup>

### 8.3. *Direct Object with nota accusativi* ית

One way to mark a direct object is the *nota accusativi*. Beginning with Nabatean and Qumran Aramaic, this Hebrew morpheme came into regular use in the dialect geography of Western Aramaic. Not all scholars are convinced of the Hebrew origin of this particle. The issue why, however, cannot be addressed in this study.<sup>71</sup> ית can be suffixed by a pronominal suffix or be followed by a noun, personal or place name.

QA: תעל ית עבידתי “you (sg.m.) will introduce my deeds” (4Q550c 1 i 7); שבחו ית דכרון מרכון “praise the memory of your (pl.m.) Lord” (1Qap-Gen X:8); ב[א]י[ו]ן ב[ר] [ך] אלהא בר[ך] “God praised Job” (11QtgJob XXXVIII:9); JDA: א[ה]ל[ך] ל[ך] ית ש[טרא] “[I shall] change your do[crement]” (Mur 21 19). Compare a similar construction with two objects (indirect, direct) after the verb *yhb* in succeeding CPA: *ldn dyhb yth lrwh qdyšt' bgwkwn* “the one who gives him to the Holy Spirit among you (pl.m.)” (1 Thess 4:8 O). One would have expected *yth* after *lrwh qdyšt'*; other examples are: *yhb yty [lh]rbn* “he handed me over to destruction” (Lam 1:13

<sup>69</sup> Corrected in Müller-Kessler, “Glaukom-Dämonin,” 79.

<sup>70</sup> A similar distribution of expressing the direct object with a suffix can be found in three text variants of *Toldot Yeshu*: H ולא אשכחוהי על צליבא; G ולא אשכחוניה על צליבא; B. All various direct object indications are possible in eastern Jewish text sources, see W.F. Smelik, “The Aramaic Dialect(s) of the Toldot Yeshu Fragments,” *Aramaic Studies* 7 (2009): 39–73, esp. 47–48.

<sup>71</sup> Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:601, as well as Stadel, *Hebraïsmen*, 65, took it as Canaanite. Fassberg, “Hebraïsmen,” obviously did not consider it a Hebraïsm in QA, since he did not treat it in his article. M. Morgenstern, “The History of the Aramaic Dialects in the Light of Discoveries from the Judaean Desert: The Case of Nabataean,” *EI* 26 (1999): 134–142, however, doubted it and considered ית a non-Aramaic particle. The latter contribution is not found in Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:413, and Stadel, *Hebraïsmen*.

O); *yhb yth l'r:ysyn* "he gave it (the land) to the tenants" (Matt 21:33 C1); *yhb yth l'ymh* "he gave him to his mother" (Luke 7:15 P<sup>g</sup>).<sup>72</sup>—SLBA:<sup>73</sup> *לאבדא ית סדום* "to annihilate Sodom" (BM 91763:6–7); *יסון ית* PN "they may heal PN" (31AL:9 unpublished); *דמוצ ומרתית ית כל הדמי* "who moves and makes quiver all body members of the human beings" (Gordon H3); *דימחבלא ית בני אינישה* "who destroys human beings" (Gordon H9); *יחבקון ית* PN "they shall embrace PN" (CBS 8694:4); *דאולד ית חוה* "who begot Hawa" (CBS 8694:5); *יטו ית* PN "they cursed PN" (BM 91751:9); *אנחתנא ית מאי דשמיע להון* "I brought down what they had heard" (CBS 9013:9 < BTA); *סבו ית רוחא בישתא* "take the evil spirit" (Moussaieff 155:12); *אפילו ית חיליה* "drop his power" (BM 91767:8); *יטו ית* PN "they shackled PN" (BM 91745:6); *יטו ית* PN "the evil spirit met/plagued PN" (33AL:9); *לא תיקטול ית הדין* PN "do not kill this PN" (CBS 2963:4); *לא תיקטלין ית בנה ובנותה* "do not kill her sons and her daughters" (CBS 16022:9); *דרחיק ית מרכבתיה* "who removed his chariot" (CBS 16017:2); *דמרתית ית גיסא* "who makes quiver the side" (Gordon H3/4); *דימרתית ית איברא דסמולא* "who makes quiver the left hand limb" (Gordon H9); *מרתתן ית כל הדמי קומתה דיבני אינישא* "they make quiver all body parts of the human beings" (Gordon H6); *אשביט ית רוחין בישין* "I adjured<sup>74</sup> evil spirits" (Moussaieff amulet obv. 20'–21'); *שגישת ית רעיונהי* "she disturbed his thoughts" (Gordon H7); *דימשגיש ית גיסא דימינא* "who disturbs the right hand side" (Gordon H4); *יטו ית* PN "to protect and save PN" (Moriah bowl 2:5); *שליפו ית רוחיה* "they removed his

<sup>72</sup> CPA passages cited according to the standard edition by C. Müller-Kessler and M. Sokoloff, *A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (5 vols.; Groningen: Styx, 1997–1999).

<sup>73</sup> The usage of *ית* is similar in the WA dialects: *ית קמיעה דן* "in each place wherever you see this amulet" (AMB A3:13–15) not "in every place where the amulet will be seen" (דיתחזה) as Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*, 50. Two other obscure interpretations are suggested by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, Ergänzungsband: 261: "wo dieses Amulet in Erscheinung tritt," but in the glossary (ibid., 346): "man sieht"! How can an accusative object follow a passive verb as in Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*, 54, or even indicate the subject of a passive according to Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:413? *יטו ית* PN "heal PN" (MSF A31:4); *יטו ית* PN "protect PN" (MSF A31:7); *יטו ית* PN "you shall heal PN" (Amulet B:1–2); *יטו ית* PN "heal PN" (Amulet B:1–2); *יטו ית* PN "save and protect PN" (Amulet A:1).

<sup>74</sup> The addition in *אשבעת ית רוחין בישין* (Moussaieff amulet obv. 20'–21') by Geller, "Magic Spells," 331, is not possible, since the text requires a pronominal suffix third plural masculine *ית* [הון] *אשבעת* and not a second plural. Also the construction with *ית* plus a pronominal suffix referring to the following direct object is not possible in Aramaic. It should read *אשבעת ית רוחין בישין*. Only the object marker *-ל* may be repeated again before the direct object with a pronominal suffix, or with a prepositional object introduced by *-ב*, *מן*, and *על*.

spirit" (BM 91767:9); דימשנקא ית רעיוני ליבא "who tortures the thoughts of the heart" (Gordon H4).

#### 8.4. ית with Pronominal Suffixes

QA: יפלגון יתה "they will split him" (11QtgJob XXXV:9).—SLBA: לאלפא "to teach me" *ALD* 5:8; אסי ונטר יתיה "heal and protect him" (31AL:1/2 unpublished); אסרית יתכון "I bound you (pl.m.)" (CBS 16087:7); מבטילנא "I annul them" (MSF B19:7); איבטיל יתכון "I shall annul you (pl.m.)" (Moussaieff 164:11 < BTA); בלומו יתיה "muzzle him" (BM 91770:2) (SLBA); אדריכו יתיה "they overtook him" (AMB B12a:6); חבילו יתה "destroy her" (BM 91713:10); לחבלא יתכון "to destroy you (pl.m.)" (CBS 9010:8; Moussaieff 50:4); למיחנק יתיה "to strangle him" (AMB B12a:7); ירחמון יתיכי "they shall excommunicate you (sg.f.)" (Moussaieff 156:10); קניא דשב גובי דשב נשי "I sealed you (pl.m.)" (CBS 16087:7); חתמית יתכון "canes of seven nodes of seven sorcerous women that pain him" (Moussaieff 164:11 < BTA);<sup>75</sup> לא תיכבשון יתיה "do not subdue him" (MSF B25:8–9); לא תלושין יתה "do not knead her" (22AL:16 unpublished); אימחי יתכון "I shall smite you (pl.m.)" (Moussaieff 164:11 < BTA); לא תנוקון יתהון "do not harm them" (MSF B19:8); תפק יתיה "you shall bring him out" (BM 117870:4); לאפקא יתכון "to bring you (pl.m.) out" (CBS 9010:8; Moussaieff 50:5); איסאיב! יתכון "I shall defile you (pl.m.)" (Moussaieff 164:10 < BTA); לסיעא יתיה "to help him" (BM 127396:3); עני יתיה "he answered him" (MS 1927/2:1); פטרנא יתכון "I release you (pl.m.)" (Moussaieff 50:6); קליא יתהון "(she) roasts them" (Moussaieff 155:11); כולהון קטל יתהון סדרוס "Sidrus killed all of them" (AMB Ba12:1–2); למיקטל יתיה "to kill him" (AMB B12a:7); אנה רחימנא יתכון "I love you (pl.m.)" (AMB B6:3); לרחקא יתיכי "to distance you (sg.f.)" (Moussaieff 1:15); משבענא יתכון "I beswear you (pl.m.)" (AMB B6:8); שדרית "I sent you (sg.f.)" (HS 3034:3); שדרית יתהון "I sent them (pl.m.)" (APM 9163:3); כד שמע יתיה "when he heard him" (CBS 2963:7, 8/9 < BTA); ישמתון יתיכי "they shall ban you (sg.f.)" (Moussaieff 156:10); יתברון "they shall break you (sg.f.)" (Moussaieff 156:10).<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Reading and interpretation of יתיה רכבין חרשתא נשי "… of the seven sorcerous women are riding" in Levene, "If You Appear as a Pig," 62 cannot be correct as a transitive verb is required before יתיה. A solution with the verb רכב could be דשב נשי "… of seven sorcerous women overriding him" (Moussaieff 164:11).

<sup>76</sup> For WA see the following examples: [ל]מקטול יתה "[to] kill him" (AMB A15:17); ולמסיה יתה ולמנטרה יתה "and to heal and to protect him" (MSF A19:7); דיעקור יתיך "that he shall uproot you (sg.f.)" (MSF A19:12–13), but before a PN: PN! אסי "you, heal PN"



8.5. *With -ל*

Another possibility to introduce the direct object is to employ the preposition *-ל*. An exception is found in a text formula that shows both accusative markers *-ל* and *ית* *קטל ליה ליברה* short for *קטל ליה ליברה* “he killed her son” (AMB B12a:5) which was probably influenced by the western amulet *Vorlage קטל לברה* (AMB A15:11), *לא איקטול ליבנין* “I shall not kill the children” (AMB B12b:12) but with *ית* in *יתיה* “to kill him” (AMB B12a:7).

## 9. VERB INFLECTION

9.1. *תא-, תה- Suffix Perfect of 2 Singular Masculine*

The perfect suffix of the second singular is *תא-, תה-* in QA but it is not attested in JDA.—SLBA: only in TA one finds *תא-*, but for the magic bowl it is not extant so far, since mostly only feminine singular demons are addressed in the second person.

9.2. *אה- Suffix Perfect 3 Plural Feminine or Imperative 3 Plural Feminine with the Verbs III-y.*

QA, JDA: not attested.—SLBA: *איתמסיא* “(heights) be dissolved” (HS 3046:4), in another variant *איתמסיאה* (Moussaieff 50:4).

9.3. *-י Prefix of the Imperfect 3 Singular and Plural Masculine*

This common imperfect prefix *-י* in Aramaic is also in use in SLBA despite the common eastern *-ל/-נ* ones in the surrounding dialects (BTA, Mandaic, Syriac) from Hatra onwards. Even the individual magic bowl texts discriminate here between *-י* and *-ל/-נ* prefix. Only in cases when the magical frame is composed in another dialect does the prefix differ between frame and magical formula.<sup>77</sup> The unique text source that could

(MSF A19:31); *אסרנה יאתיך* “I bind you (sg.f.)”; *אשבעת יתכון* “I adjured you” (Silver Amulet lines 9, 25 in R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, and S. Shaked, “A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum,” *Mus* 105 [1992]: 5–25).

<sup>77</sup> This is the weakness of the study on the linguistic peculiarities by Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 174–181, on this matter. It makes his methodological approach question-

have thrown light on the question of continuity of the prefix -י in the east is the Aramaic Uruk incantation in cuneiform. This text, however, is lacking any evidence of imperfect forms.<sup>78</sup>

#### 9.4. ין- Affix of the Imperfect 2 Singular Feminine

QA: \*תעבדין “you shall do” (1QapGen XIX:20); תמללין “you shall speak” (1QapGen II:7); JDA: תהוין “you (sg.f.) will be” (Naḥal Ḥever documents frequent); תמרין (Mur 19 10).—SLBA: לא תיזלין “do not go” (Moussaieff 156:9); תבאשינ’ “you shall make ill” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 13’); לא תידמין “do not you appear (*itpe’el*)” (HS 3008:3–4); תיהוין “you shall be” (Moussaieff 103:6); לא תיחדרין “you shall not return” (CBS 9013:16); לא תחוהין “you shall not be friendly” (CBS 16020:9); לא תיחורין “do not appear” (Moussaieff 156:9); תפצנין “you shall deliver” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 8’); לא תיקמין “do not stand” (Moussaieff 156:13); לא תישלטין “do not rule” (Moussaieff 156:12).

#### 9.5. Imperfect Affix of 2 Feminine Singular

The imperfect affix of the 2 singular feminine יין- only occurs in JDA. SLBA shows it as well.

#### 9.6. י- Affix Imperative 2 Singular Feminine

This consistent SLA ending is attested beginning with Imperial Aramaic. QA: בועי “rejoice” (4Q196 18 2 [Tob 13:13]); JDA: not attested.—SLBA: גלח(י) “shave” (BM 91767:8); גבולי “form” (BM 91767:4); אפילי “let fall” (BM 91767:8); לחושי “enchant” (HS 3034:5); חתומי “seal” (CBS 2952:1; 2976:15); נפוחי “blow” (BM 91767:4); עקורי “uproot” (HS 3026:7); עירוקי “flee” (HS 3034:5); פוקי “go out” (CBS 2976:9); צוטי “hear” (CBS 2976:4, 9); קבילי “receive” (CBS 2976:14); קטולי “kill” (BM 91767:5); קטורי “knot” (CBS 2952:1); שלופי “draw out” (BM 91767:9); שמעי “hear” (CBS 16020:5); יתבי “sit” (BM 91767:4).

able, since he takes every text on a magic bowl as a complete unit. Most of the magical bowl texts, however, are imbedded in doxological frames that differ in dialect or even language (Hebrew) from the magic formula.

<sup>78</sup> Other indicative features as demonstrative pronouns, conjunctions, and infinitives of the derived stems are lacking as well.

9.7. *Infinitives of the Derived Stems*

Infinitive patterns of the derived stems can define a dialect group in Aramaic. The following patterns (*qattālā* and [*h*]*aqtālā*) are transmitted from Tell Fekheriye through Imperial Aramaic up until the Geonic time and can be taken as the basic infinitive type of “Hocharamäisch.” The other two types are typical for Western Aramaic (*maqattālā*, *maqtālā*) since the Hermopolis papyri and Aḥiqar frame or for another Aramaic literary dialect type (*maqattālū*, *maqtālū*) since the Aḥiqar proverbs onwards.<sup>79</sup>

9.7.1. *paʿel: qattālā*

QA: להבלא “to destroy” (11QtgJob XXIV:5); מללא “to speak” (11QtgJob XIV:3\*); JDA: only with מ-prefix מקטלה “to sell” (XḤev/Se 47 8); למקנה “to acquire” (XḤev/Se 47 8); מקטלו: למובנו (XḤev/Se 7 17).—SLBA: לאברא “to destroy” (BM 91763:6); לבטלא “to annul” (Gordon B8); להבלא “to destroy” (Moussaieff 50:4); לחתמה < \*חתמה “to seal” (HS 3003:1); לחתמא (BM 91720:12); לנטורה < \*נטורה “to protect” (HS 3003:1); לסיעא “to help” (BM 127396:3); לפרנסא “to sustain” (BM 127396:3); לרחקא “to remove” (Moussaieff 1:15; 101:2).

9.7.2. (*h*)*afel: (h)aqtālā*

QA: הנחתה “to bring down” (11QtgJob XXXI:3); להנפקה “to bring out” (11QtgJob XXXI:5); להסבעה “to satisfy” (11QtgJob XXXI:4); להיתיה “to bring” (11QtgJob IV:1);<sup>80</sup> JDA: הקטלה: להעמקה “to deepen” (XḤev/Se 47 7) but מקטלה in למובנה “to sell” (XḤev/Se 47 8); למעמקה (P.Yadin 81:6); but למנעלו “to bring in” (P.Yadin 7:26).—SLBA: לאוזהא “to drive out” (MSF B20:3); לאפקא “to bring out” (MSF B20:3; Moussaieff 50:5; 101:2) and plenty of other examples.

<sup>79</sup> See J.C. Greenfield, “The Infinitive in the Aramaic Documents from the Judean Desert,” in *Studies in Hebrew and Other Semitic Languages Presented to Chaim Rabin* (ed. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein et al.; Jerusalem: Academ, 1990), 77–81 (Hebrew); M. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period* (OLA 68; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 191–198.

<sup>80</sup> The reading suggested by Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:285, is correct.

## 10. SYNTAGMS

10.1. *Absolute State*

SLBA retains the absolute state even in cases where it went out of use in Central Babylonian Aramaic (BTA, KBA, M), where it was only employed with exceptions, although it is required according to the Standard Aramaic rules, e.g., after cardinals, after כל and in distributive expressions.

10.1.1. *The Absolute State is Observed when Denoting Indetermination*

QA, JDA: observed.—SLBA: mostly observed ית! רוחין בישין “I adjured evil spirits” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 20’–21’); עבדת להרשין דינחשה “I practised sorcery of bronze” (HS 3003:4); שביבין דנור וזיו “sparks of fire and splendour” (Moussaieff 155:8); מפש עינין ומפחא נפש “(she) darkens eyes and blows out breath” (Gordon B7); רוח טמאה “unclean spirit” (Moussaieff 1:7).

10.1.2. *After כל*

QA, JDA: observed.—SLBA: כל חיוונין סניין כל מינין בישין “all hateful visions, all evil bad sorts” (HSM 3027:3); כל אינש “everyone” (Moussaieff 103:6); בכל גוגין “all evil practices” (Moussaieff amulet obv. 10’); ובכל דימון “with all colours and with all apparitions” (HS 3034:4–5); כל אתר “each place” (HS 3003:8); כל דמו “each apparition” (HS 3008:4); כל עררין ואיסרין “all ... and bonds” (HS 3019:1); כל פגעין בישין “all evil plagues” (HS 3001:1–2).

10.1.3. *After Cardinals*

QA, JDA: observed.—SLBA: שבע זבין “seven rivers” (Moussaieff 164:11 < BTA); שבעה חתמין “seven seals” (MSF B14:5); שבעין איסרין “seventy bonds” (Gordon E2); שבעא ניקבין “seven holes” (Moussaieff 1:11); שיתין “sixty-six kings” (Moussaieff 155:10); שיתין וארבע פרצופין “sixty-four faces” (Moussaieff 1:11); תלתא שורין “three walls” (MSF B14:5); תריעשר בנין “twelve sons” (HS 3003:2).

#### 10.1.4. *Distributive*

In distributive expressions the absolute state is the rule.

QA, JDA: observed.—SLBA: בגוני' גוני' בצימחוי' צימחוי' "by each colour, by each shining" (APM 9163:3).

#### 10.1.5. *Genitive of Material*

QA, JDA: observed.—SLBA: דברזול "of iron" (Wiseman bowl 9); שביבין "sparks of fire and splendour" (Moussaieff 155:8).

#### 10.1.6. *Proper Nouns*

Proper nouns are used in the absolute state.

QA, JDA: observed.—SLBA: גיהנם "Gehenna" (BM 91763:4, 8); שאול "underworld" (CBS 2916:12); תיביל "Tebel" (Moussaieff 155:5).

#### 10.1.7. *Enumerations*

QA, DJA: observed.—SLBA: בנין ויבון "sons and daughters" (CBS 2976:8; 11); יד ודרע "hand and arm" (HS 3008:6–7). Often accounts start off with forms in the absolute, but then continue in the emphatic state: ומיפנעין "and from evil afflictions, from evil chariots and from evil sorcery" (Moussaieff 121:3–4).

#### 10.1.8. *Adverbial expressions*

QA, DJA: observed.—SLBA: ולא בימם ולא בלילי "and neither by daytime nor by night" (Moussaieff 155:6); לא בימם ולא בלילה (CBS 3997:5); בין בימם! בין בלילי "between daytime and nighttime" (Moussaieff amulet rev. 15'–16'); לא בכל רמש וצפר "neither every evening nor morning" (CBS 3997:5); לעלמין "for ever" (Moussaieff 155:8).

### 10.2. *Genitive Construction*

As in QA and JDA the original Semitic genitive construction is still productive in SLBA in contrast to its neighbouring dialects (BTA, KBA, M). It is noteworthy that this construction often occurs in fixed expressions, e.g., ברחמי שמיא, but there are plenty of other examples where it is still extant. This is a further proof for retaining old syntactical constructions

in SLBA from an earlier period. The genitive constructions with בר, בת, and בית have to be taken as compound nouns.

SLBA attestations: אלף אלפין “thousand of thousands” (Moussaieff 164:4 < BTA; both in the absolute as in WA); איסרי עלמא “(magical) bonds of the world” (Geller D3); איסקופת ביתה “the threshold of his house” (HS 3046:2); נחשא ופרזלא “a bond of bronze and iron” (CBS 16087:7); במותב רבי “by the seat of Rabbi” (CBS 9010:2; HS 3046:1; frequent); במרי שמיה ובמרי ארעה “by the lord of heaven and by the lord earth” (MSF B19:7); ברחמי שמיה “by the mercy of heaven” (BM 139524:3) is a frequently occurring phrase; בהיכל נורא וברדא “in a palace of fire and hail” (Moussaieff 155:8); הדמי קומתיה “limbs of his body” (BM 91763:18); לסוף תלתין יומין “at the end of thirty days” (BM 91767:5); מחת רוחתא בישתא “the smiting of the evil spirits” (Moussaieff 156:4); מיצרי ביתיה “the boundaries of his house” (BM 136204:7); מלאך מותא “the angel of death” (BM 91767:2); נורי גיהנם “fires of Gehenna” (BM 91763:4); קל גברא “a voice of a man” (BM 91745:6); ריבו<sup>sic</sup> ריבון “myriad of myriads” (Moussaieff 164:5; both in the absolute as in WA); רוח מלאכה רבתי “the great spirit of the angel” (BM 139524:9);<sup>81</sup> שכנית אל “dwelling of El (Hebrew?)” (MSF B22:3); תרעי גיהנם “gates of Gehenna” (BM 91763:8); etc.

### 10.3. Postposition of כל

One of the noteworthy syntagms is to stress a noun by repeating כל after a noun with a pronominal suffix in postposition. This postposition is known from Biblical Hebrew וכל בית ישראל כלה (Ezek 11:15), but is more widely attested in post Biblical Hebrew כול העולם כולו (p. Demai I,21d).<sup>82</sup> Later it was loaned into JDA in fixed expressions כל אנוש כלה “everybody.” Thus the postposition of כל occurs frequently in the Naḥal Ḥeḇer documents.<sup>83</sup> בכל אתר כלה (Babatha document 1:30\*). Later one

<sup>81</sup> The translation of the genitive construction רוח מלאכה רבתי with a following adjective was misunderstood by Geller, “Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” 56 and translated as “the spirit—the great Angel of Death.” Also Segal, *Catalogue*, 65, did not understand this construction. According to a common rule in Semitic languages a fixed genitive construction cannot be split up by adjectives. Adjectives referring to the *regens* must follow after the *rectum*.

<sup>82</sup> See J.C. Greenfield and E. Qimron, “The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 70–77, esp. 75.

<sup>83</sup> See Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), glossary.

finds examples in the *Tosefta to Ezekiel* מכל עלמא כוליה (Ezek 1:1) and in the *Zohar* כל הני רוחין כולהון (Genesis I,45a [ed. Margoliot]). It cannot be traced in Western Aramaic (CPA, GA, SA).<sup>84</sup> This construction can also be observed in SLBA bowl texts: כל רוחין כלהין' (MSF B25:6);<sup>85</sup> כל מזיקי (MSF B25:6); כל גיברי כולהון (AMB B5:8); כל גיברין כולהון (28AL:12 unpublished) but not in the Babylonian Aramaic dialects (BTA, KBA, M). Thus postposition of כל must be considered a Rabbinic linguistic import to Babylonia.

Other examples of postposition of כל in SLBA bowl texts are: מן מיביתה כוליה "from his whole house" (Moussaieff 101:10); מן מיביתה כוליה (Moussaieff 123:9).

#### 10.4. *Periphrastic Tense*

דהוא קיים "who has suppressed Šedas" (BM 136204:6); דהוא כביש שידין "that peace has existed for you (sg.m.)" (BM 91745:11); דהוא יתיב על כורסיה "who has been sitting on the throne" (Moussaieff 155:4-5); דהוא שרי בהיכל נורא וברדא "who has been dwelling in a palace of fire and ice" (Moussaieff 155:8).

### 11. LEXEMES

Many of the lexemes in use since the early Aramaic inscriptions are still extant in QA and continue in Geonic Aramaic, but are not attested otherwise in Late Aramaic, including SLBA. This can be explained by lack of sufficient text material.

#### 11.1. אע "wood, tree"

The most interesting lexeme is the word for "wood, tree." It goes back to proto-Semitic \*ʿd. In the earliest source of its attestation, which is a cuneiform letter of the King of Tyros (735/732) to the Assyrian King of Assarhadon, it is transcribed as *e-qu*.<sup>86</sup> Again it occurs in the Ara-

<sup>84</sup> If something is not attested and is not in use it does need to be mentioned in grammatical treatments. Therefore the remark "eine Konstruktion mit doppeltem כול wird in den Grammatiken nicht erwähnt" by Stadel, *Hebraismen*, 24 n. 130 is obsolete.

<sup>85</sup> Corrected in Müller-Kessler, "Glaukom-Dämonin," 79.

<sup>86</sup> 2686:8, 14 in H.W.F. Saggs, ed., *The Nimrud Letters, 1952* (The Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 5; London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001), 154. For this

maic Uruk incantation in cuneiform as *iq* (AO 6489:12). In the Idumea ostraca it is spelled עקן (25:2; 167:2), in QA עעין (ALD 7:5\*), אעא (1QapGen XIV:11). As אע it is attested in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* and later in Geonic Aramaic. In Western Aramaic it occurs only in the SA Targum and in the Talmud Yerushalmi. This Aramaic lexeme could only survive in Late Aramaic dialects where guttural loss was prevalent. אע was at first dissimilated to /ʔʔ/, finally reduced to two vowels \*/a'a/, and then lengthened to \*/ā/. In Late Aramaic, however, אע was completely replaced by other lexemes as, e.g., אילן “tree” and קיס “wood.” A comparable situation also exists for the lexemes עאן “flock” and רחע “to wash” that went out of use on account of dissimilation of ע in initial and final position.<sup>87</sup>

### 11.2. אבע, עבע “to hurry”

There has been a lot of discussion of the root of לעובע “in a hurry” (1QapGen XX:9). It has been demonstrated that it cannot derive from <√בעע,<sup>88</sup> but only from √עבע. The verb lives on in TA in a dissimilated variant √אבע.<sup>89</sup> It is a root only in use in SLA.

### 11.3. לחח “to be moist”

The Hebrew root √לחח “to be moist” occurs in the form of a demon name in לחלחיא דכרא and in the feminine form חלחלית נקבתא (4Q560 1 i 3). It is a reduplication, as in other geminate roots, with metathesis: דרדקיא “little boys,” דרדקיתא “little girls” (here with dissimilation /r/ < /d/). This partly preserved incantation text also shows other Hebrew loanwords פשע “crime,” עוין “offence” (4Q560 1 i 4).

It is striking that many lexemes containing the phoneme ע, going back to Proto-Semitic /d/, are only typical for SLA and do not occur in other dialects of Late Aramaic.

interpretation see the oral communication by K. Deller in Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:353.

<sup>87</sup> On the question of /s/ based on Proto-Semitic /d/ in Aramaic lexemes, see J.C. Greenfield, “Studies in Aramaic Lexicography I,” *JAOS* 82 (1962): 290–299.

<sup>88</sup> Found in M.G. Abegg with J.E. Bowley and E.M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, vol. 1: *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 801.

<sup>89</sup> See J.C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Aramaic Vocabulary,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 78–98, esp. 83.



## 12. INNOVATIONS

There exist quite a number of linguistic innovations that are to be noted in the SLBA texts in general. They occur in TA, SLAT, bowl Aramaic, and Geonic. Only a few of the most frequent attested features were picked out here to show how far the eastern texts in SLBA are more developed, and therefore differ from, the QA and JDA dialect types. It is noteworthy that none of the listed characteristics can be traced in any of the pure Western Aramaic dialects (CPA, GA, JPAT, SA), except for לֵא, certain pronouns and adverbs augmented by -ה, and the short imperfect of הוּי. This clearly places *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* within the dialectal geography of SLBA and makes it feasible that the official Targums originate from the Rabbinic schools in Babylonia. Place of composition is often not identical to place of discovery, e.g., the eastern text sources in the Cairo Genizah.

12.1. *Intervocalic Shift of Labials*

A phonetic feature only to be found in the dialect geography of Babylonia is the intervocalic shift of labials. This shift /m/ < /w/ is frequently attested in the *īstaf'al* of √ ידע: אִישְׁתְּמוּדַע in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* It occurs so far in a KBA bowl text לִישְׁתְּמוּדַע (Moussaieff 102:8) but has not been attested yet in SLBA bowl texts. Such forms are only feasible in the phonetic realm of Babylonia and are not characteristic for WA.

12.2. *Demonstrative Pronouns Augmented by -ה*

The demonstrative pronouns of nearness and distance are augmented by the emphazising element -ה: הַדִּין, הַדָּא, הַלֵּין; only for the deictic pronouns of distance הַהוּא, הַהֵיא, and הַלֵּיךְ. One finds hardly any attestations in SLBA. This augmentation is an innovation in Late Aramaic dialects in general, in the west as well as in the east, starting in the first century C.E.<sup>90</sup>

QA: not in use; JDA: first evidence occurs the Judean desert documents.—SLBA: frequent usage, e.g., הַדָּא (HS 3046:2, 5; Moussaieff 101:5); הַדִּין (CBS 8693:5; Moussaieff 112:7).

<sup>90</sup> This feature is not suitable for comparing QA and Palmyrene with Targumic Aramaic as proposed by Cook, “New Perspective,” 150.

## 12.3. Affix אה-

The affix of ordinals, gentilics, adjectives, and sometimes nouns III-γ is י- /-āy/ for the masculine forms in QA, JDA, and WA but אה- in SLBA. This linguistic isogloss is restricted to SLA of Babylonia that makes the text source of the *ALD* from the Cairo Genizah (Cambridge T.-S. 16, fol. 94, Bodleian Heb. c. 27) an eastern text witness and not a western. The three attested forms of טומאה “uncleanliness,” טומאה (*ALD* 6:1), טמאה<sup>sic</sup> (*ALD* 6:3), and טומאה<sup>!</sup> (*ALD* 6:5) point to an eastern origin of the text. The old reading שור יהודה קדמאה “Judah was the first to jump up” (*ALD* 2:1) is corrected now to קדמא, since there is a clear space after ’ālep before [ל]משבק.

## 12.4. Plural Emphatic Ending on Masculine Nouns י-

The short form of the emphatic state on the masculine noun plural is not attested in QA and JDA.—SLBA (TA, SLAT, bowls, and Geonic) and the other Eastern Aramaic dialects obviously use this borrowed morpheme from Akkadian. It might also be a shortened form of -ē < \*-ayyā. This plural ending predominates over the former Aramaic ending יא-. The latter is restricted to certain phrases, e.g., וטוריא וארעא<sup>!</sup> וטוריא “heaven and earth and mountains” (CBS 9010:6) and certain words, e.g., plurale tanta שמיא, מיא, חייא.<sup>91</sup>

## 12.5. Šafel in Aramaic

It should be pointed out that in QA and JDA, attestations of šafel and its passive-reflexive stem ištafal are limited to the loaned verbs from Akkadian in their frozen forms as שיזב, שויצי, and שככלל.<sup>92</sup> The same is true for the preceding and contemporary Aramaic dialects as in Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrenean. Only in the

<sup>91</sup> How Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 2:19, comes to the conclusion that the emphatic state plural masculine is represented by -ayyā cannot be based on his own study of these texts, since it is not the case. It is repeated again in Juusola, *Linguistic Peculiarities*, 146 since the dissertation on the dialect of Nedarim by S.F. Rybak, “The Aramaic Dialect of Nedarim” (Ph.D. diss., Yeshiva University, 1980), although Rybak on p. 115 really said concerning יא- “Evidence of the written plural emphatic יא- ending, if indeed it was once typical of Nedarim, would be difficult to find.”

<sup>92</sup> For the etymology and attestations, see S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (AS 19; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 127–128, and the glossaries in Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, vol. 1, Ergänzungsband, and vol. 2.

Late Aramaic dialects was the *šafel* productive as stem for Aramaic verbs, but it is far more often used in WA than in the EA.<sup>93</sup> In SLBA (TA, SLAT, bowls, and Geonic), one notes a higher distribution than in BTA and Mandaic, e.g., לשצטמא “to shackle” (Moussaieff 101:1) and משצטמת “you (sg.m.) are shackled!” (AMB B12b:3) are in fact *šafels* (see above, § 1.2.2); לא תשרגינה “you (sg.f.) shall not incense her” (Moussaieff 156:13); לישתמודע “he shall inform” (Moussaieff 102:8 in KBA); for TA the following other verbs can be added: שלהב “to enflame,” שלחף “to exchange,” שעמם “to confuse,” שרגג “to entice.”<sup>94</sup>

### 12.6. Suffix of the 1 Singular תי- on Verbs III-γ

The suffix of the first person singular in SLBA (TA, SLAT, bowls, and Geonic) on the verbs III-γ is תי-. It can be taken as an innovation in Babylonia and is obviously a loan from Hebrew, although doubted by Cook and considered curious by Kutscher.<sup>95</sup> What stays unanswered is the fact why this Hebrew morpheme occurs only with this verb class III-γ: איתיתי “I brought” (Moussaieff 50:4); בריתי “I created” (BM 91707:3); עשיתי “I made” (Moussaieff 50:7) etc. The latter verb can be taken for a clear Hebraism in this text.

### 12.7. Affix of the 2 Feminine Plural

The affix of the second feminine plural imperfect in SLBA is ך- but its attestation is rare: תישרן “you shall dwell” (BM 91767:3); תירמן “you shall cast” (BM 91767:7).

### 12.8. Plural Masculine Ending on Participles ך- with Verbs III-γ

The plural masculine ending on the participles of the verbs III-γ ך- is considered by Cook a contraction of ואתן-איין “and they come” (SD 34:12);

<sup>93</sup> The question is where to list the *šafel* stem in the dictionaries. I am of the opinion that only the ones loaned from Akkadian should be listed alphabetically, all the others should be added under the individual root as the stem is regularly in use in the Late Aramaic dialects.

<sup>94</sup> For more examples in Aramaic and Hebrew, see also C. Rabin, “The Nature and Origin of the Šafel in Hebrew and Aramaic,” *El* 9 (1969): 148–158.

<sup>95</sup> See Cook, “New Perspective,” 152–153 and E.Y. Kutscher, “Aramaic,” *EncJud* 1:259–287; esp. 268. It is not the only morphological feature that was borrowed from Hebrew into SL(B)A as mentioned above (among them noun patterns for colours and directions of the wind; the *nota accusativi* ית etc.)

ממנן “rays accompany his chariot” (Moussaieff 123:4);<sup>96</sup> ממן “they are counted” (Moussaieff 155:10;<sup>97</sup> BM 91767:6); מתחזן “they appear” (Moussaieff 50:2); מסנן “they move about” (Gordon B2); סנן “they hate” (BM 91767:8); קרן “they are called” (HS 3005:8; Moussaieff 101:13); שרן “they dwell” (BM 91767:10; CBS 9009:12) etc.

### 12.9. *Short Imperfect*

QA and JDA still show the long imperfect of הוי.—SLBA: in this dialect group the short imperfect form is the rule as in WA יהי (HS 3022:5; Moussaieff 155:1; AMB B5:1 etc.); תיהון (Moussaieff 164:12 < BTA).

### 12.10. *Negation of the Jussive*

לא is still extant in Qumran, but merges in Late Aramaic in general with לא.

## CONCLUSION

In light of the presented linguistic features (graphemes, phonemes, morphemes, and syntagms) it is now obvious that *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* belong to the dialect geography of Babylonia in the style of a traditional “Gelehrtensprache.” Although Targumic Aramaic still preserves features of Qumran Aramaic, it is already far more developed than the latter. Therefore its placement within the group of Middle Aramaic has to be reconsidered. The occurring Eastern features cannot be simply adduced to redactional corrections after the transfer of *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Jon.* to Babylonia by a rabbinic group of the Academies of Nehardea, and later Sura and Pumbeditha. That true eastern features surface in Targum Aramaic of Babylonia is quite natural. Thus it is not only eastern Targum Aramaic that shows these specific traits but also SLBA in magic bowl texts, the Aramaic parts of the Babylonian Talmud, and even later the Aramaic of Geonic *responsa*. Standard Literary Aramaic of Babylonia can be taken as the true heir of Qumran Aramaic. Qumran Aramaic, however, was never a unified Aramaic dialect, but represents diverse literary dialects from text sources of obscure backgrounds. With such a small

<sup>96</sup> Levene, *Corpus*, 84, did not understand the word לון and took it for a proper noun.

<sup>97</sup> Levene, *ibid.*, 111, 148, corrected מן to מנן.

Aramaic text basis, surviving mostly in fragmentary states, it is impossible to establish where the *Vorlagen* or originals were composed and compiled, despite convincing arguments by experts of Qumran text criticism. Therefore the diversity in the linguistic elements of Qumran Aramaic presents a non-homogenous language style that differs from text to text.

The linguistic succession of Qumran Aramaic is expected in the Western Aramaic dialect group of Christian Palestinian, Galilean, and Samaritan Aramaic, not in the eastern literary Aramaic group. Also, the Judean legal documents do not seem to have been written in a linguistic style that continued in Western Aramaic, as can be seen from the contrasting infinitives patterns, *maqattālū*, *maqṭālū* in Murabbaʿat, Syriac, and through Syriac influence partially in the later period in CPA. *maqattālā*, *maqṭālā* is found in Naḥal Ḥever and later in Western Aramaic except for CPA and *qattāla*, *aqtālā* etc., is extant in the Standard Aramaic Literary group (SLBA).<sup>98</sup> Infinitive patterns are the salient indicators of dialect affinities and continuity in Aramaic and should be recognized as an argument for defining dialect relations and the continuation of language traits.

Table 1. Graphic Features

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls <sup>99</sup>
ḥ- for final /ā/	ḥ- partially in use	ḥ- partially in use	ḥ- partially in use	ḥ- partially in use
š (ś) for ס	partially in use	partially in use	partially in use	partially in use
non spelling of final root radical ʾ	מומה, emph. מומתה “oath”	מומא	מומתה	מומתה

<sup>98</sup> The usage of infinitives in CPA is not popular. One even finds Hebrew absolute infinitive forms without prefix in the *peʿal*, despite its translation from the Greek *Vorlage*. Most of the infinitives are employed as verbal nouns and not in classical infinitive constructions as in the other Aramaic dialects.

<sup>99</sup> A number of features were already discussed by T. Harviainen, *Diglossia in Jewish Eastern Aramaic* (StudOr 55; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 1983), 97–113. Since Havaianen’s article more texts came to our attention that change the view of some morphemes.

Table 2. Phonetic Features

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
Preservation of gutturals	always	always	nearly always	nearly always
Non apocope of consonants	always	always	nearly always	always
<i>nûn</i> not assimilated in pronouns, nouns	always	always	assimilated; not in Geonic	partially
<i>nûn</i> assimilated in מן “from”	מ	מ	מ(·) (regularly)	מ(·) (often)

Table 3. Independent Personal Pronoun

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
הוא “he”	הוא	הוא	הוא	הוא
היא “she”	היא	היא	היא	היא
אתה “you (sg.m.)”	אתה	אתה	–	אתה, אנתא
את “you (sg.m.)”	–	את	את	את
את “you (sg.m.)”	–	את	את	את
אתי “you (sg.f.)”	אתי	א(נ)ת(י)	– (את); אתי Geonic	אתי
אנה “I”	אנה	אנה	אנה, אנה	אנה, אנה
אנן א(·)נן “they; them (m.)”	אנן	א(·)נן	א(·)נן	א(·)נן
אינן א(·)ינן “they; them (f.)”	אינן	אינן	אינן	אינן
אתון “you (pl.m.)”	אתון	not attested	–	אתון
אתון “you (pl.m.)”	–	–	אתון	אתון
אתיך “you (pl.f.)”	אתיך	not attested	not attested	only אתיך!
אנחנא “we”	אנחנא	אנחנא	אנחנא	אנחנא

Table 4. Pronominal Suffixes

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
והי- “his”	והי-	והי-	והי-	והי-
ה-; ה- “her”	ה-; ה-ה	ה-; ה-ה	ה-; ה-ה	ה-; ה-ה
יכי- “your (sg.f.)”	כי(י)-	כי(י)-	כי(י)-	כי(י)-

Table 5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
דן “this”	דן	דן	דין	דין
דגן “this”	–	דגן	דגן	דגני(ן)
דנה “this”	דנה, דנא	דנה, דנא	דנה	דנה
דא “this (f.)”	דא	דא	דא	דא
אלן “these”	אלין, אלן	אלין	אילין, אילין	אילין
אלך “those”	not attested	אלך	אליך	not attested

Table 6. Noun Patterns

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
<i>qatōl</i> for colours	אכום “black” 4QEn <sup>d</sup> 2 i 26 ירוק “green” 11QtgJob XXXIX:8	שקומא “red”	ירוק “green, yellow” סמוקתא “red” Deut 19:2 Tg. <i>Onq.</i>	ירוק
<i>qatōl</i> for the directions of the wind	דרומא “south” צפונא “north” קדום “east”	דרומא צפונא –	דרומא not attested –	דרומא צפונא –

Table 7. Prepositions and Conjunctions

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
אם “if”	אם	not attested	–	אם
אף “also”	אף	not attested	אף	אף
ארי “since”	ארו 11QtgJob XXVIII:23	–	ארי	–
בדיל “because of”	בדיל בדילה 11QtgJob XLII:10	not attested	בדיל	בדיל
בדיל די “since”	בדיל די 11QtgJob XXXVII:17*	בדיל די	בדיל ד-	בדיל ד-
כדי “when”	כדי	כדי	כד	כד
כמה די	כמה/א די	not attested	כמה/א די	כמה/א די

Table 8. Direct Object Marker

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
Not marked	often	often	rarely	rarely
Object suffixes	preference	preference	preference	rarely
<i>Nota accusativi</i>	ית	ית	ית	ית
ית + pronominal suffixes	יתה 11QtgJob XL:30	יתה etc.	יתה etc.	יתה etc.
-ל object marker	-ל rarely employed	-ל rarely employed	-ל rarely employed	-ל rarely employed



Table 9. Verb Inflection

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
Suffix perfect 2 sg.m.	תא-, תה-	not attested	תא-	not attested
Suffix perfect 3 pl.f. III-y	אה-	not attested	אה-	אה-
Prefix imperfect 3 m.	-י	-י	-י	-י
Affix imperfect 2 sg.f.	ין-	ין-	ין-	ין-
Affix imperfect 2 sg.f. III-y	not attested	יין-	יין-	יין-
Affix imperative 2 sg.f.	י-	not attested	י-	י-
Infinitive patterns				
<i>pa<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> קטלה	<i>pa<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> קטלה	<i>pa<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> מקטלה מקטלו	<i>pa<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> קטלא	<i>pa<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> קטלא
<i>af<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> הקטלה	<i>af<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> הקטלה	<i>af<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> הקטלה מקטלה	<i>af<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> אקטלא	<i>af<sup>ʿ</sup>el</i> אקטלא

Table 10. Syntagms

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
Absolute state	observed	observed	observed	observed
	a) general	a) general	a) general	a) general
	b) attributive	b) attributive	b) attributive	b) attributive
	c) after כּל	c) after כּל	c) after כּל	c) after כּל
	d) after cardinals	d) after cardinals	d) after cardinals	d) after cardinals
	e) distributive	e) distributive	e) distributive	e) distributive
	f) genitive of material	f) genitive of material	f) genitive of material	f) genitive of material
	g) proper nouns	g) proper nouns	g) proper nouns	g) proper nouns
	h) enumeration	h) enumeration	h) enumeration	h) enumeration
	i) adverbs	i) adverbs	i) adverbs	i) adverbs
Postposition of כּל	attested	not attested	attested	attested
Construct state	preference	preference	preference	preference

Table 11. Lexemes

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
אימה “fright”	אימה 11QtgJob XXXIX:20 אימתכון 1QapGen XI:17	not attested; later in SA Targum; JPA	אימתה Exod 15:16 Tg. Onq.	not attested
אע “wood, tree”	אעא 1QapGen XIV:11 עעין ALD 7:5*	אעי Fast Scroll; later in SA Targum, JPA Targum	אעא e.g., Lev 14:4 Tg. Onq. Shimmush de-Tefillin 488:1	not attested
√חוי “to see”	√חוי	√חוי	√חוי	√חוי
√יכל < Hebrew “to be able” <sup>100</sup>	√יכל	√יכל	√יכל	not attested
להח < Hebrew “to be moist”	*להח	not attested	not attested	not attested
√נטל < Hebrew “to lift”	√נטל	not attested	√נטל	*√נטל <sup>101</sup>
√נשי “to take”	√נשי	not attested	√נשי, √נסי	not attested <sup>102</sup>
עאן “flock”	עאן	not attested	עאן	not attested
√עבע “to hurry”	√עבע <i>afel</i> 11QtgJob XX:5	not attested	√עבע <i>afel</i> TA; √יבע <i>afel</i> Letter of R. Šarrira Gaon 122:1	not attested
√רעע “to wash”	√רעע “to wash”	not attested	√רעע “to wash” ALD 7:2, 3; 8:2, 4	not attested

<sup>100</sup> It is a definite loan from Hebrew since Qumran Aramaic onwards, as the Aramaic root √כהל came out of use after Imperial Aramaic and did not merge with √יכל. The reading in 4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> ar (4Q530) 5 2 is doubtful. As for many other lexemes their occurrence depends on the text genre.

<sup>101</sup> The reading of תינטלון (Moussaieff 123:8) is incorrect, since the text shows clearly תינטלון; see Müller-Kessler, “Of Jesus, Darius,” 229.

<sup>102</sup> Is not extant in the Babylonian Aramaic dialects (BTA, KBA, M).

Table 12. Innovations

Linguistic features	Qumran Aramaic	Judean Documents	TA, SLAT Geonic Aramaic	SLBA in bowls
אִשְׁתַּמּוּדַע <i>ištafal</i> √דע /m/ < /w/	not in use	not in use	אִשְׁתַּמּוּדַע <i>Tg. Onq., Tg. Jon.</i>	אִשְׁתַּמּוּדַע
augmented by -ה הדין "this (m.)"	not in use	not attested	הדין	הדין
הדא "this (f.)"	not in use	הדא	הדא	הדא
הלין "these"	not in use	not in use	הלין	הלין
אה- suffix	not in use	not in use	אה- suffix קדמאה טומאה	אה- suffix קדמאה טומאה
י- plural emph. on m. nouns	not in use	not in use	י-; rarely יא-	י-; rarely יא-
<i>šafel</i>	only in borrowed Akkadian verbs	only in borrowed Akkadian verbs	<i>šafel</i> with Aramaic roots	<i>šafel</i> with Aramaic roots
תי- suffix perfect 1 sg. on verbs III-γ	not in use	not in use	תי-	תי-
ן- affix 2 sg. f. on verbs III-γ	not in use	not in use	ן-	ן-
ן- plur. m. of participles on verbs III-γ	ין-	ין-	ן-	ן-
Short imperfect √הוי "to be"	(long imperfect)	(long imperfect) but תהון Mur 21 15	short imperfect	short imperfect
Negation particle for jussive	אל	לא	לא	לא



THE HEBREW BIBLE AND OTHER  
SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH LITERATURE  
IN LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



# LEVITICUS IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: ATONEMENT AND PURIFICATION FROM SIN\*

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## INTRODUCTION

In D. Lodge's novel *Small World*, a well-known satire on academic life, a young scholar jokingly tells a publisher that the topic of his dissertation is T.S. Eliot's influence on Shakespeare. However absurd this inverse perspective may sound, it definitely appeals to the publisher who immediately offers the young man a contract. Although reading the Bible in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls may similarly come across as paradoxical, this is exactly what I am going to propose in the present paper. As I hope to demonstrate, certain concepts in the Scrolls, rather than being a later development, seem to spell out what remained implicit or understated in the Hebrew Bible and can therefore be taken as an important witness to biblical thought. Obviously, the earlier we date the scrolls and the later we date the final redaction of the biblical texts, the more the likelihood of the ideological/theological continuity increases, although it is not necessary to accept the minimalist position in order to benefit from the approach being advanced here.<sup>1</sup>

The focus of my present investigation is the concept of atonement for sin and how it relates to the ideas of purification and divine forgiveness. I examine texts that involve cultic and non-cultic atonement, both in the Hebrew Bible and in the Qumran corpus, with reference to terminology and underlying concepts.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Late dating was advocated, e.g., by P.R. Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'* (JSOTSup 148; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992) and N.P. Lemche, "The Old Testament: A Hellenistic Book?" in *Did Moses Speak Attic?* (ed. L.L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 317; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 287–318. For further discussion and criticism of this view see W.M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> I use the word "atonement" or "expiation" to render the Hebrew כִּפּוּר.



I. ATONEMENT, FORGIVENESS, AND PURIFICATION  
IN LEVITICUS AND THE *TEMPLE SCROLL*

The verb כִּפֶּר in Leviticus and other cultic texts of the Hebrew Bible refers specifically to sacrificial rituals in the context of atonement for major physical impurities (e.g., those resulting from leprosy or abnormal genital discharges) and in the context of the expiation of sin/transgression.<sup>3</sup> In this section I limit my discussion to the latter, which in due course I will compare with atoning sacrifices for physical impurities.

There are two types of atoning sacrifices for sins in Leviticus and Numbers: individual sacrifices performed throughout the year (Lev 4–5; 19:21–22; Num 5:6–9; 15:22–29) and the collective non-specific sacrifices of the Day of Atonement, which coincide with the overall purgation of the sanctuary. Although these rituals have many elements in common, the language describing the outcome of the sacrificial procedures varies. Thus, the outcome of the individual atoning rites is described in terms of forgiveness, while Lev 16 uses the terminology of purification. Compare:

<p style="text-align: center;">וכפר עליו הכהן (לפני יי) ונסלח לו</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם לטהר אתכם מכל הטאתיכם לפני יי תטהרו</p>
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<p>And the priest shall perform the act of atonement for him, and he shall be <b>forgiven</b><sup>4</sup></p>	<p>for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to <b>cleanse</b> you; from all your sins you shall be <b>clean</b> before the LORD</p>
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<p>(Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:10, 13, 16,* 18,* 26;*, 19:22;*,<sup>5</sup> Num 15:28)</p>	<p>(Lev 16:30)</p>
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<sup>3</sup> There is a discussion as to what types of transgressions required sacrificial remedy. According to I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 139–140, 175–186 and passim, it concerned only cultic transgressions. Cf. M. Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 132. While I agree with Knohl that initially this might have been the case, it appears that by the time the final redaction of Leviticus and Numbers took place, the scope of atoning sacrifices was widened to include *any* transgression of God's commandments (Num 15:22).

<sup>4</sup> Biblical translations are based on the RSV. Qumran texts and translations are based on: E. Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2006) and F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998).

<sup>5</sup> Instances indicated with an asterisk are those requiring אָשַׁם. See n. 8 below.

What shall we conclude about this terminological inconsistency? Does it indicate that purification is not envisioned in the individual atoning rites or that forgiveness is not envisioned on Yom Kippur? This is suggested, for example, by R.E. Gane, who develops a theory of a two-stage purification, according to which individual sacrifices throughout the year procure forgiveness, while the Day of Atonement rituals bring about purification “beyond forgiveness.”<sup>6</sup>

Gane’s reading presupposes that Leviticus, with pharmaceutical precision, lays down in exact words the recipes for carrying out the rituals, so that a change of a word would signal a change of a concept. Meanwhile, as Klingbeil rightly noted, “in the ancient texts the author’s intention was not always to provide a minutely detailed account to be used in a court case setup, but rather to artistically interconnect information, give subtle clues.”<sup>7</sup> We therefore need to look not only at linguistic but also at structural parallels between the rituals performed in similar contexts and use imagination, logic, and conceptual thinking to decipher these abbreviated accounts. Below I argue that structural and conceptual similarities between various atoning rituals requiring the *חטאת* offering suggest the unity of their goal, which could be identified as purification.<sup>8</sup>

### I.1. *חטאת as Purification Offering*

Milgrom contended that *חטאת* was a purification offering par excellence.<sup>9</sup> He argued, however, that *חטאת* purified *only* the sanctuary—never the offerer. His argument is based on texts where the purpose of *כִּפֶּר* (+ sanctuary/altar as a direct object) is elucidated by the verbs *חָטָא* (e.g.,

<sup>6</sup> R.E. Gane, *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement and Theodicy* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), esp. 233–241, 267–284.

<sup>7</sup> G.A. Klingbeil, “Altars, Ritual and Theology—Preliminary Thoughts on the Importance of Cult and Ritual for a Theology of the Hebrew Scripture,” *VT* 54 (2004): 495–515, 507.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to *חטאת*, there is another atoning offering, *אשם*. The difficulty in distinguishing between the two has been acknowledged by many scholars. See, e.g., J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance* (SJLA 18; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 1 and passim; B.A. Levine, *In The Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 91–114. According to Milgrom, only *חטאת* has the function of purification (see discussion below). I am personally inclined to believe that *אשם*, required in certain cases of graver offences, constitutes a sub-type of *חטאת*, with similar functions. In this paper, however, I limit my discussion to the instances with *חטאת*, whose scope of application is wider.

<sup>9</sup> J. Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary: The Priestly ‘Picture of Dorian Gray,’” *RB* 83 (1976): 390–399.

Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; Ezek 43:20) and טָהַר (e.g., Lev 16:18–19; Ezek 43:26) and on the observation that כִּפֹּר never takes a human person as a direct object.<sup>10</sup> He thus construes that the act of purgation “is not carried out on the offerer but only on his behalf.”<sup>11</sup> This conclusion is, however, in tension with Lev 16:30, which speaks of the purification of the people.

My suggested solution to the problem was prompted by Milgrom’s own ingenious comparison of the priestly doctrine of defilement with The Picture of Dorian Gray: “On the analogy of Oscar Wilde’s novel, the priestly writers would claim: sin may not leave its mark on the face of the sinner, but it is certain to mark the face of the sanctuary.”<sup>12</sup> The portrait acted as a kind of mirror—reflecting the inner condition of its owner/subject. Exactly the same principle seems to underlie the biblical concept of the defilement of the sanctuary and the land: it reflects the measure of impurity among the people of Israel, functioning as a kind of a “spiritual barometer” (another of Milgrom’s metaphors) which evaluates the state of divine-human affairs.<sup>13</sup> If this model is correct, then it would also be logical to assume that the purification of the sanctuary would coincide with the purification of the people achieved by means of the same atoning offerings.<sup>14</sup> Indeed Lev 16:30 is generally believed to refer back to vv. 15–16, describing the purification of the sanctuary by the sacrifice of the חטאת-goat “for the Lord” on behalf of the people.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> כִּפֹּר with people or individuals always requires indirect prepositions (על, ל, בעד), while both direct (אח + כִּפֹּר) and indirect (ל, בעד + כִּפֹּר) constructions are possible with inanimate objects. See the summaries in B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift und zur Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (WMANT 55; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 186–189 and J. Sklar, *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement: The Priestly Conceptions* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 188–189. In cultic texts, the sanctuary or the people are the usual objects of כִּפֹּר; in non-cultic these are “people” or “sins.” It could be argued that in the construction כִּפֹּר + direct object the notion of cleansing is more enhanced. Thus, e.g., Levine, *In The Presence of the Lord*, 56–66 and J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1079–1084.

<sup>11</sup> Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary,” 391. Cf. N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature: Its Meaning and Function* (JSOTSup 56; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 87–109; Gane, *Cult and Character*, 106–143.

<sup>12</sup> Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary,” 398.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Kiuchi also arrives at this conclusion, *Purification Offering*, 61–65 and idem, *Leviticus* (Apollon Old Testament Commentary 3; Nottingham: Apollon, 2007), 310.

<sup>15</sup> Another possibility is that the verse refers to the scapegoat ritual. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 1056, considers the two options as alternatives, while Gane, *Cult and Character*, esp. 106–143, 242–266; B.J. Schwartz, “The Bearing of Sin in the Priestly Literature,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual*,

Notably, commenting on Lev 16:30, Milgrom himself is compelled to admit that “as the sanctuary is polluted by the people’s impurities, their elimination, in effect, also purifies the people.”<sup>16</sup>

### I.2. *Purification and Forgiveness in Individual Atoning Rituals*

This principle of the Day of Atonement rituals can be extended to the individual atoning sacrifices performed throughout the year, as they have many elements in common. They share the same offering (הטאת), the same locus (sanctuary), a similar sequence of actions (sacrificial slaughter; sprinkling and/or smearing of blood on parts of the sanctuary, etc.) and the same actors (the offerer, on whose behalf the ritual is carried out, the priest who performs it, and God behind the scenes). A double purification of offerer and sanctuary could thus be perceived as the outcome of all הטאת-rituals in the context of atonement.

Although the concluding formula for the individual atoning rituals in the context of sin involves the notion of forgiveness, structurally these rituals are identical with those atoning for major physical impurities, which, just as the rites of the Day of Atonement, are concluded with טהר:<sup>17</sup>

Atonement for sins	Atonement for physical impurities
וכפר עליו הכהן ונטלח לו	וכפר עליו הכהן וטהר
(Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:10, 13, 16,* 18,* 26;* 19:22;* Num 15:28)	Lev 12:8; 14:20

Giving more weight to such structural and conceptual similarities, I would assume that here also purification is envisaged as the ultimate outcome of the rituals of atonement for sin. I consider the reasons for the variation in terminology below.

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*Law, And Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 17–18, and Kiuchi, *Leviticus*, 303–305 attempt to reconcile them. Most scholars nonetheless believe that the Azazel-goat ritual has an independent history and was at some stage incorporated into the Day of Atonement rituals. For a comprehensive review of existing theories and an alternative proposition see A. Pinker, “A Goat to Go to Azazel,” *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 7 (2007): 2–25.

<sup>16</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 1056.

<sup>17</sup> Notably Lev 16:16 suggests that the same offering purifies the sanctuary from both physical and sin-impurities.

### I.3. *Forgiveness and Purification on the Day of Atonement*

Terminology notwithstanding, most interpretations of Leviticus have maintained that the Day of Atonement does provide forgiveness from all sorts of moral faults.<sup>18</sup> This interpretation is supported by the evidence of the *Temple Scroll* which “corrects” the “omission” of Lev 16 (11QT<sup>a</sup> XXVI:3–10).<sup>19</sup> There the description of the sacrifice of the *הטאת* “goat for the Lord,” with which atonement is made on behalf of the people, is concluded with the following statement:

9	... (for it is) the sin offering for the assembly; and he shall atone with it for all the people of the assembly,	9	... הטאת הקהל הוא ויכפר בו על כול עם הקהל
10	and they shall be forgiven.	10	ונסלח להמה

The terminology of purification that characterizes Lev 16:30 is replaced in 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXVI:9–10 with the terminology of forgiveness, reiterated also in 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXVII:2, concluding the exposition on the Day of Atonement.<sup>20</sup> Although the word “sins” (*הטאים*) is also absent from this passage, which constitutes yet another terminological discrepancy with Lev 16:30,<sup>21</sup> it is almost certain that sins and not physical impurities are envisioned here, as the notion of forgiveness suggests. The *Temple Scroll* thus harmonizes the Day of Atonement with levitical accounts of the individual atoning sacrifices throughout the year. While Gane considers this harmonization to be a later development,<sup>22</sup> it seems more likely that, by evoking the notion of forgiveness, the *Temple Scroll* spells out what remained implicit

<sup>18</sup> Thus, e.g., S.A. Geller, “Blood Cult: Toward a Literary Theology of the Priestly Work of the Pentateuch,” *Proof* 12 (1992): 107–110; A. Schenker, *Versöhnung und Sühne: Wege gewaltfreier Konfliktlösung im Alten Testament: mit einem Ausblick auf das Neue Testament* (BibB 15; Freiburg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 112–116. See more bibliography and discussion in Gane, *Cult and Character*, 233–235. In Jenson’s words, “purification of the sanctuary and the offerer is ... the way in which the forgiveness of sins is expressed”: P. Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World* (JSOTSup 106; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 159.

<sup>19</sup> On the structural analysis of the *Temple Scroll* passages on the Day of Atonement see D. Volgger, “The Day of Atonement according to the Temple Scroll,” *Bib* 87 (2006): 251–260.

<sup>20</sup> The forgiveness formula in 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXVI describing the outcome of the ritual is attached immediately to the description of the sacrifice of the goat “for the Lord,” which reinforces the possibility of Lev 16:30 relating back to Lev 16:15–20 rather than to the scapegoat ritual (Lev 20–22).

<sup>21</sup> I am grateful to George Brooke for drawing my attention to this detail.

<sup>22</sup> Gane, *Cult and Character*, 233–235.

in Lev 16, which focused primarily on the theme of purification.<sup>23</sup> This is even more plausible if we accept the early dating of the scroll.<sup>24</sup>

#### I.4. *Conceptual Considerations*

If the interchange of the terminology does not indicate the change of a concept, how then shall we relate the notions of forgiveness and purification? Are they completely synonymous? And if not, what is the difference?

If we consider that the concept of impurity indicates deviation from the original state of purity and integrity, it is logical and natural that the restoration of a person to his/her original state would be conceived in terms of purification, which is achieved by *means* of atonement. On the other hand, since sin/transgression is an offence against God, the process of purification in this case cannot take place without God's forgiveness, the element notably absent from atonement for physical impurities. The whole process can be visualized with the help of the diagram (see Plate 1 on p. 270).<sup>25</sup>

I would agree with Gane that forgiveness is a prerequisite for purification, but suggest that every atoning ritual entails both. In fact, the two notions are linked inseparably, and it is precisely because of their relation that they can be used alternatively in different texts. Depending on the context and the goals of the author/editor, one of the notions may be emphasized, thus coming into the foreground, while the other remains

<sup>23</sup> Regarding the reworking of the Pentateuch in the *Temple Scroll*, see, e.g., L.H. Schiffman, "The Case of the Day of Atonement," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Centre for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 181–188 and G.J. Brooke, "The Temple Scroll: A Law Unto Itself?" in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. B. Lindars; Cambridge: Clarke, 1988), 34–43, and esp. 41 on the Day of Atonement.

<sup>24</sup> The earliest dating (fifth to second centuries B.C.E.) was proposed by H. Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G.J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 123–148. Most scholars however seem to uphold Yadin's placement of the scroll within the Hasmonean period: Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) 1:386–390. See the review of opinions in M.O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1990), 26–31, 189–194.

<sup>25</sup> I do not discuss here steps 1–3 given the limited scope of this paper. On suffering sin's consequences leading to realization of sin see, e.g., Sklar, *Sin, Impurity*, 39–43.

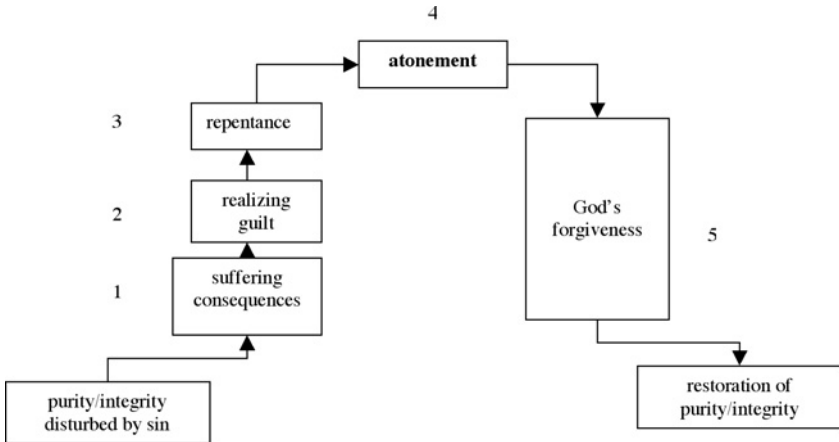


Plate 1. Structural Relationship between Atonement, Forgiveness and Purification

in the background.<sup>26</sup> In the minds of people sharing the same ideological/theological milieu, however, one would have inextricably evoked the other.

In cultic texts, atonement, with all its complex elements, is presented as a means for achieving forgiveness and purification. It may be taken in a wider sense, however, encompassing also the outcome.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore possible—and indeed it happens in non-cultic texts—that the terminology of atonement may also be used interchangeably with the terminology of forgiveness and purification.

## II. ATONEMENT, FORGIVENESS, AND PURIFICATION IN NON-CULTIC TEXTS (HEBREW BIBLE AND DEAD SEA SCROLLS)

### II.1. *Hebrew Bible*

In non-cultic texts of the Hebrew Bible, particularly in the Psalms, we observe the synonymous alternation of the verbs כִּפַּר, טָהַר and סָלַח. For example, Ps 65:4 uses the terminology of atonement:

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion in J. Goldingay, *Theological Diversity and Authority of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 29–58.

<sup>27</sup> Indeed one of the possible derivations of the Hebrew כִּפַּר is from the Akkadian verb *kuppuru* [D stem of *kapāru* II], “to wipe clean.” This cognate notwithstanding, the concept of cultic (and non-cultic) atonement in the Hebrew Bible is more complex and cannot be reduced solely to the notion of cleansing.

When our transgressions prevail over us, thou **atone**<sup>28</sup> for them.

דְּבַרֵי עֲוֹנֹת וְזָכְרוּ מִנִּי פִשְׁעֵינוּ אֶתָּה תִּכְפֹּרֵם:

Ps 51:4 prefers the language of purification:

Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin!

הֲרַבָּה כִּבְסֵנִי מֵעֲוֹנֵי וּמַחֲטָאתֵי טְהַרְנֵי:

And Jer 31:34 employs the terminology of forgiveness:

for I will **forgive** their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.

כִּי אֶסְלַח לְעֹנֵם וְלֹחֲטָאתָם לֹא אֶזְכֹּר-עוֹד:

It is clear from the context that in all these examples the different terms are used to convey the same idea: removal of the stain of transgression from a person and restoration of his/her relationship with God.

In Jer 33:8 the terms טהר and סלח appear in parallel (or complementary) clauses:

I will **cleanse** them from all the guilt of their sin against me,  
and I will **forgive** all the guilt of their sin and rebellion against me.

וְטַהַרְתִּים מִכָּל-עֲוֹנֵם אֲשֶׁר חָטְאוּ-לִי  
וְסָלַחְתִּי לְכוֹל-עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר חָטְאוּ-לִי וְאֲשֶׁר פָּשְׁעוּ בִּי:

In Jer 18:23 the parallelism is between כָּפַר and מחה חטא (another expression used in the Bible to convey the notion of forgiveness):<sup>29</sup>

Yet, thou, O LORD, knowest all their plotting to slay me.

**Atone**<sup>30</sup> not for their iniquity, nor **blot out their sin** from thy sight.

וְאַתָּה יְהוָה יָדַעְתָּ אֶת-כָּל-עֲצָתָם עָלַי לְמוֹת  
אֶל-תִּכְפֹּר עַל-עֲוֹנֵם וְחֲטָאתָם מִלִּפְנֵיךָ אֶל-תִּמְחֵי

The three terms alternate freely, which highlights their conceptual interrelation. If we possessed only non-cultic texts, however, it would be difficult to distinguish between them. It is the cultic texts presenting forgiveness/purification as an *outcome* of the process of atonement that enable us to establish the structural and consequential relationship between these notions.

<sup>28</sup> RSV: "forgive."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. other texts which use the terminology of נשא עון (e.g., Ps 85:3) and מחה/פשע/חטא (e.g., Ps 51:3, 11; Isa 43:25; 44:22). On these constructions see Schwartz "The Bearing of Sin," 8–21. In Ezek 37:23 we find הוֹשַׁעְתִּי + טהר—the notion of salvation/deliverance, which approximates one of the possible meanings of כָּפַר. In Isa 6:5 כָּפַר is paired with סר עוונך.

<sup>30</sup> RSV: "forgive."



## II.2. *Dead Sea Scrolls*

The interplay of the terminology of atonement, purification, and forgiveness becomes a common feature in many predominantly non-cultic Qumran texts, in contrast to the Hebrew Bible where the phenomenon is limited to the few examples listed above. Moreover, while in the Hebrew Bible Jer 33:8 is the only verse that simultaneously employs the two technical terms also used in cultic texts (טהר and סלח), in the Scrolls we often encounter interchangeable terminological pairs, with the third notion usually being conveyed by a synonym or otherwise suggested by the immediate context. Below I review passages containing the terminological pairs of טהר + כִּפָּר, סלח + כִּפָּר, טהר + סלח, טהר + כִּפָּר.

### כִּפָּר and טהר

In the following passages כִּפָּר and טהר appear in adjacent clauses; the third technical term סלח is absent, but the notion of God's forgiveness is conveyed through other terms, such as רחמים or חסד. Thus, for example, in 1QS XI:14–15 God in his mercy/compassion reinstates fellowship with a repentant sinner, atoning for and purifying him from bodily uncleanness and from defilement of sins:

he will draw me near in his mercies, and by kindnesses set in motion [14] my judgment; he will judge me in the righteousness of his truth, and in his plentiful goodness always atone for all my sins; in his righteousness he will cleanse me from the uncleanness of the human being [15] and from the sin of the sons of man.

ברחמיו הגישני ובהסדיו יביא [14] משפטי בצדקת אמתו שפטני וברוב טובו יכפר בעד כול עוונותי ובצדקתו יטהרני מנדת [15] אנוש והטאת בני אדם.

The terminology of atonement and purification following the evocation of God's compassion features also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:37:

For I leaned [37] on your kindness and the abundance of your compassion. For you atone iniquity and cle[anse] man of his guilt through your righteousness.

נשענ[ת]י [37] בחסדיכה והמון רחמיכה כי תכפר עון ולטה[ר] אנוש מאשמה בצדקתכה.

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:11–12 “purify/purified” seems to be a plausible reconstruction,<sup>31</sup> as the notions of God's compassion/mercy and the removal of sins

<sup>31</sup> Thus, e.g., García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*,

are likewise present. If the reconstruction is correct, the notions of bearing away sin and of atonement here seem to explain how purification from sin is achieved. Also, in the examples quoted above, purification seems to be presented as an outcome of the atoning act. This supports my suggested sequential relationship between the elements of forgiveness, atonement and purification.

### כַּפֵּר and סִלַח

כַּפֵּר in conjunction with סִלַח appears in 1QS II:8, where the community curses “all men of the lot of Belial”:

May God not be merciful when you entreat him. May he not **forgive** by **atonement** for your sins.

ולוא יחונכה אל בקוראכה ולוא יסלח לכפר עוונך.

The passage containing this curse is followed by a proclamation of the impossibility of purification for those who do not return to God (III:4–6). Thus, in spite of the absence of the term טהר, the theme of purification is evoked by the immediate context.

Sometimes a specific technical term may be replaced by a synonymous phrase. Thus, for example, in CD 2:4–5 (= 4Q266 2 ii 4–5) the notion of forgiveness is communicated with the phrase רוב סליחות, rather than with the verb סלח:

patience with him and **abundance of pardon**, [5] to **atone** for those who repent from sin.

ארך אפים עמו ורוב סליחות [5] לכפר בעד כל שבי פשע.

Compare CD 3:17–18, where the notion of divine forgiveness is conveyed by the expression וישא לפשעם, while the theme of purification is evoked through the language of defilement:

And although they had wallowed in the sin of humanity and in impure ways and said, “Surely this is our business,” God in His mysterious ways **atoned** for their iniquity and **bore away** their transgression.

והם התגוללו בפשע אנוש ובדרכי נדה  
ויאמרו כי לנו היא ואל ברזי פלאו כפר בעד עונם וישא לפשעם

1:148–149; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 188; J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Text, Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), 207.

טהר *and* סלה

The combination of סלה with טהר is particularly characteristic for the *Hodayot* and the Psalms scroll 11QPs<sup>a</sup>. Thus in 11Q5 XIX:13–14 (= 11Q6 4–5 14–15) we read:

Forgive my sin, O LORD, [14] and cleanse me from my iniquity<sup>32</sup>

סלהה ~~ל~~ ~~ל~~ ~~ל~~ ~~ל~~ לחטאתי [14] וטהרני מעוונתי

Apart from סלה, the terms סליחות, סליחות, רוב סליחות, נחמה and רחמים are employed in the *Hodayot* in combination with טהר to refer to God who in his compassion purifies man from the defilement of sin (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX:31–32; XIV:8–9; XV:29–30; XIX:9–11, 30–32).

### III. BETWEEN CULTIC AND NON-CULTIC: THE WITNESS OF DEAD SEA SCROLLS

We have established the close association between the concepts of atonement, forgiveness, and purification, which allows for the interplay of terminology. This feature is particularly characteristic of non-cultic texts, but can also occur in cultic texts. I have suggested that terminology alone is not a sufficient criterion for interpretation, and we need to broaden the scope of our analysis and consider the underlying concepts to try to penetrate the logic of ritual.

This discussion has implications for the ongoing debate on whether cultic and non-cultic texts represent conflicting or compatible/complementary ideologies.<sup>33</sup> In light of my analysis, I am inclined to support the second option. Of course, there are differences in the way these texts address the idea of atonement and its related issues, but these differences appear to be due more to the peculiarities and specific concerns of each particular genre, rather than to a contradiction between them. If we look at Leviticus through the lens of the approach fostered by M. Douglas, we see that, by using the language of rituals (often obscure to a modern thinker), it conveys essentially the same message about the cosmic

<sup>32</sup> Cf. 11Q5 XXIV:11–12.

<sup>33</sup> For a useful review of this question, see J. Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of the Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 75–100. Cf. J. Barton, “The Prophets and the Cult,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. J. Day; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Series 422; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 111–122.

order and the relationship between humans and their creator as do the non-cultic texts.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the latter can be perceived as deciphering what remained obscure in Leviticus. Rather than dismissing the sacrificial cult, the prophets (alongside the poets and sages) unravel its meaning, denying it the automatic effect and emphasizing the role of God, to whom belongs the last word. Notably, in CD 11:18–21, the instruction concerning the purity of sacrifices is supported by Prov 15:8: “The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination; but the prayer of the righteous is like a pleasing offering.”<sup>35</sup> The quotation serves to emphasize the point that an unrighteous sacrifice is ineffective and the way the sacrifice is performed reflects the inner disposition of the worshiper.

Another apparent contradiction arises from the observation that in cultic texts the acts of sacrificial atonement are performed by a priest, while God as the real agent of the desired purification/forgiveness is only hinted at by the impersonal passive of *נטלה*.<sup>36</sup> In the non-cultic texts, on the other hand, God is often a grammatical subject of *כִּפֶּר* (as well as of *טהר* and *טלה*). The difference between the two, however, is like the difference between the metonymic “the violin played” and “the musician played the violin”: the latter uncovers the moving force behind the act. This becomes particularly visible in the Dead Sea Scrolls where humans and God may alternatively appear as the subject of *כִּפֶּר* in the passages expressing essentially the same idea.<sup>37</sup> Thus, for example, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:11–12 God is said to atone for *אשמות* and *מעל*, while in 1QS IX:4 the same function is attributed to the men gathered in the community.

Similarly it can be argued that no conceptual change is signalled by the variation of the grammatical *object* of *כִּפֶּר* and its prepositions. Whether the text speaks of “atonement/cleansing of the sanctuary,” “atonement for people” or “atonement for sins,” the benefiting party are always people restored in their integrity and fellowship with God.<sup>38</sup> This possibility can be exemplified with the help of another analogy, this time from

<sup>34</sup> Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature*, 12–40.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Sir 38:10–11.

<sup>36</sup> Although, cf. Lev 17:11.

<sup>37</sup> On syntagmatic relationships of *כִּפֶּר* in the Dead Sea Scrolls see, e.g., B. Janowski and H. Lichtenberger, “Enderwartung und Reinheitsidee: Zur eschatologischen Deutung von Reinheit und Sühne in der Qumrangemeinde,” *JJS* 34 (1983): 31–62 and P. Garnet, *Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls* (WUNT 2/3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1977), 124–135.

<sup>38</sup> Note the unusual mixture of cultic and non-cultic features in CD 14:18–19: the Messiah (probably acting as a High Priest) performs atonement by means of *חטאת* (cultic); *כִּפֶּר עוֹן* + *עוֹן* as a direct object (non-cultic).

the domestic sphere. Whether we say “wipe a table” or “wipe the dust from the table,” the result is the same, and the benefiting party are the inhabitants of the house. Regardless of the grammatical interchange of the subject and the object of atonement, the respective roles of God and humans in the process need to be clearly distinguished. While the final stroke, with which the stain of defilement is removed, belongs to God, it is for humans to fulfil the necessary conditions upon which the atoning process can be completed.

The evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls seems to undermine the attempt to explain the differences between cultic and non-cultic texts by assuming that the former were written by professionals (i.e. priests who knew the ritual cultic system from the inside) and the latter by lay people who comprehended the rituals from the outside. The Qumran collection comprises compositions of both types, sometimes coexisting within the same document (e.g., the *Damascus Document*). While the exact provenance and dating of these texts continues to be debated, it is generally accepted that they originated within the same movement (perhaps at different stages of its development) led by priests. If this assumption is correct, then the contraposition of the insiders/professionals to the outsiders/laity becomes redundant. If the priests were the leaders of the community/communities and also in charge of the scribal activities, it is most likely that both types of text were produced or at least approved by them, which also suggests that they perceived no ideological discontinuity/dichotomy between the cultic and prophetic-poetic trends.

In this regard, the *Community Rule* is a particularly expressive example. There the presentation of repentance, righteous living and prayer as an acceptable sacrifice and a means of atonement, found in prophetic, poetic, and sapiential writings, is established within a cultic framework.<sup>39</sup> The language of the sacrificial cult is employed to emphasize the parallel: ריח ניחוח (“a pleasant aroma”: 1QS III:11; VIII:9; IX:5); או ירצה (“Then indeed will he be accepted by God, offering the sweet aroma of atoning sacrifice”: III:11); מתנדבים/נדבה (“volunteers”/“freewill offering”: V:1, 10, 22; IX:5; etc.),<sup>40</sup> with the emphasis on the atoning function of the community (III:4, 8, 11; V:6; VIII:6, 10; IX:3–5). The authors/compilers drew upon a variety of biblical texts, both cul-

<sup>39</sup> Cf., e.g., Ps 51:19; Prov 16:6; Sir 3:3; 35:3; cf. Isa 57:15; 66:2; Ezek 9:3–6; Job 22:30; 36:15.

<sup>40</sup> D. Dimant, “The Volunteers in the *Rule of the Community*: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” *RevQ* 23 (2008): 233–245.

tic and non-cultic, combining them in a creative manner in order to promote their case that the community provided an adequate alternative to the sacrificial system of worship assuring an ongoing relationship with God.<sup>41</sup>

#### SUMMARY

I have explored the concept of atonement and the related ideas of purification and divine forgiveness as presented in both cultic and non-cultic texts of the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. It has been suggested that, where the Bible allows for ambiguity, the evidence from Qumran tips the balance in favour of a certain understanding, spelling out what remains vague in the biblical texts. Thus the connection between the ideas of atonement, forgiveness, and purification from sin is particularly enhanced in the Dead Sea Scrolls. On the other hand, the synthesis of cultic and non-cultic trends in the Dead Sea Scrolls also supports the view that there is no ideological discontinuity between these two types of writings. It can be argued, therefore, that the Dead Sea Scrolls are an important witness to biblical thought, especially where the results obtained on the basis of internal biblical evidence match their interpretation.

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<sup>41</sup> On the analogy between the community/communities behind 1QS and some other Qumran texts and the Temple worship see, e.g., B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in The Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*. (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); F. García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution," in idem and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 139–157; G.J. Brooke, "The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, 417–434.



ADJUSTING THE APOCALYPSE:  
HOW THE APOCRYPHON OF JEREMIAH C  
UPDATES THE BOOK OF DANIEL<sup>1</sup>

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The techniques by which writers of Hellenistic Jewish literature interpreted, rewrote, reworked, and referred to authoritative literature have been the focus of considerable study since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>2</sup> Most of these techniques are not new.<sup>3</sup> But because texts such as *Jubilees*, the *Pesharim*, and the *Temple Scroll* can typically be dated with more confidence than, for example, the redactional layers of the Pentateuch, texts from the Hellenistic Period sometimes provide a more secure data set for understanding the Judaism(s) of their time. In this paper I attempt to highlight how one Hellenistic work attempted to update an earlier Hellenistic work whose apocalyptic prophecy had not come to fruition.<sup>4</sup> I argue that the writer of the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this paper were presented at the Qumran section of the SBL Annual Meeting in San Diego (2007). I am especially thankful for comments offered by Hanan Eshel, Moshe Bernstein, and Armin Lange both in San Diego and in Vienna and from Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra in Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> The literature is vast. For the purposes of this essay, I mention only some of the most recent book-length works on the subject. See S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008). D.K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Library of Second Temple Studies 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007). E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements, eds., *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005). Most of these works are dependant, to one extent or another, on the now-classic study by M.A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient in this context to mention a single work and refer the reader to the excellent bibliographic essay that concludes the book: B.M. Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp., 95–182.

<sup>4</sup> In light of this particular context, this study holds significance not only for understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls or Hellenistic Judaism, but the study of apocalypticism in religion more generally. The process by which end-times prophecies are made and



(hereafter *Apocryphon*) realized that prophecies from Dan 9–12 had failed and attempted to update them. I argue that this update can be precisely dated to the reign of the Hasmonean king John Hyrcanus. Thus, this study not only treats the literary strategies of the *Apocryphon*, but provides important insight in to the reception history of the book of Daniel a mere generation after it was set in its current form. After giving a general introduction to the text and dealing with the issue of date of composition, I analyze motif-historical and linguistic connections between Daniel and the *Apocryphon*.

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE *APOCRYPHON OF JEREMIAH C*

The *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* is a non-symbolic apocalypse that consists primarily of an extended *ex eventu* prophecy.<sup>5</sup> Based on surviving manuscripts, it appears that the prophecy begins during the period of the Judges or the early monarchy (Samuel, son of Elqanah is mentioned in 4Q389 5 3). The prophecy details events from the Babylonian exile, the Persian period, and the Hellenistic period. These events culminate in a final apocalyptic battle (cf. 4Q387 4 4; 4Q385a 17 ii 1–9). After the battle the righteous are gathered into the foliage of the tree of life—presumably to enjoy eternal life (4Q385a 17 ii 2–3).

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then rewritten and updated can be found in modern religions. The ancient and modern works shed light on each other and allow for a sharper image of religious apocalypticism. A modern example of the phenomenon is found in the sequence of booklets published by NASA rocket scientist: E. Whisenant, *88 Reasons Why the Rapture Will Be in 1988* (Nashville: World Bible Society, 1988). Idem and G. Brewer, *The Final Shout Rapture Report: 1989* (Nashville: World Bible Society, 1989). For a classic treatment of rewriting apocalyptic prophecies in the modern world, see L. Festinger, H. Riecken, and S. Schachter, eds., *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958).

<sup>5</sup> For the term non-symbolic apocalypse, see A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert in *DJD XXXIX* (2002): 120–121. My dissertation deals at length with language of ancient Jewish apocalypses and the issue of symbolic vs. non-symbol representation techniques, B. Reynolds, “Between Realism and Symbolism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Language in Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333–63 BCE” (Ph.D. diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009). Dimant prefers to view the *Apocryphon* as an apocalypse. D. Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 100. Werman holds that it is not and that it militates against an apocalyptic worldview. C. Werman, “Epochs and End-Time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 229–255, 242.

There is still no consensus on the exact make-up of the *Apocryphon*. John Strugnell first grouped the manuscripts 4Q383–4Q391 and described them as “*un écrit pseudo-jérémien*.”<sup>6</sup> He later remarked that the work contained “a notable pseudo-Ezekiel section.”<sup>7</sup> Devorah Dimant, the editor of the *editio princeps*, initially argued for the existence of a third literary work within 4Q383–4Q391, which she characterized as “pseudo-Moses.”<sup>8</sup> She has since abandoned that thesis and settled on the two works that Strugnell initially indicated.<sup>9</sup> Monica Brady has argued that the manuscripts 3Q383–391 compose a single literary work and Cana Werman has defended Dimant’s original tripartite division of the manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> Hanan Eshel has argued that 4Q390 should not be treated as part of the larger work—though he does not agree with Werman’s characterization of it as “pseudo-Moses.”<sup>11</sup> Like Werman and Eshel, I do not treat 4Q390 as part of the *Apocryphon*.

### *Date of Composition*

The date of the *Apocryphon* is crucial for this investigation. The content of the text indicates its relationship to the book of Daniel, but its date of composition locates the hermeneutics of the *Apocryphon* in a particular historical context. The *terminus ante quem* for the *Apocryphon* is

<sup>6</sup> See M. Baillet et al., “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956): 49–67, 65.

<sup>7</sup> J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân—4Q383–391,” in *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 318–345 (344).

<sup>8</sup> D. Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11.1–2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:405–448.

<sup>9</sup> D. Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 7–88; 91–260. Eventually Strugnell came to believe that all manuscripts belonged to one work, “An Apocryphon of Ezekiel, first designated as *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and later as *Second-Ezekiel*.” Dimant, “New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390,” 406.

<sup>10</sup> M. Brady, “Prophetic Traditions at Qumran: A Study of 4Q383–391” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2000). In a more recent article, Brady pushes further by arguing that the manuscripts 4Q383–391 all make use of the same type of biblical interpretation. M. Brady, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments (4Q383–391) from Cave Four,” in *Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 88–109. Werman, “Epochs and End-Time,” 229–255.

<sup>11</sup> H. Eshel, “4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 102–110. See also H. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 22–27, 131.

established by the paleographic date of the earliest manuscripts: the second half of the first century B.C.E.<sup>12</sup> The *terminus post quem* is established at 164 by the *Apocryphon*'s use of material from Dan 9–12 and by its apparent knowledge of the Hellenistic religious reforms and the Maccabean revolt. But it is possible to be more precise about the date of the *Apocryphon*. 4Q385a 5a–b 7–8 = 4Q387 3 4–5 describes “Three priests who will not walk in the ways [of the] former [priests] (who) by the name of the God of Israel were called.” Before the three priests arise, the action of the highly fragmentary text is characterized by descriptions of 1) the altar, 2) those felled by the sword and 3) an act of defiling. During the time of the three priests the text describes 1) the downfall of those who have colluded with foreigners and 2) severe internal strife over religious issues in the Jewish state.

For Dimant there are two possible interpretations of the three priests. “The priests referred to here could be High Priests (Jason [174–171 BCE], Menelaus [171–167 BCE], Alcimus [162–161 BCE]), or the Hasmonean priestly kings (Simeon [142–134 BCE], John Hyrcanus [134–104 BCE], Alexander Jannaeus [103–76 BCE]).”<sup>13</sup> Dimant’s second possibility is more attractive than the first. I think she is correct that the three priests under discussion are probably Maccabees, but I propose a different combination than Dimant: Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus. Why these three? In what follows, I indicate why Dimant’s initial suggestion of Hellenizing high priests (Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus) is unlikely and then I argue for my combination of Maccabean high priests.

While one imagines that Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus would, in a certain sense, fit into the category of those “who will not walk in the ways of the former priests of Israel,” there are problems with such an association. First, and most importantly, the three priests in the *Apocryphon* arise *after* the desecration of the Jerusalem temple. Jason and Menelaus were both active before and during the time of the Hellenistic religious reforms.<sup>14</sup> The combination of Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus would seem to be ruled out. Second, unlike the Maccabean high priests who were criticized by prominent Jewish groups for being illegitimate holders of the office, Jason had the correct priestly credentials—even if he acquired the

<sup>12</sup> Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 115.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 2 Macc 4:7–5:20.

office through intrigue.<sup>15</sup> He was the brother of the high priest Onias III. If the phrase, “will not walk in the ways of the former priests of Israel,” has anything to do with correct family lineage, it cannot be applied to a group that includes Jason. Third, the text reports that, “in their days will be brought down the pride of those who violate the covenant as well as the servants of the foreigner” (4Q385a 5a–b 8–9 = 4Q387 3 6). Such a scenario is hardly characteristic of the terms of Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus. Indeed, *they* are the leaders of those who “violate the covenant” and are “servants of the foreigner” in the second century B.C.E. Below I argue that “those who violate the covenant” (מרישיעי ברית) must be understood as Seleucid sympathizers. If I am correct, what second century Jew could be described as more sympathetic to Seleucid concerns than Menelaus? In summary, Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus are unlikely to be the *Apocryphon’s* three priests “who will not walk in the ways” since they 1) appear after the Hellenistic religious reforms, 2) are not all illegitimate holders of the office, and 3) are Seleucid sympathizers.

The three priests “who will not walk in the ways” are better identified as Maccabees. I disagree, however, with one figure on Dimant’s list of Hasmoneans (Simon, John Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannaeus).<sup>16</sup> In what follows, I explain why. The most important reason why the list must end with John Hyrcanus and not Alexander Jannaeus is that the *Apocryphon* describes three priests, not four. There is no doubt that Jonathan held the office of high priest and that he was the first Maccabee to do so. According to 1 Macc 10:21, “Jonathan put on the sacred vestments in the seventh month of the one hundred sixtieth year, at the festival of booths” (NRSV). Jonathan was followed by Simon and John Hyrcanus. Alexander Jannaeus would be the fourth (or fifth) Maccabean high priest—at least one too many.<sup>17</sup> Thus, Jannaeus cannot be included in the group since the

<sup>15</sup> See for example the story about John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees related by Josephus, *A.J.* 13.288–300. Cf. J. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 27–30.

<sup>16</sup> The connection of the three priests “who will not walk in the ways” is strengthened by a few several words that appear in the following line (על שם אלהי ישראל יקראו). As Dimant astutely notes, a compelling parallel is found in 1QpHab VIII:8–9—a passage almost universally agreed to be describing one of two Hasmonean rulers (either Jonathan or Simon): הכוהן הרשע אשר נקרא על שם האמת בתחלת עומדו “the wicked priest, who was called by the name ‘truth’ (i.e., had a good reputation) at the beginning of his service.” See Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 193.

<sup>17</sup> This presumes that Aristobulus I (104–103 B.C.E.) is not counted. Given his attenuated reign, it seems reasonable not to count him. Should he be counted, however, Alexander Jannaeus would be the fifth Maccabee to wear the priestly vestments.

writer of the *Apocryphon* only knew of the first three Maccabean priests. Dimant seems to think that if the priests are Maccabees, they should be drawn from the group of Maccabees who also held the title “king.” The text makes no mention of any such qualification and Dimant places no such requirement on her first set of suggestions (Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus). Why, if the referents are Maccabees, must they also hold the title of מלך to be included on her list?<sup>18</sup> The identification of the three priests proves crucial for dating the text. The text is an *ex eventu* prophecy. Since it only knows of three Maccabean high priests, it makes the most sense to identify them with the *first* three Maccabean high priests. The three priests “who will not walk in the ways” must be Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus. If my thesis about the three priests is correct, then the text must have been written after 134 but before 104 B.C.E. i.e., during the reign of Hyrcanus.<sup>19</sup> This time frame is crucial to contextualizing the linguistic and motif-historical connections between the *Apocryphon* and the book of Daniel. In the next section, I begin analysis of these issues.

#### ANALYSIS

I am not the first to notice similarities between the book of Daniel and the *Apocryphon*. Most of the linguistic parallels analyzed below are noted by Devorah Dimant in the *editio princeps*.<sup>20</sup> Neither am I the first to notice motif-historical connections between the two works. Cana Werman has analyzed the 490 year motif in the *Apocryphon* and argues that the text is a reaction to the apocalyptic worldview in the book of Daniel.<sup>21</sup> In what follows, I build on some of the ground-work that has already been done and attempt to highlight some connections that have not yet been made. There is not sufficient space to discuss *each* of the sometimes verbatim linguistic parallels in this paper. I have chosen to highlight three expressions that seem to be part of a re-narration of events found in Dan

<sup>18</sup> Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 193.

<sup>19</sup> Dimant lists several slightly earlier dates—based on the inclusion of 4Q390. Nevertheless she also arrives at a second-century date, which is, as she notes, “suggested by the affinities it displays to various second-century BCE writings (Epistle of Jeremiah, Book of Baruch, *Animal Apocalypse*, *Jubilees*, and *Damascus Document*).” Moreover, Dimant has pointed out, the Romans are mentioned nowhere in the text while the Seleucids and the Ptolemies both play significant roles. See Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 116.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, 91–234.

<sup>21</sup> Werman, “Epochs and End-Time,” 229–255.

11:31–35, 12:1–3. I begin, however, with a look at the 490-year motif in the *Apocryphon*. As Werman has already shown, it establishes that the relationship between the *Apocryphon* and the book of Daniel is not only linguistic, but almost certainly the result of an intentional re-framing of Daniel. Werman and I disagree on the question of *how* the *Apocryphon* does this.

### *Motif-Historical Comparison*

Before analyzing the linguistic similarities between the *Apocryphon* and Daniel, it is useful to highlight a motif that both texts employ: 490 years of punishment. The 490 year motif helps to set the stage for my arguments that the linguistic similarities between Daniel and the *Apocryphon* attest to a more programmatic relationship. What is the 490 year motif? In Jer 25:11–12 and 29:10, the prophet declares that there will be seventy years of destruction and Babylonian dominion. Dan 9 updates Jeremiah's 70-year prophecies in the Hellenistic period by reinterpreting the number 70 as a reference to weeks, not years.<sup>22</sup> In other words, Jeremiah did not forecast 70 years of destruction, but 490 (70 × 7). The *Apocryphon* uses the same 490 year period, but divides it in a different way. In other words, the writer of the *Apocryphon* apparently realized that the chronology and history in Daniel's prophecy was problematic, just as the writer of Daniel perceived Jeremiah's 70-year prophecy to be problematic. It is especially intriguing that Daniel is updated by a pseudonymous prophecy of Jeremiah, since Daniel derives its 490 year scheme from the book of Jeremiah in the first place. Perhaps it is not by chance.

Daniel divides the 490 years of punishment into three periods: 7 weeks (49 years) for the Babylonian Exile, 62 weeks (434 years) from the rebuilding of Jerusalem until the assassination of Onias III and the rise of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and 1 week (7 years) divided into two stages: 1) the desecration of the temple by Antiochus and his Jewish supporters and 2) the end of the desecration.<sup>23</sup> The problem, as one imagines the writer

<sup>22</sup> See J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 347–349.

<sup>23</sup> H. Eshel agrees with J. Montgomery that the first period refers to the period between 586 and 538 B.C.E. If so, this would mean that the first period of Daniel's prophecy is historically accurate. Eshel, "4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period," 103. See S.R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel: With Introduction and Notes* (The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 137. J. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on*

of the *Apocryphon* understood, is that most calculations of the 490-year scheme conclude a considerable distance from the death of Antiochus IV and the end of the Hellenistic religious reforms—especially if the 62 week period ends with the assassination of Onias III (cf. Dan 9:26). In other words, if one begins their calculation in 586 B.C.E., an end-date of somewhere around 100 B.C.E. is unavoidable. The latter date does not square with the events Daniel describes on the cusp of the eschaton.

*Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* divides the 490 years not into weeks, but Jubilees, i.e., 49 year periods. The text does not appear to enumerate events in terms of specific Jubilee periods in the way that 4Q390 does, e.g., “In the seventh jubilee of the devastation of the land, they will forget statute, festival, and Sabbath, and covenant” (4Q390 1 7–8). The text does, however, use formulaic language to describe the transitions from one imperial power to the next during the period of 490 years. For example, expressions such as “in those days shall arise a king of the nations, a blasphemer” (4Q387 2 ii 7–8 = 4Q385a 4 4–6; 4Q388a 7 2–3 = 4Q389 8 i–ii 9) and “the kingdom of Israel shall perish” (4Q387 2 ii 7 = 4Q385a 4 4–5; cf. 4Q388a 7 3–5 = 4Q389 8 i–ii 10–11 = 4Q387 2 iii 1–2) are used on multiple occasions. The historical progression of the text indicates that the similar expressions in the *Apocryphon* do not refer to the same persons and events.

Werman’s analysis of the 490 year motif in the *Apocryphon* leads her to conclude that the *Apocryphon* was written in reaction to Daniel—apparently soon after the book of Daniel was completed—and challenged Daniel’s apocalyptic worldview. While Werman is undoubtedly correct that the *Apocryphon* responds to Daniel and adapts the basic chronology at work in Dan 9, I disagree with her about *how* it responds. Werman holds that the *Apocryphon* responds to Daniel by eschewing its apocalyptic worldview. She writes:

Whereas in Daniel no explanation is supplied for the deaths incurred during the persecution, and one must await resurrection (Dan. 12:2–3) to establish their cause, as far as can be determined, the *Apocryphon*

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*the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1927), 391. See also K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel* (EdF 144; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), 150. But John Collins has noted that Montgomery had to acknowledge that “the dating is then not from the issue of the word,” but later (Collins, *Daniel*, 355). Collins is skeptical of reading the dates as anything but schematic since it is nearly impossible to interpret them literally and still arrive at a date towards the end of the reign of Antiochus IV—especially if the 62 week period must end at the time of the assassination of Onias III.

of *Jeremiah* views these deaths as justified. Its author validates reality, and therefore seeks redemption neither in upper regions nor in cosmic revolutions.<sup>24</sup>

I suggest, however, that the apparent Deuteronomic theology (i.e., retributive justice in this lifetime) found in the *Apocryphon* relates specifically to its condemnation of priests (cf. 4Q387 2 iii 6–7 = 4Q388a 7 6–7; 4Q385a 5a–b 6–7 = 4Q387 3 4–5)—not necessarily all of Israel. Moreover, the text does appear to include the idea of a final, eschatological battle after which the righteous are gathered into the foliage of the tree of life (4Q385a 17 ii 2–3). The tree of life (עץ החיים) motif unambiguously points to the concepts of resurrection and eternal life.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Deuteronomic thought is not missing from the book of Daniel itself (cf. the prayer in Dan 9). In other words, “deuteronomic” and “apocalyptic” cannot be treated as mutually exclusive categories in the thought of Hellenistic Jewish writers. Moreover, the way in which the *Apocryphon* reworks a portion of the prophecy in Dan 11 indicates a different relationship to the 490 year motif. In the next section, I highlight linguistic connections between the two texts. These shared expressions and their literary contexts indicate that the *Apocryphon* must have been written to correct Daniel—not oppose it.

### *Linguistic Comparisons*

Three adjectival descriptions from *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* have significant parallels in Dan 10–12. Two of the expressions are found in the overlapping fragments 4Q385a 5a–b and 4Q387 3 and parallel terms used in Dan 11: מרישיעי ברית and הנופלים בהרב. A third expression, from 4Q388a 7 9, has a parallel in Dan 12: המצדקי[ם]. Below I provide a combined translation of the portion of the text in which these expressions are found. The narrative probably describes the rise of Antiochus IV, his campaign against Egypt in 170 B.C.E., the rise of the Hellenizing high priests (i.e., Jason, Menelaus) and the Hellenistic religious reforms. It presumes the Maccabean revolt (as well as resistance by other groups), the advent of the Hasmonean state, and internal struggles during the Hasmonean period.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Werman, “Epochs and End-Time,” 242.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Dimant in *DJD XXX* (2001): 158–159. I provide a lengthier treatment of the tree of life motif in my Ph.D. dissertation, “Between Symbolism and Realism,” 317–320.

<sup>26</sup> These lines of text are taken from the complete combined text and translation found in my dissertation, “Between Symbolism and Realism,” 333–334. In the edition above



- 57 [Jacob. In] those[days] will arise a king of the nations, a blasphemer,  
and a doer *Of evils* and [  
58 *And in his days* [I will invalidate (i.e., remove)] Israel from (*being*)  
*a people. In his days* I will break the kingdom of  
59 Egypt [ ] and Egypt *and Israel I will break and hand over* to the  
sword  
60 And I will [dev]astate the [la]nd and (from it) will *I remove human-*  
*ity* and I will abandon  
61 *the land* into the hands of the angels of Mastemot, and I will hide  
[my face]  
62 [from Is]rael. And this will be a sign for them: On the day that I  
abandon the land *in d[esolation]*,  
63 then the priests of Jerusalem will [return] *to serving other gods and*  
*[to ac]t*  
64 according to the abominations of the [nations].  
65 three who will rul[e  
66 [and] the holy of holie[s]  
67 and th[ose] who lead to righteousness  
68 ] God[  
69 ]a number of priests[  
70 ] others [  
71 ]*the altar*[  
72 those felled by the sword  
73 ] *it defiled* [  
74 ] three priests *who will not walk in the ways*  
75 [of the] first/former [priests] (who) by the name of the God of *Israel*  
*were called.*  
76 And in their days will be brought down the pride of those who act  
wickedly (against the) *covenant as well as servants of the foreigner.*  
77 And in th[at] generation, Israel will be rent asunder, each m[a]n  
warring with his neighbor

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lines 57–67 correspond to 4Q388a 7 3–10 = 4Q387 2 iii 1–7 = 4Q389 8 i–ii 9–11 and  
lines 68–76 correspond to 4Q385a 5a–b 1–8 = 4Q387 3 1–6. Overlaps are italicized. Since  
in some cases as many as three manuscripts overlap, there is no distinction between which  
manuscript preserves which letters of the overlapping word(s).

- 78 over the Torah (or, “teaching”) and over the covenant and I will cast a hunger over the l[an]d, but not  
 79 for bread, and a thirst, but n[ot] for water, [ra]ther, to [hear my word]

A significant portion of the narrative above may mirror Dan 11:30–35. Dan 11:30–35 details Antiochus’ failed attack on Egypt (foiled by the Romans) and his subsequent campaign into Jerusalem. The brief passage is worth quoting in its entirety:

The ships of the *Kittim* shall come against him and he shall lose heart and retreat. He shall rage against the holy covenant and he shall take action and returning he shall pay heed to those who forsake the holy covenant (עֹזְבֵי בְרִית קֹדֶשׁ). His forces shall occupy and profane the temple and the fortress. They shall do away with the regular offering and set up the abomination of desolation. Now those who have violated the covenant (מַרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית) he shall seduce with flattery, but the people who know their God shall stand strong and take action. The wise among the people (מַשְׁכִּילֵי עַם) shall give understanding to many. They shall fall by sword (וְנִכְשְׁלוּ בַחֶרֶב) and flame and (shall suffer) captivity and plunder for some days. When they stumble, they shall receive a little help, but many shall join them insincerely. Some of the wise shall stumble, so that they might be refined, and purified, and whitened until the time of the end, for it is yet the appointed time. (NRSV)

The first important expression is found in line 72: נופלים בחרב “those felled by the sword.” Flusser notes that the “sword of God” motif has wide currency as an eschatological motif within ancient Jewish apocalypses, but “those felled by the sword” in the *Apocryphon* do not fit within this context.<sup>27</sup> The time frame in which the individuals fall by the sword is not the final apocalyptic battle, but apparently the time of Antiochus’ religious reforms and the Maccabean revolt. It is apparently not the enemies of God that fall by the sword, but the faithful. This scenario finds a parallel in the book of Daniel.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The motif appears in Daniel, *1 Enoch*, *Sib. Or.* 3, the *Oracle of Hystaspes*, and 1QM. See D. Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1: *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 150–151.

<sup>28</sup> There is no lack of individuals falling by the sword in the Hebrew Bible. Cf. Num 14:3, 43; 2 Sam 1:12; 3:29; 2 Kgs 19:7; 2 Chr 32:21; Ps 78:64; Is 3:25; 13:15; 31:8; 37:7; Jer 19:7; 20:4; 44:12; Lam 2:21; Ezek 5:12; 6:12; 11:10; 17:21; 23:25; 24:21; 25:13; 30:5, 6, 17; 32:22–24; 33:27; 39:23; Hos 7:16; 14:1; Amos 7:17. What sets Daniel apart is that it, like the *Apocryphon*, uses the term while addressing the Hellenistic religious reforms.

The book of Daniel reports that the *משכילים* will “fall by the sword” (ונכשלו בהרב): “The wise among the people will give understanding to many; for some days, however, they shall fall by the sword and flame, and suffer captivity and plunder” (Dan 11:33). The group that “falls by the sword” is also referred to as *מצדיקי הרבים* in 12:3 (see below). The *Apocryphon* uses nearly the same description ([ם]המצדיקי) for the group in the midst of the religious reforms—not just at the eschaton. Alone the expression might tell an interpreter little, but when coupled with the expressions *מרישיעי ברית* and *עבדי נאכר*, which find even more compelling parallels in Dan 11, the book of Daniel emerges as a likely source of this portion of the *Apocryphon*.

The *מרישיעי ברית* “Those who act wickedly (against the) covenant” and *עבדי נאכר* “servants of the foreigner” (lines 74–76) appear to be synonymous in the *Apocryphon*. Both adjectival descriptions portray Jews by characteristic actions. The expression *מרישיעי ברית* and another similar expression, *עזבי ברית*, are used in at least two other roughly contemporary texts—though not with the same orthography: Daniel and 1QM.<sup>29</sup>

In Dan 11, *עזבי ברית* “those who forsake the holy covenant” and *מרישיעי ברית* “those who have violated the covenant” are synonymous. In both cases they refer to Jewish (priestly) officials who were hellenizers. In other words, these figures are sympathetic to the vision of *οὐλοσυμμένη* pursued by Alexander the Great and developed in Syro-Palestine by Antiochus IV. “Those who have violated the covenant” (*מרישיעי ברית*) is almost certainly a reference to the high priest Menelaus and his party (though it could probably be as well applied to the former high priest Jason). According to 2 Macc 5:15, Menelaus not only allowed Antiochus’ desecration of the temple, but personally guided Antiochus through the temple. He is described as *καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος προδοτὸν γεγονότα* “a traitor both to the laws and to his country” (2 Macc 5:15). Martin Hengel points to an account in the Tosefta, that while legendary, nevertheless expresses how in his words, “The extreme Hellenists under Menelaus had lost any interest in sacrifice according to the law:”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The first *yod* is unanticipated. Dimant speculates that the first *yod* placed after the *reš* may stand for the *i*-sound of *reš* which was pronounced as the *i*-sound of the following *šin*. Based on extant vocalizations of III-guttural *hip'il* participles, however, I suggest that it is more likely a scribal error—an ancient typo.

<sup>30</sup> M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 283.

And when the gentiles went into the sanctuary, she came along and stamped on the altar, screaming at it, “Wolf, wolf! You have wiped out [devoured] the fortune of Israel and did not then stand up for them in the time of their trouble.”<sup>31</sup> (t. *Sukkah* 4:28)

Hengel comments about the passage, “The uselessness of the *tamid* offering could not be expressed more vividly. The age of this legend is shown by the fact that it was later transferred to Titus.”<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the thesis of Hengel’s famous *Judaism and Hellenism* is that Menelaus and his Tobiad supporters were the authors of the edict of persecution. While I disagree with Hengel that, “One cannot speak of a deliberate policy of Hellenization on the part of the Seleucids or Antiochus IV,” there seems little doubt that the political ambitions of Jews such as Menelaus played a major role in the development and implementation of the Hellenistic religious reforms. Regardless of who was the driving force behind the Hellenistic religious reforms, and we err in attempting to isolate only one, Menelaus’ role would have easily won him and his supporters the titles *בריית מרשיעי* “violators of the covenant” and *עבדי נאכר* “servants of the foreigner.” Other evidence points in the same direction.

In 1QM I:1–2 the expression *מרשיעי בריית* is used to describe Jews who collaborate with foreign powers against the faithful:

The first attack of the Sons of Light shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon, and [ ] Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur. Supporting them are those who have violated the covenant (*מרשיעי בריית*).<sup>33</sup>

David Flusser has shown that Dan 11 and the specific term *מרשיעי בריית* was taken up by the writer of 1QM and used to describe those who collaborate with Greek imperialists—though in a later historical setting. Flusser finds that 1QM appropriates the term to name Seleucid sympathizers in the time of Alexander Jannaeus—preferring to see in the “violators of the covenant” a reflection of the invasion of Demetrius II (Eucaerus) in 89 B.C.E. with Jewish help. In any case, he holds that the historical situation must be in Hasmonean times and must predate the fall of Seleucid Syria in 83 B.C.E., since the text includes the Kittim of Ashur in the battle.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Trans. J. Neusner, *The Tosefta: Second Division, Moed (The Order of the Appointed Times)* (New York: Ktav, 1981).

<sup>32</sup> Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 283.

<sup>33</sup> Trans. M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook in *Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov; *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* 1; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 209.

<sup>34</sup> Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 1:154–155.

I suggest, like Flusser did about 1QM, that *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* attempts to update the eschatological prophecy in Dan 11 (as well as the 490 year prophecy) slightly earlier.<sup>35</sup>

A final expression that finds an important parallel in the book of Daniel is located in line 67. A group is described as [ם] המצדיקי “th[ose] who lead to righteousness.” The group appears on the scene after Jerusalem priests begin to “serve other gods” during the Hellenistic period (lines 63–64). The text perhaps even includes a veiled reference to Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus as “three who will rule” (line 65). “Those who lead to righteousness” are active in the wake of the Hellenistic religious reforms and, ostensibly, attempt to resist the reforms.

Dimant suggests a parallel with Dan 12:3: “Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness (מצדיקי הרבים), like the stars forever and ever.” In Dan 12:3, the משכלים and the מצדיקי הרבים are probably synonyms. Both expressions describe groups present during the Hellenistic religious reforms who will be rewarded for their faithfulness at the end of days. They are not groups that emerge after the death of Antiochus IV or with the advent of the eschaton. The eschaton is merely the time of their reward. (I.e., While their location in Dan 12:3 might appear suggest a context later in time than the events described in Dan 11:31–35, it does not. “Those who lead many to righteousness” are almost certainly the same as the “wise” from Dan 11—some of whom “fell by the sword”). Since the context of line 67 appears to be the reign of Antiochus IV and his religious reforms, this fragment provides a group-specific term shared by the *Apocryphon* and Dan 12. It is notable that this term is not found elsewhere in Hellenistic Hebrew. The *Apocryphon* shares expressions with Daniel that are, with one exception, not widespread.

Few would disagree that the *Apocryphon*, like Dan 11, narrates the Hellenistic religious reforms and their immediate aftermath. I hope to have shown, however, that the *Apocryphon* not only narrates the same or similar events, but appropriates specific vocabulary found in Dan 11–12. In other words, the *Apocryphon* does not merely narrative the same events as the book of Daniel, it narrates events *from* the book of Daniel. Below is a chart of the similarities I have highlighted.

<sup>35</sup> Another related expression is found in CD 20:26–27. Cf. also CD 4–5; Pss. Sol. 2:8–13; 8:9–13.

Book of Daniel	<i>Apocryphon of Jeremiah C</i>
490 year scheme (9:24)	490 year scheme (4Q387 2 i-ii 1-5)
וּנְכַשְׁלוּ בַחֶרֶב And they will fall by the sword (11:34)	הַנוֹפְלִים בַּחֶרֶב those felled by the sword (line 72 = 4Q385a 5a-b 5 = 4Q387 3 2)
מְרִישֵׁי בְרִית those who have violated the covenant (11:32)	מְרִישֵׁי בְרִית those who have violated covenant (line 74 = 4Q385a 5a-b 9 = 4Q387 3 6)
מְצַדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים those who lead many to righteousness (12:3)	הַמְצַדִּיקִים [ם] th[ose] who lead to righteousness (line 67 = 4Q388a 7 10)

### CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I focused on three issues that illuminate the relationship of the *Apocryphon* to the book of Daniel. First, I argued that based on content, the *Apocryphon* should be dated precisely to the period of the reign of John Hyrcanus, 134–104 B.C.E. This date places the *Apocryphon* only 30–60 years after the completion of the book of Daniel. Since it postdates the book of Daniel, similarities in motif and language point to the *Apocryphon's* potential dependence on the book of Daniel. This dependence is made problematic by the fact that the *Apocryphon* uses a chronological motif that is, ostensibly, already exhausted in the book of Daniel. In other words, while it is noteworthy in and of itself that the *Apocryphon* and Daniel share some relatively rare terms, the fact that they use those terms to narrate the same events indicates that the *Apocryphon* is not simply aware of Daniel or influenced by Daniel, but is making a literary argument by means of Daniel. For Werman, the *Apocryphon* attempts to neutralize Daniel's apocalyptic message and place the deity's justice back in the here-and-now. The text strikes me as a more likely example of rewriting/reworking in which the prophecies from the book of Daniel are updated and corrected for application in a new day. That new day must be the reign of John Hyrcanus. While the writer of the *Apocryphon* must have realized that the book of Daniel did not correctly apply the 490-year scheme, he nevertheless believed in the ultimate truth of the concept. By using the language that Daniel used to narrate the history that Daniel narrated, the writer breathes new life into Daniel's prophecies and specifically the 490 year scheme and gives them a fresh chance at coming to fruition. So the writer of the *Apocryphon* was not an opponent of Daniel, but a proponent of Daniel. He believed in the

ultimate truth of Daniel's prophecy and attempted to situate it at a time when its potential could exist in a nearly, but not yet realized state once more.

There are more linguistic parallels between the book of Daniel and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* than I have had space to discuss in this paper. These additional expressions include, for example, מֶלֶךְ הַצָּפוֹן "king of the north" as a description for Seleucid kings. I hope to have demonstrated, however, that the *Apocryphon* shares not only random linguistic similarities and a common chronological motif with the book of Daniel, but that it actually appropriates elements from Daniel's narrative prophecy in order to adjust the advent of the eschaton. The *Apocryphon* continues to narrate the *ex eventu* prophecies from Dan 9–12 past the time frame found in the book of Daniel and through the first three Maccabean high priests (Jonathan, Simon, John Hyrcanus) to the time of its own writer. The writer of the *Apocryphon* understood that the end of the world did not occur just after Antiochus IV died. In spite of this major problem with Daniel's prophecy, the writer of the *Apocryphon* apparently did not dismiss Daniel's prophecy as totally failed or finished. Instead, the writer carried on some of Daniel's narrative prophecy and updated it approximately sixty years later. The new prediction found in the *Apocryphon* fits much closer to the date at which one arrives when subtracting 490 from 586 or even 597 (the sort of date one might have expected the book of Daniel to arrive at in the first place). The *Apocryphon* thus attempts to show that Daniel was not ultimately wrong, but perhaps mistaken in its calculations.

## IDENTIFYING BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN PARABIBLICAL TEXTS

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### REWRITTEN BIBLE AND PARABIBLICAL TEXTS: BRIEF METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

(1) The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls sixty years ago and their subsequent publication have led to a renewed interest in and evaluation of biblical interpretation in the Second Temple period. Previously unknown genres of interpretation, such as the *pesharim*, were found alongside compositions already known from ancient translations. “New” works that generically resemble other Jewish compositions of the Second Temple period, such as those classified as Rewritten Bible or parabiblical, were uncovered and the Qumran corpus has highlighted the prevalence and significance of these texts within Jewish literature in Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The attributes “rewritten” and “para-” texts both indicate some level of relationship to a base-text that has been expanded, changed, reworked,

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<sup>1</sup> The term “Rewritten Bible” was first used by G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 95. Subsequent studies that have analyzed the nature and extent of this phenomenon in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period include G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 89–156; D.J. Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten,” in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 239–247; P.S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (ed. D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99–121; E. Tov, “Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 334–354; S. White Crawford, “The ‘Rewritten’ Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts,” *ErIsr* 26 (1999): 1–8; G.J. Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:777–781; M. Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28; M.J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category which has Outlived its Usefulness?” *Text* 22 (2005): 169–196.



or interpreted. Some scholars have objected to the use of these terms, because the descriptions assume the existence of a biblical text that was rewritten or reworked. According to their argument, since there was no one fixed text for each of the biblical books in the late Second Temple period, the term Bible itself is inaccurate and anachronistic, and therefore the derivative term Rewritten Bible is misplaced and misleading.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to this objection, however, the claim that the fluid nature of biblical texts throughout the Second Temple period invalidates the notion of authoritative compositions during this time seems to me to be exaggerated. Although we cannot speak of *the one and only* text of Genesis or Exodus from this era, the differences between the various textual witnesses all fall within a relatively narrow range. Even in the most radical of cases for which we have textual evidence of multiple literary editions of the same biblical book, such as Esther or Daniel,<sup>3</sup> there is no question in the mind of a reader that they indeed reflect the same composition.<sup>4</sup> This is even more pronounced in those books where the various witnesses exhibit some degree of textual fluidity and variation, but essentially point to the same literary edition. The presence of textual variation does not negate the presence of identifiable, authoritative compositions. One should avoid confusing the notions of authoritative works (or “canonicity” with all of its accompanying problems) on the hand, and

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<sup>2</sup> See e.g., the discussions of H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 7–9; J.G. Campbell, “‘Rewritten Bible’ and ‘Parabiblical Texts’: A Terminological and Ideological Critique,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* (ed. idem, W.J. Lyons, and L.K. Pietersen; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 43–68; R.A. Kraft, “Para-mania: Beside, Before and Beyond Bible Studies,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 5–27; A.K. Petersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon: Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–306.

<sup>3</sup> For a description of the unique character of these witnesses, see most recently E. Tov, “Three Strange Books of the LXX: 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions from Qumran and Elsewhere,” in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 369–393; repr. in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 283–305.

<sup>4</sup> I proposed a similar argument a number of years ago with specific reference to the so-called Reworked Pentateuch texts from Cave 4; see M. Segal, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 391–399; idem, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible.”

an authoritative text on the other. The concept of Bible can exist even without one, specific established version of the text.

(2) I would like to express a different reservation about using the term “rewritten” Bible, which is perhaps solved by employing the term “parabiblical.”<sup>5</sup> Classic examples of parabiblical texts include the book of *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Cave 1, and the *Temple Scroll*. In each of these instances, the rewritten composition can be compared to the known versions of the biblical text, and from this synoptic perspective, the relationship between the source text and the rewritten text can be described. The differences between the “original” and the rewritten versions can be compared in order to determine in what ways and for what reasons the latter has revised the former. From this perspective, the rewritten version is an immediate descendant of the biblical source-text, sometimes following it closely, and at other times at more of a distance. However, this theoretical description assumes that the rewritten biblical texts currently in our possession are *direct* rewritings of a biblical text, each working off of a specific biblical text. However, I suggest that this assumption is methodologically problematic. As has been demonstrated by various scholars, and as I myself attempted to show in the case of *Jubilees*,<sup>6</sup> compositions that we describe as Rewritten Bible, do not rely on the Bible alone for their source material.<sup>7</sup> Works such as *Jubilees* are

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<sup>5</sup> As noted by S.D. Fraade, “Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash as Commentary,” in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash* (ed. C. Bakhos; JSJSup 106; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 59–78, at 60–61 n. 5, this term appears to have been proposed first by H.L. Ginsberg, review of J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, *TS* 28 (1967): 574–577, at 574, in reference to the *Genesis Apocryphon*. The label “parabiblical” has gained popularity of late, and was chosen as the name of the four volumes of *DJD* (XIII, XIX, XXII, XXX), which present texts related to the Bible. See also e.g., G.J. Brooke, “Parabiblical Prophetic Narratives,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:271–301. For further use of this term and a discussion of the importance of this literature before Qumran, see A. Lange, “The Parabiblical Literature of the Qumran Library and the Canonical History of the Hebrew Bible,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 305–321. In the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:636, the entry “Parabiblical Literature” consists of a reference to Brooke, “Rewritten Bible.”

<sup>6</sup> M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> E.g., for the *Genesis Apocryphon*, see most recently M.J. Bernstein, “Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 291–310. For the *Temple Scroll*, see Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:386 (“or at least its main sections”), 390; A.M. Wilson and L. Wills,

based not only on the texts of the various biblical books, but also upon other earlier, extant rewritten biblical texts. In fact, the process of rewriting and reuse is perhaps the most fundamental of literary activities in ancient Israelite and Jewish culture. In that sense, the term Rewritten Bible is misleading, since it seemingly refers to the process of composition of the new work, but in reality refers to the nature of the later work vis-à-vis a biblical book. It implies that the biblical book is being rewritten, and not that the final product is a rewritten form of the biblical book. This problem is obviated by the use of the term “parabiblical,” which does not posit any direct implications as to the process by which the text was created, but merely indicates that the text reflects some degree of relationship with the Bible itself.

(3) While many of these parabiblical works are assumed to interpret the Bible, and therefore can be classified as exegesis, some scholars have called for a reconsideration of the interpretive nature of these compositions. They suggest instead that the texts reflect the crystallization of alternative, “pre-canonical” traditions, parallel to those that were recorded in the Bible. According to this claim, the perspective of source and interpretation is the result of certain canonical conceptions (or misconceptions), according to which the books that eventually became those that made up the Bible are perceived as “sources,” and all other related books are immediately assumed to be interpreting them. Theoretically, in any of these instances, the so-called parabiblical text might reflect not interpretation or reuse, but rather an independent crystallization of the motifs and themes also found in the biblical text.<sup>8</sup> This possibility is bolstered if one assumes that both biblical and parabiblical texts are themselves each based upon sources, as noted above. Why assume that composition A is based upon composition B, when they both might be based upon common building-blocks? Are there any criteria by which one can determine whether a certain work is “pre-canonical,” reflecting an alternate literary development, or “post-canonical,” reflecting interpretation of an authoritative textual composition?

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“Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*,” *HTR* 75 (1982): 275–288; M.O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990); S. White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 22–24.

<sup>8</sup> See Kraft, “Para-mania.”

## A RABBINIC “POSTCURSOR” OF EARLIER TRADITIONS

In the context of this brief article, I limit my remarks to one example, which I suggest demonstrates the contribution of rabbinic interpretation to this question. The recognition that many of the phenomena found implicitly in rewritten biblical texts of the Second Temple period correspond to common, later midrashic principles, often expressed explicitly in rabbinic literature, demonstrates the interpretive nature of the former.<sup>9</sup> Although one must always be careful methodologically of retrojecting later assumptions into earlier texts, the presence of similar approaches and techniques in both of these bodies of literature offers the basis for a fruitful comparison of the two. The texts under discussion here stand along a continuum of intensive Jewish interpretive activity from inner-biblical interpretation through the rabbinic period. While there were clearly developments along the way, both in specific interpretations and in the development of new genres, many of the same underlying interpretive principles can be identified throughout these works. A discussion of all of the various modes and methods of rabbinic interpretation is far beyond the scope of this discussion, and I have chosen to analyze here one extended example of this phenomenon. I suggest that this instance illustrates the much broader trend of rewritten biblical compositions serving as forerunners of subsequent modes of biblical interpretation.

The specific example concerns the biblical narrative in Gen 12, which records Abram and Sarai's descent to Egypt due to famine in the Land of Canaan. The events of this story are retold in both the *Genesis Apocryphon* and in *Jubilees*, each adding details, with numerous parallels between them. For example, it is unclear from the biblical story how much time the protagonists spent in the Land before they went to Egypt, or for how long they remained in Egypt before returning. Both the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* relate to these questions, and offer identical chronological details, although each uses a different literary strategy to present these data. In *Jubilees*, the dates are part of the larger hep-tadic chronological framework of the entire book, which begins with the creation of the world, and by which every event in the biblical period is dated, including these specific events. In the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the dating of these specific events is somewhat anomalous, since at least in

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<sup>9</sup> See also the insightful discussion of Fraade, “Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash,” who identifies some of the formal and non-formal elements of “Rewritten Bible” within rabbinic midrashim.

the preserved portions of the scroll, there is no attempt to systematically date the many events in the biblical narrative, akin to what is found in *Jubilees*. The *Genesis Apocryphon*'s chronology of the events surrounding Abram and Sarai's descent to, sojourn in, and departure from Egypt can be pieced together from a number of lines in columns XIX–XXII.<sup>10</sup>

(a) 1QapGen ar XIX:9–10<sup>11</sup>

והיית אול לדרומא [ו]את[ית] עד די דבקת לחברון ול[ה ז]מנא אתב[נ]יאת חברון  
ויתבת/ [תמ]ן [תרתין שנ]ין vacat והוה כפנא בארעא דא כולא ושמעת די ע[ב]ר  
איתי במצריין

And I kept going southward [and] wen[t] until I reached Hebron. At [that time] Hebron was bu[i]lt, and I dwelt/ [the]re [for two ye]ars. vacat Now there was a famine in all this land, and I heard that [there was] gr[ai]n in Egypt.

(b) 1QapGen ar XIX:23–24

ולסוף חמש שניא אלן

[אתו] לי תלתת גברין מן רברבי מצריי [ן] די פרע[ו]ן צע[ן] על מל[י] ועל אנתתי

And at the end of those five years, / three men from the nobles of Egypt [t came] to me [ ] of Pharaoh Zoan concerning [my] words and concerning my wife.

(c) 1QapGen ar XXII:27–29

בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי[ו]י אלהא לאברם בחווא ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא מן יום  
די נפקתה מן חרן תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצריין וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצריין

After these events God appeared to Abram in a vision and said to him, "Look, *ten years have elapsed since the day that you departed from Haran. You passed two here, seven in Egypt, and one since you returned from Egypt.*"

The relevant periods added to the biblical text are as follows: two years in Hebron on the way down to Egypt, five years in Egypt before Sarai was taken by Pharaoh, followed by two more years until they left Egypt. I suggest that some of this new data is the result of a broader exegetical phenomenon in this section of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, namely the harmonization or assimilation of two parallel pentateuchal stories: Abram

<sup>10</sup> All of the readings and translations here are those of J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), unless noted otherwise.

<sup>11</sup> In truth, this first source does not contribute to the chronological discussion, since the relevant information is reconstructed, based upon 1QapGen ar XXII:27–29. As will be demonstrated in the discussion below, however, this source does provide important evidence for the harmonization of the rewritten story in Gen 12 with the subsequent story of national enslavement and emancipation.

and Sarai in Egypt from Gen 12 and the much longer narrative describing the descent of Jacob's family to Egypt, the subsequent subjugation of the Israelites, and the eventual Exodus and return to the Promised Land.<sup>12</sup> The parallel between the personal patriarchal pericope and the national narrative was later recognized explicitly in rabbinic literature, most clearly expounded in *Gen. Rab.* 40 in the name of R. Phineas, a fourth century C.E. Amora living in Israel, who provided a long list of parallels between Abram and Sarai's descent to Egypt due to famine and their eventual departure in Gen 12, and the later enslavement and exodus of the Israelites from the end of Genesis through the book of Exodus:<sup>13</sup>

AND HE DEALT WELL WITH ABRAM, etc. (Gen 12:16). It is written, *And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him*, etc. (ibid. 20). R. Phineas commented in R. Hoshaya's name: The Holy One, blessed be He, said to our father Abraham, "Go forth and tread out a path for thy children." For you find that everything written in connection with Abraham is written in connection with his children.

In connection with Abraham it is written, *And there was a famine in the land* (ibid. 10); while in connection with Israel it is written, *For these two years hath the famine been in the land* (Gen 45:6).

Abraham: *And Abram went down into Egypt*; Israel: *And our fathers went down into Egypt* (Num 20:15).

Abraham: *To sojourn there*; Israel: *To sojourn in the land are we come* (Gen 47:4).

Abraham: *For the famine was sore in the land*; Israel: *And the famine was sore in the land* (Gen 43:1).

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<sup>12</sup> The relationship between these stories in the Bible itself has been noted by many scholars. See e.g., U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (trans. I. Abrahams; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961–1964), 334–337; A. Shinan and Y. Zakovitch, *Abram and Sarai in Egypt: Gen. 10:10–20 in the Bible, the Old Versions and the Ancient Jewish Literature* (Research Projects of the Institute of Jewish Studies Monograph Series 2; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1983), 139–140 (Hebrew). For the phenomenon of assimilation or harmonization between biblical narratives, see Y. Zakovitch, "Assimilation in Biblical Narratives," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 175–196; M.J. Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

<sup>13</sup> English translation taken from *Midrash Rabbah: Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices* (ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon; 10 vols.; London: Soncino, 1961), 1:330–331. For the Hebrew text, see J. Theodor and C. Albeck, eds., *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965), 385–386.

Abraham: *And it came to pass, when he was come near to enter into Egypt;*  
 Israel: *And when Pharaoh drew nigh—*(Exod 14:10).

Abraham: *And they will kill me, but thee they will keep alive;* Israel: *Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive* (Exod 1:22).

Abraham: *Say, I pray thee, that thou art my sister, that it may be well with me;* Israel: *And God dealt well with the midwives* (ibid. 20).

Abraham: *And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt;*  
 Israel: *Now these are the names of the sons of Israel, who came in Egypt* (ibid. 1).

Abraham: *And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold* (Gen 13:2);  
 Israel: *And He brought them forth with silver and gold* (Ps 105:37).

Abraham: *And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him, and they sent him away;*  
 Israel: *And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, to send them out* (Exod 13:33).

Abraham: *And he went on his journeys* (Gen 13:3); Israel: *These are the journeys of the children of Israel* (Num 33:1).

This midrashic source lists numerous similarities between the two stories (including the historiographical Psalm 105). While some of the correspondences are more convincing than others, the general thrust of the argument does appear to be valid. The parallels between the two include:

1. Abram and Jacob/Israel descended to Egypt due to famine in Canaan;
2. Sarai and the Israelites were taken/enslaved by Pharaoh;
3. God afflicted Pharaoh and the Egyptians with plagues;
4. Abraham and the Israelites departed with great wealth;
5. Abraham and Israel returned to Canaan.

I suggest that the exegetical principle made explicit in R. Phineas' formulation, "For you find that everything written in connection with Abraham is written in connection with his children," serves as the motivation for a number of details in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, including the division into the periods of two and five years at the time of the descent into Egypt. Note the following additions or changes in the *Genesis Apocryphon's* rewritten version of Gen 12:<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The interpretive thrust outlined here is one among many found in the *Genesis Apocryphon's* rewritten story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt, and is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of the biblical interpretation that finds expression in that section.

(i) Genesis 12:10 records that there was a famine in the Land, and that Abram travelled to Egypt to wait it out. There is no explanation in the biblical text as to why he specifically chose Egypt as his destination, but this information is provided in 1QapGen ar XIX:10: “Now there was a famine in all this land, and I heard that [there was] gr[ai]n in Egypt.” This explanation is not the creation of this author, but rather is based directly upon Gen 42:2: **וַיֹּאמֶר הֲנֵה שְׂמֵעֵתִי כִּי יֵשׁ שֹׂבֵר בְּמִצְרַיִם**, “and [Jacob] said, ‘Now I hear that there are rations to be had in Egypt’” (cf. the Targumim to Gen 42:2 for the similar formulation in Aramaic). Bernstein adduces this case as “the simplest and least conscious type of harmonization . . . the translation or adaptation of a biblical text is affected linguistically by another passage which is analogous to it or with which it shares common elements.”<sup>15</sup> At the same time, he allows for the possibility that the association between the stories was performed intentionally,<sup>16</sup> a possibility that is bolstered by the other parallels suggested here.

(ii) In Gen 12:17, the victims of the afflictions are listed in brief as Pharaoh and his household. There is no description of any attempt to mitigate or cure the maladies that plagued them. In contrast, 1QapGen ar XX:18–21 offers an expanded version, according to which Pharaoh enlisted the assistance of his magicians and wise men in an attempt to ward off their deleterious effects:

So he sent for (19) all the [wi]se [men] of Egypt, all the magicians, together with all the physicians of Egypt, (to see) whether they would be able to cure him of this plague, and the men of (20) his house. But none of the physicians, magicians or any of the wise men were able to rise up and cure him, for that spirit afflicted all of them (too) (21) and they fled.

The general motif here can be described as the competition between a successful, victorious Israelite/Jewish courtier and the unsuccessful Gentile wise men, and is also found in biblical texts such as Gen 41:8–45; Exod 7:11, 22; 8:3; 9:11; Dan 2:2–12; 4:3–6, 15; 5:7–8, 11–12.<sup>17</sup> The formulation in the *Genesis Apocryphon* combines elements from the Daniel narratives, particularly the inclusion of magicians (**אֲשָׁפִיּוֹת**) amongst the wise men (cf. Dan 2:10, 27; 4:4; 5:7, 11, 15). The strongest inspiration,

<sup>15</sup> Bernstein, “Re-arrangement,” 48; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 182 accepts Bernstein’s suggestion of unconscious harmonization.

<sup>16</sup> Shinan and Zakovitch, *Abram and Sarai*, 7.

<sup>17</sup> See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 206.



however, appears to once again be the influence of the Exodus story upon the “mini”-Exodus in the time of Abram, especially Exod 9:11 in which the הרטמים were unable to withstand the effects of the plague of boils.

(iii) According to Gen 12, after Abram reached Canaan, he first traveled to Shechem (v. 6), and then to Bethel (v. 8). His subsequent stops along the way to Egypt are not mentioned explicitly, and instead the Hebrew text reads: ויסע אברהם הלך ונסוע הנגבה “Abraham journeyed by stage toward the Negeb” (v. 9). The rewritten story in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (and *Jub.* 13:10) adds another detail—Abram dwelled in Hebron prior to arriving in Egypt. Where were Jacob and his clan living prior to their migration to Egypt during the famine? According to Gen 37:14, when Jacob sent Joseph to inquire about his brothers, leading to his eventual sale, he sent him from the valley of Hebron. Between this story and the beginning of the famine at the end of Gen 41, there is no mention of any change of location of Jacob’s family. In *Jub.* 44:1 (parallel to Gen 46:1), it is added explicitly that when Jacob left Canaan for Egypt, he departed from Hebron.<sup>18</sup> The addition of Abram’s two-year sojourn in Hebron serves to foreshadow the later departure from Hebron to Egypt two generations later.

(iv) Seven years passed from the point in time that Abram and Sarai reached Hebron, which was built at that time (1QapGen ar XIX:9), until she was taken by Pharaoh Zoan. This period is based upon the explicit biblical notice that Hebron was built seven years prior to Zoan (Num 13:22). The connection to the pentateuchal verse is made explicit in *Jub.* 13:12,<sup>19</sup> though the division into two periods of time, two years (in

<sup>18</sup> For the sake of precision, it should be noted that the Ge’ez manuscripts of *Jubilees* read *Kārān* (= Haran), but all translators of *Jubilees* since Dillmann (A. Dillmann, “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis (II),” *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 3 [1851]: 1–96, 72 n. 74) agree that this reading is a corruption of Hebron, which could have occurred in Hebrew, Greek, or Ethiopic; see R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor’s Ethiopic Text* (London: Black, 1902), 238; J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–511; *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 2:288.

<sup>19</sup> The dependence of the *Genesis Apocryphon* upon Num 13:22 has been noted by many scholars, including N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea: Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX–XXII* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956), 24–25; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 181; Shinan and Zakovitch, *Abram and Sarai*, 61; Bernstein, “Re-arrangement,” 45. It was of course recognized earlier in the history of *Jubilees* scholarship, e.g., by Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 98–99.

Hebron) and five years (prior to Sarai's abduction), does not have any specific source in the context of Gen 12 or in Num 13. An important parallel to this division of time can be found later in Genesis, within the seven years of famine that led to the descent of the Israelites to Egypt. According to Gen 45:6, Joseph revealed his identity to his brothers and invited Jacob and his family to come to Egypt after two years of famine, with five years left to go: "It is now two years that there has been famine in the land; and there are still five years to come, in which there shall be no yield from tilling" (NJPS). If the Pentateuch describes a two-year period during which Jacob's family was still in Canaan, followed by five-year period in which they were in Egypt to benefit from its food resources, prior to their eventual subjugation at the hands of Pharaoh, the rewritten story draws a parallel by adding a two-year sojourn in Canaan, followed by five years in Egypt during the famine, after which Sarai was abducted by the Egyptian monarch.

I suggest that these four details in the *Genesis Apocryphon* should be viewed as conscious attempts to assimilate the two stories, with the specific interpretive goal of transforming the story of Abraham into a precursor of the national story of Israel. While these motifs are presented implicitly in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, they match the general interpretive thrust found explicitly in the later rabbinic text, about which there is no argument as to its interpretive nature. This example is but one of many in which one can demonstrate implicit interpretation in earlier rewritten compositions that matches later explicit interpretation, primarily in rabbinic and medieval Jewish commentaries. This shared mode of reading the biblical text corroborates the suggestion that these earlier texts do indeed reflect interpretive compositions, and not merely the canonical assumptions of modern scholars. While there is certainly much to be gained by reflecting on and rethinking our various scholarly assumptions, in this instance our conclusions match this common conception.

#### APPENDIX: 490 YEARS IN *JUBILEES*

As can be discerned from the details above, the rewritten version of the story in the *Genesis Apocryphon* shares details with that in *Jubilees*, including the division of two and five years, and the addition of Hebron. It is possible to suggest that this idea is further developed in the chronological framework of *Jubilees*, although the following suggestion is less

certain than the analysis above (and hence is relegated to an appendix). As is well-known, the book of *Jubilees* dates all of the events from the creation of the world until the entry into Canaan according to a system of jubilees, weeks and years. The narrative culminates in “the jubilee of jubilees,” the fiftieth 49-year period in history, during which time Israel was freed from their servitude in Egypt and returned to their ancestral land, Canaan. As noted by VanderKam, these two aspects parallel the two primary elements of the jubilee law in Lev 25, according to which all slaves are freed and all property is returned to its rightful inheritor. The chronological framework of *Jubilees* thus transforms the social law in Leviticus, which refers to the individual, into a blueprint for the nation’s fortunes.<sup>20</sup>

*Jubilees* is not the only composition in the Second Temple period to employ a system of jubilees and weeks in order to date the events of history, but it is the only one to attempt to implement this system in such a systematic and detailed fashion. In many of the other compositions, the period of 490 years is of significance, whether it be 10 jubilees (as in 4QapocrJer C<sup>b</sup> [4Q387] 2 ii 3–4);<sup>21</sup> or seventy weeks of years (as in Dan 9:24–27), a length of time that appears to be absent from *Jubilees*’ reckoning. In these other compositions, 490 years often represents a complete period in history, at the end of which the world returns to its original, peaceful state, and therefore, marking the beginning and end of such a period is of great significance for these authors. While there is no doubt that the fifty-jubilee scheme reflects the primary periodization in the book of *Jubilees*, it is possible that there is also a hint of the recognition of a ten-jubilee period in the chronological framework of the book. Since the chronology in *Jubilees* continues until the end of the fiftieth jubilee, then the final ten-jubilee period at the end of this cycle would commence at the beginning of the forty-first jubilee (forty-first to fiftieth). What events are dated to the beginning of the forty-first jubilee? In the following table, the events surrounding these years are presented in detail:

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<sup>20</sup> J.C. VanderKam, “Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–544 at 532–540; trans. of “Das chronologische Konzept des Jubiläenbuches,” *ZAW* 107 (1995): 80–100.

<sup>21</sup> *DJD* XXX (2001): 179.

<i>Jubilees</i>	Event	Jubilee	Week	Year	Year from Creation
13:8	Abram builds an altar in Bethel	40	7	1	1954
13:10	Abram dwells in Hebron for two years				1954–1956
13:11	Abram travels to Egypt	40	7	3	1956
13:11	Five year period before Sarai is taken				1956–1960
13:16	Abram returns to the same location in Canaan	41	1	3	1963
48:1	The Exodus	50	2	2	2410
50:4	Israelites return to Canaan	50	7	7	2450

According to the data in the chronological framework, the periods of two and five years described above fall out in the final week of the fortieth jubilee (13:10, 11). It can therefore be deduced that in the first year of the forty-first jubilee, Sarai was taken by force to Pharaoh. Precisely at the beginning of this final ten-jubilee period, after Abram and Sarai departed from Canaan and went to Egypt, Sarai was subjugated to Pharaoh. The end of this ten-jubilee period describes the conclusion of the parallel events but on a national scale, when Israel was released from this servitude and returned to Canaan. Perhaps by demarcating the ten-jubilee period, the author responsible for the chronological framework indicated the inherent connection between the *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* of this period. The story of Abram and Sarai here too perhaps serves as a portent of future events on a national scale.

At the same time, however, it must be noted that although the dates fall exactly as described here, there is no explicit emphasis on the ten-jubilee period or of the specific date in question, and it is only implicitly derived from the chronological information contained in the rewritten narrative. While implicit interpretation is characteristic of some of the dates added to the rewritten biblical stories in *Jubilees*,<sup>22</sup> the absence of any notice of the beginning of the forty-first jubilee is highly suspect if the emphasis is supposed to be upon a ten-jubilee period. Furthermore, there does not seem to be another instance in the book in which the ten jubilee periods play a similar role (i.e. between jubilees 1–10, 11–20, 21–30, and 31–40). Therefore, despite the potential support that

<sup>22</sup> See for example my discussion of the interpretation of the 120-year period of Gen 6:3 in *Jubilees* in Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 119–125.

the chronological framework in *Jubilees* offers for the continuation of this interpretive trajectory, there is an equally strong possibility that the numbers here have aligned as a matter of chance,<sup>23</sup> and not due to an elaborate chronological scheme.

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<sup>23</sup> In a future study I hope to address the issue of the literary relationship between the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* in this passage, with special reference to their common chronology. If the five-year delay has its origins in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and was subsequently adopted by *Jubilees* (a proposition that I will further develop there), then the specific timing of Sarai's subjugation would possibly be the result of the adoption and inclusion of the *Genesis Apocryphon's* chronological data within *Jubilees*, and not part of an elaborate ten-jubilee construct.

MIRIAM MISBEHAVING?  
THE FIGURE OF MIRIAM IN 4Q377 IN LIGHT  
OF ANCIENT JEWISH LITERATURE

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4QApocryphal Pentateuch B (4Q377) is one of three texts from the Qumran library that mentions the figure of Miriam.<sup>1</sup> According to the editors of 4Q377, James C. VanderKam and Monica Brady, the text preserves at least one line that deals with Miriam's opposition to Moses in Num 12.<sup>2</sup> They also propose that 4Q377 2 i 10 might attest to Num 12.<sup>3</sup> Because the suggested connection between 4Q377 2 i 9–10 and Num 12 has not yet been studied in detail, this is the task of the present article. After a critical analysis of lines 9 and 10, this study takes into consideration other re-narrations of Num 12: Demetrius (the Chronographer); Philo, *Leg.* 1.76; 2.66–67; 3.103; *m. Soṭah* 1:7, 9; and *Sipre Num* 99. Their style of rephrasing the Pentateuchal narration is analyzed and I ask if they can illuminate the reconstruction of 4Q377. I also consider the reception of the figure of Miriam in the re-narrations of Num 12 in general and in 4Q377 in particular.

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. VanderKam and M. Brady in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 205–218. Miriam is also referred to in the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543 1 i 6 = 4Q545 1 i 5; 4Q546 12 4; 4Q547 9 10; 4Q549 2 i 8), see É. Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 283–405, and in 4QRP<sup>c</sup> (4Q365) 6 ii 1–7, see E. Tov and S. White in *DJD XIII* (1994): 255–318. For a general presentation of Miriam in the Dead Sea Scrolls see H. Tervanotko, “The Hope of the Enemy has Perished: The Figure of Miriam in the Qumran Library,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65th Birthday* (ed. A. Lange, M. Weigold, and J. Zsengellér; FRLANT 230; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 156–175; S. White Crawford, “Traditions about Miriam in the Qumran Scrolls,” *Studies in Jewish Civilization* 14 (2003): 33–44; eadem, “Miriam,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:566–567.

<sup>2</sup> VanderKam and Brady in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE MANUSCRIPT 4Q377

The preserved text of 4Q377 does not directly quote the Pentateuch, but reworks it by using it as related stories. 4Q377 demonstrates an interest in the wilderness period, and it contains references to Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The figure of Moses plays a prominent role throughout the narration. Prior to the *DJD* edition published in 2001, this text was known as “4QApocryphon of Moses C” due to the centrality of Moses.<sup>4</sup> The previous title also indicates that 4Q377 was assigned to a collection of texts (4Q374–375) that were already thought to belong together.<sup>5</sup>

In the *DJD* edition, the text of 4Q377 was given a new title, “4QApocryphal Pentateuch B.” The new title does not merely highlight the key figure of the text but its wider content.<sup>6</sup> The text is interpreted by the editors as a pentateuchal re-narration. In the same way that its first title carried generic implications, the new title indicates that it displays similarities with at least one other text: “4QApocryphal Pentateuch A” (4Q368), also published by VanderKam and Brady.<sup>7</sup> The two texts exhibit common elements. The figure of Moses plays a prominent role in them and they both use the Pentateuch in their narrations.<sup>8</sup> Despite these similarities it is difficult to say how the connection between 4Q368 and 4Q377 should be interpreted. The texts do not overlap. VanderKam and Brady argue that their portrayal of Moses is different.<sup>9</sup> Given these hesitations, 4Q377 is treated as an independent text in this study.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> D.K. Falk, “Moses, Texts of,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:577–581, uses the title “Apocryphon of Moses C”; cf. G.J. Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:771–781; É. Puech, “Le fragment 2 de 4Q377, Pentateuch Apocryphe B: L'exaltation de Moïse,” *RevQ* 21 (2004): 469–475.

<sup>5</sup> Collections or circles of texts; see E. Tov, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 432.

<sup>6</sup> See n. 1; the *DJD* edition (mainly frg. 2 ii) has been revised by Puech, “Le fragment 2 de 4Q377,” 469–475; cf. Falk, “Moses, Texts of,” 1:581.

<sup>7</sup> J.C. VanderKam and M. Brady in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 131–149.

<sup>8</sup> VanderKam and Brady in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 207: “It is understandable that 4Q368 and 4Q377 have been associated with each other by being named 4QApocryphon Pentateuch A–B, even though the two do not overlap. Both clearly reflect and rework materials from various parts of the Pentateuch, especially Exod (the Sinai sections), Num and Deut.”

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 207–208: “4Q368 portrays Moses and God conversing whereas in 4Q377 Moses is depicted as a man.”

<sup>10</sup> All text editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls do not assign 4Q368 and 4Q377 into the same literary groups. For instance, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* groups 4Q368 within the category of “Re-written Bible,” whereas, 4Q377 is “an un-classified document.” This

4Q377 has a first century B.C.E. paleographic date.<sup>11</sup> This text was found in the collection of the Qumran library, but it does not contain any of the characteristics that are usually recognized as the “sectarian” features.<sup>12</sup> Free use of the tetragrammaton in this text (4Q377 2 ii 3, 4), also suggests a non-Essene origin.<sup>13</sup> Hence, this study presumes that the text originates from wider Hellenistic Judaism.

## 2. 4Q377 FRAGMENT 2

Five fragments are assigned to 4Q377. Fragment 2 is the largest of them. Column i of this fragment contains 11 lines, but only six of them preserve whole words. VanderKam and Brady identify the following structure in the text of 4Q377 2 i: Lines 4–5 contain the list of spies of Num 13.<sup>14</sup> Line 6 refers to the rearguard and the minimal age of military service of Num 1.<sup>15</sup> Line 7 is *vacat* and line 8 may allude the blessing of Levi in Deut 33:8.<sup>16</sup> As mentioned earlier, the editors maintain that line 9, and possibly line 10, might re-narrate the encounter between Miriam and Moses (and Aaron?) in Num 12.<sup>17</sup>

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differing grouping reflects the un-determined status of some pentateuchal re-narrations and fluidity of the current terminology. See E. Tov and D.W. Parry, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005), 3:116–122, 596–599.

<sup>11</sup> VanderKam and Brady in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 205–206; B. Webster in *DJD XXXIX* (2002): 351–446, 372; A. Lange, “Pre-Maccabean Literature from the Qumran Library and the Hebrew Bible,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 277–305.

<sup>12</sup> For the sectarian features see D. Dimant, “Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of Taxonomy,” *RevQ* 93 (2009): 7–18; C. Newsom, “Sectually Explicit Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D.N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–187. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance For Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), 255–273 deal with Essene belief system and theology. A. Lange, “Kriterien essenischer Texte,” in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 59–69.

<sup>13</sup> Falk, “Moses, Texts of,” 1:581.

<sup>14</sup> “From the tribe of Benjamin, Palti son of Raphu” (Num 13:9 NRSV).

<sup>15</sup> “Take a census of the whole congregation of Israelites, in their clans, by ancestral houses, according to the number of names, every male individually; from twenty years old and upwards, everyone in Israel able to go to war” (Num 1:2–3 NRSV).

<sup>16</sup> “And of Levi he said: Give to Levi your Thummim, and your Urim to your loyal one, whom you tested at Massah, with whom you contended at the waters of Meribah” (Deut 33:8 NRSV). The connection is based on term “pious man” (אִישׁ חַסִּיד) that appears in both.

<sup>17</sup> See the introduction of this article; VanderKam and Brady in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 207.



4Q377 2 i:<sup>18</sup>

- 3 [ ] this  
 4 [ to the tri]be of Benjamin, Raphia  
 5 [ ] *ymry* to the tribe of Gad Elyo  
 6 [ ] the rearguard from twenty years of age  
 7 [ ] *vacat*  
 8 [ ] one of the pious ones and he lifted his voice  
 9 [ and] he returned [his] an[ger and ]Miriam [shut her]self from his  
 eye(s) *vacat* years of  
 10 [ ] against us and lead to us because

2.1. 4Q377 2 i 9

Based on the remaining words and reconstructions of the text of 4Q377 2 i, it seems that this text deals mainly with Numbers. Nevertheless, because of the fragmentary nature of this manuscript, it is possible that parts of the text that are not preserved refer to other parts of the Pentateuch. Hence, this study is not strictly limited to comparisons with Exodus and Numbers, but it takes into consideration broader pentateuchal material.

One of the words that is legible in frg. 2 is “Miriam” in line 9. As 4Q377 uses pentateuchal material, the appearance of the name could imply that lines 9 and 10 rework a pentateuchal passage that mentions Miriam: Exod 15:20–21; Num 12:1–15; 20:1; 26:59; or Deut 24:9. But Miriam is not the only character mentioned in this text. The name of Moses appears several times in 4Q377.<sup>19</sup> Even more lines allude to Moses without specifically naming him.<sup>20</sup> The frequent use of his name implies that Miriam cannot be the protagonist of the text. Its main interest lies in Moses. Therefore, the passage to which 4Q377 2 i 9 refers should be found within texts where these two figures, Miriam and Moses, are presented together. This limitation of texts narrows down the possible references, because the

<sup>18</sup> Translation by VanderKam and Brady, *ibid.*, 212. I follow their translation in this article. Puech, “Le fragment 2 de 4Q377,” 469–475, has proposed some alternative readings regarding line 10. His suggestions will be taken into consideration while analyzing 4Q377 2 i 10.

<sup>19</sup> 4Q377 2 ii 2, 5, 10.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, 4Q377 2 ii 11: “When he was sanctified, and like a messenger he would speak from his mouth, for who of fles[h] is like him.” VanderKam and Brady in *DJD* XXVIII (2001): 214, 216.

two appear in interaction in only three passages of the Pentateuch: Exod 15:20–21; Num 12:1–15; and Deut 24:9.

4Q377 2 i 9 is fragmentary like the rest of the text. The first word in line 9 (שיב) is certain, as is the following one (חרון). Before the manuscript breaks, we can see traces of the next letter, which the editors suggest to be *'alep*. In the Pentateuch the word “anger” (חרון) appears in the wilderness passages (Exod 15:7; 32:12; Num 25:4; 32:14; Deut 13:18). In these passages it is used in connection with another word describing anger, אף.<sup>21</sup> These terms that indicate fury do not point to just any type of anger, but exclusively the rage of God. Sentences that mention “great anger” (חרון אף) of God and refer to the Deity in third person in the Pentateuch use the tetragrammaton.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, this terminology is also used in the Dead Sea Scrolls to describe God’s anger (CD 9:4, 6; 10:9 = 4Q270 6 iv 19; 4Q169 1–2 11; 4Q375 1 i 3; 4Q504 1–2 iii 11; v 5; 11Q11 IV:5; 11QT<sup>a</sup> LV:11). In the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, their use is not restricted to the Deity. The two terms can likewise point to people e.g., the Kittim (1QpHab III:12), and members of community (4QD<sup>c</sup> [4Q270] 6 iii 18). Moreover, appearances of חרון and אף in the Dead Sea Scrolls do not require the context of wilderness.

The subject of line 9 is not known. Based on the use of terms אף and חרון in the Pentateuch, the tetragrammaton, which is used elsewhere in 4Q377 (2 ii 3, 5), could possibly be inserted here. From the next word only the last letter, *rêš*, survives. The editors suggest, on the basis of Num 12:14, that the word could be reconstructed “to shut, to close” (אתסגר).<sup>23</sup> This verb is often connected to dealing with צרעת “leprosy” in the Pentateuch and it appears in Lev 13–14 where the treatment of this illness is discussed.<sup>24</sup> The *nip'al* form appears only once with מן

<sup>21</sup> In Exod 15:7 the word אף follows only in the next verse, Exod 15:8.

<sup>22</sup> See the entries אף and חרון in *HALOT* 1:76, 351–352. Exod 15:7; 32:12; Num 25:4; 32:14; Deut 13:18 refer to the Divine in second person and the tetragrammaton does not occur in these passages.

<sup>23</sup> VanderKam and Brady in *DJD* XXVIII (2001): 207. “Let her be shut out (תסגר) of the camp for seven days, and after that she may be brought in again” (Num 12:14 NRSV). “So Miriam was shut out (תסגר) of the camp for seven days” (Num 12:15 NRSV). For the appearances of the verb סגר in the Qumran library see CD 1:17 (= 4Q266 2 i 21); 3:10; 6:12, 13; 7:13; 8:1 (= 4Q266 3 iii 23); 13:6; 19:13; 1QM XI:2, 13; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:19; XIII:11, 16; 1Q27 1 i 5; 4Q269 7 6 (= 4Q272 1 i 11; 4Q273 4 ii 2); 4Q271 5 ii 21; 4Q299 8 9; 4Q381 45 a+b 3; 4Q390 1 9; 2 i 4; 4Q418 126 ii 7; 201 2; 4Q422 II:5; III:9; 4Q512 67 2; 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXXIV:5; XLIX:2.

<sup>24</sup> In Lev 13:4, 5, 11, 21, 26, 31, 33, 50, 54; 14:38, 46 the verb סגר appears in *hip'il* meaning “to separate” or “to barricade” (a house). The exact nature of צרעת that is usually translated as “leprosy” remains unsolved. D. Wright and R. Jones, “Leprosy,” *ABD* 4:277–282.

(preposition) with the meaning: “to be shut out” (Num 12:14). As only one letter of this word is preserved, this reconstruction is uncertain. The words indicating the “great anger” (חרון אף) can be found in two different passages where Miriam appears: Num 12:9<sup>25</sup> and Exod 15:7–8.<sup>26</sup> The first of these is a more direct reference to Miriam, whereas the latter verses belong to the Song of Moses. The third passage that mentions Miriam in the Pentateuch is Deut 24:8. It does not share any common vocabulary with 4Q377.

The style of narration of 4Q377 is not evident. God speaks in some lines. For instance, in 4Q377 1 i 6 the deity states: “I will judge between a man and his friend, between a father and his son, between a man and his sojourner.” Meanwhile, text of frg. 2 often points to an outside narrator that reports the events in third person singular: “he lifted his voice” (2 i 8); “he turned his anger” (2 i 9). As we have seen, in 4Q377 2 i 10 the narration appears in the first person plural form: “us and lead it against us.” The following column addresses the audience directly (2 ii 3): “Hear, congregation of YHWH, and pay attention all assembly.” This might indicate again a speaker that addresses the Israelites.<sup>27</sup> In spite of this, the tense and the narrator of the text cannot be determined with certainty. It is possible that the narrator or the speaker changes in this text.

The text of 4Q377 is a narrative dealing with Moses’ and Israel’s experiences. This style should be compared with the passages where Miriam appears next. Regarding the pentateuchal Miriam passages, Exod 15:20–21 is best characterized as a victory song.<sup>28</sup> Deut 24:8–9 appears in the context of rules and laws given to the people. The legal setting of that text is likewise indicated by the verbs “to keep, to watch over” (שמר), “to do” (עשה), “to command” (צוה) and by its references to priests who monitor correct conduct. Moreover, its use of the pedagogic “remember”-formula (זכור) implies that audiences are reminded to bear in mind Miriam’s destiny and the commandments set in Lev 13–14 for צרעת. Finally, Num-

<sup>25</sup> “And the anger of the Lord (חרון אף) was kindled against them, and he departed” (Num 12:9 NRSV).

<sup>26</sup> “You sent out your fury (חרונוך)” (Exod 15:7 NRSV). “At the blast of your nostrils (אפיך) the waters piled up” (Exod 15:8 NRSV). In the latter examples the term אף points to nostrils and not to anger.

<sup>27</sup> VanderKam and Brady in *DJD* XXVIII (2001): 207.

<sup>28</sup> For example D. O’Donnell Setel, “Exodus,” in *Women’s Bible Commentary: Expanded Edition with Apocrypha* (ed. C. Newsom and S. Ridge, Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 35; M. Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1962), 120–123.

bers can be described as a narrative concerning Israel's forty years "in the wilderness."<sup>29</sup> As 4Q377 also reflects the "Sinai sections" and its style is somewhat similar, Num 12 corresponds the content of line 9 the best. Based on these observations I think that VanderKam and Brady are right in suggesting that 4Q377 2 i 9 uses material of Num 12:1–15.

## 2.2. 4Q377 2 i 10

Of line 10 only four words are legible. Puech reads this line differently from the *DJD* edition: "us and lead it against us because" (אלינו ונהגה עלינו כיא).<sup>30</sup> The key term of this line is the verb "to lead, to guide, to shepherd" (נהג), with which both readings agree. The verb appears in third person singular feminine or in third person singular masculine together with a suffix ("she will lead it"/"he will lead it"). If this is a continuation of the previous line, then to whom could this verb apply?

The verb appears in the Hebrew Bible about 30 times.<sup>31</sup> Roughly one fourth of the appearances are found in the Pentateuch, where leading (נהג) refers both to people (individuals) and God. Genesis 31:18, 20 deal with the family of Jacob and Isaac. Exodus 3:1 and 10:13 apply to Moses who shepherds his father-in-law's flock in 3:1 and brings to locust in Egypt in 10:13. The rest of the references of נהג are used for the deity. In Exod 14:25 God fights with the Israelites against the Egyptians, and in Deut 4:27; 28:37 a divine message is proclaimed that Israel will be brought among foreign people.<sup>32</sup> Apart from 4Q377 2 i 10, נהג appears in the re-narrations on Gen 31: 4QTNaph (4Q215) 1–3 8 and 4QpapJub<sup>h</sup> (4Q223–224) 2 i 51 (*Jub.* 35:10).

Because of the manuscript deterioration it is difficult to determine the identity of the narrator in line 10. It is logical to think that the first person plural "us" indicates that the narrator is not an external third person, but that the speaker locates him/herself in the text. As the verb "to lead" does

<sup>29</sup> K. Doob Sakenfeld, "Numbers," in *Women's Bible Commentary*, 49.

<sup>30</sup> Puech, "Le fragment 2 de 4Q377," 475. English translation by the present author. For the *DJD* edition, see § 2. The most concrete difference between the readings offered by VanderKam and Brady and Puech is that the latter reads preposition "against us" connected with the verb. VanderKam and Brady read the verb without the negative preposition על ("lead to us").

<sup>31</sup> Gen 31:18, 26; Exod 3:1; 10:13; Deut 4:27; 28:37; 1 Sam 23:5; 30:20, 22; 2 Sam 6:3; 2 Kgs 4:24; 9:20; 1 Chr 13:7; 20:1; 2 Chr 25:11; Job 24:3; Pss 48:15; 78:26, 52; 80:1; Qoh 2:3; Cant 8:2; Isa 11:6; 20:4; 40:10; 49:10; 60:11; 63:14; Nah 2:8.

<sup>32</sup> Notably, this verb is not used for Aaron or Miriam in the Hebrew Bible or in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

not apply to Aaron or Miriam in the Pentateuch, it is unlikely, yet not impossible, that one of them appears here. Whereas Miriam appears in 4Q377 2 i 9, nothing indicates Aaron's presence in this passage. Moses and God are more central characters in this text, and therefore the leading should refer to one of them. When the verb "to lead" (נהג) is used for Moses in the Pentateuch, it never applies to leading of people. Moses brings (i.e., leads) locusts or shepherds lambs, but he is not described as a shepherd for people in the Pentateuch. Since 4Q377 clearly applies to leading people ("lead us"), it seems more plausible that 4Q377 2 i 10 does not indicate Moses' leading, but that of God.

Moses might be present in the passage and talk about leading. The line could find distant parallels in passages of Deuteronomy where Moses addresses people about God leading (נהג) them among foreign nations (4:27; 28:37).<sup>33</sup> These passages do not narrate God's leading as something positive, but rather as a scattering of the people among foreign nations that should be viewed as a punishment. This view supports Puech's reconstruction of the line.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the context of the wilderness and various challenges that the Israelites met there could likewise motivate Puech's reading "against us."

In light of these arguments I suggest that the line 10 of 4Q377 does not seem to continue dealing with Num 12 and Miriam. Rather, it introduces new material into the text. This characteristic is in line with the structure of 4Q377 2 i where each line refers to different pentateuchal passage. Line 10 might return to the dialogue between Moses and the Divine.

### 3. NUMBERS 12 REPHRASED?

I have concluded that 4Q377 2 i 9 probably contains a reference to Num 12. This allusion concerns the figure of Miriam. The remaining content of this reference remains uncertain. A look at other Jewish texts dating to the Greco-Roman era where Num 12 is rephrased might help us to interpret this line. How was Num 12 re-narrated elsewhere? What is emphasized in the re-narrations? Do they share any common features?<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> God's leading of Israel is compared with a shepherd that leads his flock, for instance, in Pss 78:52; 80:1; and Isa 40:10.

<sup>34</sup> Puech, "Le fragment 2 de 4Q377," 475.

<sup>35</sup> Deuteronomy 24, which I have already mentioned while discussing the terminology of 4Q377 2 i 9, refers to the same tradition. As the relation between Num 12 and Deut 24, and especially their dates are not yet defined I have decided to not to go into more details

3.1. *Demetrius (the Chronographer)*

“And for this reason also, Aaron and Miriam said at Hazeroth that Moses had married an Ethiopian woman.”<sup>36</sup>

Demetrius was a third century B.C.E. writer who lived in Ptolemaic Egypt. His writings are preserved only in citations by other writers.<sup>37</sup> Demetrius’ goal was to write Jewish historiography to an educated audience, and his particular interest laid in explaining difficulties and filling out the gaps that the writing of history had left.<sup>38</sup> His reference to Num 12 (frg. 3:3) first provides a detailed survey of Moses’ and Zipporah’s genealogies. Demetrius concludes his study by stating that Zipporah was Abraham’s descendent by his second wife, Keturah.<sup>39</sup> This assumption has some implications. First, it challenges the argument phrased by Aaron and Miriam in Num 12:1, i.e., that Moses married a foreign woman. Demetrius argues that this wife was Zipporah, not another second wife.<sup>40</sup> Second, as Zipporah was of Abrahamic origin, she was not considered a foreigner. Third, Demetrius’ mention of Aaron implies the writer considered Aaron to take part in this dispute. Finally, given Demetrius’ general aim to clarify passages, his attention to Num 12 indicates that this passage required further explanation. Related to this final point is the sentence “it was for this reason that Aaron and Miriam said that Moses had married an Ethiopian woman” (frg. 3:3), which is a sign of his task and suggests that Num 12 needed clarification. This re-narration that focuses

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here. G. von Rad leaves the relation of the texts open (*Deuteronomy: A Commentary* [OTL; London: SCM Press, 1964], 151). R. Burns, *Has the Lord indeed Spoken only Through Moses: A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam* (SBLDS 84; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 101–105 assumes that Num 12 is behind Deut 24. I will deal with this question more in detail in my forthcoming dissertation.

<sup>36</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.29.3. Translation according to J. Hanson, “Demetrius the Chronographer (Third Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:843–854, 853.

<sup>37</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9. Demetrius likely wrote during the time of Philopator (ca. 221–205 B.C.E.). M. Hengel, “The Interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism in the Pre-Maccabean Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2: *The Hellenistic Age* (ed. W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 200.

<sup>38</sup> J.J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (The Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 33. For Demetrius’ genealogies, see frgs. 2:1–19; 3:2–3.

<sup>39</sup> Frg. 3:2–3.

<sup>40</sup> On Moses’ marriages, see T. Rajak, “Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature,” *JJS* 29 (1978): 111–122.

on Zipporah's lineage, implies that Moses' intermarriage was not received at ease. It required more details in the community where Demetrius wrote.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.2. *Philo of Alexandria, Legum Allegoriae*

Philo of *Alexandria* mentions the *Miriam* figure six times in his works.<sup>42</sup> Half of the references are found in *Legum allegoriae*, where Philo offers allegorical interpretations of Gen 1–3. True to his method, the characters of the text are understood to represent different parts of soul and Philo draws moral lessons and instructions of how one should behave from them.

Philo refers to Num 12 altogether three times in *Legum allegoriae*. In the first of them (1.76) he builds a connection between the four rivers surrounding paradise and the four Greek cardinal virtues (temperance, prudence, courage, and justice). While discussing prudence (φρόνησις), Philo explains that prudence is recognized in speech, but also in deeds and in actions. He uses the figure of Miriam as an example of an imprudent figure. According to Philo, Moses bids God to heal Miriam in Num 12 in order that she would not be occupied with evil things. In the second reference (2.66–67) Philo discusses Gen 3 together with nudity and shame. Miriam serves as an example also in this context. This time she symbolizes shamelessness (ἀναισχυντία) and sense-perception (αἴσθησις) because of her speaking against Moses.<sup>43</sup> Miriam's connection with shamelessness is repeated in 3.103 where Philo discusses some Israelites' instruction. He claims that Moses got his formation from God whereas Miriam was taught by the outward sense. Numbers 12 serves to justify this idea.

What characterizes Philo's interpretation of Num 12 is that he emphasizes that Miriam spoke against Moses (*Leg.* 2.66–67) and rose against him (*Leg.* 3.103). Philo does not attest how the speaking against or rising up against took place. He does not explicate the motives that caused a conflict between the figures. Philo's portrayal of Miriam in *Legum allegoriae* displays a rather negative reception of her. Miriam is treated as

<sup>41</sup> Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer," in *OTP* 2:844, argues Demetrius worked in Egypt, maybe Alexandria.

<sup>42</sup> *Leg.* 1.76; 2.66; 3.103; *Agr.* 80; 81; *Contempl.* 87. In *Mos.* 2.256 Philo refers to Moses' sister.

<sup>43</sup> D. Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women* (BJS 209; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 119–123.

an allegorical representation of the less virtuous part of the soul, and Num 12 motivates this use. Philosophy that seeks to combine gender and human soul is typical for Philo and similar schemes can be found in other passages where he deals with female figures.<sup>44</sup> Usually in Philo's thinking the female figures represent the inferior part of the soul, the sense perception (αἴσθησις), whereas male represent the rational (νοῦς).<sup>45</sup>

Philo was certainly aware of Moses' intermarriage because he reports Moses marrying "the most beautiful daughter" of a priest in Arabia.<sup>46</sup> He also mentions Moses' Ethiopian wife in *Leg.* 2.67, where he argues that their marriage was arranged by the Deity. Philo was also known for his opposition to intermarriage. This is reflected, for instance, in *Spec.* 3.29, where he claims that the prohibition for exogamy came from Moses himself. Hence, Philo's dealing with Moses' marriage and intermarriage displays controversy and reveals that Num 12 was somehow difficult for him. When referring to Num 12 he decides to mention only Miriam and presents her as a symbol for irrational behavior. Philo completely overlooks Moses' intermarriage or other possible motives of the conflict.

### 3.3. *Early Rabbinic Texts*

Some early (i.e., Tannaitic, ca. 200 C.E.) rabbinic commentaries picked up on Num 12 too. Similarly to the styles of Philo's *Legum allegoriae* and Demetrius, their attention is focused on a specific theme of Num 12. *M. Soṭah* 1:7, 9 refer to Num 12 in a passage that deals with judging: "By that same measure by which a man metes out [to others], they mete out to him: Miriam waited for Moses, since it is said, *And his sister afar off* (Exod 2:4), therefore Israel waited on her seven days in the wilderness, since it is said, *And the people did not travel on until Miriam was brought in again* (Num 12:15)."<sup>47</sup>

*M. Soṭah* bears witness to an early interpretation of Num 12 where Miriam is punished and then closed off the camp. Nevertheless, the Israelites do not continue their journey until Miriam is brought back.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.; J.R. Wegner, "The Image of Woman in Philo," *SBLSP* 21 (1982): 551-559; eadem, "Philo's Portrayal of Women—Hebraic or Hellenic?" in *Women Like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (ed. A.J. Levine; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 41-66.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> *Mos.* 1.59.

<sup>47</sup> J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (Rensselaer: Yale University Press, 1988), 449.



According to *m. Soṭah* the Israelites waited for Miriam because she merited being waited for. This interpretation derives from Exod 2:4 where Moses is hidden in a basket and his anonymous sister follows it. At least from the second century B.C.E. on, a stream of Judaism thought that this unnamed sister was Miriam.<sup>48</sup> *M. Soṭah* connects the two passages, Exod 2:4 and Num 12:15, together. It was because of Miriam's earlier waiting that she merited to be waited for.

Another early rabbinic commentary interprets Num 12 differently. In *Sipre Num 99* Zipporah tells Miriam that since Moses spoke with God, he is abstaining from their marital life.<sup>49</sup> After this exchange between the two women, Miriam discusses the matter with Aaron. Then *Sipre Num* adds the verse "Miriam and Aaron criticized Moses for the Cushite wife" (Num 12:1 NRSV). *Sipre Num* is similar to Demetrius in that it understands that Zipporah, whom Moses married in Exod 2:21, was the Cushite wife of Num 12:1. This reading appears in other rabbinic texts.<sup>50</sup> *Sipre Num* does not present Miriam or Aaron as critics for Moses' foreign wife. Rather, this text presents Miriam as an ally for Zipporah, who simply discusses Moses' marriage.

One motif of this midrash seems to lie in advocating the prominence of marital life. Some streams of Judaism highlighted the idea that since God spoke with Moses, he became a celibate. Moses abstained from his marital life in order to preserve his state of ritual purity.<sup>51</sup> *Sipre Num* that emphasizes the importance of marital life might originate in the same discussion. Miriam and Aaron did not criticize Moses for marrying a foreign wife, but for not having marital life with her. The interpretations preserved in *m. Soṭah* and *Sipre Num* remind one of those of the other early texts. The rabbinic commentaries raise one matter of Num 12 and focus on it. They seem to understand that the conflict between the

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<sup>48</sup> This line of interpretation is notably present at least, for instance, in *Jub.* 47:4 and *Ezek.* Trag. 18.

<sup>49</sup> D. Börner-Klein, *Tannaitische Midrashim*, vol. 3: *Der Midrasch Sifre zu Numeri* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997), 165–166.

<sup>50</sup> *Sipre Zuṭa* 81–82, 203–204. See also the Pentateuch Targumim. *Tg. Neof.*: "And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses concerning the Cushite woman that he had married; and behold, the Cushite woman was Zipporah, the wife of Moses; except that as the Cushite woman is different in her body from every other creature, so was Zipporah, the wife of Moses, handsome in form and beautiful in appearance and different in good works from all the women of that generation." M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Numbers* (ArBib 4; Edinburgh; T&T Clark, 1995), 76.

<sup>51</sup> For instance, Pentateuch Targumim emphasize that Moses kept distance to his Cushite wife in Num 12:1.

figures that originated in Num 12:1 and in the question regarding Moses' marriage. The rabbinic commentaries do not present Miriam as a critic for Moses' marriage with a foreign wife. Rather Miriam appears as an advocate for marriage.<sup>52</sup> Therefore her function in this story is positive.

#### 4. THE CUSHITE WIFE OR THE PROPHECY?

Numbers 12 depicts two separate clashes between Moses and Miriam. In Num 12:1 Miriam criticizes Moses because of his Cushite wife, and in Num 12:2 Miriam asks whether God spoke only through Moses. In the re-narrations of Num 12, Moses' marriage receives quite some attention, whereas the dispute regarding Moses' exclusive prophecy in contrast to the communication of Miriam and Aaron with the Divine is not given much attention.<sup>53</sup> This result is not a surprise. Intermarriage was widely debated in the post-exilic Judaism, and towards the second century B.C.E., the attitudes concerning exogamy became stricter.

Various pentateuchal re-narrations of the Greco-Roman era display uneasiness in their reports of Moses' marriage. Some texts remain silent regarding Moses' marriage. For instance, the book of *Jubilees* argues against mixed marriages (25:1-3, 7-11; 30:7-17; 33:18-20) but does not mention Moses' wife while reporting his stay in Midian. Similarly, the first century C.E. *L.A.B.* avoids the question of Moses' marriage in its re-narration of the Pentateuch. This is peculiar because generally the *L.A.B.* tends to expand passages that portray female figures.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, *L.A.B.* generally describes intermarriage as something negative (18:13; 30:1; 44:7; 45:7).

The attitude against intermarriage is also expressed in various texts that belonged to the Qumran library. 1QapGen outlines the endogamous marriages of Noah's sons (VI:6-9). 4QMMT<sup>a</sup> describes how one should make a difference from everything done by the gentiles (4Q394 3-7). 11QT<sup>a</sup> considers intermarriage between Jewish men and foreign women as a serious threat to the community strictly forbids it (11Q19 LVII:

<sup>52</sup> D. Steinmetz, "A Portrait of Miriam in Rabbinic Midrash," *Proof* 8 (1988): 35-65.

<sup>53</sup> For a more detailed analysis of Num 12 renarrations, see H. Tervanotko, "Miriam's Mistake: Numbers 12 Renarrated," in *Embroidered Garments: Priests and Gender in Biblical Israel* (ed. D. Rooke; Hebrew Bible Monographs 25; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 131-150.

<sup>54</sup> P. van der Horst, "Portraits of Biblical Women in Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum," *JSP* 5 (1989): 29-46.

15–17). The only exception for this prohibition is that 11QT<sup>a</sup> appears to allow in the recapitulation of Deut 21:10–14. While allowing a warrior to marry a beautiful captive woman 11QT<sup>a</sup> LXIII:10–15 introduces extraordinary restrictions to the religious and cultic dimensions of this exceptional case of intermarriage.<sup>55</sup> In the framework of marriage a particular interest is given to the nuptials of the Levite family. In the *Visions of Amram* the figure of Miriam marries her uncle (4Q545 1 i 5–7), and Amram himself marries his aunt (4Q544 1 7–9). In the *Testament of Qahat*, the head of the family warns his offspring of mixing with other nations (4Q542 1 i 4–10).

Within the texts remaining from the Qumran library there is no reference to the marriage of Moses. This may be a coincidence of history.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, a number of texts reflect that the preserved majority of the Jewish texts dating to the Greco-Roman era were at unease with the theme of Moses' intermarriage.<sup>57</sup> Hence, it is also possible that Moses' marriage was not narrated in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Given the length and the style of 4Q377 2 i 9, and in particular the preserved name "Miriam," it is plausible that this line that alludes to Num 12 did not deal with Moses' marriage either. It should refer to a passage that dealt with Miriam more closely.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the literary genre and the legible vocabulary of 4Q377, this study supports the view of VanderKam and Brady who have argued that 4Q377 2 i 9 uses Num 12. On the same grounds, 4Q377 2 i 10 does not seem to allude Num 12, but to another, unidentified, pentateuchal passage that perhaps refers to obstacles that God brought for the Israelites during their time in the wilderness.

<sup>55</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "Laws Pertaining Women in Temple Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 210–228; A. Lange, "Your Daughters Do Not Give to Their Sons and Their Daughters Do Not Take for Your Sons (Ezra 9,12): Intermarriage in Ezra 9–10 and in the Pre-Maccabean Dead Sea Scrolls," *BN* 137 (2008): 17–39; 139 (2008): 79–98.

<sup>56</sup> J.E. Bowley, "Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God's Anointed," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 159–181, 171.

<sup>57</sup> In contrast, Moses' marriage was a popular topic in wider literature dating to the Greco-Roman era, e.g., Artapanus.

The allusion of 4Q377 to Num 12 contains only one line. The length of the allusion has implications. While 4Q377 2 i refers to several pentateuchal passages, it does not single out any of them. None of them is highlighted above the others. Moreover, such short references and a lack of details or of indications where the pentateuchal passages change, have some consequences. This style suggests that the re-narration did not quote its hypotext in detail. Rather it had a loose connection with the text it reworked (the Pentateuch). Moreover, the brevity of the references implies that this text was written for the use of audiences who could relate to it even by a subtle hint. This must have meant people who knew the base text, the Pentateuch well.

This type of narration that focuses merely on one theme of the passage was common in the literature of the Greco-Roman era. Demetrius, Philo's *Legum allegoriae*, *m. Soṭah* and *Sipre Num* are all examples of this style. Their re-narrations of Num 12 are equally short and require familiarity with the base text. They reveal an interest in Moses' marriage. Demetrius demonstrates that Zipporah was not a foreigner by providing a genealogy. Philo's *Legum allegoriae* argues that Moses' marriage was set by the divine and presents the figure of Miriam as a representation of an irrational behavior. *M. Soṭah* explicates that Miriam was worth to wait for because of her deeds in Moses' infancy. Moreover, according to *Sipre Num*, Aaron's and Miriam's talking in Num 12:1 did not concern Moses' exogamy, but rather the state of his marital life. Other pentateuchal re-narrations, that do not narrate Num 12, but that date to the same era, deal with Moses' marriage similarly. Usually this topic is avoided. Moses' intermarriage is not re-narrated in the preserved Dead Sea Scrolls. Unfortunately 4Q277 2 i is too fragmentary to make conclusions regarding its contents. Nevertheless, on the basis of the remaining vocabulary and general silence around Moses' marriage in the Dead Sea Scrolls, I suggest that this topic was not dealt in 4Q377.

Regarding the reception of the figure of Miriam in 4Q377, this text demonstrates that the tradition of Num 12 was preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls and known by the community who used 4Q377. Moreover, the style of 4Q377 reveals that Miriam must have been a known character by the time the text was written. People were expected to relate to the tradition of Num 12 only by a subtle reference.



# QUMRAN MESSIANISM, MELCHIZEDEK, AND THE SON OF MAN

PIERPAOLO BERTALOTTO

The problem of defining the historical relationship between the Qumran Community and the Essenes of the classical and Judeo-Hellenistic sources has been at the center of the debate on the Dead Sea Scrolls since they were first discovered. It has become even more vigorous after the formulation of the so-called “Groningen Hypothesis”<sup>1</sup> and, especially, after Gabriele Boccaccini’s proposal to trace back to Enochic Judaism the ideological roots of the Qumran sectarian literature.<sup>2</sup> The analysis of those texts presenting superhuman eschatological protagonists, such as the Enochic Son of Man of the *Book of Parables* and the Qumranic Melchizedek of 11QMelch (11Q13), can certainly provide new and interesting elements to the discussion.

## 1. MESSIANIC FIGURES IN THE SECTARIAN LITERATURE

The eschatological and apocalyptic orientation of the Qumranic ideology is an issue on which contemporary scholarship generally agrees.<sup>3</sup> Within such a theological framework, however, expectations centered on one or more positive eschatological protagonists appear to be of secondary

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<sup>1</sup> F. García Martínez and A.S. van der Woude, “A ‘Groningen’ Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 521–541.

<sup>2</sup> G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). See also the contributions from the Second Enoch Seminar in G. Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), for an overall picture of the scholar reactions to Boccaccini’s theory.

<sup>3</sup> See for example F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992); J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997); Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*; J. Frey and M. Becker, eds., *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (Einblicke 10; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2007).

relevance.<sup>4</sup> Often the few texts in which such characters are referred to<sup>5</sup> provide very little information about them. This fact significantly reduces our possibilities of reconstructing a coherent and detailed picture of Qumran messianism as a whole. The majority of scholars, however, maintain that the Qumranians expected two distinct Messiahs, one with royal attributions and the other with some priestly features.<sup>6</sup> Possibly a third prophetic figure was part of the messianic expectations in Qumran, perhaps characterized as a sort of eschatological pair of the historical Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>7</sup> Such ideas, however, stand on hypothetical foundations, mainly as a result of the difficulty in the relative dating of the composition of those texts that can with some certainty be acknowledged as the product of the sect that occupied the site of Qumran.<sup>8</sup> Paleography can definitely aid in formulating a hypothesis about the latest stage of the redactional development of each text, the only one that is actually

<sup>4</sup> C.A. Evans, "The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. R.S. Hess and M.D. Carroll R.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 85–101, 86.

<sup>5</sup> In a recent article in which he presents contemporary agreement about Qumran messianism, Craig Evans lists thirteen sectarian texts containing "messianic material": CD, 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QM, 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161), 4QFlor (4Q174), 4QTest (4Q175), 4QCommGen A (4Q252), 4QSefer ha-Milhamah (4Q285), 4QapocrMoses<sup>b</sup>? (4Q376), 4QNarrative A (4Q458), 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521). He treats all these texts as sectarian (see Evans, "Messiah," 88). Xeravits adds 4QapocrDan ar (4Q246), 4QExod/Conq. Trad. (4Q374), 4QapocrPent. B (4Q377), 4QPrayer of Enosh (4Q369), 4QapocrLevi<sup>b</sup>? ar (4Q541), 4QVisions of Amram<sup>a-f</sup> (4Q543–548), 4QpapVision<sup>b</sup> ar (4Q558), and 11QMelch (11Q13). With the exception of the latter, all these texts, along with 4QNarrative A (4Q458) and 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521), also mentioned by Evans, are considered non-sectarian: see G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 10.

<sup>6</sup> Evans, "Messiah," 94.

<sup>7</sup> In 1QS IX:11 "the prophet" is mentioned together with "the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," while 4QTest (4Q175) clearly deals with the eschatological actions performed by all three characters. Xeravits thinks that in 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521) the announced Messiah is an eschatological pair of Elijah. See Xeravits, *King*, 217–219. See also P.W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158–167, J.C. Poirier, "The Endtime Return of Elijah and Moses at Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2003): 221–242, H. Witczyk, "La missione di Elia nella tradizione dell'AT, nella letteratura intertestamentaria e negli scritti di Qumran," *ColT* 69 (1999): 25–36.

<sup>8</sup> See J.J. Collins, "Asking for the Meaning of a Fragmentary Qumran Text: The Referential Background of 4QAaron A [4Q540, 4Q541]," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts* (ed. T. Fornberg and D. Hellholm; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 579–590, 586.

available.<sup>9</sup> The presence among the Dead Sea Scrolls of texts copied in the last part of the life of the community, regardless of the precise moment in which they were originally composed, confirms the continuity of interest in those literary creations and, therefore, in the ideas embedded in them.

In spite of the difficulties in delineating a consistent and detailed general picture, and leaving out the character of Melchizedek, two features about Qumran messianism seem rather certain: 1. all the expected positive eschatological protagonists are human; 2. the royal, priestly and prophetic attributions are never concentrated into the same figure.

More than the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*, where the presence of such a dualistic scheme of the Messianic expectation is more evident but the Messiahs of Aaron and of Israel are nothing but names, the *War Rule* deserves special attention in our analysis. In its detailed description of the eschatological war against the Kittim and their allies, it mentions a character called the Prince of the Congregation. This figure has been interpreted as a human messianic protagonist, identifiable with the Davidic Messiah already announced in some more ancient sectarian texts such as 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161) and 4QFlor (4Q174). He does not play a very important or active role, however, in 1QM. More visibility is granted in the *War Rule* to the eschatological High Priest.

4QSefer ha-Milḥamah (4Q285),<sup>10</sup> on the other hand, which according to Milik and other scholars<sup>11</sup> belongs to the last part of the *War Rule*, seems to attest a redactional phase of the same text in which the Prince of the Congregation was explicitly identified with the Branch of David, i.e. a royal and Davidic Messiah, and in which he was depicted as a main actor in the eschatological war.<sup>12</sup> The paleography of the fragment is early or middle Herodian. Bilhah Nitzan dates it between 50 and 20

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<sup>9</sup> On this base, Gerbern Oegema has recently returned on the idea of the “development” of messianic ideas in Qumran, affirming that in the Herodian period the diarchic messianism of the hasmonean period was replaced by the expectation of just one royal and Davidic protagonist: see G.S. Oegema, “Messianic Expectations in the Qumran Writings: Theses on Their Development,” in *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G.S. Oegema; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 53–82, 55.

<sup>10</sup> *Editio princeps*: P. Alexander and G. Vermes in *DJD XXXVI* (2000): 228–246.

<sup>11</sup> J.T. Milik, “Milki-šedeq et Milki-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144, 143; Collins, “Asking,” 59.

<sup>12</sup> P.S. Alexander, “A Reconstruction and Reading of 4Q285 (4QSefer ha-Milḥamah),” *RevQ* 19 (1999–2000): 333–348, 348.



B.C.E.<sup>13</sup> Fragment 7 is particularly interesting for the topic of this study, as it describes a scene in which the royal-Davidic Messiah, possibly in conjunction with his priestly counterpart, is involved in the judgment and in the condemnation of the king of the Kittim.<sup>14</sup> In line 3 the verb **וּשְׁפֹטוּ** is used, a *nip'al* form of the root **שָׁפַט**, followed by the preposition **אֵת**. This way of expressing the active meaning of the verb is very unusual, assuming that the subjects of the verb were the two messiahs.<sup>15</sup> Philip Alexander proposes reading the *nip'al* form as “inceptive,” citing Jer 2:35 as a scriptural parallel for such a use.<sup>16</sup> 1 Samuel 12:7 (**אֲשַׁפֵּטָה אֶתְכֶם לְפָנַי** (יְהוָה)), however, probably represents a closer and more profitable example on this issue. 1 Samuel 12 accounts for Samuel’s discourse before the people after the proclamation of Saul as the anointed king of Israel. In his speech, the prophet accuses Israel for her numerous rebellions against God, the last of which was the request to choose a human king besides YHWH. In this scene, God seems to play the role of the judge, while Samuel and the people stand for the two parties in an ideal trial. The newly chosen king-messiah is also mentioned as being present. Fragment 7 of 4Q285 probably preserves the ends of the lines of the original manuscript. Hence, any insertion of the text must be placed at the beginning of line 4, which presently preserves twenty-one letter-spaces. If we add the expression **הַמֶּלֶךְ כְּתִיִּים לְפָנַי יְהוָה**, which parallels the syntactical construction attested in 1 Sam 12:7, we would then have 21 more letter-spaces in the line. The explicit mention of the King of the Kittim would also justify the third-person pronominal suffix in the following verbal form **הִמִּיתוּ**, which, in all probability, referred to the same royal figure. We also propose to insert the expression **וּשְׁפֹטוּ יְהוָה**, attested in this form in 2 Sam 18:19, which, from a syntactical point of view, would mirror the next expression with the subject following the verb. By doing this we would reach 51 letter-spaces for this line, perfectly within the range 50–55 letter-spaces per-line proposed by Alexander and

<sup>13</sup> B. Nitzan, “Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (11Q-Ber; 4Q285),” *RevQ* 16 (1993): 77–90, 79. Ibba dates the fragment to the end of the 1st cent. B.C.E.: G. Ibba, *Il “rotolo della Guerra”: Edizione critica* (Quaderni di Henoch; Torino: Zamorani, 1998), 55. See also the abovementioned *editio princeps*.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander, “Reconstruction,” 345.

<sup>15</sup> Abegg links the plural form of the verb with the “judiciary body” of twelve people referred to in CD 10:4–10; 13:2–12: See M.G. Abegg, “Messianic Hope and 4Q285: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 113 (1994): 81–91, 88.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander, “Reconstruction,” 345.

Abegg.<sup>17</sup> This reconstruction, hypothetical though perfectly reasonable on the basis of the hints preserved in the text and the parallels found in 1 and 2 Samuel, would depict a scene in which the two messiahs participate in the judgment as the accusers of the King of the Kittim while God acts as the one who pronounces the sentence of condemnation.<sup>18</sup> The Prince of the Congregation would then kill him (המיתו), as the “branch” of Isa 11:5 does with the wicked (מִיַּת רָשָׁע),<sup>19</sup> in execution of God’s verdict. The high priest too plays a role in this phase, probably commanding the cleansing of the land from the impurity caused by the corpses of the Kittim.<sup>20</sup> Fragment 10, which according to Alexander’s reconstruction preserves parts of col. VI and, therefore, would follow frg. 7,<sup>21</sup> probably describes an atonement performed by the high priest, finalized to purify the land from the pollution caused by the corpses of the slain. The atonement would also grant pardon to those who had fallen into the temptation of hoarding booty during the burial of the corpses.<sup>22</sup> The idea that the priestly messiah would atone at the end of the days is also attested elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>23</sup>

The two- or threefold messianic expectation, though certainly not central to the ideological identity of the community, is well attested in the Qumran sectarian literature from the time of the composition of the *Damascus Document* and 1QS until around the end of the first century B.C.E., when texts like 4Q161, 4Q174, 4Q252, 4Q285, and 1QM

<sup>17</sup> See n. 14 above.

<sup>18</sup> All the modern commentators maintain that in this passage the judge is the Davidic Messiah, with no distinction between the one who pronounces the sentence and the one who executes it. Corrado Martone, for instance, mentions 1QSb (1Q28b) V:20–29 and 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161) 8–10 (III) in which Isa 11 is quoted and interpreted as referring to the triumphant Prince-Messiah: see C. Martone, “Un testo qumranico che narra la morte del Messia? A proposito del recente dibattito su 4Q285,” *RivB* 42 (1994): 329–336, 330, 335. In 1QSb, however, Isa 11:4a, in which the root שפט is used, is integrated because of the presence of a lacuna in the scroll and, therefore, we cannot be sure that it was actually there. Furthermore, in both cases, and in Isaiah too, this root is never used in a “judicial” context, i.e., it never seems to express the sense of emitting a sentence in a trial, even less an eschatological trial against the leader of the evil army.

<sup>19</sup> Isaiah 11:5–6 is interpreted exactly in reference to the “Branch of David” in 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161) 8–10 16–17: see Abegg, “Messianic Hope,” 88.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>21</sup> Alexander, “Reconstruction,” 343.

<sup>22</sup> Nitzan, “Benedictions,” 89. In Nitzan’s article, frg. 10 corresponds to frgs. 2 + 7.

<sup>23</sup> CD 14:19 par. 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 10 i 12–13. See Xeravits, *King*, 215; J.M. Baumgarten, “Messianic Forgiveness of Sin in CD 14:19 (4Q266 10 I 12–13),” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 537–544.

were still copied as a proof of their persisting authority in the Qumran understanding of Messianism. In this context, 11QMelch represents an intriguing exception.

## 2. 11QMELCH (11Q13): INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

The manuscript presently consists of fifteen fragments and allows the partial reconstruction of three columns of text. Only the second of these columns, however, preserves a sufficiently continuous text. It can be classified as a sectarian thematic *peshet*.<sup>24</sup> Its first editor proposed to date the manuscript within the first half of the first century C.E.<sup>25</sup> He especially underlined the closed form of the  $\text{v}$  which would push the dating up to the end of the proposed period. Fred Horton strongly emphasizes these “late” features of the *Handschrift*. He underlines the similarity of  $\text{v}$ ,  $\text{b}$ ,  $\text{p}$ , and  $\text{n}$  with those in 4QDeut<sup>i</sup> (4Q37) the latter dated around 50 C.E.<sup>26</sup> Paul Kobelski, on the other hand, prefers an earlier dating (ca. 50–25 B.C.E.), noting the appearance of a similar  $\text{v}$  and  $\text{v}$  in a Hasmonean manuscript.<sup>27</sup> Józef Milik classifies the writing as a “late hasmonean or early herodian book hand” basing his claim on the observation of the uneven dimensions of the letters and the archaic form of some of them. He dates it to the period 75–50 B.C.E., which is also supported by Émile Puech, who maintains that the apparent inconsistency of the paleographical data depends on the merging of a formal and a semi-cursive hand.<sup>28</sup> The majority of the evidence, however, seems to support the hypothesis of van der Woude and Horton more than Milik’s and Puech’s. The latter, for instance, notes that the most common form of the  $\text{x}$  is “en v renversé: avec le simple trait droit . . . mais le trait droit peut avoir un *apex*.” This is actually characteristic of a mature Herodian

<sup>24</sup> *Editio princeps*: F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, and A.S. van der Woude in *DJD* XXIII (1997): 221–242.

<sup>25</sup> A.S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *OtSt* 14 (1965): 354–373, 356–357.

<sup>26</sup> F.L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 73.

<sup>27</sup> P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša’* (CBQMS 10; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 3.

<sup>28</sup> Milik, “Milki-šedeq,” 97; É. Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit de 11Q Melkisédeq,” *RevQ* 12 (1987): 483–513, 507–508.

formal script, especially close to the one 4QDan<sup>b</sup> (ca. 20–50 C.E.). The ל looks rather late too.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the ה looks a little earlier, but again hardly earlier than early Herodian, as claimed by Puech. The same observation is also valid for the ך. The semi-cursive appearance of some letters, which convinced Puech to propose a higher paleographical dating of 11QMelch is altogether scarcely recognizable. On the contrary, all the hints already identified by van der Woude and Horton, which point towards the first half of the first century C.E., seem evident. Hence, with all the caution needed when drawing conclusions based on paleographic considerations, it seems reasonable to state that manuscript 11QMelch was copied a little after the other manuscripts we have dealt with so far, i.e. not before the first half of the first century C.E. Obviously, this fact does not prove *per se* that the text was composed in that period.<sup>30</sup> Further evidence in support of this hypothesis will be provided in the following paragraphs.

### 3. MELCHIZEDEK AS AN אלוהים

The main protagonist of the literary composition of which 11QMelch is the only witness is called Melchizedek. The appellative of אלוהים is given to him by means of a citation from Ps 82:1 in 11QMelch II:10.

In 11QMelch II:10b–11 the expression ועליו אמנר introduces a new quotation from Ps 7:8–9 and can be interpreted as referring to the אל of Ps 82:1. The main character of Ps 7 is אל in the Qumranic text and יהוה in the MT, probably the Most High God in the exegesis of the Qumranians. Therefore it can be argued that each quotation was introduced to expose the roles of אלוהים and אל respectively in the final judgment. No contradiction exists between Melchizedek's judicial task, which according to the majority of the interpreters derives from his identification with the אלוהים of Ps 82:1 in line 10, and his acting as the performer of the divine vengeance in line 13,<sup>31</sup> because in this last passage the "judgments" are God's own (Hebrew: אל, not אלוהים).

<sup>29</sup> F.M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (ed. G.E. Wright; Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 133–202, 138, 175.

<sup>30</sup> Both Milik and Puech propose to date the composition of this text in the second half of the 2nd century B.C.E., on the basis of literary considerations. See Milik, "Milkî-šedeq," 129; Puech, "Notes sur le manuscrit de 11Q Melkisédeq," 509–510.

<sup>31</sup> P.A. Rainbow, "Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran," *BBR* 7 (1997): 179–194, 183.

This fact leads to the conclusion that also within the quotation from Ps 82:1 the author assigns the role of judge to אֵל and not to אֱלֹהִים. This hypothesis is also confirmed, as we mentioned, by the following citation from Ps 7:8–9. Accepting this, the possibility that the אֱלֹהִים of the Psalm was actually intended to be Melchizedek no longer represents a problem for the internal consistency of the text.

#### 4. MELCHIZEDEK AND DAN 7:13–14

The similitude between the scene described by Ps 82:1, according to the sectarian interpretation, and the one in Dan 7:13–14 and 22 is worthwhile to analyze. In the Daniel passage, the “one like a son of man” *stands before* the “ancient of days” and is not involved in the judgment, which is instead exclusively reserved to the Most High. Moreover, the following lines 11QMelch fit quite well within the idea of the dominion given to Melchizedek, which is also granted to the Danielic character. He is the one who is expected to lead the other אֱלֹהִים in the struggle against Belial and his lot. Accepting the integration of his name at the beginning of line 25, Melchizedek was also associated with the reigning אֱלֹהִים of Isa 52:7, whose power, like that of the protagonist of Ps 110:2, is linked to Zion.<sup>32</sup> It thus appears probable that the invention of this Qumranic eschatological protagonist was ideologically rooted in a complex of highly developed interpretations of Daniel’s vision. The connection of the cited scriptural passages, on the basis of the attribution of the appellative אֱלֹהִים to Melchizedek is very impressive, as is the fact that, even without any explicit citations, the Danielic background of such speculations is perfectly perceivable.

Less clear is how and why this growth of interest in that particular Danielic passage suddenly broke out at Qumran. No other sectarian text has been identified, which contains exegetical cues to Dan 7:13–14. This has even led some scholars to the conclusion that the Qumranians were really not at all concerned with the problem of understanding who the mysterious Danielic figure called “one like a son of man” was or would be. Collins, however, suggests that the character called “Son of God”

<sup>32</sup> See A. Aschim, “Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. C.C. Newman, J.R. Davila, and G.S. Lewis; JSJSup 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 129–147, 136.

in 4QapocrDan ar (4Q246) could represent the result of a messianic interpretation of the Danielic vision.<sup>33</sup> The paleographic dating of the fragment shifts us to the last third of the first century B.C.E., i.e. a little before 11QMelch. Although attested only in the Qumran Library, it seems preferable to consider it as a non-sectarian composition.<sup>34</sup> The fact that it was copied at Qumran indicates that there was a persistent interest in it, at a very late stage of the life of the community. The opinions of the scholars concerning the identification of the one who “will be called Son of God” and “Son of the Most High” ranges between those who propose to see in this figure a pagan leader or an Antichrist,<sup>35</sup> and those who prefer a Davidic interpretation, whether messianic or not.<sup>36</sup> The negative understanding was first formulated by Józef Milik who argued that the so called “Son of God” could be a Syrian King.<sup>37</sup> It has been recently reaffirmed by the editor of the text and maintained, with slight differences, by some other scholars.<sup>38</sup> Many others, however, think differently.<sup>39</sup> The main problem with the negative interpretation is the

<sup>33</sup> J.J. Collins, “The Background of the ‘Son of God’ Text,” *BBR* 7 (1997): 37–50. See also J. Zimmermann, “Observations on 4Q246—The ‘Son of God,’” in *Qumran-Messianism*, 175–190.

<sup>34</sup> É. Puech, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 545–565, 546.

<sup>35</sup> For this interpretation see E.M. Cook, “4Q246,” *BBR* 5 (1995): 43–66.

<sup>36</sup> See for example Collins, “Background”; C.A. Evans, “Are the ‘Son’ Texts at Qumran Messianic? Reflections on 4Q369 and Related Scrolls,” in *Qumran-Messianism*, 135–153; J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Son of God’ Text From Qumran Cave 4 (4Q246),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Origins* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 41–62; F.M. Cross, “The Structure of the Apocalypse of ‘Son of God’ (4Q246),” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 151–158.

<sup>37</sup> See J.T. Milik, “Les modèles araméens du livre d’Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RevQ* 15 (1992): 321–399.

<sup>38</sup> See Cook, “4Q246”; K. Berger, *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Truth under Lock and Key?* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 77–79, A. Steudel, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God: Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 507–525, Puech, “Remarks.”

<sup>39</sup> J.J. Collins, “The ‘Son of God’ Text From Qumran,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of M. de Jonge* (ed. M. de Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 65–82; F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 189–191; J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 154–172; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 2/104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 162; Fitzmyer, “Son of God”; Xeravits, *King*, 188–189.

absence of a sufficiently precise correspondence in the pagan literature for the cited passage in 4Q246. This passage presents the main character as the Son of the Most High. For the Hellenistic kings, not even a single coin appears on which one of them is referred to with the exact title of Son of the Most High. The closest parallel for the entire passage remains Luke 1:32. Even if we accept that neither Luke nor his sources knew 4Q246, it seems highly improbable that the author of the third Gospel would have decided to assign these titles to Jesus if he knew that they had already been given to some pagan king. On the contrary, Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 probably represent the scriptural basis on which such a titular use depends.<sup>40</sup>

Another very interesting interpretative option for the figure in 4Q246 has been suggested by Florentino García Martínez, who argues that the character is the same Melchizedek, elsewhere called Michael and the Prince of Light, mentioned in the previously analyzed Qumranic texts.<sup>41</sup> No clear evidence in the text, however, can be found supporting the hypothesis that a heavenly nature was attributed to the character in 4Q246, apart from the very ambiguous title of Son of God, which can be better understood as a messianic and Davidic title. Rather, it is possible that this text, because of its close connection with Daniel, and possibly representing a very early attempt to interpret Dan 7:13–14, inspired the author of 11QMelch. The figure of Melchizedek in 11QMelch, however, is depicted differently from the protagonist of 4Q246. Hence, if one tentatively considers both the texts as attestations of exegesis of Dan 7:13–14, the divergences in the respective conclusions need to be explained. What must be noticed is that 4Q246 is probably a non-sectarian document while 11QMelch is certainly sectarian. This fact means that even if the composition of the former served the purpose of explaining the meaning of Daniel's vision, or was so understood by the sectarians, it did not produce a growing interest in that scriptural passage during the whole life of the community, at least until the end of the first century B.C.E.<sup>42</sup> On the contrary, what can be inferred from the late date of the

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed argumentation against the negative interpretation, especially that of Cook, see Collins, "Background."

<sup>41</sup> F. García Martínez, "The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246," in *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 162–179.

<sup>42</sup> See the *editio princeps*: É. Puech in *DJD XXII* (1996): 165–184. The editor proposes to date the fragment to 25 B.C.E. (*ibid.*, 166), which means that the later attested copy of this text could be easily a little earlier than 11QMelch.

copy discovered in Qumran Cave 4 is that the ideas expressed in that pre-sectarian composition regarding Daniel's "one like a son of man," were maintained by the sect during most of its history. According to this view, the character would be a human Davidic king-Messiah who fit perfectly within the diarchic scheme of Qumran messianism attested elsewhere.

#### 5. 11QMELCH (11Q13) AND QUMRAN MESSIANISM

For many reasons, the eschatology of 11QMelch appears incompatible with the rather consistent eschatology attested in the other sectarian messianic texts. Melchizedek seems to take on himself the characteristics of the kingly, priestly, and prophetic Messiahs. The scene of judgment against the King of the Kittim in 4Q285 is similar to the one in 11QMelch except that, in the former, two human figures act as the accusers of the enemy, while, in the latter, Melchizedek appears alone in this role. Melchizedek is also the one who executes the verdict against the leader of the enemies like the branch of David does in 4Q285, but in 11QMelch the negative hero is not the human King of the Kittim anymore. He has been replaced by Belial, his heavenly counterpart. Moreover, Melchizedek presides over the eschatological Yom Kippur and thus atones like the priestly messiah was expected to do. The eschatological phase in which Melchizedek acts as the main protagonist is concluded by the instauration of his own reign, not of that of a human king-Messiah. In 11QMelch no room is left for any eschatological battle between human fighters. It probably represents then the latest and, to a certain extent, unexpected development of the messianic speculations of the Qumranites for two main reasons: 1. It renews deeply the eschatology of the group—the Qumranians probably changed their mind once by abandoning most of their traditions on messianic figures rather than twice, first upsetting their messianic expectations in 11QMelch and then returning to the point of departure in 4Q285 or in one of the other mentioned texts. 2. Both 1QM and 4Q285 make reference to the participation of the angelic hosts to the eschatological war as second leads, besides the human armies, while in 11QMelch no human fighter appears at all. The historical reasons that catalyzed this sudden and unexpected development must then be sought outside the boundaries of the community.



## 6. MELCHIZEDEK AND THE SON OF MAN

A closer comparison of the Son of Man of the Enochic *Book of Parables* with the Melchizedek of 11QMelch could supply new elements for the discussion. The absence of the second section of 1 *Enoch* from among the Enochic fragments of the Qumran caves was interpreted by Milik as definitive evidence for its Christian origin and relatively late composition. In his opinion, the date of composition of the *Parables* could then be fixed to the third century C.E.<sup>43</sup> Milik's theory was questioned since its very first presentation and currently many scholars of Second Temple Judaism agree on the Jewish provenance of the *Parables* and on its dating around the turn of the era. Both the Enochic Son of Man and the Qumranic Melchizedek are described as heavenly beings, and are connected with the אֱלֹהִים. The shaping of the figure of the Son of Man probably depends on a messianic and superhuman interpretation of Ps 45, a biblical text which attributes the epithet of אֱלֹהִים to the Davidic king. Behind 1 *En.* 46:1 and 1 *En.* 20 probably stood a Hebrew source that contained a list of the seven archangels referred to as אֱלֹהִים. Furthermore, all four epithets attributed to the main protagonist of the *Parables*, i.e. Son of Man, Chosen One, Righteous One, and Messiah,<sup>44</sup> depend on the description of the protagonist of Ps 45. In Ps 45:3 this main character is presented as the "most handsome" among the "sons of men," which probably meant to the author of the *Parables* that he was a "son of man." Moreover, he is also anointed because of his righteousness beyond his companions (Ps 45:8), hence being a Messiah, a Chosen One, and a Righteous One. The king of Ps 45 is also adored, according to the text attested in the LXX (44:12),<sup>45</sup> by the daughters of Tyre, while the rich of the people supplicate him. Similarly, the Son of Man is worshiped and supplicated for mercy by the rich and the powerful of the earth at the time of his man-

<sup>43</sup> J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 95.

<sup>44</sup> On the connection of these four epithets to one and the same character see especially J.C. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 169–191.

<sup>45</sup> We are not stating here that the author of the *Parables* knew and used the LXX but only that the text of the Psalms he had available probably resembled more the one attested in the LXX than that of the MT. Peter Flint has observed this phenomenon in his study of the Psalms scrolls from Qumran, though not specifically with regard to the verse examined here. See P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

ifestation. Therefore, even apart from some philological hints suggesting that the Semitic original of 1 *En.* 46:1 compared the Son of Man with an אלוהים, evidence for dependence of this figure on the protagonist of Ps 45 leads to the conclusion that his nature was thought as linked to that of the אלוהים, while the Qumranic figure is an אלוהים himself (11QMelch II:10, 25).<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, both the protagonists have relevant royal functions, such as that of leading the heavenly army in the eschatological punishment for Melchizedek and evaluating and pronouncing the sentence of condemnation against the wicked while sitting on the throne of God for the Son of Man.<sup>47</sup>

Another very interesting parallel between the two figures is the common revelatory nature. The Son of Man was expected to reveal Heavenly Wisdom to his followers according to 1 *En.* 46:3. On the other hand, in 11QMelch, the title of *Anointed of the Spirit* seems to be given to Melchizedek in line 18.

The expression “Anointed of the Spirit” occurs in CD 2:12 as an appellative of the prophets. In 11QMelch it is used in the *peshet* on Isa 52:7 (II:15–19) as the interpretative counterpart of the Isaianic “herald of good news who announces peace.” The “mountains” of the scriptural passage, on which this herald would stand, represent, in the author’s understanding, the prophets. It is thus clear that this title confers a prophetic role to the one who carries it.

As acknowledged by many scholars, Isa 61:1–2 stands in the background of the entire sectarian text of 11QMelch.<sup>48</sup> Melchizedek is clearly identified in it as the one who has to proclaim the liberation of the captives (II:4–6) and to perform the vengeance of God (II:13). It seems therefore probable that the title “Anointed of the Spirit” was borrowed from this same prophetic passage. Considering that the one who is anointed and who receives the Spirit in Isa 61:1 is the same performer of the other tasks, it seems highly probable that this unity was kept in the Qumranic interpretation.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, having introduced this new title, the author

<sup>46</sup> P. Bertalotto, “The Enochic Son of Man, Ps 45, and the Book of the Watchers,” *JSP* 19 (2010): 195–216.

<sup>47</sup> See 1 *En.* 41:9; 45:3; 49:5; 61:8; 62:2.

<sup>48</sup> See M.P. Miller, “The Function of Isa 61:1–2 in 11QMelchizedek,” *JBL* 88 (1969): 467–469.

<sup>49</sup> On this hypothesis see J.A. Sanders, “From Isaiah 61 to Luke 4,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for M. Smith at Sixty*, vol. 1: *New Testament* (ed. J. Neusner; SJLA 12; Leiden Brill, 1975), 75–106, 75, P. Sacchi, *Gesù e la sua gente* (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo, 2003), 70.

of 11QMelch does not go further in explaining who this character actually is. He simply adds that Daniel spoke about him. Unfortunately, the Danielic quotation is not preserved because the fragment is corrupted. An interesting integration at this point would be Dan 9:24

והמבאר הו[א]ה[ה] משיח הרו[ח] כאשר אמר דנ[יאל] עליו לחתם חזון ונביא ומבשר

And the messenger is the anointed of the spirit about whom Daniel spoke  
*Dan 9:24* [to seal up vision and prophecy. And the messenger]

As an eschatological prophet, the *Anointed of the Spirit* was probably expected to be the one who would complete the prophecy. Standing “on the prophets,” (II:16–18) he would be the last one to speak in God’s name, to *reveal* something on his behalf.

Moreover, the suggested Danielic passage also mentions all the other events in which Melchizedek was supposed to act as the main protagonist according to 11QMelch, besides the completion of the prophecy. He would finish transgression and make an end of sins (“to free them from [the debt] of all their iniquities”; II:8); he would make reconciliation for iniquity (“atonement will be made for all the sons of [God] and for the men of the lot of Melchizedek”; II:7); he would bring in everlasting righteousness (“Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God’s judgments”; II:13).<sup>50</sup> The “seventy weeks” find their corollary in the ten jubilees of line 7.<sup>51</sup>

In conclusion, the character of Melchizedek in 11QMelch shares three important characteristics with the Son of Man in the *Book of Parables*: 1. he is linked with the angelic appellative of אֱלֹהִים; 2. he represents an interpretative development of the “one like a son of man” of Dan 7:13–14; 3. assuming his identification with the Anointed of the Spirit, he is expected to perform some revelatory tasks.

At the same time, these two figures also show some relevant differences. Melchizedek, with regard to his prophetic role, is connected with Moses, while the Son of Man is associated with Enoch, whether actually identified with him, as suggested by VanderKam, or simply compared

<sup>50</sup> On the identification of Melchizedek and the Anointed of the Spirit and on the proposed integration of line 18, see P. Bertalotto, “L’uomo Gesù e la salvezza del suo popolo: osservazioni lessicali a partire da Mt 1, 21e 11QMelchisedek II, 17–19,” in *Atti del XXXIV incontro internazionale di studiosi dell’antichità cristiana (5–7 Maggio 2005)* (SEAug 96; Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2006), 305–316.

<sup>51</sup> Ten Jubilees corresponded, in the Second Temple period, to four hundred and ninety years, i.e. seventy weeks of years. See M. Barker, “The Time Is Fulfilled: Jesus and Jubilee,” *SJT* 52 (2002): 22–32, 23.

to him because of the common righteousness, as suggested by Collins.<sup>52</sup> Both Enoch and Moses are accounted as revealers, the first figure revealing the Torah, the second, wisdom, which he had received during his journey in the heavens.

Another element of opposition is that the Enochic Messiah was expected to act as an eschatological judge rather than as an executor (1 *En.* 61:8–9; 62:11). Melchizedek, on the other hand, through the association with the אֱלֹהִים of Ps 82:1, is depicted as standing in the assembly of the principal God (אֵל), while the latter alone actually pronounces the sentence of condemnation. Finally, some priestly functions are attributed to the Qumranic protagonist, as his guidance of the eschatological expiation (II:7) indicates. This feature probably derived from the pre-sectarian tradition. The biblical character called Melchizedek, in fact, was a priest (Gen 14; Ps 110:4) and also in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, accepting the integration of his name in 4QShirShabb<sup>b</sup> (4Q401) 11 3 and 22 3,<sup>53</sup> he is referred to as a כֹּהֵן, probably the high priest of the heavenly temple.

All these elements lead to some interesting conclusions regarding the relationship between Melchizedek in 11QMelch and the Son of Man in the *Parables*. Probably the former was created by the sectarians against the background of the latter, with the purpose of harmonizing the new messianic figure with some other well received non-sectarian ideas. This hypothesis explains the sudden and isolated explosion of interest in the interpretation of Dan 7:13–14, noticed in 11QMelch. It also clarifies the highly complex formulation of 11QMelch, which cannot be justified simply on the basis of the other few and generic traditional passages about the heavenly character of Melchizedek, or on a direct exegetical approach to Dan 7:13–14. The interpretative connection of Melchizedek with the אֱלֹהִים of Ps 82:1 represents the stronger evidence of the strict relationship which links the two messianic heavenly figures.

<sup>52</sup> Some elements in the text of the *Parables*, such as the shift from the first to the third person in the narration between 1 *En.* 70:1–2 and 70:3–71:17, and the evident reduplication of ending, point towards the non-originality of this section. On this see especially J.J. Collins, “The Heavenly Representative,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. idem and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 111–133, 122–123 and, against this hypothesis VanderKam, “Righteous One,” 177–179.

<sup>53</sup> See J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Newsom, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 4b: *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 7. Against this integration is, among the others, M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 253–254.



THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE SON OF  
MAN IN DANIEL, 1 ENOCH, AND THE NEW TESTAMENT  
GOSPELS: AN ASSESSMENT OF 11QMELCH (11Q13)

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The Dead Sea Scrolls do not use the term “Son of Man.” Nevertheless, two factors indicate that the concept is worth exploring in the scrolls. First, there is some reason to believe that a Son-of-Man-like-figure is present in 11QMelch (11Q13). Presumably, such a figure would have roots in the prophecy of Ezekiel, in the book of Daniel (7–10), in the *Similitudes (Parables)* of 1 Enoch (37–71), and in Gen 14:17; Pss 2; 8; and 110.<sup>1</sup> These texts form the mainstream of the Jewish Son of Man tradition. Second, the figure in 11QMelch may be associated with the royal and priestly messiahs in the *War Scroll* and in the *Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)*.

This paper explores the possibility that 11QMelch contains or implies a figure like those in the Son of Man tradition of the Hebrew Bible and 1 Enoch. It also examines whether the figure in 11QMelch is associated with the messiahs of the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll*. Since those are suffering messiahs, this paper examines the possible presence of a Son-of-Man-like-figure (a virtual Son of Man?) in the Dead Sea Scrolls. If such a figure is present, this would seem to be the first instance in Second Temple Judaism in which a suffering servant (Isa 53) is associated with the promised Messiah (Isa 61:1–4). It would also be the first time in

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<sup>1</sup> K. Koch asserts unequivocally that 11QMelch “clearly refers to Daniel. The subject of its preserved fragments is the tenth jubilee as the age of redemption, during which Isa 52:7’s promise of Jerusalem’s final salvation and the realization of the God’s kingdom will be fulfilled. On this theme the commentary identifies the messenger of the good news (*m<sup>c</sup> baššer*) of the prophecy with ‘the Messiah of the spirit (הַרִיחַן) about whom Daniel spoke’ ... however the determination ‘of the spirit’ is lacking here. Is the ‘annointed ruler’ (Dan 9:24), who arises seven ‘weeks’ after the ‘going forth of the word’ being referred to in 11Q13, or is this the Messiah who will be cut off after 69 ‘weeks’? Or, alternatively, does this scroll know a variant version of Daniel?” Koch thinks that this indicates that 11QMelch is not dependent upon the *Damasus Document*. K. Koch, “Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. J.J. Collins and P.W. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 2:421–446, 430.

Jewish tradition and literature that a suffering Messiah is associated with a Son of Man figure, as in the NT gospels.<sup>2</sup>

### 11QMELCH: A DIGEST

Thirteen (or fifteen) fragments<sup>3</sup> of a first century B.C.E. document<sup>4</sup> featuring the mysterious figure Melchizedek were found in cave 11 at Qumran and first translated by Adam van der Woude in 1965.<sup>5</sup> The text proclaims liberty to the captives, after the theme of Isa 61:1. This suggests that it is a midrash (or a thematic peshar) on that passage, with an eschatological tone.<sup>6</sup> It promises a general restoration of freedom: from prison, debt, and loss of property. This redemption is to be realized at the *eschaton*, in this case the tenth Jubilee of the 490 years of the Week of Weeks (Dan 9:24–27). It is to be accomplished by Melchizedek, a deliverer who is sent from heaven. Vermes suggests that this Melchizedek has characteristics of the archangel, Michael, and is referred to as the leader or director of the “sons of heaven” and the “gods of justice.” The Melchizedek of 11QMelch is, on occasion, referred to as *El* and *Elohim*, along the lines of such usage

<sup>2</sup> I. Knohl declares that when the Royal Messiah was killed in Jerusalem in 4 B.C.E. and his body, with that of his colleague, the Priestly Messiah, was left in the street for three days, his disciples searched the Hebrew Bible to discover messianic passages that would account for this crisis. They concluded that after humiliation and death the messianic figures had ascended into heaven, as prophesied by biblical passages that they now understood in a new way. “Thus, for the first time in the history of Judaism, a conception emerged of ‘catastrophic’ messianism in which the humiliation, rejection, and death of the Messiah were regarded as an inseparable part of the redemptive process.” I. Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus: The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 3; cf. *ibid.*, 39–45.

<sup>3</sup> P. Beralotto says there are fifteen in his unpublished research paper, “The Superhuman Melchizedek: A Qumranic Response to the Enochic Son of Man” (University of Michigan, 2009). A. Steudel says there are fourteen fragments. Cf. A. Steudel, “Melchizedek,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:535–537.

<sup>4</sup> Koch, “Stages in the Canonization,” 430 thinks it is possible that 11QMelch is a second century B.C.E. document. J.F. Hobbins suggests the same possibility in his chapter in the same volume (“Resurrection in Daniel and Other Writings at Qumran,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 2:395–420, 400 n. 8). G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1997), 500, declares without apology that it is from the first century B.C.E.

<sup>5</sup> A.S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *OtSt* 14 (1965): 354–373.

<sup>6</sup> Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 500, refers to it as a *midrash* and Beralotto, “The Superhuman Melchizedek,” calls it a *peshar*.

of these terms in Job 1:6, and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Vermes suggests that the names have here their secondary meaning of judge rather than deity.

Here Melchizedek is portrayed as presiding over the final Judgement and condemnation of his demonic counterpart, Belial/Satan, the Prince of Darkness, elsewhere also called Melkiresha<sup>6</sup>. The great act of deliverance is expected to occur on the Day of Atonement at the end of the tenth Jubilee cycle.<sup>7</sup>

Vermes' trajectory of thought regarding Melchizedek being the Archangel Michael seems to accord with John J. Collins' claim that the "one like unto a Son of Man" in Dan 7:13 is Michael and not a human figure. His argument is based upon the notion that the Son of Man figure in Daniel is the symbolic head of the Israelite nation, just as the beasts in Dan 7–10 are symbolic figures representing the empires which are to be destroyed. He suggests that each of the symbolic national figures is the "angel of its nation," which role Michael fills for Israel.<sup>8</sup>

Collins' line of thought is ill advised. While Michael is referred to in Dan 12:1 as a salvific prince who stands for the children of Israel, there is no connection drawn between him in that context and the Son of Man in Dan 7:13. Secondly, the beasts are not referred to as angels of their nations but only as kings or emperors. Thirdly, if the symbolic figures for the evil nations are beasts, sub-human in their abuses and degradation, and only *worthy of destruction*; why would one not count on the symbolic figure representing "The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High" (Dan 7:27) to be a human, *worthy of exaltation*, even to the heavenly realm. Such a view takes the text seriously as it stands.<sup>9</sup> The Son of Man

<sup>7</sup> Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 500.

<sup>8</sup> J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). Cf. also J.J. Collins and P.W. Flint, eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2002). In this latter work, Koch, "Stages in the Canonization," 430, asserts that 11QMelch definitely refers to the book of Daniel, and hence has implications related to the Son of Man passage in Dan 7, as well as to the associated "week of weeks," the celebrated 490 years of the prophecy. Bertalotto, "The Superhuman Melchizedek," 9–10, attempts to establish an angelomorphic character for Melchizedek in 11QMelch but succeeds only in persuading the reader that Collins' argument is specious.

<sup>9</sup> In her comprehensive, erudite, and articulate study of salvific figures in the *Damascus Document* and the Dead Sea Scrolls, L. Guglielmo suggests that the Son of Man figures in Second Temple Judaism are clearly human figures in their basic characteristics, but are sometimes spoken of as though they have angelic qualities. They are accorded heavenly status, they are said to associate intimately with the angelic hosts of heaven, they have assigned positions of authority among the angels (Dan 7–11; 1 *En.* 37–71), and the like.



in Dan 7–10 is God’s agent to run earthly operations from his position in the divine headquarters. His field-forces are humans carrying out his delegated responsibilities on earth. There is no justification for Collins to accord angelic status, character, or identity to Daniel’s Son of Man. Comparably, there is no justification for Vermes to accord angelic identity to Melchizedek.

Vermes emphasizes that 11QMelch illuminates our understanding of references to Melchizedek as a priest with an eternal priesthood as we find them in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:1), the NT analogue being Jesus Christ. He points out that 11QMelch also enlightens us regarding the traditions of Melchizedek (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4) and the Son of Man as eschatological judge or prosecutor in Second Temple Judaism (cf. Dan 7–10 where God is the judge but the Son of Man carries out his judgment; and 1 En. 37–71 where the Son of Man is identified as judge and carries out the judgment). Vermes points out that there seems to be a correlation between the figure of Melchizedek in this Qumran document (11QMelch) and the development of the specific type of messianic concept that we find in the Synoptic Gospels and elsewhere in NT Christianity.<sup>10</sup>

In the thirteen fragments of this tractate (11QMelch), Melchizedek is a heavenly agent who manages a divine economy in which the restoration of freedom and prosperity includes forgiveness “of all the iniquities” and “wrong-doings” of those who were deprived and oppressed. He “will assign them to the Sons of Heaven.” They will share the “inheritance” and the “portion” of Melchizedek. The Day of Atonement will atone for all the “Sons of Heaven” who are of the “lot of Melchizedek . . . for this is the moment of the year of Grace of Melchizedek” (II:8). A sound translation of Isa 61:2 reads similarly, “to proclaim the timeliness of the Lord’s acceptance” [of needy humanity] (trans. J.H.E.).

There follows quite naturally in 11QMelch a description of Melchizedek as *El* or *Elohim*, meaning the Judge, who, because of his *exousia* (strength, power, authority [cf. John 5:27–47]), will “judge the holy ones

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She argues that they may, therefore, be spoken of metaphorically as having angelic qualities. This does not warrant our calling them angelomorphic beings or angels, as J.J. Collins names the Son of Man in Dan 7:13 (see Collins, *Daniel*, 305–306). See L. Guglielmo, “Historical Allusions and Salvific Figures in the Admonitions of the Damascus Document: An Intertextual and Historical Interpretation Carried Out on the Basis of a Physical Reconstruction of 4Q266” (Ph.D. diss., University of Naples Federico II, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 500. Vermes suggests, as a source of this idea, the work of van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt.”

of God” (cf. Dan 7:22, 25, 27; 1 *En.* 69–71). Here the document footnotes its claim, so to speak, by citing Ps 82:1 and 2 and Ps 7:7–8 regarding the judgment performed by *Elohim*. Moreover, Melchizedek’s (*Elohim*-Judge) judgment also executes *Yahweh*’s vengeance against Belial and the spirits who rebelliously follow him. From their control, Melchizedek, as Eschatological Judge or Prosecutor, will snatch away all the deprived and oppressed people, and restore their liberty and prosperity as the Sons of Heaven. All the *Elohim* of Justice will join Melchizedek in this destruction of Belial and his host. There follows a doxology about what the prophets called repeatedly The Great Day of the Lord, or The Day of Judgment and Salvation.

This is the day of [Peace/Salvation] concerning which [God] spoke [through Isa]iah the prophet, who said, [How] *beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who proclaims peace, who brings good news, who proclaims salvation, who says to Zion: Your ELOHIM [reigns]* (Isa. lii, 7).<sup>11</sup> (11QMelch II:15–16)

Here the author of the tractate is formally citing Dan 9:25, Lev 25:9, and Isa 61:1–3 as the scriptural prophecies which he quite obviously and quite consciously has in mind. Moreover, he declares that the *Elohim* in “Your *Elohim*/Lord reigns!” is Melchizedek, who saves the deprived and oppressed from the control of Belial. This short tractate makes clear that its lead figure, Melchizedek, is a man from heaven who is appointed by *Yahweh* to exercise the role of the eschatological judge and prosecutor. In this role he is accorded the power and authority to put down evil powers, to deliver the righteous or redeemed from the evil powers, and to gather together into the heavenly kingdom all those who are forgiven and thus redeemed; and so are known as the Sons of Heaven or the Sons of Light.

#### SON OF MAN IN SECOND TEMPLE APOCALYPTIC JUDAISM

It is a source of considerable scholarly astonishment that, as noted above, there is no Son of Man named as such at Qumran. That is, the title, Son of Man, is not employed in the rich and extensive literature of the Qumran Essene Sect. Other references like those in 11QMelch, however, seem to offer evidence of a figure and a concept, even a messianic concept, in the

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<sup>11</sup> Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 501.

Dead Sea Scrolls, that is notably similar to the Son of Man material in the Hebrew Bible, in Second Temple Literature, and in the NT Gospels. All these references depict an exalted human figure, given a heavenly *locus*, accorded the role of Eschatological Judge and/or Prosecutor, and possessing a redemptive- or salvific-outcome function. The presence in 11QMelch of this complex construct or depiction suggests a significant interface between the messianic images in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and those regarding the Son of Man in the minds of apocalyptic Jews of the first two centuries B.C.E., as well as in the minds of the gospel writers and of Jesus himself. Subsequently Jesus, the literary character in the gospels, identified himself or was identified by others, with those Son of Man images in the gospel dramas.

Heinz E. Tödt found, in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS IV:25; IX:11), references to the actions of a messianic figure like the one in the Son of Man sayings of Matt 19:28 and Mark 14:61–62.<sup>12</sup> Tödt simply noted that the only setting in the gospels in which the same notion of a messianic human moving toward an apotheosis as Eschatological Judge arises is in the Son of Man *logia*. Tödt points out that in Mark 14:61–62, the titles Son of Man and Messiah are joined. Caiaphas asks Jesus, “Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed”? Jesus’ reply is direct, “I am; and you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.” At Qumran and in Mark the messianic man is divinely appointed to function as Judge in the eschaton. His identity and function is that of discerning the righteous from the condemned unrighteous, abolishing the latter, and assembling the former into the heavenly kingdom.

The Qumran reference with which Tödt joins this Markan narrative concerns the hope for the endurance of the righteous, “until the prophet comes, and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel” (1QS IX:11).<sup>13</sup> Tödt claims that this hope for multiple messiahs is refined by Jesus’ day into a unified messianic hope. In the form of the Enochic Essenism that became the Jesus Movement, this unified hope centered itself in the messianic Son of Man, as it had in the Royal Messiah at Qumran.<sup>14</sup> In the literary drama of the gospels Jesus announces that this Son of Man is the figure who is

<sup>12</sup> H.E. Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. D.M. Barton; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 91; see also 37.

<sup>13</sup> F. Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; 2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 1996), 13–14.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. again the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll*.

to suffer at the hands of evil men and die, in direct correspondence with the Qumran expectation regarding the Royal Messiah.

Thus Tödt sees a relationship of concepts between such references as those to the Royal Messiah of Qumran, the apocalyptic Jewish notion of the Son of Man in Ezekiel and Daniel, and the Jesus character of the Synoptic Gospel narratives. This relationship of concepts should, of course, apply as well to Melchizedek as Eschatological Judge (*Elohim*) in 11QMelch. All these figures are Eschatological Judges and/or Prosecutors, and one might add Enoch from the *Parables* of 1 *En.* 37–71. Both the Royal Messiah of Qumran, depicted in the *Hodayot* and in the *War Scroll*, and the Synoptic Jesus character are suffering and dying messiahs. While the Qumran Community does not refer to the Eschatological Judge nor to the suffering Messiah as the Son of Man, in both types of references the Dead Sea Scrolls clearly have in mind the same messianic figure as the one for which 1 *Enoch* and the Jesus Movement employed that title, Son of Man, the latter claiming that Jesus named himself by that title.

George W.E. Nickelsburg develops at length the relationship between Dan 7 and the *Parables of Enoch* (1 *En.* 37–71), with particular emphasis upon the judicial role of the messianic figure.<sup>15</sup> While he distinguishes between the judicial role of Michael in Dan 10 and 12 and the non-judicial role of the one like a Son of Man in Dan 7, he nonetheless points out: “The heavenly enthronement of the one like a Son of Man will involve Israel’s earthly supremacy over all the nations.” This supremacy is reminiscent of the messianic destiny of Israel in Isa 61:5–6. Nickelsburg points out that it is this supremacy of the messianic figure or people which one finds in 1QM (1Q33) XVII:8, as well. Here we read that God will exalt “the dominion of Israel over all flesh.” This is apparently an extension of the earthly effects of the work of “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:27), carried out in the name and *exousia* of the “one like unto a Son of Man.”

In Dan 7 the one like the Son of Man is exalted to heavenly status. It is not clear, despite Nickelsburg’s remark to the contrary, that the Son of Man is actually enthroned in heaven in Dan 7–10, but he is accorded a heavenly status next to the Most High God. Both he and his minions on earth, “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High,” are exalted over all kingdoms and powers on earth. Thus the one like unto the

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<sup>15</sup> G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Son of Man,” *ABD* 6:138.

Son of Man becomes the heavenly epitome of “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High” who are on earth. Conversely, *they* become the earthly epitome of the exalted and heavenly Son of Man. It is interesting that in Daniel the Son of Man never descends to earth, but through his “field forces” on earth, who are accorded the dominion and power that his authority and power incarnates, accomplish his task of destroying evil powers and empires, thereby establishing the reign of the heavenly kingdom in all the earth. Those field forces prosecute the divine judgment which the Son of Man has the power, authority, and responsibility to work out on earth. Daniel’s Son of Man is not enthroned but he exercises eschatological judgment through “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High.”

In *1 En.* 69:26–29, the Son of Man *combines* the role of enthronement and judgment, as does the Son of Man in the Synoptic Gospels. The Enochic scene is straight-forward. The hosts of heaven witness the exaltation, enthronement, and judgment carried out by the Son of Man, subsequently designated as Enoch, himself. Nickelsburg invites us to hear clearly the strains of the overture played in the *Parables of Enoch* and which became the theme of the sonata developed in the gospels.

And there was great joy amongst them,  
 And they blessed and glorified and extolled,  
 Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them  
 And he sat on the throne of his glory,  
 And the command of the judgment was given unto the Son of Man  
 And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the  
 face of the earth,

(*or, he shall never pass away or perish from the face of the earth*)

And those who have led the world astray  
 Shall be bound with chains,  
 And their ruinous assembly shall be imprisoned  
 And their works shall vanish from the face of the earth.  
 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible  
 For that Son of Man has appeared,  
 And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,  
 And all evil shall pass away from before his face,  
 And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth.

(*1 En.* 69:27–29)

Nickelsburg clearly intimates in his superb article the mutuality of language and concept of this great variety of literatures of Second Temple Judaism associated with the Son of Man as exalted heavenly figure and eschatological judge. One can hardly miss the correlative, if not the literarily genealogical relationship between these documents. The impli-

cation of Nickelsburg's work is that Tödt's references to the messianic expectation and eschatological judgment at Qumran in the *Rule of the Community* is a correlate of the Son of Man ideology in the *Parables of Enoch*. Thus, while the Dead Sea Scrolls do not name or title a Son of Man, they present the same messianic theology of eschatological judgment which is presented more concretely in the *Parables*, where it is given the name, title, and messianic character of the Son of Man. Thus, it certainly seems that it is precisely this figure who is the Son of Man throughout 1 *En.* 37–71 and the messianic suffering servant-Son of Man in the Jesus story, that is the suffering servant-Royal Messiah at Qumran, and the judge and savior in 11QMelch.

#### THE SON OF MAN AND THE SUFFERING SERVANT AT QUMRAN

Israel Knohl has pursued at considerably greater length than Tödt and Nickelsburg his argument for a significant messianic figure(s) in the Dead Sea Scrolls, associated in nature and role with eschatological judgment.<sup>16</sup> Knohl is also at pains to draw out the implication of his citations from the scrolls in relationship to the nature and role of the Son of Man in the gospel narratives. Knohl finds a suffering servant messiah in the text of two or three Dead Sea Scrolls, attested by four or five separate copies.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, these scrolls are in damaged condition, though the entire manuscript seems to be preserved, nonetheless, in various parts. If proven to be correct, Knohl's claim seems even more useful than that of Tödt, and somewhat more effectively confirmed by the textual data.

Knohl cites 4QH<sup>e</sup> (4Q431); 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427) 7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXVI and 4QM<sup>a</sup> (4Q491) 11 i. The first three manuscripts belong to the first version of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, or *Hodayot*. The fourth citation, 4Q491, is from the *War Scroll* and is a second version of the hymns.<sup>18</sup> The main evidence for the first version is found in two rather substantial fragments of 4QH<sup>e</sup>. The relevant text in the first fragment speaks of the messianic figure as beloved of the king who, from the context, seems clearly to be God. This messianic figure, whom God loves, is described as dwelling among the holy ones, though rejected by humanity. The first term, regarding his

<sup>16</sup> Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus*, 5–51, 66–71, 75–86.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 75–86.

exaltation by the king, certainly rings with the sounds of Pss 2; 8; and 110; the second, depicting heavenly transcendence, echoes the strains of Dan 7–10; and the third, introducing suffering and rejection, seems reminiscent of Isa 53. If these references seem a bit tenuous, they are confirmed by the second fragment which speaks of the messianic figure being despised and enduring evil.

The fragmentary nature of 4QH<sup>c</sup> is, of course, troublesome. We are fortunate to be able to reconstruct virtually the entire document by comparative analysis of all other manuscripts in version one where “parallel expressions are sometimes preserved in a more complete form.”<sup>19</sup> Parallels also exist in version two for most of the relevant citations. For example, 1QH<sup>a</sup> speaks of the messianic figure expressing “gentleness to the poor” but being “oppressed” (1QH<sup>a</sup> III[16]). Similar confirmation is evident for the expressions of divine exaltation of the messianic figure, his assignment to dwell with the angels and the holy ones, his glory, and his role as judge. Knohl reconstructs this section of the first version of the first hymn as follows.

I shall be reckoned with the angels, my dwelling is in the holy council.  
 Who . . . has been despised like me and who has been rejected of men  
 like me?  
 And who compares to me in enduring evil?  
 No teaching compares to my teaching  
 For I sit . . . in heaven.  
 Who is like me among the angels?  
 Who would cut off my words?  
 And who could measure the flow of my lips?  
 Who can associate with me, thus compare with my judgment?  
 I am the beloved of the king, a companion of the holy ones . . .  
 And to my glory none can compare . . .<sup>20</sup>

The second version of Hymn 1 has very similar language, as one would expect. Here again we have the messianic figure on an eternal heavenly throne of power. Three times over he is declared to be assigned to the angelic council. None can compare with his glory except the sons of

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 76–77. Cf. also E. Schuller in *DJD XXIX* (1999): 199–208; and E. Eshel, “The Identification of the ‘Speaker’ of the Self-Glorification Hymn,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 619–635; eadem in *DJD XXIX* (1999): 427–428; eadem, “4Q471b: A Self-Glorification Hymn,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 175–203. Cf. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 317–361 for 1QH<sup>a</sup>, 362–428 for 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427), 369–370 for 4QH<sup>c</sup> (4Q431), and 115–120 for 4QM<sup>a</sup> (4Q491).

the king. No one has been so exalted. He sits in heaven and none can accompany him to this unique majestic place. The holy council is his dwelling place. He has been despised, has borne incomparable afflictions, endured incomparable evil, and he has been glorified. No one is like him, no teaching like his teaching. No one can associate with him or compare with his exercise of judgment.

Hymn 2, version 1, is preserved in 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427) 7 i 13–ii 14, but this hymn is an exaltation of God and celebration of his redemptive exaltation of redeemed humans. “Proclaim and say: Great is God who acts wonderfully, for he casts down the haughty spirit so that there is no remnant and lifts up the poor from the dust to the eternal height and to the clouds he magnifies him in stature, and he is with the heavenly beings in the assembly of the community . . .”<sup>21</sup> The second version of Hymn 2 is preserved in a mere fragment, 4QM<sup>a</sup> (4Q491) 11 i 13–16 but refers to the exaltation of God’s Messiah to the heavenly realm with the angels, and to his being accorded heavenly power.

Of course, as suggested above, it is difficult to miss the specific correspondence between the language of suffering, exaltation, and judgment associated with the Messiah in these messianic hymns and the language of the Son of Man *logia* of the Synoptic Gospels. Indeed, references to this messianic figure fit all three of Bultmann’s categories of Synoptic Gospels’ Son of Man *logia*, but Knohl is particularly interested in category two, the suffering Messiah.<sup>22</sup> It is also obvious how dependent both literary sources, Knohl’s Qumran references and the gospel *logia*, are upon Pss 8:4–6; 110:1, Isa 53:1–12, Dan 7:13–14, 26–27, and 1 En. 37–71 (particularly ch. 69). The latter is surprising, since 1 En. 37–71, as an identifiable text, seems to be totally absent from the Qumran library.

What is very suggestive about the associations made in this discussion thus far is the degree to which the messianic figure referred to in Daniel, in the *Parables of Enoch*, and in the gospels of the NT is like the Messiah of Qumran (the *Hodayot*, *War Scroll*, and *Rule of the Community*), though at Qumran he is never accorded the title of Son of Man. Thus the important point here lies in the relationship between that evidence which strongly

<sup>21</sup> Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus*, 80.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray; Oxford: Blackwell, 1971); idem, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; 2 vols., New York: Scribner, 1951), 1:30.



relates the suffering messianic figure at Qumran with the similar suffering messianic figure of the Synoptic Gospels known as the Son of Man, though the community of Qumran did not employ that title.

In this regard two issues are of importance. First, there is, as we have already noted, a remarkable correspondence of language, concept, and content between the suffering servant passages from Qumran, to which Knohl calls our attention, and the language of the Son of Man *logia* in the gospels, which depict the suffering and dying Messiah. Second, there is a notable correspondence between the ultimate heavenly exaltation and enthronement as judge of this figure who appears on earth as the suffering servant in the passages at Qumran, including 11QMelch and the comparable Son of Man *logia* in the Synoptic Gospels.

We apparently have a suffering servant Messiah in the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll* at Qumran, who is set in the context of the messianic figure of the *Rule of the Community* and who is the impending apocalyptic Eschatological Judge. The comparative chronology of the two sets of texts, Qumran narrative (150 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) and gospel *logia* (80–100 C.E.), is also interesting, particularly if viewed in the framework Boccaccini developed in his study of the relationship between sectarian and extra-sectarian Essenism.<sup>23</sup>

#### WHO IS THE SUFFERING MESSIAH AT QUMRAN?

The identity of the messianic figure in the Qumran Hymns might be, as John J. Collins argues, not the Teacher of Righteousness nor a composite figure representing the righteous community, nor, to use Daniel's term, "The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High," but an individual author whose identity until now remains a mystery.<sup>24</sup> Knohl argues on the basis of a constellation of references in the Oracle of Hystapes, the book of Revelation, the *Assumption of Moses*, and Roman history that the two messianic leaders killed in the streets of Jerusalem in 4 B.C.E. by the Romans under Caesar Augustus were the Royal and the Priestly Messiahs whom the Qumran Community had celebrated; and that one of these was

<sup>23</sup> G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

<sup>24</sup> J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 147.

the speaker in the messianic hymns. Since the speaker refers to being exalted to a throne, Knohl concludes it was the Royal Messiah who gave us the hymns.

As the two messianic leaders were killed in 4 BCE, they surely were active in the period previous to that year—that is, during the reign of King Herod (37–4 BCE). . . . all four copies of the messianic hymns were written precisely at that period. One can, therefore assume that one of the two Messiahs killed in 4 BCE was the hero of the messianic hymns from Qumran. . . . The hero of the hymns did not have any priestly attributes; on the other hand, he spoke of sitting on a “throne of power” and mentioned a crown. From this we may deduce he was the royal Messiah.<sup>25</sup>

The historical record indicates that by order of the authorities, the two slain religious figures were left unburied in the city streets for three days, after which they disappeared, leading their disciples to believe that they had risen to life and ascended to heaven, as the hero in the hymns promised. As the messianic figure in the hymns had appropriated to himself the character and role of the suffering servant of Isa 53:4–8, so also had he appropriated to himself the exaltation of Isa 52:13, “Behold, my servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high.” At the time of the murder of the Royal Messiah, his disciples took the abusive neglect of his body in the streets as a reason to appropriate to him also Isa 53:9 and 12, “They made his grave with the wicked . . . he was numbered with the transgressors . . .”<sup>26</sup> It was a short leap in the minds of the disciples of the Qumran messiahs from this Isaianic notion to fashioning an association between the disappearance of the corpse and resurrection and ascension to heavenly enthronement, which the author of the hymns had anticipated and promised; and Isa 52 proposes and so permits.

Knohl sees the outcome of this historic event in Roman history to have been of great significance and relevance to the Qumran community and their literature.

Thus after the Messiah’s death his believers created a “catastrophic” ideology. The rejection of the Messiah, his humiliation, and his death were thought to have been foretold in the Scriptures and to be necessary stages in the process of redemption. The disciples (of the Qumran Messiahs) believed that the humiliated and pierced Messiah had been resurrected after three days and that he was due to reappear on earth as redeemer,

<sup>25</sup> Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus*, 42.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 44. Do we hear at this point a memory of the transgressor, Jezebel, who was cast into the street dead, for the dogs to eat, as in 1 Kgs 21:23, and 2 Kgs 9:36–37?

victor, and judge. Daniel prophesied that the fourth beast would be destroyed and the kingdom would be given to the “son of man,” whom Daniel described as sitting on a heavenly throne and as coming in the clouds of heaven. The disciples and followers of the Qumranic Messiah believed that he had been resurrected after three days and had risen to heaven in a cloud. He now sat in heaven as he had described himself in his vision—on a “throne of power in the angelic council.” Eventually he would return, descending from above with the clouds of heaven, surrounded by angels. The time would then have come for the overthrow of the fourth beast—Rome—and *the Messiah would thus fulfill Daniel’s vision of the “son of man.”*<sup>27</sup>

Knohl points out that this is the first time in Israelite history that the notion of catastrophic messianism is introduced in which “the humiliation, rejection, and death of the Messiah were regarded as an inseparable part of the redemptive process” and of his inevitable exaltation, enthronement, and ultimate apotheosis as divine judge.<sup>28</sup>

#### WHY IS THE SUFFERING SERVANT AND MESSIANIC JUDGE NOT THE SON OF MAN AT QUMRAN?

The enigma here lies in one question. The Qumran community had a model of the suffering and dying Messiah which lay close in time, concept, geography, and socio-political setting, to the Son of Man *logia* of the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover, that community also depended heavily upon the Enochic tradition, as did the Jesus movement; both of which attached to the suffering servant and dying messiah images the notions of the exalted heavenly man and Son of Man as eschatological judge. This multifaceted Son of Man figure was exceedingly prominent under that name in the Enochic tradition, which both of these communities shared. Qumran expectations were shaped by the Daniel narrative about heavenly exaltation of the Son of Man in a way similar to the shaping of the expectations of the Jesus Movement. So why do the Qumran texts not employ the Enochic term, Son of Man, to refer to their messianic eschatological judge, or to their suffering, dying, exalted, and enthroned

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 45–46 (italics J.H.E.). It should be noted that Knohl goes beyond the narrative in Daniel here, in that the latter has no Son of Man who “would return, descending from above with the clouds of heaven, surrounded by angels.” That language is of much later derivation and from far different sources.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 3. See n. 2 above.

Messiah, in the manner in which the Synoptic Gospels refer to him? Is it possible, even likely, that the gospel writers identified Jesus with the Qumran model of the suffering, dying, exalted, and judging messiah, and had good reason to integrate these characteristics into their model of Jesus' self-concept as Son of Man?

In his erudite and incisive chapter on the "Schism Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism," Boccaccini emphasizes that there are two types of documents in the Dead Sea Scrolls: those which were common to Essenes both within and outside of Qumran and those which were unique to Qumran.<sup>29</sup> The former are pre-sectarian or extra-sectarian and remained normative for the urban Essenes, while the latter are sectarian in character and chronology, and exclusive to Qumran. Thus, prior to the cloistering of the Qumran Essenes, the *Halakhic Letter*, the *Dream Visions*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, the *Proto-Epistle of Enoch*, and the *Damascus Document* were theologically determinative in the thought of all Essene communities. The *Damascus Document* states that God calls his righteous people to separate themselves from the world and declares, surprisingly, that God has not elected all of Israel, but only a remnant, to salvation.<sup>30</sup>

However, like the other documents listed, the *Damascus Document* provides for a certain degree of free will exercised by humans and sub-divine heavenly beings. Thus, the strict supralapsarian determinism of the subsequent sectarian documents at Qumran was not standard in Essenism before and outside of Qumran. That Qumranic doctrine of determinism, Boccaccini argues, made no room for any freedom of will on the part of humans or "fallen angels." The latter were seen as the source of evil in the world. Moreover, the *Parables of Enoch*, which elaborate the Danielic tradition of the exalted Son of Man, since it was not present at Qumran, must have been an addition to the Essene literature outside of Qumran, namely, among the urban Essenes. It must have been produced after the cloistering of the sectarian community of Qumran, or known at Qumran but overtly rejected by the community for theological reasons. This is a critical fact in the argument because the *Parables* clearly speak against the Qumranic notion of supralapsarian determinism, as do other facets of *1 Enoch*.

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<sup>29</sup> Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 119–162.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

The Epistle of Enoch does not simply lack specific Qumranic elements, . . . it has specific anti-Qumranic elements. The most obvious is 1 En 98:4. The passage explicitly condemns those who state that since human beings are victims of a corrupted universe, they are not responsible for the sins they commit, and they blame others (God or the evil angels) for having exported “sin” into the world. “I have sworn unto you, sinners: In the same manner that a mountain has never turned into a servant, nor shall a hill (ever) become a maidservant or a woman; likewise, neither has sin been exported into the world. It is the people who have themselves invented it. And those who commit it shall come under a great curse” (98:4).<sup>31</sup>

In the sectarian documents unique to Qumran, evil is transcendent and supralapsarian in both source and remedy: a state of affairs preset by God from the beginning, by election of some to righteousness and others to damnation. In the urban Essene movement salvation from evil is accomplished by a divine salvific intervention. A Son of Man like the one in Dan 7:9–14 and in 1 En. 37–39 and 70–71 would be an adequate redemptive resource, especially the latter when he descends as judge to separate the righteous from the unrighteous. Boccaccini points out that the cosmic tragedy, induced by fallen angels (Sons of God who cavorted with the daughters of men) requires more than a human or angelic savior, since such a judge or redeemer, in order to subdue the evil powers, must have power superior to that of those angels who brought evil into the world. The exaltation of the Son of Man to the heavenly enthronement, in the Enochic tradition outside Qumran, places the Son of Man above the angels in power and glory. Thus, in extra-Qumran Enochic literature, the Son of Man is empowered by God to bring the ultimate resolution to life, history, and evil, at his advent as eschatological judge.

The most distinctive quality of this extra-Qumranic Essene model, however, lies in the fact that humans can contribute to their legitimate inclusion in the community of the elect by willfully conducting their lives as the righteous ones, “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High.” There is no possibility of such human action in will or deed at Qumran. All is preset from eternity. Among the Essenes outside Qumran there is a distinction made, Boccaccini declares, between the evil in the world that has a transcendent source, namely, the fallen angels, and human sin, which is life willfully lived in complicity with this cosmic evil. One

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 134.

can willfully choose a righteous life, “the boundaries between the chosen and the wicked remain permeable. The door to salvation, which the Damascus Document kept open only for a limited period of time and the sectarian [Qumran] documents barred from the beginning for those who have not been chosen by God, will be open until the very last moment,” according to the Essenes outside Qumran.<sup>32</sup>

In the Qumranic model God has preset the destiny of the elect and the reprobate. There is no room for one’s volitional choice to live in complicity with evil or in identification with the righteousness of God and the people of “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High.” One has only one’s preset destiny. To discern whether one’s destiny is that of the elect or damned, one is invited to separate himself from the world and undertake to live the life of righteousness in the cloistered community. If a person discovers that living the community’s discipline is possible for him, he can know that he is one of God’s elect. If he cannot live by that discipline he has no recourse but to accept his supralapsarian reprobate status in the eternal scheme of things.

Both the elect and the damned are assigned their destiny to the glory of God. The judgment of God took place before creation and so before time. The judgment was to assign the status of the righteous and the unrighteous. The consequences of that judgment at the end of history will separate “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High” from the unrighteous, exterminating the latter and gathering the former into the heavenly kingdom. Thus there is no theological place at Qumran for a Son of Man, as redemptive messianic figure or as messianic eschatological judge. God is the only judge and he made the final judgment by a supralapsarian act at the time that he decided to create the world and humanity in it. Both salvation and judgment, therefore, are already past. They will not come at the end of time. There is no role for the Son of Man at Qumran.

The Qumran community did not become less apocalyptic, if we consider its roots and worldview; but it certainly became less Enochic the further it parted from the parallel development of mainstream Enochic Judaism since the first century BCE. Therefore, the decreasing influence of Enochic literature on the sectarian texts is by no means surprising; it is the logical consequence of the schism between Qumran and Enochic Judaism.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 137–138; see also 147–148.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

## WHY THEN THE SUFFERING MESSIAH AT QUMRAN?

In his “Sherlock Holmes” style narrative, Knohl offers an intriguing rationale for the presence, nonetheless, of both the suffering messiah (*Hodayot* and *War Scroll*) and the eschatological judge and savior (11QMelch) at Qumran. He asserts that the messianic figure who produced the messianic hymns that were found among the scrolls at Qumran, was promoting a notion at Qumran that ran counter to the orthodox doctrine of the community. His idea of a suffering messianic figure, who would facilitate the enhancement and endurance of the community of the righteous, was an attempt to recover something of the pre-sectarian quality of historic Enochic doctrine while associating the messianic figure with Pss 2; 8; and 110, on the one hand, and Dan 7 and Isa 53, on the other.

Knohl speculates that this doctrine was unconventional and unacceptable at Qumran, indeed, a heretical theology, causing the condition of the edition of his manuscripts of the hymns as we have them. Knohl claims that normal aging, environmental conditions, or decay were not the cause of these manuscripts being in fragments when they were discovered in the clay jars. Other manuscripts were discovered in fragments in the caves at Qumran because their clay containers had been menaced, damaged, or destroyed. The main manuscript of this edition of the Hymns was found in its jar, undisturbed, but carefully and intentionally torn into rather large pieces and then stored in the container.<sup>34</sup> Knohl judges that this tells us an important story, namely, that this edition of the manuscripts was suppressed at Qumran, and thus it was torn into pieces with rather careful intentionality, but preserved by a devotee of the heretical author and thus, carefully and surreptitiously placed in the clay jars and in the caves, along with the rest of the library. This scenario, despite its speculative quality, is possible. Whether one can declare that it is probable requires further evidence

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<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to examine the actual manuscripts and fragments themselves, but only the available photographs. On the face of it there seems to be some cogency to Knohl's claim regarding the state of the manuscripts as a result of their being intentionally torn—as well as intentionally preserved. However, in a personal conversation with J.H. Charlesworth during the first Enoch Seminar: The International Conference on Second Temple Judaism, 19–23 June 2001, that notable Dead Sea Scrolls scholar stated that he believes it is likely that the fragmentary character of the remains of these hymnic manuscripts is a result of the same process of deterioration from age, exposure, and vermin which characterizes that of other Dead Sea Scrolls.

confirming that there was the type of heretical movement at Qumran that Knohl proposes as the key to his argument.

If this speculative theory be true to fact, in a repressed text of the Dead Sea Scrolls library three key factors conspire to form a single historical *datum* that is eminently relevant to the redemptive eschatological figure in 11QMelch, and to Jesus' self concept, as he was fashioned into the Son of Man character in the gospels. First, we have at Qumran a messianic figure who speaks of his role as that of proclaiming the kingdom of God, Bultmann's first category of Son of Man *logia* in the gospels. Second, Qumran presents a messianic figure who is suffering, dying, and then exalted by God to the status of a heavenly figure, Bultmann's second category. Finally, the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll*, present a Messiah who takes up the role of eschatological judge and savior (implementer of the Day of Judgment and Salvation; or Day of the Lord, of the Tanak), Bultmann's third category and the key notion in 11QMelch. Thus we have at Qumran a *virtual* Son of Man, like the *actual* Son of Man in the Jesus Movement of a century later, and of the gospel narratives of a century and a half later.

Of course, in articulating this messianic figure at Qumran it was impossible for that heretical Royal Messiah to employ the standard Enochic term for him, namely, Son of Man, which was employed by the related but later community of Enochic Judaism that became Christianity. At Qumran that term had neither credence, nor coinage, and would have made the heresy both extremely obvious and unnecessarily offensive. It would have amounted to really "sticking it into the face of the authorities" of the esoteric supralapsarian Qumran community. If Knohl's argument holds water, Jesus, the literary character who traverses the pages of the Synoptic Gospels, internalized as the second phase of his personal identity development, an Essene concept of a suffering and dying Messiah (Matt 12:40; 17:12, 22; Mark 8:27-37).

This concept had already existed for some time in what Knohl intimates was a heretical form of Qumran Essenism, and which Jesus, as literary character, is depicted as having identified with the Son of Man of 1 *Enoch*, Daniel, and Ezekiel. It is an intriguing coincidence that the death of the Qumran Messiahs took place in the very year of Jesus birth, namely, 4 B.C.E. Were the gospel writers aware of this and did they, therefore, make some association, conscious or unconscious, between the Jesus character in the gospels and the messianic characters of Qumran? We can have absolutely no way of knowing that, but certainly that association was clearly made.



## BACK TO 11QMELCH: SUMMARY

Time and space prevents us from exploring in detail the Son of Man tradition from Ezekiel, Daniel, and *1 Enoch*, each of which has a different perspective. Let me simply summarize them. Ezekiel is addressed by God as Son of Man 93 times in his prophecy. That prophecy is structured on the seven-point rubrics for priestly ordination as stated in Lev 8–9.<sup>35</sup> In Ezekiel, Son of Man means “mortal” or “mere mortal.” Ezekiel’s Son of Man is a man who proclaims the advent of the heavenly kingdom and the restoration of the world. Daniel’s Son of Man is a man who is exalted to heaven and presented to the Ancient of Days, that is, to God. He is accorded dominion and power (*exousia*) to carry out God’s judgment of destroying evil powers and bringing in the heavenly kingdom. He does this through his field forces on earth, “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High,” while he remains in heaven. The Son of Man in *1 Enoch* is Enoch himself, caught up into heaven by a whirlwind and shown the places of the righteous and unrighteous, and then appointed to carry out divine judgment on the living and the dead. He consummates history by the administration of God’s Day of Judgment and Salvation, bringing in the heavenly kingdom on earth and in heaven.

Clearly, the Jesus character in the Synoptic Gospels starts as an Ezekiel Son of Man. As his pilgrimage runs into difficulty in Mark 8, with the failure of the first mission, Jesus begins to envision himself as the messianic suffering servant of the *Hodayot* and *War Scroll*, Qumran’s *virtual* Son of Man. His journey runs into increasingly heavy weather as the collision course with the authorities becomes clearer and more inevitable. Then he begins to envision himself as the Son of Man of Dan 7–10, exalted by God to a heavenly status in which he, nonetheless, accomplishes the mission of putting down the evil powers by means of his followers on earth. When he finally stands in judgment before Caiaphas and Pilate, and the jig is up, so to speak, the Jesus character in the Synoptic Gospels’ story raises the ante one more time. He declares that he will return from heaven as the Eschatological Judge and Prosecutor, on the clouds of heaven, with all the holy angels, in the power and glory of God himself. This is the Son of Man of *1 Enoch* and of 11QMelch.

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<sup>35</sup> M.A. Sweeney, “Ezekiel: Zadokite Priest and Visionary Prophet of the Exile,” in idem, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* (FAT 45; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 125–143. Cf. also M.S. Odell, “You Are What You Eat: Ezekiel and the Scroll,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 229–248.

It is of great interest and importance that in the Gospel of John we have a quite different scenario than in the Synoptic Gospels. In John Jesus is from the outset the heavenly man and Son of Man (John 1:1–3), who descends to earth (John 1:14) to become the savior (John 3:13–18) of the whole world. In the Fourth Gospel the judgment was also supralapsarian, as at Qumran, but of an opposite sort. In that judgment God judged that he would save the whole world. So in John there is no second coming, no final judgment, no end of history, no *eschaton*, and no *parousia*. Indeed, there is no eschatological judge. Jesus is the savior. Whenever in John it is suggested that the Son of Man is, by definition, the eschatological judge, Jesus is at great pains to insist that he will not exercise his *exousia* as Judge or Prosecutor, but will exercise only the role of savior (John 5:27–47; 8:15 etc.).

Significantly, in John 3:13, Jesus aggressively sets himself apart from the Enochic Son of Man, Judge and Prosecutor, by declaring that “no man ascends into heaven but he who descended from heaven, even the Son of Man, who is heavenly.” *1 Enoch* claims that Enoch ascended into heaven and returns from there, having been enthroned in heaven and appointed to be the Eschatological Judge. Jesus is declaring in John 3:13 that Enoch cannot have been the true Son of Man, since he was not a heavenly man who first descended from heaven and after finishing his work on earth returned to heaven. On the other hand, Jesus is the epitome of that proper model, therefore, Jesus is the true Son of Man. This true Son of Man foregoes his role as judge and prosecutor, since they are now irrelevant, and engages instead in the role of savior of the world. There follows the reference to the Son of Man being lifted up as Moses’ serpent in the wilderness.

The picture in 11QMelch has similarities in that it is focused primarily upon the role of Melchizedek as a heavenly figure, an agent of divine action in the world as the eschatological judge and prosecutor, as well as a savior or redeemer. Here there is no indication of an Ezekiel-like Son of Man, namely, an earthly human who is called to proclaim the reign of God on earth, as in the Synoptics before Mark 8:13. As in John we have in 11QMelch, instead, echoes of a *heavenly man*, the Son of Man in Dan 7–10. Melchizedek is, moreover, not just an agent to prosecute the cause of the heavenly kingdom on earth. He is an *Elohim*, a divinely appointed judge and prosecutor, whose task is very like that of Enoch in the *Parables* (*1 En.* 37–71, especially chs. 69–71).

Melchizedek is the eschatological judge, but in this process his prominent role, repeatedly emphasized, is that of securing the deliverance and

salvation (liberty and prosperity) of “The People of the Holy Ones of the Most High,” that is, the Sons of Light or the Sons of Heaven. It is not difficult to see, therefore, that the author of Heb 5 styles him as a priest of the Most High God, as in Abraham’s experience (Gen 14:18; cf. also Ps 110:4), and hence a type of Jesus, as the savior of the world, the eternal anchor of hope grounded in the heavenly world.

It is clear, therefore, that at Qumran we have a *virtual* Son of Man in the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll*, in the *Rule of the Community*, and in the form of a messianic figure who is also the suffering servant. Moreover, it is clear that in 11QMelch we have a figure with key elements of the Son of Man tradition of apocalyptic Judaism, namely, the authority and power of eschatological judge and the function of rescuer or savior of the people of God.<sup>36</sup> Of course, the suffering messiah and the eschatological judge both stand in contrast with the mainstream of Qumran’s supralapsarian determinist theology. The documents we have cited from the Qumran library suggest that a heretical movement existed within the community that envisioned the possibility of hope and salvation beyond the scope of the predestined elect. This enticed them, perhaps, to contemplate and militate for a theology of a salvation that required a savior-messiah who would, perforce, suffer for being at cross purposes with the orthodox determinists, but who would in the end be exalted of God and appointed as the eschatological judge of the living and the dead. Knohl would seem, therefore, to be correct in suggesting that in this repeated combination of judge and savior in the Dead Sea Scrolls, associated significantly with messianic suffering, we have the first time in Jewish tradition an occasion in which Isa 53 and 61 are conjoined, a coalescence that became the key to the identity of Jesus as Son of Man in the gospels.

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<sup>36</sup> G.W.E. Nickelsburg notes that in 11QMelch we have a priestly and royal figure, such as are mentioned in Gen 14:18–20 (the Abraham encounter with Melchizedek), and Ps 110 (symbolic references to the man exalted and enthroned by God). See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 101; idem, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 132. The implication of this perspective is a strong relationship between 11QMelch and the passages regarding the suffering messiahs in the *War Scroll* and *Hodayot* narratives (the Royal and Priestly Messiahs), who Knohl suggests, were killed in Jerusalem in 4 B.C.E. and thought by their disciples to have ascended into heaven, as the Royal Messiah had promised in his hymns.

We do not have a Son of Man in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but we have a *virtual* Son of Man: suffering messiah and savior, exalted to heavenly status as the eschatological judge in the *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll*, and in 11QMelch. In John 3:13–18 and 5:27–47, as well as in Dan 7–10 and 1 En. 37–71, this combination of characteristics and functions is noted as the essential and defining identity of the Son of Man of Second Temple Judaism.



ANCIENT JEWISH LITERATURE IN  
GREEK AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE  
GRECO-ROMAN WORLD: EXAMINING THE ESSENES'  
VIEW OF SACRIFICE IN RELATION TO THE SCROLLS

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A. INTRODUCTION

Hellenistic Judaism was diverse in thought, practice, and social organization. One issue that exemplifies its complexity is animal sacrifice. This study examines one group's view of sacrifice, namely the Essenes. As described by the early Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, the Essenes were one of four Jewish sectarian groups that held to certain priestly ideals.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of the descriptions given in Philo's *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 75 and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* 18.19, the Essene's views on the religious cult seem to be congruent with the ideology of the community related to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Due to space limitations, this study focuses on the Essene group as described by Josephus. I perform a textual analysis of *Ant.* 18.19 in order to understand its overall context. Subsequently, I will argue for the possible connection of the Essenes with the larger movement associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls (the DSS movement hereafter). If, in fact, this latter connection can be made, then insight concerning the cultic ideology of the entire DSS movement (which includes the later Qumran community) can be determined. Here, as will be demonstrated below, there are no less than two streams of thought concerning the cultic ideology. With this in mind, Josephus' description also needs to be investigated alongside the texts of the DSS movement, most notably the sectarian texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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<sup>1</sup> Philo's most notable description of the Essenes is found in *Prob.* 75–87.



## B. JOSEPHUS' DESCRIPTION OF THE ESSENE VIEW OF SACRIFICE

## 1. Introduction

*Jewish Antiquities* 18.19 is attested variously in six MSS.<sup>2</sup> It has been problematic for translators due to the variant readings. Textual differences exist in at least two different textual traditions. The {Lat.} and {E} versions render *Ant.* 18.19 as follows:

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας [οὐκ] ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφοροῦσιν ἀγνείων, ἅς νομίζουσιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.<sup>3</sup>

The {A}, {M}, {W}, and {Zon.} witnesses render the same passage in the following way:

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφοροῦσιν ἀγνείων, ἅς νομίζουσιν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.<sup>4</sup>

It is because of the textual variant above that scholars remain unresolved about whether or not the Essenes participated in sacrifice. Different solutions have been put forth, and these differences have resulted in variant views regarding both the identity and the cultic ideology of the DSS movements. Compounded together with these issues, and also in relation to the scrolls, is the lack of insight regarding the time or period for which Josephus' account is relevant. Josephus could be referring to at least one of four scenarios:

1. The above citation reflects the ideology of the entire Essene movement, which remained unchanged.
2. It reflects the ideology of the entire movement during a particular stage.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* 18.19 is found in the following MSS: {A} Codex bibliothecae Ambrosianae F 128, dating from the 11th century; {M} Codex Mediceus bibliothecae Laurentianae plut. 69, codex 10, dating from the 14th to 15th centuries; {W} Codex Vaticanus Gr. no. 984, dating 1354 C.E. (the 12th century); {E} The Epitome Antiquitatum, noted by H.S.J. Thackeray as being used by Zonaras. Thackeray also contended that Niese conjectured that this version was made in the 10th or 11th century; {Lat.} Uersio Latina, the Latin version of Cassiodorus from the 5th or 6th century (which is also the oldest extant MS for 18:19) and {Zon.} The Chronicon of Zonaras, from the 12th century.

<sup>3</sup> See S.A. Naber, ed., *Flavii Josephi Opera Omnia: Post Immanuelem Bekkerum* (6 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1888–1896), 4:139, who gives this reading.

<sup>4</sup> This is the reading given by B. Niese, ed., *Flavii Josephi Opera* (7 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1885–1895), 4:143, which is followed by the LCL.

3. It reflects the ideology of at least one of the movement's group (i.e. an offshoot group that emerged from the larger parent movement), which remained unchanged.
4. It reflects the ideology of at least one of the movement's groups during a particular stage.

Further examination of the aforementioned passage could reveal that Josephus' account reflects two multiple streams of thought that reveal the ideology of at least two groups within the larger DSS movement.<sup>5</sup> Irrespective of the scenario, however, the same ideology or ideologies would need to be reflected somewhere in the scrolls, particularly if the movement (and its various groups) related to the scrolls can be identified as Essene.

Concerning the textual variant the main issue surrounds the more original reading of the first clause of *Ant.* 18.19. As noted above, the {A}, {M}, {W}, and {Zon.} Greek MS witnesses render *Ant.* 18.19 in the following way, without the negation (οὐκ):

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἄγνειῶν, ἃς νομίζοιεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἰργόμενοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τεμενίσματος ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

They send votive gifts to the temple but perform sacrifices with different purifications, which they suppose, for this reason they were excluded from the public precinct of the temple thus they perform sacrifices by themselves.<sup>6</sup>

The {Lat.} and {E} versions negate the second line of the first clause, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἀναθήματα στέλλοντες θυσίας [οὐκ] ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἄγνειῶν. Difficulty in translating the first clause of this passage is also heightened in view of θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν also occurring in the last line of this passage (ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν). In view of the textual issue concerning οὐκ, which subsequently has affected the translation, meaning and overall understanding of this passage, four particular issues will be examined in this section: (1) should this passage be read with or without the negation (οὐκ)? (2) How should

<sup>5</sup> As discussed below, these two streams of thought likely reflect the cultic ideology of the larger DSS movement and the later Qumran community (a distinct offshoot group from the larger parent movement that resettled at Qumran). Due to their observance of the 364-day calendar, the former group appears to have offered certain non-calendar binding sacrifices, or alternatively, sacrifices for non-temple associated festivals.

<sup>6</sup> My translation.

the term ἀναθήματα in the first line be understood? (3) How should εἰργόμενοι be translated, grammatically? and (4) how should the statement ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν be read, particularly in view of the translation of θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν in the first part of this passage?

Before discussing these issues, it is important to note that the Essenes are described as sending ἀναθήματα to the temple. This suggests that like in Philo (*Prob.* 75) and what we know about the entire DSS movement, Josephus' Essenes revered the temple and cult in principle. As Albert Baumgarten perceptively notes, the Essenes' reverence for the temple and cult is also indicated by the fact that according to Josephus, Judah the Essene was teaching in the temple and John the Essene was appointed at a meeting in the temple.<sup>7</sup>

Ἀναθήματα is typically rendered as “votive offerings.”<sup>8</sup> John Strugnell, followed by Joseph Baumgarten, rightly noted that ἀναθήματα is non-sacrificial.<sup>9</sup> According to A. Baumgarten, this term can be interpreted in a number of ways. Following John Nolland,<sup>10</sup> A. Baumgarten contends that it could include the temple tax that all Jews were required to pay.<sup>11</sup> Alternatively, he suggests that sending ἀναθήματα could have meant voluntary sacrifices, which both Jews and non-Jews were free to send.<sup>12</sup> Despite how ἀναθήματα is interpreted, as is discussed below, sending it to the temple suggests that for some reason these particular Essenes were not able to bring it themselves, further implying that they were

<sup>7</sup> See A. Baumgarten, “Josephus on Essene Sacrifice,” *JJS* 45 (1995): 169–183, 175 and n. 27. Also see J. Nolland, “A Misleading Statement of the Essene Attitude to the Temple,” *RevQ* 9 (1977–1978): 555–562, 557–558, who similarly notes the point that the Essenes revered the temple. The presence of Essenes in Jerusalem and at the temple reflects the notion that in view of the *Damascus Document* (particularly CD 3:21b–4:2a; 9:14a; 11:17b–18a; 14:19b [= 4Q266 10 i 13]; 16:13–17a and 4Q266 11 1–8a) the larger DSS movement participated in some sacrifices. This similarity speaks to the probable link between the Essenes and the DSS movement.

<sup>8</sup> See LSJ s.v.

<sup>9</sup> See J. Strugnell, “Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: *Antiquities* XVIII.18–22,” *JBL* 7 (1958): 106–115, 114 n. 36 and J.M. Baumgarten, “The Essenes and the Temple: A Reappraisal,” in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 57–74, 68.

<sup>10</sup> See Nolland, “Misleading Statement,” 557–558.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the half-shekel offering see J. Liver, “The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature,” *HTR* 56 (1963): 173–198; J. Magness, “Temple Tax, Clothing, and the Anti-Hellenizing Attitude of the Sectarians,” in *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Qumran Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 188–209, 188–193 and 206–209.

<sup>12</sup> See A. Baumgarten, “Josephus,” 174–175.

not present around the temple. But what was the reason(s) for their position? Due to the variant reading of this passage (the {Lat.} and {E} against the others), *Ant.* 18.19 becomes ambiguous at this point.<sup>13</sup> Certain possibilities will be probed in order to determine this.

## 2. *Accepting or Rejecting the Reading of οὐκ in the Text*

The {Lat.} version of *Ant.* 18.19 is at least five to six centuries older than the extant Greek MSS where οὐκ is absent. Nolland rightly favored the former ({Lat.} followed by {E}); he accurately stressed its importance on the basis of being the oldest extant witness.<sup>14</sup> The {Lat.} version is a fifth or sixth century MS made by the order of Cassiodorus. Outside of his version of *Ant.* (particularly 18.19), all of the extant MSS of this passage are known in Greek.<sup>15</sup> Presumably, {Lat.}, which is followed by {E}, derived from an earlier Greek source;<sup>16</sup> however, whether or not the reading favored in {Lat.} predated the source from the extant Greek MSS where οὐκ is absent is uncertain.

Marie-Joseph Lagrange (working before the discovery of the scrolls) favored the tradition behind the Greek MSS. He reasoned that οὐκ was inserted into the {Lat.} because of Philo and Eusebius' influence: "La négation a été ajoutée dans le latin d'après l'idée accréditée par Philon et surtout par Eusèbe que les Esséniens ne faisaient pas d'immolations."<sup>17</sup> Lagrange drops the οὐκ in his translation:

Ils envoient des objets consacrés au Temple et s'acquittent des sacrifices avec des purifications supérieures, à ce qu'ils pensent, et se tenant à l'écart pour delà même de l'enceinte du Temple commune (à tous) ils s'acquittent entre eux des (dits) sacrifices.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> As opposed to the larger DSS movement, the Qumran community chose to refrain from visiting the temple. This is attested throughout *MMT*, the *Rule of Community*, and 4QFlor (4Q174) (= 4QMidrEschat<sup>a</sup>; cf. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde [4QMidrEschat<sup>a,b</sup>]: Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditions-geschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ["Florilegium"] und 4Q177 ["Catena A"] repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden [STD] 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994).*

<sup>14</sup> Nolland "Misleading Statement," 558.

<sup>15</sup> Although it is non-extant, a fourth century Latin version of the *Jewish Antiquities* was attributed to Hegesippus.

<sup>16</sup> This is against Black, who thinks that the οὐκ was imported into the texts from a misunderstood Latin translation. See below for this discussion.

<sup>17</sup> M.-J. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris: Gabalda, 1931), 317.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

He also asserted that the Essenes wanted to sacrifice; yet their “refinements de purifications” prevented them, unless they risked contamination; here Lagrange described the absence of οὐκ as naturally harmonizing better with Josephus’ further statement, ἐφ’ αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.<sup>19</sup>

Lagrange is correct to note that the Essenes wanted to prevent risk of impurity. This forward thinking action adheres with the group decision to separate themselves (εἰσγόμενοι as middle) from the sanctuary. Lagrange also rightly observes that the group’s “refinements de purifications” prevented them from sacrificing. His suggestion that they sacrificed in the temple from which they withdrew, however, is untenable; this, surely, would have incurred impurity. The rejection of offering sacrifice by the Qumran group is particularly evident during the latter stages of its development.<sup>20</sup>

Joseph Thomas (also writing before the discovery of the scrolls, and principally arguing against Lagrange) rejected the evidence of the majority of the Greek MSS in favor of the {Lat.} and the {E} tradition, which favored οὐκ. He contended that even though the {Lat.} and {E} predated the Greek MSS, argument for accepting or rejecting οὐκ should not be based on textual tradition. Rather, he suggested that the meaning of *Ant.* 18.19 should be based on internal criteria.<sup>21</sup> David Wallace (who also accepted οὐκ) followed Thomas’ assertions. He reasserted four of Thomas’ reasons (based on internal evidence, which this study also accepts) why οὐκ should be retained:<sup>22</sup>

1. He claimed that the first clause, indicating that the Essenes sent their offerings to the Temple, could be justified by their avoidance of it, “The Essenes avoided going into the Temple, but sent their offerings

<sup>19</sup> See *ibid.*, 316 n. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Lagrange’s assertions are problematic on a number of grounds. Firstly, he assumes that the Greek MSS reading of this passage is to be accepted over the older {Lat.} and {E}. Secondly, assuming that there is a link between the Essenes and the DSS movement, the type of sacrifice discussed in *Ant.* 18.19 is not spelled out. On the basis of this, Lagrange likely assumes that various sacrifices are referred to. This position is against the ideology of the larger DSS movement, which participated in some sacrifice while adopting a more idealized and eschatological view of the sacrificial cult.

<sup>21</sup> See J. Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (Gembloux: Duclot, 1935), 12 n. 3, for his discussion concerning the criteria of determining the more original reading of *Ant.* 18.19.

<sup>22</sup> See D. Wallace, “The Essenes and Temple Sacrifice,” *TZ* 13 (1957): 335–338.

instead.”<sup>23</sup> As discussed below, this assumption rests on construing εἰργόμενοι in the second clause as grammatically middle.

2. In order for the first clause to make sense, στέλλοντες and ἐπιτελοῦσιν must be in opposition to one another. Wallace suggests here that the passage without οὐκ would be meaningless, particularly if the passage reads “they send ἀναθήματα to the temple but they offer θυσίας.” On the basis of this, Wallace is correct to asks, “if it was their habit to go to the temple to sacrifice, why would they also send it?”<sup>24</sup>
3. He suggested that στέλλοντες was an adversative participle which required the negation, particularly on the basis of his belief that “a participial form when used in preference to a finite verb indicates subordination which is either causal, temporal, or adversative.”<sup>25</sup> Moreover, he also contended that δέ was to be read as an adversative in conjunction with οὐκ.
4. He contended that there was a natural antithesis between ἀναθήματα and θυσίας, and he argued that the omission of οὐκ would make this clause meaningless. Wallace further contended that the anarthrous use of θυσίας suggests a negation. Also, he noted θυσίας as being included in the generic use of the word ἀναθήματα.

Thomas’ first two assumptions (put forth here by Wallace) correctly rely on the verb εἰργόμενοι as being grammatically middle, “they separated themselves.” Ralph Marcus, followed by Strugnell<sup>26</sup> and Frank Cross<sup>27</sup> (all of whom argued their case after the discovery of the scrolls), on the other hand, noted that εἰργόμενοι is always passive in Josephus.<sup>28</sup> Apart from Marcus, they (along with Louis Feldman and J. Baumgarten, who later adopted this interpretation)<sup>29</sup> based their view on reading the first clause of *Ant.* 18.19 without οὐκ, “they send ἀναθήματα to the temple but θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν with different purification.” Moreover, these scholars

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> See Strugnell, “Flavius Josephus,” 114, also his n. 34.

<sup>27</sup> See F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran And Modern Biblical Studies: The Haskell Lectures 1956–1957* (London: Duckworth, 1958), 76 n. 119.

<sup>28</sup> See R. Marcus, “Pharisees, Essenes, and Gnostics,” *JBL* 73 (1954): 157–161, 158, and also his n. 2 there. Also see this discussion below.

<sup>29</sup> See Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish Antiquities, Books 18–19* (trans. L.H. Feldman; LCL 433; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 16–17 n. a, and J. Baumgarten “The Essenes and the Temple,” 63.

also seem to take the last part of this passage, ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, as reinforcing the same directive (they offer sacrifice).<sup>30</sup> These scholars assume this reading in view of the discovered animal bones found at Qumran, which they took as representing a sacrificing Essene community.

Strugnell, Cross, Feldman, and J. Baumgarten assume that the Essenes and the DSS movement are the same. Moreover, they place them both at Qumran.<sup>31</sup> These scholars also claim that the Essenes (particularly at Qumran) offered sacrifice. These claims are untenable on a number of grounds. Firstly, they fail to recognize that there may have been at least two or more groups (from the larger DSS movement) of Essenes which reflected at least two streams of thought. Although the larger DSS movement may have participated in some sacrifices,<sup>32</sup> no sacrifices were offered at Qumran;<sup>33</sup> the animal bones found at Qumran are not from sacrifice, but rather from a kind of ritual meal.<sup>34</sup> Despite the peculiar way the animal bones were buried, no altar was found. It is likely that at least one group (the group related to Qumran) ceased offering sacrifice close to their Qumran occupation.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, they contradict themselves in

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<sup>30</sup> See below where the meaning of this line is discussed.

<sup>31</sup> Although this connection is probable, only a branch of this movement (i.e. the Qumran community) resided at Qumran. The above scholars make the assumption that the Essenes, the DSS movement, and Khirbet Qumran are all connected without qualifying their claim.

<sup>32</sup> As previously noted (n. 7 above), this position may also be evident in Josephus' description concerning Judah the Essene and John the Essene. See below for Josephus' references.

<sup>33</sup> The situation at Qumran more reflects the ideology and stance of the later Qumran community, which although separated from the larger DSS movement, remained part of this movement in view of their Essene makeup.

<sup>34</sup> F.E. Zeuner, highlighted by R. de Vaux, examined 39 bone deposits from the entire site. Both concluded that the remains of some bones were charred. This indication led them to believe that they were either roasted or boiled off, thus leading to the conclusion that they were the remains of a religious meal. See R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1959; London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 12 and especially 14, and F.E. Zeuner, "Notes on Qumran," *PEQ* 92 (1960): 27–36, 30. Also see J. Magness, "Communal Meals and Sacred Space at Qumran," in *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism: Papers From a Symposium Held at the Frederick R. Weisman Museum, University of Minnesota, March 10–12, 2000* (ed. S. McNally; British Archaeological Reports International Series 941; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 15–28, 19 and eadem, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 120.

<sup>35</sup> For discussion of the Qumran occupation and the development of the Qumran community from the larger DSS movement, see J.-D. Hopkins, "Sacrifice in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Khirbet Qumran, the Essenes and Cultic Spiritualization" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Manchester, 2005).

their reading. If this passage without οὐκ was correct, then the view that the Essenes were a sacrificing community suggests that they (the Essenes) sacrificed, but not in the temple at Jerusalem from which they were excluded or banned (εἰργόμενοι read passively which they suggest). Does this imply that the Essenes offered sacrifice elsewhere, away from the temple? In an attempt to smooth over this obvious difficulty, Black, who is followed by J. Baumgarten, suggested that the Essenes performed their sacrifices at the same temple to which they sent their ἀναθήματα (in Jerusalem).<sup>36</sup>

In his discussion on the view of Essene sacrifice, Black surmised that the most original reading of *Ant.* 18.19 lacked οὐκ. He conjectured that it may have been imported into the text from a misunderstood Latin translation. He suggests that Cassiodorus' translation ("in templo autem anathemata prohibent, sarificia vel hostias com populo non celebrant") could have indicated a negation in the sense that the Essenes do not celebrate sacrifices with the people, thus, rather, performing them by themselves. Black implies that the Essenes had free access to the temple based on an Essene Gate. He wrongly posits, however, that this Essene Gate allowed the group to bring their sacrifices to the temple in seclusion from the people.<sup>37</sup>

J. Baumgarten postulated that in view of priestly laxity in the temple (especially during a time when there was an attempt to achieve universality regarding temple ritual purity matters), the Essenes could have brought individual sacrifices, which like votive offerings had no fixed time at which to be offered.<sup>38</sup> Both Black's and J. Baumgarten's postulations fail to convince for a number of reasons: (1) both arguments fail to answer the question poignantly put forth by Thomas, if the Essenes regularly went to the temple, why would they send offerings? (2) As A.

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<sup>36</sup> See M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 40–41 and J. Baumgarten, "The Essenes and the Temple," 63–74.

<sup>37</sup> See Black's discussion in *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 40, also his n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> See J. Baumgarten, "The Essenes and the Temple," 63–74, who describes this matter. Baumgarten's position here may reflect the actions of the larger DSS movement only. However, Baumgarten appears to miss this point on account of he fails to recognize the difference between the larger DSS movement and the later Qumran community, which both reflected different cultic views. Also, as noted here, Baumgarten reads εἰργόμενοι as a passive participle which raises a number of difficult questions. With regard to the ideological distinctions between the larger DSS movement and the Qumran community, see n. 5 above.



Baumgarten insightfully notes,<sup>39</sup> both Black and J. Baumgarten fail to account for how they think the current temple authorities would allow a group which they banished (εἰσγόμενοι read passively according to both) from the temple to have special privileges to the temple; (3) Black misconstrues the location of the Essene Gate, which was located at the city wall, not the temple. Moreover, like the scholars above, both Black and J. Baumgarten fail to recognize that there seems to have been at least two Essene groups. As previously noted, although the larger DSS movement could have offered certain sacrifices in Jerusalem,<sup>40</sup> the group related to Qumran ceased sacrificing during the latter stages of its development. This is particularly evident in the Qumran archaeology as well as the *Rule of the Community* and 4QFlor. In these texts prayer and praise was likened as offerings and the community as temple is envisaged as a place which atones.<sup>41</sup>

### 3. *Εἰσγόμενοι: Middle or Passive?*

Viewing εἰσγόμενοι as grammatically passive has been predicated on reading *Ant.* 18.19 in the following way, without οὐκ:

They send votive gifts to the temple but perform sacrifices with different purifications, which are customary; for this reason they were excluded from the public precinct of the temple, thus they perform sacrifices by themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Grammatically, εἰσγόμενοι can be interpreted as either a middle or passive plural participle. As Klinzing notes,<sup>43</sup> those who have favoured οὐκ, usually read εἰσγόμενοι as a middle participle, “they separated them-

<sup>39</sup> See A. Baumgarten, “Josephus,” 171, and n. 8 there.

<sup>40</sup> As noted earlier, due to a calendar difference between Jerusalem’s temple establishment and the DSS movement, only certain sacrifices were offered. See n. 5 above which also makes this distinction.

<sup>41</sup> Here sacrifice is observed in a more spiritualized way. See 1QS III:4–12(= 4Q255 ii 1–9+4Q257 iii 6–14+4Q262 1 1–4); IX:3–5, 26b; X:6a, 8b, 14b, and 4Q174 1 i, 21, 2 5b–7a respectively. With regard to the notion behind spiritualization see J.-D. Hopkins, “Hebrew Patriarchs in the Book of *Jubilees*: A Descriptive Analysis as an Interpretative Methodology,” in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (ed. K.D. Dobos and M. Köszeghy; Hebrew Bible Monographs 21; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 239–252, 244 n. 22.

<sup>42</sup> My translation.

<sup>43</sup> See G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 45 n. 14.

selves.”<sup>44</sup> Those who have rejected οὐκ, generally favoured εἰργόμενοι as passive, “they were banned or excluded.”<sup>45</sup> Exceptions, however, are found in the translations of Thomas, Lightfoot, Cross, Steckoll and Nolland;<sup>46</sup> each favour οὐκ while rendering εἰργόμενοι as grammatically passive. They roughly translate *Ant.* 18.19 in the following way:

They send offerings/gifts to the Temple but do not offer sacrifices because of different purifications which should be used, and for this reason, having been excluded from the common precincts of the Temple, they perform their sacrifices among themselves.

It is interesting to note here that Lagrange offers yet another translation of this passage, which is different from the previous one mentioned. As noted above, he rejects οὐκ and renders εἰργόμενοι as grammatically middle.<sup>47</sup> His translation, too, fails to answer the question, “why would the Essenes send offerings to a temple which they regularly attended?”

As noted previously, J. Baumgarten contends that εἰργόμενοι should always be rendered passively in Josephus.<sup>48</sup> Strugnell suggests that the use of this verb as passive in Thucydides could have influenced how Josephus

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<sup>44</sup> See the translations of those who favor the οὐκ and follow the middle reading of εἰργόμενοι: J. Baumgarten, “Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectaricians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls,” *HTR* 46 (1953): 141–159, 155; Wallace, “The Essenes,” 335–338; K. Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community: Its Origins and Teachings* (London: Black, 1959), 55; T.H. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* (NovTSup 23; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 120, also his n. 2; M. Petit, “Les Esséens de Philon d’Alexandrie et les Esséniens,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 139–155, 151; and D. Green, “To ‘... send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the law’: The Similarity of Views on an Alternative to Temple Sacrifice by Three Jewish Sectarian Movements of the Late Second Temple Period,” in *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches* (ed. M. Dillon; Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996), 165–175, 165.

<sup>45</sup> See Klinzing, *Umdeutung*, 45 n. 14 who also takes up this claim. Also see Marcus, “Pharisees,” 158; Strugnell, “Flavius Josephus,” 113; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.5 (Feldman, LCL); Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 39–40; J. Baumgarten, “The Essene and the Temple,” 62; H. Lichtenberger, “Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community,” in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. 2: *Essays in Religion and History* (ed. W.S. Green; BJS 9; Ann Arbor: Scholars Press, 1980), 159–171, 160; T.S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 115; and A. Baumgarten, “Josephus,” 169–183.

<sup>46</sup> S.H. Steckoll, “The Qumran Sect in Relation to the Temple of Leontopolis,” *RevQ* 6 (1967–1969): 55–69, 65; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 75–76 and Nolland, “Misleading Statement,” 558.

<sup>47</sup> See n. 17 above.

<sup>48</sup> See nn. 28 and 29 above. Also see J. Baumgarten’s reappraisal in “The Essenes and the Temple,” 63.

used it.<sup>49</sup> Referring to K.H. Rengstorf's *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*, as well as its use in other Josephus passages, A. Baumgarten similarly asserts that the use of εἰργόμενοι is passive.<sup>50</sup>

Εἰργόμενοι most likely should be read as grammatically middle for three reasons: (1) this term is contained in a causal clause, which favours the negation in the context of *Ant.* 18.19; (2) if the Essenes were banned, it is unlikely that Josephus would have also mentioned the presence of an Essene teaching in the court of the temple (unless he was talking about a particular group of Essenes which he doesn't appear to indicate). On the basis of an Essene presence in the temple court, it is more meaningful to stress a middle reading of εἰργόμενοι, "they separated themselves," especially since they (the Essenes) would be free to frequent the temple whenever they wanted, like Judah the Essene;<sup>51</sup> and (3) as will be discussed later, reading εἰργόμενοι as a middle participle better harmonizes with the overall ideology of the DSS movement and later Qumran community, particularly in view of their strict purity and sacrificial regulations as recorded in their related texts.

The Essenes most likely excluded themselves from the temple both ideologically and physically.<sup>52</sup> Although it is not explicitly clear to which separation Josephus is referring, it is likely that the former is intended. Although the case for εἰργόμενοι as middle is preferred here, in view of an overall understanding of the Essene group, this term perhaps subtly conveyed a two-fold meaning, incorporating a passive understanding of this verb. The Essenes most likely separated from the temple because their approach to sacrifice was excluded or rejected from being practiced by the temple establishment. In view of this, it seems plausible to contend that the Essenes as a group were never rejected from the sanctuary per se. Rather, it seems more likely that it was their views on purity (θυσίας [οὐκ] ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἀγνειῶν) and most sacrifices (ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν) that were excluded.

<sup>49</sup> See Strugnell who argues this case, "Flavius Josephus," 114 n. 34.

<sup>50</sup> See A. Baumgarten, "Josephus," 171 n. 6.

<sup>51</sup> See *J.W.* 1.78; *Ant.* 13.311. Also see *J.W.* 2.562–567, where John the Essene was appointed at a public meeting held at the temple.

<sup>52</sup> Although the larger DSS movement offered some sacrifice, perhaps only fully separating from the temple ideologically, the Qumran community completely separated from the temple, both ideologically and physically, especially during their Qumran settlement.

4. Ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν—*They Sacrifice (What) by Themselves?*

Josephus' further remark, ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, seems to suggest that the Essenes, being separated from the temple, did perform sacrifices, thus enforcing the view that the more original reading of *Ant.* 18.19 lacked οὐκ. This reading allows for the possibility of interpreting θυσίας in both occurrences of this passage as meaning actual sacrifice. But this reading also raises two unsettling questions, 1) did the Essenes, having some special arrangement, indeed, sacrifice in the temple at Jerusalem? Or 2) did they sacrifice in their own community? Whereas J. Baumgarten and Black attempted to assert that the Essenes had a special arrangement in the temple, Feldman, followed by Strugnell, Cross and others inferred that the Essenes offered sacrifice in their own community away from the temple. As illustrated above, both arguments fail to fully convince. Therefore, on the basis of this, exactly what is the meaning of θυσίας in general, and in particular its meaning in the last line of this passage (ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν)?

*The Meaning of θυσίας*

θυσίας is a feminine plural noun that means “sacrifices” or “offerings.”<sup>53</sup> The use of this term in the first clause of *Ant.* 18.19 seems to convey a different meaning than its use in the last line of this passage. In the first clause (according to the {Lat.} and {E} MSS), the Essenes do not sacrifice because of different purifications to which they adhere (θυσίας [οὐκ] ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἄγνειῶν). The purification(s) that the Essenes observed (which most likely applied to a type of offering that they practiced), is different from the θυσίας and its purity regulations, which were practiced in Jerusalem's temple and by its authority. This notion is attested in both the first clause as well as in the last line of the passage: θυσίας [οὐκ] ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἄγνειῶν and ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

Primarily based on the last line of *Ant.* 18.19, which is a continuing thought from the idea in the first clause (θυσίας [οὐκ] ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἄγνειῶν), the Essenes offer different sacrifices than those offered in Jerusalem. If the Essenes offered the same sacrifices (sacrifices

<sup>53</sup> See LSJ s.v.

adhering to the same stipulations as required in Jerusalem's temple) elsewhere, this would be meaningless. The entire passage stresses that the Essenes offered different sacrifices than those offered in Jerusalem, which incorporated different purity regulations. On this basis, it seems acceptable to interpret these sacrifices as (1) sacrifices for non temple-approved festivals, or those that were non-calendar binding (which correlates with the ideology of the larger DSS movement), or (2) spiritualized sacrifices or substitutes for sacrifice (which correlates with the ideology of the later Qumran community).

J. Baumgarten translated the term *θυσίας* (in the last line of the passage) as worship. Although it is more preferable to translate the term as sacrifice, the idea behind his translation (which is followed by others) is tenable. On the basis of accepting a more spiritualized view of *ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν*, an examination of the character of Essene sacrifice is essential.

#### *The Character of Essene θυσίας*

It is possible that the Essenes's *θυσία* was the red heifer, which according to the law (Num 19) was sacrificed outside the camp. As described by John Bowman and others, although the rite of the red heifer was called a sacrifice, it was not considered an actual sacrifice since it was offered outside of the temple.<sup>54</sup> The Essenes could have performed these sacrifices (*θυσίας*) outside of the temple camp on their own (*ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν*).

It is also possible that the Essenes viewed their *θυσίας* (in *ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν*), as meals, prayer, praise, and study. Milik<sup>55</sup> and Kuhn<sup>56</sup> viewed *θυσίας* as referring to the Essenes' (thus, subsequently, the Qumran community's) meals. With regard to study, perhaps Philo

<sup>54</sup> For a study on the red heifer, see J. Bowman, "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?" *RevQ* 1 (1958–1959): 73–84; J. Milgrom, "The Paradox of the Red Cow," *VT* 31 (1981): 62–72; J.M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 (1980): 157–170; idem, "The Red Cow Purification Rites in Qumran Texts," *JJS* 46 (1995): 112–119; A. Baumgarten, "The Paradox of the Red Heifer," *VT* 43 (1993): 442–451 and idem, "Josephus," 177–181.

<sup>55</sup> J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; Naperville: Allenson, 1959), 105 n. 2.

<sup>56</sup> K.G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; London: SCM Press, 1958), 65–93, especially 68 n. 15.

gives insight into the Essene view of sacrifice. As noted above in Charles Yonge's translation of *Prob.* 75, the Essenes thought that studying to preserve the purity and holiness of their minds was more acceptable to God than sacrificing animals.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the importance of the idea of studying as a substitute for animal sacrifice is also conveyed in Philo's *Prob.* 80–82. In view of Philo's references, it is probable that in *Ant.* 18.19, the Essenes viewed their θυσίας with διαφορότητι ἀγνειῶν as study: i.e. studying to preserve purity and holiness.

C. SUMMARY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
THE ESSENE VIEW OF SACRIFICE AND THE  
MOVEMENT RELATED TO THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

As noted above, at least two streams of thought concerning Essene sacrifice exist. Although the variant views can only be seen in *Ant.* 18.19, it is probably more likely that, similar to *Prob.* 75, *Ant.* 18.19 reflects a more spiritualized understanding, which also coincides with the ideology of later Qumran community (an offshoot group from the larger parent Essene movement). As I have noted elsewhere:

Before taking up residence at Qumran, which in view of the archaeological evidence at Qumran was after 100 B.C.E., the Qumran-related community seems to have embraced both a literal and figurative view of sacrifice. This can be attested in the various views of sacrifice as described in the *Damascus Document*. The *Damascus Document* makes explicit reference to sacrificial regulations (like in CD 16:13–17a) as well as emphasizing a more figurative view of sacrifice (i.e. that righteous prayer is equivalent to sacrifice noted in CD 11:18c–21a). When the community moved to Qumran, its view of sacrifice became predominantly spiritualized. This is attested in the descriptions of sacrifice in the *Rule of the Community* and *4QFlorilegium*.<sup>58</sup>

With regard to *Ant.* 18.19, when referring to θυσίας (in ἐφ' αὐτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν) in a spiritualized manner, there has been the tendency to accept the οὐκ and read εἰσγόμενοι as grammatically middle (they separated themselves).<sup>59</sup> It would seem that this spiritualized view

<sup>57</sup> See C.D. Yonge, *The Works of Philo Judaeus, the Contemporary of Josephus: Translated from the Greek* (4 vols.; London: Bohn, 1854–1855); repr. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993).

<sup>58</sup> See Hopkins, "Hebrew Patriarchs in the Book of *Jubilees*," 243 n. 19. With regard to references in the *Rule of the Community* and *4QFlor*, see n. 41 above.

<sup>59</sup> See n. 43 above.

of Essene  $\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  was initiated in light of the discovery of the scrolls. This, however, was not the case. Thomas and Lightfoot asserted a spiritualized view of *Ant.* 18.19 before the scrolls were discovered.

Understanding Josephus' description of Essene sacrifice in a more spiritualized way coheres with the view of sacrifice of the Qumran community, particularly during the later stages of its development; this is attested throughout their texts. Just like the Essenes (described above), the Qumran community, too, developed a more spiritualized understanding of sacrifice. Although the Qumran community revered both the temple and its sacrifice (which they viewed as impure and defiled), they viewed their own prayer, praise, and study as substitutes for sacrifice. Concerning prayer and praise, and a place which atones, the *Rule of the Community* asserts the following:

When these exist in Israel in accordance with these in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal, in order to atone of the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for the approval for the land, without the flesh of grunt offering and without the fats of sacrifice—the offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a free will offering.<sup>60</sup>

In view of the above textual considerations, it seems clear that not only is Josephus in harmony with Philo's description of Essene sacrifice, but that the view expressed by these authors also is in harmony with the Qumran community, particularly during the latter stages of its development. As demonstrated above, Josephus notes that the Essenes offered a type of sacrifice that was different from the sacrifice performed at Jerusalem. This type of offering served as substitutes for actual sacrifices. According to Josephus, these sacrifices were performed by themselves according to different purity standards. Unfortunately, Josephus gives no description of how these sacrifices differed from those that were performed at the temple.

Philo perhaps provides insight into what some of these sacrificial substitutes looked like. He describes the Essenes as "studying to preserve the purity and holiness of their minds." The idea of studying is also picked up in the following passages of *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, particularly 80–82, which seems to reinforce the idea that studying which preserved

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<sup>60</sup> 1QS IX:3–5a. Passage taken from F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 1:91.

purity and holiness was also viewed as a substitute for sacrifice, i.e. it was viewed as more important to God than sacrificing animals. Both Philo and Josephus imply that the Essenes revered the temple and sacrifice; however, they preferred to offer a more spiritualized type of sacrifice.





## 1 ENOCH IN THE CONTEXT OF PHILO'S WRITINGS

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The discovery of many Aramaic and several Hebrew fragments of *1 Enoch* in Qumran Caves 1 and 4,<sup>1</sup> in conjunction with the importance of this text for other documents of the Qumran community, has led some scholars to the assumption that there was a special, almost sectarian, connection between Enochic literature and the Qumranites.<sup>2</sup> This reasoning is, to a certain extent, natural. As yet, no direct evidence has been found that Hellenistic Jewish groups other than the one at Qumran knew and read *1 Enoch*. We do have some fragments of the Jewish Hellenistic historian Eupolemus,<sup>3</sup> but they are very scanty and are not usually taken into consideration in answering the question of how widely disseminated and how significant *1 Enoch* was in Jewish society of the late Second Temple period. Even without direct literary support from the period, however, some scholars challenge the sectarian character of the Enochic literature, basing on the arguments from its content.<sup>4</sup>

We have the Greek translation of some parts of the book. The translation is known from one parchment (the Gizeh-Akhmim fragment) that contains *1 En.* 1–32, one papyrus (the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus)

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<sup>1</sup> See J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). The Aramaic fragments of the so called *Book of Giants*, which forms part of the *Book of Watchers*, have also been commented upon by L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 65; G. Boccaccini, "Introduction: From the Enoch Literature to Enochic Judaism," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. idem; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2005), 1–14, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ps.-Eup. frg. 1 (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.1–9) according to C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, vol. I: *Historians* (SBLTT 20; Pseudepigrapha Series 10; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 170–175.

<sup>4</sup> See the articles by M. Himmelfarb, "Jubilees and Sectarianism," and J.S. Anderson, "Denouncement Speech in Jubilees and other Enochic Literature," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 129–131 and 132–136, respectively.

that contains *1 En.* 97:6–104:13; 106:1–107:3; one tachygraph fragment from the Vatican (Vatic. 1809) containing *1 En.* 89:42–49, and partly from a transmission by Gregory Syncellus.<sup>5</sup> The first part of *1 Enoch*—the *Book of Watchers*—has been best preserved in Greek. In fact, some Greek fragments were also found at Qumran, but whether they belong to *1 Enoch* is still a matter for debate.<sup>6</sup>

The Greek translation has been variously dated. M. Black believed the translation had been made by Christians, while E. Larson thinks that it dates from the period between 150 and 50 B.C.E.<sup>7</sup> Of course, Christian literary sources are rich enough in allusions to the Greek *Enoch*, but, for the reasons mentioned above, no literary evidence has been brought in support of an earlier date.

This paper aims to show that the works of Philo of Alexandria can, when studied properly, serve as a reliable source of such evidence. Like many ancient authors, Philo prefers allusions to direct quotations, weaving themes and expressions into the texture of his narrative. It would also be inappropriate to expect that he, commenting upon the Septuagint, and not on *1 Enoch*, would prefer particular plotlines of the latter to those of the Septuagint where they differ. Therefore we have to look not for a commentary upon clearly formulated Enochic subjects, but for Philo's knowledge and use of these Enochic subjects as they are incorporated into his commentary upon the Septuagint.

Assuming that Philo would not have worked with any text but the Greek, I will confine this study to the extant Greek fragments of *1 Enoch* and to only two treatises of Philo, i.e. *De gigantibus* (*On Giants*) and *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* (*That God Is Unchangeable*), which seem to be the most relevant to the Greek fragments.

I will start with an example. The treatise *On Giants* begins with the description of Noah's righteousness as against all other people—it is a commentary upon Gen 5:32–6:2. Philo says:

<sup>5</sup> See A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 17–20. The Greek fragments of *1 Enoch* have been collected and edited by M. Black, ed., *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 3–44.

<sup>6</sup> See J. VanderKam and P. Flint, "Were New Testament Scrolls Found at Qumran?" in *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 311–320.

<sup>7</sup> M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 87; E. Larson, "The LXX and Enoch: Influence and Interpretation in Early Jewish Literature," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 84–89.

And no unjust man at any time *implants* (σπείρει) a masculine *generation* (γενεάν) in the soul, but such, being unmanly, and broken, and effeminate in their minds, do naturally become the *parents* of female children (θηλυγονοῦσι); having *planted* (φυτεύσαντες) no *tree* (δένδρον) of virtue, *the fruit of which must of necessity have been beautiful and precious*, but only trees of wickedness and of the passions, the *shoots* (βλάσται) of which are womanlike.<sup>8</sup> (Gig. 4)

In this commentary the image of planting a tree predominates. Yet, the image is lacking in the Septuagint, except for a reference to the vine planted by Noah (Gen 9:20). Meanwhile, the italicized words and images are all used in 1 En. 10 in connection with Noah:

and his *seed* (σπέρμα) will last for all the generations of the age ... and the plant of righteousness and truth will appear ... it will be *planted* (φυτευθήσεται) with joy ... then a tree will be planted (φυτευθήσεται δένδρον) ... till they will have engendered (γεννήσονται) thousands ... and all the trees (πάντα τὰ δένδρα) upon the earth will rejoice; it will be planted and they [i.e. all the righteous] will be planting (ἔσονται ... φυτεύοντες) vines, ... olive trees [with excellent, abundant fruits].<sup>9</sup> (1 En. 10:3–19)

Philo also uses here the word βλάστη, “shoot,” a word not found in Greek ethical language. But in 1 En. 26:1 this word comes up in connection with and in the development of the image of a tree: “trees with branches that ... bring shoots (βλαστούσας).” Thus, 1 En. 10 explains the image employed by Philo, in regard both to Philo’s argument and to his language. It associates Noah with the image of a tree, with the description of righteous men who plant fruitful trees, and with the idea of being fecund. In this description we see the four roots used also by Philo: σπείρω, δένδρον, βλάστη, φυτεύω. Only one of them—φυτεύω—is properly applied to Noah in the Septuagint (Gen 9:20).

Let us follow the text of 1 Enoch chapter by chapter. 1 Enoch 2; 3–5 talk about the unchangeableness of all created things in nature toward God: “Examine all the works in heaven, how they do not change (οὐκ ἠλλοίωσαν) their paths, ...” (1 En. 2:1). In the subsequent lines the key expression οὐκ ἠλλοιοῦνται is repeated three times (2:2; 3–5:2, 3). At

<sup>8</sup> Here and below, the translation is according to C.D. Yonge, *The Works of Philo Judaeus, the Contemporary of Josephus: Translated from the Greek* (4 vols.; London: Bohn, 1854–1855); repr. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), sometimes with my emendations.

<sup>9</sup> Here and below, I quote the Greek text according to the edition of Black, *Apocalypse Henochi Graece*. I have rendered it into English with consideration of the existing translations by Nickelsburg (1 Enoch 1) and Black (*Book of Enoch*).

the same time, one of Philo's main goals in *That God Is Unchangeable* is to show that the biblical descriptions of God do not contradict one of the main theological theses of Platonism, namely that God does not change (οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦται).<sup>10</sup>

In order to substantiate his claim, Plato says that even good organic things, for instance, plants, do not easily change under extrinsic influence (πάν φυτόν . . . ἤμισα ἀλλοιοῦται), nor does a good human soul.<sup>11</sup> In *Deus* 33–48, Philo reproduces the whole chain of Plato's argument, but replaces the bare mention of "every plant" of the *Republic* with an extensive description of trees that never change their life course, bringing fruits in due time. As far as we can judge, it is only *1 En.* 2:1–3–5:4, that explicitly contrasts everlasting continuity and unchangeableness in nature with the non-continuity of human behavior toward God.<sup>12</sup> The verb ἀλλοιόω is only used in *1 Enoch* in this type of context. *1 Enoch* not only alludes to the heavenly bodies (2:1) (something common to other Jewish texts of the Second Temple period), but also extensively discusses the example of trees, which faithfully repeat their cycle of seasonal changes every year. Thus, the juxtaposition of thoughts in *1 Enoch* and the use of the key verb ἀλλοιόω, which was significant against the background of the Platonic tradition, strongly echoed the famous passage of Plato's *Republic*. Plato says: God does not change, because even organic objects do not change, nor do good human souls. The idea of *1 Enoch* is as follows: the heavenly bodies do not change; organic objects, although they are perishable, do not change the succession of their life stages, especially trees (an extensive description of a tree's life course follows); but you, humans, did not remain faithful, and changed your minds. There is a lacuna in the Greek text, which is easy to fill with the help of an extant Aramaic fragment (4QEn<sup>a</sup> ar [4Q201] 1 ii 3): the lost text describes the previous stage in a tree's life, when it withers and sheds all its foliage. Philo, attentive as he was to every assonance between Platonic and Jewish tradition, would not have passed this parallel by. He also, like *1 Enoch*, proceeds in his description from a withering tree to excellent fruits. I think it is pos-

<sup>10</sup> This thesis goes back to Plato's *Republic* 380d–383b. It was later developed in *Metaphysics* and other treatises of Aristotle, and inherited by Middle Platonism.

<sup>11</sup> Plato, *Resp.* 380e–381a.

<sup>12</sup> Jewish texts of the Second Temple period often allude to the continuous revolutions of stars and planets, as well as to the turn of the seasons, in order to demonstrate the majesty of God (cf. Sir 16:26–28; 43; *Pss. Sol.* 18:10–12). As Jer 5:20–24 suggests, these images could be contrasted to human disobedience to God. But none of these examples contains an equally clearly formulated juxtaposition.

sible that the replacement of Plato's "every plant" with the description of a tree life course was made under the influence of *1 Enoch*.

*1 Enoch* 3–5, having mentioned the faithfulness of nature and the infidelity of humans, goes on to a description of the last judgment. This subject is introduced for the second time, the first mention being made in *1 En.* 1:6–9. The story of the flood, the sins and punishment of the giants, and the rescue of Noah (chs. 6–11) follows these introductory chapters as their natural consequence. It is important to note that the biblical narrative does not introduce the story of Noah as a story of judgment in the eschatological sense of the word: we do not find any mention of judgment in the Genesis account, which is rather archaic in form and in some points closer to Hesiod's story about the sufferings of earth. But we know that the flood story was set in the context of the last judgment, and viewed as a prefiguration of this event later, as Jewish eschatological thought grew.<sup>13</sup> Philo proceeds along the same line of argument: having discussed the behavior of created things and souls toward God, he turns to the discussion of the flood story, setting it in the context of the last judgment (κρίσις):

On which account God now says, that Noah found grace in his sight, when all the rest of mankind, appearing ungrateful, were about to receive punishment, in order that he might mingle saving *mercy* (ἔλεος) with *judgment against sinners* (τῆ κατὰ ἁμαρτανόντων κρίσει). . . . For if God were to choose to judge the race of mankind without mercy, he would pass on them a sentence of condemnation. (Deus 74–76)

First of all, we should note that in these lines Philo speaks of κρίσις, and not of δίκη, which of itself is atypical of him in such a context. In Greek both words designate "judgment." But in Plato, who has his own idea of the forthcoming judgment, and whom Philo usually follows and alludes to when speaking about this event, the word δίκη is always preferred to designate the future trial. The word κρίσις is used by him, and, accordingly, by Philo, to designate the mental act of evaluation or "decision."<sup>14</sup> By contrast, in the Septuagint tradition the word κρίσις is preferred to designate every kind of trial, and accordingly, in the Greek translation of *1 Enoch* to designate the last judgment. In the whole corpus of Philo's works, this is the only place, where he speaks about

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Matt 24:36–40; Luke 17:26; 2 Pet 3:5–7.

<sup>14</sup> Philo applies the word κρίσις to the situation of a trial only in the *On the Special Laws*. But this trial is in no way the last judgment. Here Philo simply follows the language of the Septuagint text being interpreted.

the catastrophic judgment of sinners (ἡ κατὰ ἁμαρτανόντων κρίσις; cf. *1 En.* 1:7: κρίσις κατὰ πάντων; 3–5:6, 7, 8: οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἁμαρτιῶν, ἁμαρτήσονται), setting it in connection with the flood story and using the word κρίσις—exactly as *1 Enoch* does. Moreover, Philo’s mention of *mercy*, which God “exercises towards the good actions of even the unworthy” (*Deus* 76) corresponds to *1 En.* 3–5:6. In this context we are told that on the day of judgment “there will be *forgiveness of sins and all mercy* (λύσις ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ πᾶν ἔλεος).”

*1 Enoch* 14 tells us about the vision of Enoch, how he enters the heavenly house of God, sees Him sitting on the throne surrounded by cherubim and hears His word. The description of *1 Enoch* ends with God’s address to Enoch: “Come here, Enoch, and hear My word (καὶ τὸν λόγον μου ἄκουσον)” (14:24). Enoch obeyed, and he “heard” (ἤκουσα) (15:1) His voice, but “had his face bowed down” (14:25). In the same way, Philo in our treatise proceeds to the description of the Glory of God, exceeding all (*Deus* 77–81). His description too ends with a discussion on the word (ὁ λόγος) of God, which no human being can hear (ἀκούειν) as it is uttered (*Deus* 82–85, esp. 83).

Although the vision of Enoch is essentially modeled on the vision of Ezekiel and has other sources and counterparts in Jewish literature, it has a number of peculiar features, which set it apart from other similar descriptions. 1) Although all visions known to us compare the Glory of God with flame and splendor of fire, none compares it to the sun.<sup>15</sup> Here the image of the sun predominates: “its wheel was like the shining sun” (14:18), and, “He was surrounded by what appeared to be like the sun” (14:20). 2) Only in the framework of this vision is it stressed that it was absolutely impossible either to see or to approach God. It was equally impossible for “all flesh,” and even for angels (14:19; 14:21: “And no angel could enter into this house and behold his face because of the majesty and glory. And no flesh could behold . . .”). 3) Only some of the angels surrounded God. They were close to Him and did not leave Him night or day (14:23). 4) There are two expressions in the text that are not very clear: ὄρος χερουβὶν (14:18)—literally, “a mountain of cherubim,” considered to be a mistranslation of the Aramaic original,<sup>16</sup> and τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ, which was “like the appearance of the sun, more shining and whiter than snow.” In this context, I prefer not to translate the word περιβόλαιον as having its more common meaning of “raiment.” Enoch’s vision avoids

<sup>15</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs 22; Isa 6; Ezek 1–2; Dan 7.

<sup>16</sup> Black, *Book of Enoch*, 149.

comparing God with a human being,<sup>17</sup> and it would be inappropriate to suppose that the notion of garments is introduced here, especially when we consider that other Greek translations of prophetic texts often use this word in a metaphorical sense of “something which is around” and “covers and protects.”<sup>18</sup> In any case, Philo, when reading the text, would be strongly opposed to understanding this word in sense of clothes, because one of his main goals in interpreting Jewish writings was to clear them from any suspicion of anthropomorphism. I think that the meaning of “being surrounded,” referring to the glory of God, is more appropriate here. But Philo may certainly have understood it in his own way. Let us look at Philo's text:

for God exerts his power in an untempered degree towards himself, but in a mixed character towards his creatures; for it is impossible *for a mortal nature to endure his power unmitigated*. Do you think that you would be *unable to look at the unmodified light of the sun?* . . . but you are nevertheless able to gaze upon *those uncreated powers, which exist around him and emit the most dazzling light*, without any veil or modification. . . . but *what mortal could possibly receive in this manner the knowledge, and wisdom, and prudence, and justice, and all the other virtues of God, in an unalloyed state? The whole heaven, the whole world, could not do so*. Therefore the Creator, knowing in what exceeding plenty all that is best exists *around Him*, . . . It has been shown that the unmixed and unmingled and those *really supreme powers exist only around the living God*. (*Deus* 77–81)

Although this text incorporates apparent allusions to Sir 43:1–5, nevertheless its basic structure is modeled on the pattern of a “vision.” The image of the transcendent God, surrounded by powers (δυνάμεις), which in Philo's system often correspond to angels, underlies the whole description. It ends, like the other visions, with God addressing a human being. In this description, the impossibility of approaching, of seeing, of perceiving—in a word, of enduring the presence of God—is especially stressed.<sup>19</sup> Divine radiance is compared to the splendor of the sun, and the impossibility of perceiving it pure pertains both to “a mortal nature” and to “the whole heaven, the whole world,” which, according to the platonising Philo, is an immortal and the most perfect living being. Thus, Philo's description reproduces the three main points of *1 Enoch*: the

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 264.

<sup>18</sup> Job 26:6; Isa 50:3; Jer 15:12.

<sup>19</sup> Something which is in full accordance with the idea of *1 Enoch*, but differs from Sir 43:27–33, which talks about vanity of man's endeavors properly to describe the majesty and the deeds of God, because men do not have any idea of their real dimensions.



impossibility of direct perception of God, the comparison of God's splendor with the sun and the two categories of recipients (cf. *1 En.* 14:21: "no flesh could behold ... And no angel could enter ...").

Philo talks about "those uncreated powers, which exist around him, and emit the most dazzling light (περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ̄σαι λαμπρότατον φῶς ἀποστράπτουσι)." Most probably, this sentence faithfully reproduces the expression of *1 Enoch*: "He was surrounded by what appeared to be like the sun (τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἡλίου)." The word τὸ περιβόλαιον was taken by Philo to mean something that περιβάλλει, i.e., "surrounds," God. He probably understood it to comprise those angels who continuously assist Him. The impression that Philo had in his mind the image of God, surrounded by ministering powers, similar to angels, is increased by the continuous repetition of the expression "around him" (περὶ αὐτὸν), which is not identical in the Greek with the normal possessive construction.

Several lines lower down, Philo says of these powers that they are "really supreme," or literally, "real summits" (τῷ ὄντι ἀκρότητες), which "exist only around the living God." It is not impossible that the definition of the virtue of God by means of ἀκρότης, "extreme" or "summit," which looks middle-Platonic, but is not fully orthodox from the point of view of this theology,<sup>20</sup> was suggested to Philo by the strange expression "a mountain of cherubim" (ὄρος χερουβίν), attested in the Greek text of *1 Enoch*.

In *On Giants* Philo says:

... he who is really a man (ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος) will never come of his own accord to those pleasures. ... For the saying, "Man, man," (ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος) not once but twice, is a sign that what is here meant is not the man composed of body and soul, but him only who is possessed of virtue. For such a one is really a true man (ὁ ἀληθινὸς οὗτος),  
... (Gig. 33-34)

This is a commentary upon Lev 18:6-7, where the repetition of the word "man" is a mistranslation of the Hebrew שׂוֹן שׂוֹן, what means in this context "nobody." To explain the significance of this repetition, Philo introduces the idea of a "true man," ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος. This collocation in itself is not impossible within the Platonic and Aristotelian

<sup>20</sup> In the Middle Platonic tradition the virtue of God can properly be described as transcending human virtue (cf. Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 1145a26-36; *Mag. Mor.* 2.5.3), but the word ἀκρότης is used in terms of human ethics only (cf. Alcinous, *Epit.* 30.4).

tradition.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, in the framework of this tradition it is used only fairly occasionally and does not have the status of a philosophical concept (because within this tradition the true man is divine, rather than human). I think that Philo, when introducing such a commentary, had been inspired by *1 En.* 15:1: “Oh, true man (ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἀληθινός), man of truth (ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀληθείας), scribe, . . . Enoch, true man (ἄνθρωπος ἀληθινός) and scribe of righteousness.”

Note the three following points: the doubling of the word *man* in *1 Enoch*, which is what makes this text relevant to the text being interpreted (Lev 18:6); the alternative expression ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀληθείας which corresponds to Philo's expression ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος (it is very typical of him to repeat expressions in a slightly different form); in accordance with the idea of the exclusive righteousness of Enoch, Philo stresses the extreme virtuousness of a true man.

It is not difficult to see that Philo is always trying to reconcile the two traditions, the Platonic and the Jewish. In his view, the allusions he makes to Jewish writings are meaningful only if they correspond to something familiar to the Greek philosophical audience. The following examples therefore are all the more important for us, because they can be correctly appreciated only against the background of the Greek text of *1 Enoch*.

*1 Enoch* 15 is absolutely indispensable for understanding what Philo says about the fallen angels and the giants in the *On Giants*. Commenting upon Gen 6:2–4, which talks about the sons of God, the daughters of men and the giants, Philo draws the following picture: The soul is identical with the angel. The daughters of men represent pleasure. Some of the angels/souls deliberately preferred pleasure and thus lost their spiritual existence and descended into the body. These are angels unworthy of their name (*Gig.* 17). The others “have not thought worthy to approach any one of the portions of the earth” (*Gig.* 12); they preferred to remain with God, being employed as intermediary spirits, heralds, announcing the will of God.

The interpretation is based upon the famous Platonic image of souls falling down from heaven into the body.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, compared with the Platonic doctrine, there are two important differences. Firstly, Plato does not mention souls that never fell. Such a class of “unfallen” souls either does not exist for him at all, or else does not interest him. He is focused on “anthropological” problems of the relation of the human soul

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Plato, *Pol.* 300 d 7; *Phileb.* 22 c; Diogenes Laertius 2.119.

<sup>22</sup> Plato, *Phaedr.* 248 a–e.

and God. As far as I know, the notion of unfallen souls was also never developed in later Platonism. Secondly, this downfall of the soul is, for Plato, in no way a deliberate choice, because nobody wants to be unhappy. It is rather an accident, dramatic and unavoidable.

Let us see what the Septuagint verses in question contain:

2 Now when the *sons* (οἱ υἱοί) of God (*bēnē hā 'Ēl*) saw the daughters of humans, that they were fair, they took wives for themselves of all that they chose.

3 And the LORD God said, “My spirit shall not abide in these humans forever, because they are flesh, but their days shall be one hundred twenty years.”

4 Now the *giants* (οἱ δὲ γίγαντες; *hannēpīlīm*) were on the earth in those days and afterward. When the sons of God used to go in to the daughters of humans, then they produced offspring for themselves. Those were the *giants* (οἱ δὲ γίγαντες; *haggibbōrīm*) that were of old, the renowned humans.<sup>23</sup> (Gen 6:2–4)

Philo cites these verses with a significant difference: instead of the sons of God in Gen 6:2 he has angels of God, as do some of the Alexandrian manuscripts. But even if we take into account that his version of the Septuagint could have had the reading “angels” instead of “sons,” we still have to maintain that the information contained in these Greek verses is absolutely insufficient to draw the picture that Philo is drawing.

Angels took wives for themselves. Not “some angels took wives” (and others did not), but simply “angels” as a genus. It is not said whether this was good or bad; there is no evaluation of the fact. We do not know what happened to the angels afterwards. The giants are introduced into the narrative not as a consequence of the angels’ deed, but in a parallel and almost independent way (cf. Gen 6:4).

Some of the inconsistency of sense here is due to the inaccurate translation from the Hebrew. The Greek translator renders with one word, “giants,” two Hebrew notions, *hannēpīlīm* and the mighty men, *haggibbōrīm* (6:4). Thus, when reading the Hebrew text, one gets another sequence of events: the sons of God saw the daughters of men; after that God withdrew his favor from men, cutting off the days of their lives; in those days there were *hannēpīlīm* upon the earth. The Hebrew version

<sup>23</sup> Translation by R.J.V. Hiebert in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title* (ed. A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

also does not introduce this last statement explicitly as an outcome of the previous events. Nevertheless, the word itself facilitates such an interpretation and even demands it. Whatever the real etymology of the word *hannēpīlīm*, it is natural to connect it with the root *npl* "to fall." This unexpected appearance of some fallen substances requires that we understand the preceding lines as containing the cause of that event. Thus, the fact that the sons of men took daughters of men as wives immediately appears to be the reason of their downfall and a matter for disapproval. And v. 4 says that the mighty men, i.e. the giants, were their children.

Thus we see how the Hebrew text contains the seeds, which were later developed into the interpretation we see in *1 Enoch*. According to *1 Enoch*, the angels who committed this sin were the bad ones; besides them there were also good angels, true to God, who preferred to remain with Him. *1 Enoch* makes a point of the fact that the angel-sinners had been incorporeal, pure spirits, who deliberately left heaven and changed their status to be like flesh and to engender flesh (that is the giants) (*1 En.* 12; 15). Consequently, God and Enoch, by order of God, justly reproaches these angels for their actions (*1 En.* 15:3, 6).

Thus, the interpretation we meet in Philo fully coincides with the interpretation of *1 Enoch* in those very points in which it differs from the Platonic teaching about souls coming down into bodies (the unfallen angels and the deliberate choice to fall). It is generally accepted that the Septuagint was the only version of the Bible accessible to Philo. But the Greek translation of Genesis could not have been his source for such an interpretation, because it dismisses all hints which could lead to it.

In *Gig.* 58–65 Philo identifies the giants with the men "born of the earth" (γῆς γεγόνασι ἄνθρωποι). In a formal way, such an interpretation is justified by Gen 6:4, because it is said there that the giants were "on the earth" (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). It is clear, however, that the expression "on the earth" does not have here a special or emphasized meaning. The earth is not contrasted to any other part of the cosmos; it is simply a word for the stage upon which events unfold. The notion of the "earthiness" of giants is much more heavily emphasized in *1 Enoch*, and in the very same manner in which we encounter it in Philo. In *1 En.* 15:8, after the fact that they left heaven has been pointed out, it is said: "but now the giants . . . are mighty spirits upon the earth (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), and their dwelling is inside the earth (ἐν τῇ γῆ)." And later (*1 En.* 15:10): "the spirits who are born upon the earth (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ γεννηθέντα), their dwelling shall be upon the earth (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς)." Not only does the idea

that the giants have some intimate connection with the earth correspond to Philo's description, but so does even the phrase in which the words "earth" (γῆ) and "to be born" (γεγόνασι γεννηθέντα) collocate. A little later on, Philo says:

But the sons of earth ... removed their minds from the path of reason, and transmuted it into the *lifeless and immovable* (τὴν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον) *nature of the flesh* (σαρκῶν φύσιν), ... they *deserted* (ἔλιπον) from the better rank, which had been allotted to them as their own, to the worse rank, which was contrary to their original nature. (Gig. 65)

Philo does not explain or comment on this statement. It would have remained puzzling for us, if it did not completely correspond to what is said in *1 En.* 15:

For what reason have you *abandoned* (ἀπελίπετε) the high, holy, and eternal heaven? ... And you used to be holy and spiritual, possessing eternal life, but now you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and with the blood of the *flesh* (σαρκός), you have begotten children, you have lusted in the blood of men, like them producing blood and *flesh* (σάρκα), like those *who die and perish* (οἵτινες ἀποθνήσκουσι καὶ ἀπόλλυνται) ... But you, *formerly you were spirits, having eternal life* ... (1 En. 15:3, 6)

As in Philo's passage, the fallen angels are reproached for leaving the rank of spirits and deserting to the rank of flesh and blood. We see, that the correspondence is very complete on the level of ideas as well as on the semantic level: "like those who die and perish" echoes the "lifeless and immovable nature"; ἀπελίπετε corresponds to ἔλιπον; and σαρκός/σάρκα to σαρκῶν φύσιν. The only difference is that *1 Enoch* talks about the fallen angels themselves, whereas Philo applies it to the "sons of the earth," who, as we are told, are giants. The inconsistency is easy to explain by the fact that Philo is strongly inclined to identify the fallen angels with the giants in some way, allegorizing the offspring of these angels as the miserable condition to which their souls had degenerated.

Accordingly, the name of Nimrod, who in the Septuagint is said to have been the first giant on the earth (Gen 10:8) is interpreted as "desertion" (Gig. 66) (a word which is repeated several times with reference to the bad angels in *1 Enoch*). Philo continues:

for it was not enough for the thoroughly miserable soul to stand apart from both, but having gone over to its enemies, it took up arms against its friends (τῶν φίλων) and resisted them, and made open war upon them (ἀνθεστῶσα αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμει). (Gig. 66)

This is, again, quite a mysterious assertion. Of course nothing of that sort is said about Nimrod in the Septuagint. What does “stand apart from both” mean? Who are the “friends” whom this “miserable soul” betrays? I think that we can find the answer at the end of the same chapter *1 En.* 15. There the destiny of the giants is predicted, and it is said that the spirits which proceeded from their corpses will constantly insult men until the day of judgment. “These spirits shall rise up (ἐξαναστήσει) against the children of the people and against the women, because they have proceeded forth from them” (*1 En.* 15:12). If we take into consideration that the word τῶν φίλων, translated in Philo’s text as “friends,” can also designate a mother, father or other relatives, then the picture becomes clearer. The giants (Nimrod being one of them), proceeding from heavenly spirits and men, and so being something intermediate between them, did not stay “apart from both”—they betray humans as well, insulting those who gave them life, i.e., τοὺς φίλους. And even the verb “to resist” (ἀνθίστημι) is a variant of the verb “to rise up” (ἐξανίστημι) used in the Enochic text, differing from it only by a prefix.

Thus one gets the impression that Philo, allegorizing Gen 6:2–4, accurately alludes to every particular of *1 En.* 15.

We have in no way exhausted the material which *1 Enoch* gives us with respect to these two treatises, to say nothing of Philo’s other writings. But it is neither possible nor necessary in the limited scope of an article. My goal is to show that Philo’s text is full of allusions to *1 Enoch*; that these allusions lie at the deep levels of the text; that the extant parts of the Greek translation are semantically reflected in Philo’s text.

This first of all, helps us in dating the Greek translation of *1 Enoch*, because it testifies to its existence at the turn of the first century B.C.E. Secondly, we are driven to a more general conclusion. We can now infer that by that time *1 Enoch* was already well known in the Greek speaking Diaspora, since it was obviously part of Philo’s cultural background. That evidence contradicts the opinion that the connection between these books and the community at Qumran was exclusive. At least by the first century B.C.E., the book had already crossed the boundaries of any secluded community and became—or remained—a *commune bonum* of the Jews living in areas as widely distant as, for instance, Qumran and Alexandria.



WHERE DOES THE SHEKHINAH DWELL?  
BETWEEN THE DEAD SEA SECT, DIASPORA JUDAISM,  
RABBINIC LITERATURE, AND CHRISTIANITY

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One of the well known theological conceptions of the Dead Sea sect is its approach to the Temple, its sanctity and the resulting question of the location of the One who was supposed to dwell therein. The sect denied the sanctity of the Temple of their time, claiming it did not function appropriately, and advocated withdrawing from it. The sect members perceived their own group, the “Council of the Community,” as a spiritual substitute for the Temple in Jerusalem. As the *Community Rule* states: “The Council of the Community shall be truly established . . . a house of holiness for Israel and a foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron . . . chosen by God’s will to atone for the land.” And in the continuation of the *Rule*: “It shall be the tested wall, the costly cornerstone, its foundations shall neither be shaken nor be dislodged from their place. Holy of holies dwelling for Aaron . . . and a house of perfection and truth in Israel.”<sup>1</sup> This is patently based on Isa 28:16: “Thus said the Lord God: ‘Behold, I will found in Zion, stone by stone, a tower of precious cornerstones,

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<sup>1</sup> My translation of 1QS VIII:5–9: נכונה עצת היחיד באמת . . . בית קודש לישראל וסוד . . . קודש קודשים לאהרון . . . ובחירי רצון לכפר בעד הארץ . . . היא חומת הבחן פנת יקר בל יודעו קודש קודשים לאהרון ובל יחשו ממקומם. מעון קודש קודשים לאהרון . . . ובית תמים ואמת בישראל CD 6:11–12: “And all who were brought into the covenant (are) not to enter the sanctuary to light his altar in vain.” וכל אשר הובאו בברית לבלתי בוא אל המקדש להאיר מובחו חנם (J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document [CD],” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2: *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* [ed. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993], 4–57, 23). On the sect’s attitude toward the Temple see, inter alia: B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 16–46; L.H. Schiffman, “Community without Temple: The Qumran Community’s Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple,” in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel / Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kultus im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. B. Ego, A. Lange, and P. Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 267–284, esp. 269–274.



exceedingly firm; he who trusts need not fear.’”<sup>2</sup> The parallelism is clear; but while the prophet speaks of “Zion,” the sect identifies the “Council of the Community” as the subject of the prophecy, and believes that the sect itself realizes this prophecy regarding “Zion.”<sup>3</sup> Clearly, then, if the sect is a “house of holiness,” a “foundation of the holy of holies,” the “holy of holies dwelling,” and a “house of perfection,” and its members are intended to “atone for the land,” then it functions as a temple, the place of God.

God, therefore, is exiled from His place, and dwells among a community who, like Him, are exiled. The notion of disengagement from the physical place is obviously Diasporan; that is, it limits the importance of the tangible physical location, and enables the sect members to find God in their midst, though they are not bodily in the place of God. This idea constitutes an important component of the theology and self-perception of the scrolls sect, and has been extensively discussed within these contexts. The discovery of such a position among a group living in Judea in the second half of the Second Temple period makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the historical continuity of the manner in which the reality of the absence of the Temple was confronted.

In this paper I wish to present the development of this historical continuity, from its biblical beginnings to its later manifestations in rabbinic literature. My assertion is that this perception must also be examined diachronically, namely as an inner progression of Diasporan Judaism. To this end, I will focus special attention on two witnesses representing such a stance: one appearing in Hellenistic Jewish literature, and the other in rabbinic literature, and will examine the content and meaning of the testimony within this continuity.

<sup>2</sup> NJPS translation of: הַנְּגִי יִסַּד בְּצִיּוֹן אֲבֵן, אֲבֵן בַּחֵן פְּנֵי יְקָרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד הַמְּאֻמָּיִן לֹא יִחַשׁ . . .

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of this verse in this context see: D. Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 35–44, esp. 41–43; M. Kister, “Some Observations on Vocabulary and Style in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 159–165; N. Hacham, “An Aramaic Translation of Isaiah in the *Rule of the Community*,” *Leš 67* (2005): 147–152 (Hebrew). In this paper I pointed to the affinity between several passages from the scrolls, all using the verb הוֹדִיעוּעַ, and I suggested that an Aramaic translation of Isaiah that translates יְחִישׁוּ as יוֹדִיעוּעוֹן was known to all these scrolls’ authors. I regret that when writing my study I was unaware of Kister’s important suggestions. He also pointed to the affinity between those passages, and noted that the word יוֹדִיעוּעוֹן appears in the Aramaic translation of Isaiah. However, our conclusions differ; I find it reasonable to assume the existence of an Aramaic *Targum of Isaiah* in the first century B.C.E., while Kister does not find this satisfactorily proven.

The earliest source of the conception that the Lord dwells with His exiled people outside the Temple and the Land of Israel already appears in the Bible itself, in a text dealing with the start of the Babylonian exile. Ezekiel's depiction of the departure of the divine presence (ch. 11) from the Temple tells of the inhabitants of Jerusalem saying of their brethren, who were exiled to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar: "Remove yourselves from the Lord; the land has been given to us as a heritage" (11:15), that is, the exiles were taken from the land, and are therefore distant from the Lord and His Temple, and the land is given to those who remain in it. The prophet's response to this challenge begins with: "Thus said the Lord God: Though I have removed them into the midst of the nations and scattered them through the lands, and am but a small sanctuary for them in the lands into which they have come" (v. 16).<sup>4</sup> As Greenberg writes, "In this statement of deprivation, it is obliquely conceded that the exiles enjoy a measure of divine nearness even in the exile (contrary to the Jerusalemites' view)."<sup>5</sup> This means that the Lord's Presence is not dependent solely on the Temple, but mainly on the elect group of people: the exiles—that will return to the Land, and in the meantime, the Lord is with them, to a limited degree, in the different lands, as a "small sanctuary."

The dependence of the Lord's presence on the people is not, of course, Ezekiel's own innovation. It is a well-established biblical idea, as expressed, for example, in Exod 25:8 ("and let them make Me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them")<sup>6</sup> and 29:45 ("I will abide among the Israelites"; NJPS). However, while in these sources the Divine Presence within the Israelites is in or through a physical element—the Tabernacle—according to Ezekiel this is not contingent on a specific location and though the Temple might be absent, the Divine Presence resides within the people nonetheless.

This idea resurfaced, in various formulations, in Second Temple period. We are less interested in formulations such as "But God did not choose the people on account of the Place; rather, He chose the Place on

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<sup>4</sup> English translation of both verses is based on M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 11–20* (AB 22; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 185–186.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 190; see also D. Rom-Shiloni, "Ezekiel as the Voice of the Exiles and Constructor of Exilic Ideology," *HUCA* 76 (2005): 1–45, 17–18.

<sup>6</sup> See Sarna's commentary on this verse (N.M. Sarna, *Exodus* [The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1991], 158.)

account of the people” (2 Macc 5:19).<sup>7</sup> Nor will we focus on expressions of the superiority of the people over the Temple as demonstrated by 2 Maccabees’ (14:34) description of the priests praying “Him who has always championed *our people*”<sup>8</sup> in contrast with the parallel description in 1 Maccabees (7:37) where the priests say: “you have chosen this house to bear your name, to be a house of prayer ... for Your people.”<sup>9</sup> Instead, I will focus on a single example that expresses the Jewish Diaspora concept that the Divine Presence was, specifically, in their midst.

3 Maccabees, a Hellenistic Jewish composition, apparently from the first century B.C.E., tells of two clashes between the Jews and King Ptolemy IV Philopator. The first incident occurred in Jerusalem, when the monarch sought to enter the Holy of Holies, and the second, in Egypt, when the king attempted to destroy all of Egyptian Jewry. In both instances the king was unsuccessful, but the depictions of these failures are very different. In Jerusalem, the Temple was saved, but the Lord did not reveal Himself, and the king did not repent. In Egypt, on the other hand, the people are saved, God is revealed, and the king recants. The following comparison of the many parallels in the two narratives highlights the superiority of the salvation in Egypt to that in Jerusalem.

The significance of the location of the epiphany cannot be disregarded. One would expect that God be revealed in his place, in the Jerusalem Temple, as indeed happens in the parallel story of Heliodorus’ attempt to plunder the Temple treasures (2 Macc 3:24, 30). This expectation becomes stronger when the High Priest Simon requests “manifest Thy mercy at this hour” (2:19).<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, this expectation is not fulfilled. The epiphany of the God of Israel takes place in a pagan institution, the hippodrome of Alexandria (3 Macc 6:18), in order to save the endangered people. At this point we read that “the Ruler of all ... manifest His mercy” (3 Macc 6:39).<sup>11</sup> The similar vocabulary indicates that the

<sup>7</sup> D.R. Schwartz’s translation of: ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος τὸν τόπον ὁ κύριος ἐξελέξατο (2 Maccabees [Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008], 248).

<sup>8</sup> Schwartz’s translation of: τὸν διὰ παντὸς ὑπέρομαχον τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν (ibid., 465).

<sup>9</sup> J.A. Goldstein’s translation of: Σὺ ἐξελέξω τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ εἶναι οἶκον προσευχῆς ... τῷ λαῷ σου (1 Maccabees [AB 41; New York: Doubleday, 1977], 328).

<sup>10</sup> καὶ ἐπίφανον τὸ ἔλεός σου κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ταύτην.

<sup>11</sup> ἐπιφάνας τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ὁ τῶν πάντων δυνάστης. Both translations by M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (New York: Ktav, 1953).

Jerusalemite High Priest's prayer was indeed accepted, not on behalf of the temple in Jerusalem, but rather on behalf of the people in Egypt.

Epiphany is an important theme in 3 Maccabees and in Hellenistic literature as well. Words deriving from the verb ἐπιφαίνω appear several times in 3 Maccabees (2:9, 19; 5:8, 35, 51; 6:4, 9, 18, 39), revealing the essential function of epiphany in the book. In Hellenistic literature epiphanies often serve to legitimize political claims or function as propaganda for the importance of a certain place or cult.<sup>12</sup> It seems that the divine epiphany in 3 Maccabees is also propagandist in nature, for the sake of the elected and sanctified people.

Other points further demonstrate the presence of God with his people in Egypt. Simon's prayer ends with a request that the Jews be able to praise God after they are granted peace (ποιήσας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην, 2:20). However, peace is not granted to the Jews in Jerusalem. In contrast, in the story of the deliverance of the Egyptian Jews, the word "peace" (εἰρήνη) appears twice (6:27; 7:19), and a similar word expresses that the Jews celebrated and thereby expressed joy because of the peace (6:32: εἰρηνικός). Again, High Priest Simon's prayer is not fulfilled at the Temple in Jerusalem but rather by the deliverance of the Jews in Egypt.

The appearance of descriptions of holy and holiness illustrate the same phenomenon. The holy God is mentioned three times in the context of the events in Jerusalem (2:2, 13, 21), but this holiness was not made manifest at the time.<sup>13</sup> In the events in Egypt, on the other hand, God revealed His Holy countenance (6:18) and in addition, he is called "holy" four or five times more.<sup>14</sup> Respectively, according to the Jerusalemite high priest's prayer, God sanctified the *place* (τόπος, 2:16) for His name (2:9);

<sup>12</sup> On epiphanies in the Hellenistic world in general see: R. Bultmann and D. Lührmann, "ἐπιφαίνω, ἐπιφανής, ἐπιφάνεια," *TDNT* 9:7–10; F. Graf, "Epiphany," *Brill's New Pauly* (ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 4:1121–1123; on this theme in 2 Maccabees see: R. Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 98–104.

<sup>13</sup> Two of the references to God's holiness in Jerusalem are found in the High Priest's prayer, and the third (2:21: ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις) is a repetition of the appellation appearing in the first verse of the prayer. The verb εἰσακούσας following this appellation describes the listening to the prayer. In this repetition, the author emphasizes that the Holy among the holy ones, to whom the prayer is addressed, did hear it, but there is no description of an epiphany of his holiness. In Egypt, on the other hand, the references to God's holiness are the narrator's descriptions and not quotes of the book's protagonists. This may, perhaps, be accounted for as follows: in Jerusalem, God's holiness is a wish expressed in prayers but it is not apparent in the events, whereas in Egypt, the "objective" narrator tells innocently of the evident holiness of God.

<sup>14</sup> 3 Macc 5:13; 6:1, 29; 7:10, 16 (according to some of the manuscripts).

according to Eleazar's prayer, those sanctified to God are Jacob (including of course his sons too) and God's people.<sup>15</sup> Reference to the sanctity of the place is repeated in Simon's Prayer (2:14: τόπος; 2:18: οἶκος) and according to some manuscripts the Jerusalem priests' holy vestments are also described as holy (1:16).<sup>16</sup> The holiness of the people of Israel is mentioned again in Eleazar's prayer (6:9: τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἰσραηλ γένους) according to Codex Alexandrinus.<sup>17</sup> The people of Israel are called holy once in Simon's prayer (2:6)<sup>18</sup> and the city (πόλις) is called holy once in Eleazar's prayer (6:5). Thus, Simon emphasizes the holy place whereas Eleazar mentions the holiness of the people and does not mention the sanctity of the Temple at all, only that of the town. The result is that God's holiness is not revealed for the sake of the holy place, as requested by the high priest, but on behalf of the holy people as mentioned by the Egyptian priest Eleazar. The reason is obvious: God's presence is to be found with the people, His people, not in a place.

Comparison of the two prayers for salvation offered by a priest in both incidents would sustain this conclusion, and I will specify just three of the many points. In Jerusalem, it is Simon the High Priest who prays, and apart from his title, nothing more is said of him (3 Macc 2:1).<sup>19</sup> In the hippodrome in Egypt, it is Eleazar, one of the priests of the country. 3 Maccabees mentions some of his exalted qualities (6:1): a distinguished person among the priests of the country, who had attained an advanced age and whose life had been adorned with every virtue.<sup>20</sup> The priest in Egypt is therefore decidedly superior to his Jerusalem counterpart; consequently, according to 3 Maccabees, the Temple does

<sup>15</sup> 3 Macc 6:3: ἡγιασμένου τέκνα Ἰακωβ, μερίδος ἡγιασμένης σου λαόν.

<sup>16</sup> See the apparatus criticus in R. Hanhart, ed., *Maccabaeorum liber III* (2nd ed.; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 9.3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 43.

<sup>17</sup> See Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*, 63.

<sup>18</sup> True, Simon's prayer does not cancel or ignore the uniqueness of the people of Israel: The sanctity of the place derives from God's desire that his honor will be within the people of Israel (16), and the people of Israel are considered "your people" (2:6, 16), i.e., God's people. But this uniqueness is apparent on earth in the place that is holy for God's honor (14). And indeed, the house of Israel is described as the object of God's love (2:10), but the expression of this love is in listening to the prayers at the location of the Temple.

<sup>19</sup> For the versions of this verse see Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*, 44. On the superiority of the Lucianic version in this verse see: N. Hacham, "The Third Book of Maccabees: Literature, History and Ideology" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 69 n. 22 (Hebrew).

<sup>20</sup> Ἠλεάζαρος δέ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπίσημος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἱερέων, ἐν πρεσβείῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤδη λελογχῶς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένος.

not transform those who officiate in it into exemplary beings. Simon, in Jerusalem, does not use the Lord's title "Father" to describe God, and in the narrative of the attempted breaching of the Jerusalem Temple, He is simply the "forefather" (προπάτωρ, 2:21), an authoritative appellation charged with primeval greatness, lacking the connotation of the affinity between a father and his children. Eleazar, in contrast, addresses the Lord twice as "Father;" (6:3, 8) and in three other instances during the course of the events in Egypt, God is portrayed as the Father of His people (5:7; 6:28; 7:6). This speaks of God's closeness to His people, who face danger in the hippodrome. Finally, Simon requests, at the end of his prayer, that the Lord put praises in the mouths of the downtrodden (2:20). Despite the rescue of the Temple, there is no mention of any thanksgiving prayer by the Jews of Jerusalem. After any rescue of the Jews of Egypt, however, even partial salvation, before their final deliverance, they praise and laud their God, who has come to their succor (5:13, 35; 6:32).

Several years ago, David S. Williams suggested that 3 Maccabees should also be regarded as an apologia by Egyptian Jews directed at the Jews of the land of Israel, as it conveys the contention that Providence exists with Diasporan Jews as well, thus legitimizing Diaspora Judaism. According to Williams, Palestinian Jews considered Diasporan Jews inferior. Therefore, the Diasporan author of 3 Maccabees stresses God's existence with them as well as the kinship of both groups.<sup>21</sup> This view was criticized by Gruen, who claims that "there is no evidence for criticism of Diaspora Jewry by those in Palestine."<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Cousland claims, "Jerusalem is not linked to the victory (= of the Jews in Egypt): the triumph remains purely Diasporan," and "how successful as an apologetic this implicit derogation of Jerusalem would have been to a Palestinian audience."<sup>23</sup>

However, in light of the discussion above, one cannot deny that Williams' hypothesis is basically correct, and that 3 Maccabees tries to bolster Diaspora Jewry. Moreover, it seems that Williams was overly careful by claiming that according to 3 Maccabees God is "also" with Diasporan Jews; indeed, the author's view is that God's revelation in the

<sup>21</sup> D.S. Williams, "3 Maccabees: A Defense of Diaspora Judaism?" *JSP* 13 (1995): 17–29.

<sup>22</sup> E.S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 233 n. 192.

<sup>23</sup> J.R.C. Cousland, "Reversal, Recidivism and Reward in 3 Maccabees: Structure and Purpose," *JSJ* 34 (2003): 39–51, 40–41.

hippodrome in Egypt, to save His people, was greater than His manifestation in His Temple in Jerusalem. In other words, the Lord is with the people, and not within the Temple. Thus the audience cannot be the Jews of the land of Israel, but rather the Diasporan-Egyptian Jews, who were bothered by their alleged inferior status and needed encouragement in relation to their religious status and their closeness to their God.<sup>24</sup>

The overall picture is clear: in different historical contexts, from Babylonia in the late first Temple period to Hellenistic-Roman Egypt<sup>25</sup> and the Judean Desert in the second or first century B.C.E., Jews assert that God is with them, within their group, and not in His official place—the Temple in Jerusalem.

The element common to all these sources is that they represent groups that were geographically distant from the Temple, and/or clashed to some degree with the center in Jerusalem. Ezekiel speaks of those who were exiled against their will and had to wrestle with the theological meaning of this forced exile, though the Temple remained at that stage intact. Regarding Hellenistic Jewry, the factor of compulsion is absent and other factors are prominent in its stead. The Jews outside Judea lacked physical affinity to the Temple, though many identified with it. This lack of a feeling of closeness to the Temple meant remoteness from God. A believer desirous of intimacy with God would have difficulty in accepting any remoteness from Him, and would accordingly seek solutions for this religious alienation. He therefore would offer various substitutes for the Temple, so that God would be close to him, as well. The religious ideology of the Dead Sea sect regarded the Temple as a sinful site, which served as an additional reason for disassociating from it. As regards the range of opinions expressed in these sources, the more priestly sources—Ezekiel

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<sup>24</sup> For a detailed discussion on this approach of 3 Maccabees see: Hacham, “The Third Book of Maccabees,” 65–144.

<sup>25</sup> For other Jewish-Hellenistic sources of this view see e.g.: Philo, *Spec.* 1.66–67; *Somn.* 1.149; *Sobr.* 66; and C. Werman, “God’s House: Temple or Universe,” in *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen: I. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum 1.–4. Mai 2003, Eisenach/Jena* (ed. R. Deines and K.W. Niebuhr; WUNT 172; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 309–320. On the *Letter of Aristeas* in this context see my note in “Exile and Self-Identity in the Qumran Sect and in Hellenistic Judaism,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. E.G. Chazon and B. Halprin-Amaru; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3–21, 6–7, and note also that according to the *Letter of Aristeas* God is with the translators in Egypt.

and the Dead Sea Scrolls—strip the abandoned and defiled Temple of all sanctity, while Hellenistic Jewish sources afford it limited holiness, and differ as to the degree of its sanctity. For all, sanctity and the Divine Presence are contingent on the chosen group, and if this elect group is not in the place of the Temple, then the latter's sanctity diminishes or is abrogated, and the Divine Presence shifts from the place to the people. As for the geographical location of the groups arguing the Divine Presence's exile, we should add that Ezekiel's claim relates to a situation at the eve of the Temple's destruction and physical exile from the Land of Israel. In the case of Hellenistic Jewish authors, in contrast, the Temple stood and functioned, but they lived outside Judea. Sect members who maintained that that Temple did not function at all, on the other hand, actually lived in Judea itself, that is, not in geographical exile, not far from the existing Temple. In other words, even someone who lived in the Land of Israel could contend that the Divine Presence was in exile, and the existence of the Temple did not hinder the formulation of such a stance among those alienated from it.

In light of these facts, we should not be surprised by the presence of similar views, both in early Christianity and in rabbinic literature. Christianity did not forge the conception of the Divine Presence being with the community, nor did the rabbis *ex nihilo* create this model for coming to terms with the Destruction or as a reaction to the emerging Christian religion. Both took their ideas from a rich tradition that was prevalent in the Jewish world of the Second Temple period, which they fashioned in accordance with their specific needs. This understanding is of great importance, both on the fundamental level and for the history of scholarly research. Fundamentally, despite the earth-shattering crisis that the Jewish world experienced upon the destruction of the Second Temple, the following time should not be viewed as a new world unconnected with what preceded it. The transition between periods is not a sudden change, but rather gradual processes, and the religious existence and self-definition of the Jewish people without a Temple had already been fashioned throughout a lengthy span in the Second Temple period, during the course of which an important and lively Jewish Diaspora existed in the Hellenistic-Roman world. The Destruction obviously posed a theological and spiritual challenge to the Jewish world in general and particularly to the Jews of the Land of Israel, but the tools for contending with this dilemma were already present in the Jewish world's treasury of religious thought, and both the rabbis and the early Christians took their positions from this ready treasury.



In terms of scholarly research history, several leading scholars apparently do not share this insight. For example, Ephraim Elimelech Urbach and Shalom Spiegel discuss the concept of the Shekhinah in exile in rabbinic literature, in the context of consolation following the destruction of the Second Temple and the theological-philosophical tension between “His presence fills all the earth” (Isa 6:3) and the limited place of the Divine Presence.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, we should not underestimate the importance of a phenomenological inquiry of these issues by themselves, and their inclusion in the limited and immediate historical context of the events close to the appearance of these conceptions among those groups. Nonetheless, we should not disregard the diachronic context.

Let us turn to a discussion of rabbinic literature and Christianity. The Tannaitic midrash *Sifre* on Numbers (161) teaches:<sup>27</sup>

R. Nathan says: Israel are beloved, for every place where they were exiled, the Shekhinah went into exile with them. They were exiled to Egypt—the Shekhinah was with them, as it is said (1 Sam 2:27): “I revealed Myself to your father’s house in Egypt when they were subject to the House of Pharaoh;” they were exiled to Babylon—the Shekhinah was with them, as it is said (Isa 43:14): “For your sake, I have sent to Babylon;” they were exiled to Elam—the Shekhinah was with them, as it is said (Jer 49:38): “And I will set My throne in Elam, and wipe out from there king and officials;” they were exiled to Edom—the Shekhinah was with them, as it is said (Isa 63:1): “Who is this coming from Edom, in crimsoned garments from Bozrah.” And when they return, the Shekhinah returns with them, as it is said (Deut 30:3): “Then the Lord your God will return [with] your captivity”—it does not state “*ve-heshiv*” [and He shall bring back] but “*ve-shav* the Lord your God” [and He shall return].

This midrash is meant to encourage and console the exiled people. Furthermore, Arnold Goldberg notes that the consolation is reinforced by the ending in which redemption is assured for both the people and God.<sup>28</sup> Within the framework of our discussion, however, this obviously is not all this midrash is saying. As Urbach stated, this exposition relates to an actual theological problem that greatly intensified after the Destruction.

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<sup>26</sup> E.E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1979), 54–57; S. Spiegel, *Fathers of Piyyut: Texts and Studies toward a History of the Piyyut in Eretz Yisrael* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1996), 308–353 (Hebrew). This view is widely accepted; see also, e.g., N.J. Cohen, “Shekhinta Ba-Galuta: A Midrashic Response to Destruction and Persecution,” *JSJ* 13 (1982): 147–159.

<sup>27</sup> English translation is mine.

<sup>28</sup> A. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Shekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur (Talmud und Midrasch)* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 163.

The conception current among Palestinian Jewry saw the Temple as the locus of the Shekhinah, that is, as the place in which God causes His glory to dwell and in which it is revealed. Thus, for example, Flavius Josephus (*B.J.* 5.459) writes that the rebels believed that the Temple would yet “be saved by Him who dwelled therein.” The destruction of the Temple meant the departure of the Shekhinah from the Temple. The simple concept states that if the place of God is devastated, God no longer dwells in the earthly realm. This idea is confirmed by many sources, such as *Sifre Zuta* 35:33.<sup>29</sup>

R. Nehorai said: “For I the Lord abide” (Num 35:34)—[does this mean] in exile? Scripture teaches: “in the land.” Or, [He abides] in the Land, while you are in exile? Scripture teaches: “among the Israelite people”—while the people are in the Land, and not when they are outside the Land.

The notion that the Shekhinah did not ascend to heaven and is present on earth, which established the exiled people of Israel as the alternative “place” of the Shekhinah during the Exile, seems to be an innovation in the world of the Pharisees and their successors, the rabbis.

We should highlight the dialectic embodied in this source. The Shekhinah is with the people, but it is in exile. This means that this is not its preferred place, and it will eventually return, but in the meantime, it is in the midst of the people. This emphasis is not pronounced in Jewish Hellenistic sources, which are mainly concerned with the question of the current location of the Divine Presence, without stressing that this place is exile. Furthermore, in contrast to Jewish Hellenistic sources, this rabbinic teaching does not limit itself to specifying the current location of the Shekhinah, but also speaks of the future: the restoration of the Shekhinah to its place in Jerusalem.

As part of a prevalent tendency to view the rabbinic dicta as an anti-Christian polemic, it was proposed that this idea should be regarded in a similar light, on the background of the Destruction and the rise of Christianity, and the latter’s claims of God’s abandonment of Israel and the abrogation of the covenant with it.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the idea of God’s being with Israel could fundamentally be understood as the inversion of the common claim by the early Church that God is present in their

<sup>29</sup> English translation is mine. For other formulations of the same idea see e.g., *b. Roš Haš.* 31a; *Mek. de Rabbi Yishma’el*, tractate Pisha, 1 (ed. Lauterbach p. 2).

<sup>30</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned studies in n. 26, see also: M. Eyali, “God’s Sharing in the Suffering of the Jewish People,” in *Studies in Jewish Thought* (ed. S.O. Heller Willensky and M. Idel; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 29–50 (Hebrew).

community. Thus, for example, we find in Paul's letter to the Ephesians the following statement addressed to those Gentiles (2:19–22):<sup>31</sup>

So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God ... being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit. (RSV)

In other words, the Gentiles who join the Christian community become the dwelling place of God, a sort of temple. This is also stated in several sources like the first epistle of Peter (1 Pet 2:5): “and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God ...” (RSV).<sup>32</sup> Thus, the temple is simply the community, and the people are the dwelling place of God. Put differently, the Divine Presence is in the congregation, since the Lord chose it as His elect.<sup>33</sup>

This common Christian argument might have been addressed by the Tannaim in their teaching cited above, as if to say: yes, the chosen people are the dwelling place of God, and not the destroyed Temple. These human beings, however, are not the Christians, but the Lord's chosen people, the people of Israel, exiled in Edom. And indeed, the Babylonian Talmud (*Yoma* 57a) contains a disagreement on this question between R. Hanina (first generation of Palestinian Amoraim) and a *min*, most likely a Christian:<sup>34</sup>

The *min* said to R. Hanina: Now you are surely unclean, for it is written (Lam 1:9); “Her uncleanness clings to her skirts.” He [R. Hanina] replied: Come and see what is written concerning them (Lev 16:16): “which abides with them in the midst of their uncleanness”—even when they are unclean, the Divine Presence is among them.

Although the contrasts between the worldview of the rabbis and that of the Christians are unmistakable, we cannot learn from these sources that

<sup>31</sup> ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι, ἀλλὰ ἐστὲ συμπολίται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ ... ὄντος ἀκρογωνοῖου ... ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογουμένη αὐξοῖ εἰς ναὸν ἁγίον ἐν κυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι.

<sup>32</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ ...

<sup>33</sup> On this passage in 1 Peter and its meaning and implications see commentaries ad loc.

<sup>34</sup> Translation is mine, based on I. Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud: Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices* (35 vols.; London: Soncino, 1935–1952).

these arguments were generated within the Jewish-Christian polemic. In light of the sources cited earlier, it seems that the conception of the Lord dwelling with His exiled people originated neither in Christianity nor with the Tannaim, but much earlier.

Indeed, many years ago David Flusser discussed the connection between the above passage from 1 Peter and the passage we cited from the *Community Rule*, and the reliance of both on Isa 28:16.<sup>35</sup> On the one hand, the early Christians drew their ideas from a Diasporan sect that had preceded them: the Dead Sea sect; while on the other (as was observed by numerous scholars, such as Marcel Simon), these notions were influenced also by the Jewish-Hellenistic nature of nascent Christianity. It will suffice, in this context, to allude to the speech (Acts 7) by the Hellenistic Jew (τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν; Acts 6:1) Stephen, who declared that the ideal condition was the wandering sanctuary, meaning that the Lord is present everywhere. In other words, as regards Christianity as well, the question of distance from God, the withdrawal from the Temple, and the Jewish Hellenistic model intrinsically influenced the development of this conception.

Accordingly, we should not view either the Christians or the rabbis as the originators of this idea. This is an early concept, and although the stance of the rabbis might be related to the Christian conceptions, to which it responds, the rabbis took an already existing concept, one that was popular among Hellenistic Judaism and the Dead Sea sect. Thus, the Dead Sea Scrolls can be viewed as a link completing the picture of the Diasporan perception of the Second Temple period and afterwards on the dwelling place of God.

The sources reviewed in this article reveal the conception of the Divine Presence dwelling among the people, as a theological development deriving and resulting from the Diasporan state—a state of distance or detachment from the location of the nation's religious center. Though Hellenism indeed exercised a great deal of influence over the development of these perceptions in the Jewish world,<sup>36</sup> the term מקדש (“Sanctuary”) as denoting the presence of God with his people, removed from the physical Temple, appears already in the Bible, towards the end of the First Temple period, long before Hellenism, in the context of the eve of the destruction of this Temple. Moreover, even in the Jewish Hellenistic world, these

<sup>35</sup> Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, 35–44, esp. 41–43.

<sup>36</sup> See D.R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 40.

perceptions appear not solely on account of the Hellenistic culture but should also be attributed to the fact that Hellenistic Jewry was Diasporan, distanced as such, from the Temple. The combination of the Diasporan need with the Greek way of thinking enabled the Jews of the Land of Israel, many generations later, to deal with the destruction of the Second Temple and the national center in the Land of Israel. These historical circumstances allowed the Diaspora to permeate the Land of Israel. An examination of the ongoing history of the concept of the Divine Presence in the Diaspora during the talmudic period may also reveal aspects of the Land of Israel's influence on the Diaspora—but this is a topic for another article.

## 11QMELCH IM SPIEGEL DER WEISHEIT

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In der Qumranforschung gehört 11QMelch (11Q13)<sup>1</sup> zu denjenigen Texten, bei denen es scheint, als würden sie um so rätselhafter, je länger sich die Wissenschaft bemüht, sie zu verstehen und sachgemäß ausulegen. Dass das Rätsel der Melchisedekgestalt in 11QMelch noch lange nicht gelöst ist, zeigt auch die Vielzahl jüngerer Veröffentlichungen zum Thema.<sup>2</sup> Zumeist werden dabei die Menschensohnavorstellung nach Dan 7 und den Bilderreden Henochs (1 Hen. 37–71)<sup>3</sup> oder verschiedene Engelsonnungen zum Vergleich herangezogen. Nur am Rande diskutiert wird die Möglichkeit, dass Melchisedek als Personifikation der Weisheit zu verstehen sei. I.R. Tantlevskij spricht in seiner 2004 erschienenen Studie „Melchisedek *Redivivus* in Qumran“ vorsichtig von „a Divine hypostatisation [*sic*] through which the transcendent Lord-Creator realizes His relative immanence in regard to the created world“,<sup>4</sup> aber er ordnet diese genuin weisheitliche Aussage nicht theologiegeschichtlich ein. Die Aussage, dass Melchisedek eine göttliche Hypostase sei, wird als These präsentiert, ohne dass dieselbe in den Gesamtrahmen alttestamentlicher und frühjüdischer Hypostasenvorstellungen integriert würde. Dies gilt insbesondere für den Kontext weisheitlicher Personifikationen, wie sie von der persischen bis in die hellenistische Zeit das

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<sup>1</sup> Zum Text s. F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, and A.S. van der Woude in *DJD* XXIII (1998): 221–241 mit Tafel XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> Dies betrifft auch den vorliegenden Sammelband, in welchem drei Beiträge 11QMelch gewidmet sind. S. Anm. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Deutsch: S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSRZ V/6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984), 573–634; Englisch: E. Isaac, „1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C.—First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,“ in *OTP* 1:5–89, 29–50.

<sup>4</sup> I.R. Tantlevskij, *Melchizedek Redivivus in Qumran: Some Peculiarities of Messianic Ideas and Elements of Mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Qumran Chronicle 12; Kraków: Enigma Press, 2004), 24–25.

weisheitliche Denken konstitutiv bestimmen.<sup>5</sup> Ja, es fällt auf, dass in der Qumranforschung—obwohl der weisheitliche Hintergrund des Qumranschrifttums ein gründlich erforschtes Gebiet ist<sup>6</sup>—die Frage nach der Personifikation der Weisheit und der eschatologischen Implikationen des weisheitlichen Personverständnisses bis heute nicht oder nur am Rande gestellt wurde. Das gilt auch für die große Monographie *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'epistola agli ebrei e a Qumran* von F. Manzi,<sup>7</sup> in welcher „Melchisedek“ als göttlicher Titel klassifiziert wird,<sup>8</sup> ohne dass dabei der weisheitliche Rahmen vor Augen gestellt würde, innerhalb dessen eine solche Klassifikation allein möglich ist.<sup>9</sup> Das soll in diesem Beitrag nachgeholt werden. Dabei geschieht die Annäherung an 11QMelch vom nichtqumranischen Vergleichsmaterial her, in welchem sich die priesterliche Personifikation der Weisheit bis hin zur Identifikation der Sapientia mit Melchisedek dokumentiert findet.

### 1. MELCHISEDEK IM HEBRÄERBRIEF

Die messianologische bzw. christologische Besonderheit des Hebräerbriefes innerhalb des Neuen Testaments besteht darin, dass Christus nicht nur als der Messias im Sinne der davidischen Messianologie und

<sup>5</sup> Im Folgenden werden im Blick auf die irdische Manifestation der Weisheit die Begriffe „Hypostase“ und „Person“ bzw. „Hypostasierung“ und „Personifikation“ bedeutungsgleich verwendet. Dabei wird der Personbegriff allein auf die Selbstentäußerung Gottes im Akt des Zur-Welt-Kommens Gottes und auf die Manifestation Gottes im Irdischen bezogen. Die häufig geübte Vermischung eines hypostatischen Personbegriffs mit rein literarischen Personifikationsmustern, wie sie etwa die aus jüngster Zeit stammende große Monographie zum Thema von J.R. Dodson prägt (*The „Powers“ of Personification: Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of Wisdom and the Letter to the Romans* [BZNV 161; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008], s. bes. 51–118), hat in der Forschung mit dazu beigetragen, die weisheitliche Personvorstellung zu verdunkeln, statt sie zu erhellen.

<sup>6</sup> S. J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 112–131, und A. Lange, „Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung,“ in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange und H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 3–30.

<sup>7</sup> F. Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'epistola agli ebrei e a Qumran* (AnBib 136; Rom: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 63–96.

<sup>9</sup> Statt dessen verweist man auf die Hypostasenspekulationen der späteren rabbinischen Literatur. Vgl. A.F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 23, 260–261. Dass dieselben in der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Weisheit wurzeln, kommt dabei nicht in den Blick.

der sie weiterführenden Menschensohnerwartung<sup>10</sup> angesehen wird, sondern gleichzeitig als der himmlische Hohepriester<sup>11</sup>. Die in Qumran auseinandertretende Erwartung eines königlich-davidischen und eines priesterlichen Messias (CD 19:10–11; 19:33–20:1; 1QS IX:9–11; 1QSa [1Q28a] II:11–22; 4QTest [4Q175])<sup>12</sup> sind in Christi Person vereinigt. In dieser Vereinigung der Traditionsstränge wird nun allerdings interessanterweise das Priestertum Christi nicht auf Aaron und das levitische Priestertum zurückgeführt, sondern auf Melchisedek. Christus ist—so nennt ihn der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes—„Priester nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks“ (Heb 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:11, 15, 17), ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ. Diese Titulatur verdankt sich Ps 110:4, wo der davidische König als „Priester auf ewig nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks,“ proklamiert wird. Psalm 110:4 seinerseits ist nur verständlich vor dem Hintergrund von Gen 14. Hier erscheint Melchisedek als der königliche Urpriester auf dem Zion, dem Abraham sich mit der Übereignung des Zehnten unterstellt (Gen 14:17–20). Dabei zielt die einzigartige Darstellung Abrahams als eines territorial weit ausgreifenden Kriegsherrn ebenfalls auf das davidische Zionskönigtum, genauer auf die Begründung des Großreiches Israel durch David.<sup>13</sup> Wenn daher in Ps 104—im Rückbezug auf die in Gen 14 *narrativ* vermittelte Urtradition vom Jerusalemer Königpriestertum—die Inthronisation des davidischen Königs als Einsetzung zum Priester nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks besungen wird, dann geschieht dies zum einen wegen der messianologisch bedeutsamen Vorordnung des Zion vor den Sinai: Die kultische Verehrung des einen und wahren Gottes auf dem Zion wird für eine Zeit fixiert, in welcher die Gottesoffenbarung auf dem Sinai und die Einsetzung Aarons zum Priester Israels noch in weiter Zukunft liegen. Sie geschieht zum anderen um der eschatologischen Signifikanz des Urgeschehens willen: Als Garant für die kultische Integrität des Volkes, dessen Herrscher er ist, verbürgt der Priesterkönig nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks Israels Heil auf ewig.

<sup>10</sup> S. H. Gese, „Der Messias,“ in idem, *Zur biblischen Theologie: Alttestamentliche Vorträge* (3. Aufl.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 128–151.

<sup>11</sup> Heb 2:17; 3:1; 4:14–15; 5:1, 5, 10; 6:20; 7:26–28; 8:1, 3; 9:7, 11, 25; 10:21.

<sup>12</sup> Einen Überblick über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung bietet H.-J. Fabry, „Die Messiaserwartung in den Handschriften von Qumran,“ in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 357–384.

<sup>13</sup> M. Delcor, „Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews,“ *JSJ* 2 (1971): 115–135, 119–120 greift theologisch zu kurz, wenn er die Verankerung der Zehntabgabe in der Väterzeit als den Skopus von Gen 14 benennt.



Bereits in alttestamentlicher Tradition findet sich also die messianologische Zusammenführung von Königtum und Priestertum bezeugt als ein Vorstellungskomplex ohne Verbindung zum aaronitisch-levitischen Priestertum (vgl. 1 Chr 21:26).<sup>14</sup> In diesen gleichzeitig urzeitlichen und endzeitlichen  *davidischen*  Traditionszusammenhang ordnet der Autor des Hebräerbriefes das Christusgeschehen ein, wenn er Christus als König und Hohepriester identifiziert und dabei das Priestertum Christi auf Melchisedek zurückführt.

Der Hebräerbrief aber geht in der Adaption der Traditionen noch einen Schritt weiter. Und er  *muss*  weitergehen, da er das Königpriestertum Christi nicht als ein irdisches, sondern als ein himmlisches Priestertum klassifiziert. Auf welcher Grundlage diese Klassifikation erfolgt, zeigt die Analyse der Beschreibung Melchisedeks in Heb 7:1–3. Hier wird Melchisedek zunächst in Anlehnung an Gen 14 als Priesterkönig von Salem vorgestellt; was aber folgt, hat keine Parallele in Gen 14. In V. 3 heißt es von Melchisedek: „Er ist vaterlos, mutterlos, ohne Geschlechtsregister (d.h. ohne jedwede Vorfahren) und hat weder Anfang der Tage noch Ende des Lebens“ (ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων). Wie kommt der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes zu dieser Charakterisierung Melchisedeks und welche Vorstellung wird hier auf Melchisedek übertragen?

Um zu einer Antwort zu gelangen, muss man sich klarmachen, was es bedeutet, wenn im Hebräerbrief Melchisedeks Existenz als ewig charakterisiert wird. Denn nichts anderes besagen die genannten Adjektive in ihrer Gesamtheit. Ewigkeit—das bedeutet im Blick auf die Zukunft Unsterblichkeit, das bedeutet im Blick auf die Vergangenheit Präexistenz. Melchisedek ist also  *wesenseins mit Gott* . In der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Tradition aber gibt es nur eine „Person“ neben Gott, die in dieser Weise charakterisiert wird: die Weisheit. Melchisedek ist im Hebräerbrief die irdische Manifestation der Weisheit.

Um allerdings diesen Text sowie im Anschluss auch den Text 11QMelch der weisheitlichen Tradition theologiegeschichtlich zuordnen zu können, muss man das Gesamtbild der weisheitlichen Entwicklung von der persischen bis in die hellenistische Zeit vor Augen haben. Dies soll, da in der Qumranforschung der personale Aspekt der Weisheit in

<sup>14</sup> Zum Priesterdienst Davids und seiner Nachkommen vgl. auch 2 Sam 6:12–19 (David); 1 Kön 8:5 (Salomo); 2 Sam 8:18 (Söhne Davids); 2 Kön 16:12–13 (Ahas).

der Diskussion der Weisheitsschriften kaum erörtert wird, hier in aller Kürze und im Rückgriff auf Vorarbeiten zum Thema geschehen.<sup>15</sup>

#### EXKURS 1:

#### DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER WEISHEITLICHEN PERSONVORSTELLUNG VON DER PERSISCHEN BIS IN DIE HELLENISTISCHE ZEIT

Bereits in Prov 8 erscheint die Weisheit als eine personale göttliche Größe. Ihr Wesen wird lokal und temporal im uneigentlichen, d.h. den Begriff von Raum und Zeit transzendierenden, Sinne qualifiziert. Sie erscheint als eine Person der Vorzeit (Prov 8:22–29), deren „Ort“ bei Gott ist (Prov 8:30). Die Weisheit ist—in systematisch-theologischer Terminologie—göttlicher Natur und präexistent. Die Personifizierung dieser göttlichen, aber von Gott selbst unterschiedenen Größe entspricht dem Personsein Gottes und der personalen Struktur der Offenbarung vom Sinai her, wo Gott aus seiner transzendenten Verborgenheit heraus- und in den irdischen Raum der Geschichte eintritt.

Die Frage, warum es überhaupt zur Vorstellung einer göttlichen, aber von Gott unterschiedenen Person kommt, findet ihre Antwort im Schöpfungsgedanken, der ein Sein und Handeln des ewigen und jenseitigen Gottes in Zeit und Raum impliziert. Die Erkenntnis einer gleichzeitig verborgenen und irdisch manifesten Existenz Gottes führt im Zuge der theologischen Systematisierung zur Unterscheidung des für-sich-seienden, irdisch unverfügbaren Gottes von Gott als demjenigen, der sich im Schöpfungsakt in Beziehung zur Welt und zum Menschen setzt und daher auch weltlich erkannt werden kann. Man könnte auch sagen: Die Weisheit ist die Anwesenheitsform Gottes im Irdischen; sie ist die Form, in welcher Gott immanent fassbar und erfahrbar wird. Daher wird bereits in den Texten aus persischer Zeit die Weisheit als das Ordnungsprinzip identifiziert, das der Schöpfung zugrunde liegt. Als solches durchwaltet sie alle Bereiche des Irdischen, d.h. als physikalisches Grundprinzip den Bereich der Natur (Prov 8:22–31), als ethische Norm den menschlichen Bereich, der wesentlich durch die Beziehung zu Gott und damit durch das Wort der Tora konstituiert ist (Prov

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<sup>15</sup> U. Mittmann-Richert, „Thesen zur Offenbarungsgeschichtlichen Grundlegung der Christologie,“ in *Heil und Geschichte: Die Geschichtsbezogenheit des Heils und das Problem der Heilsgeschichte in der biblischen Tradition und in der theologischen Deutung* (ed. J. Frey, S. Krauter und H. Lichtenberger; WUNT 248; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 307–331; eadem, „Joseph und Aseneth: Die Weisheit Israels und die Weisheit der Heiden,“ in *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature: Conference of the ISDCL at Tübingen, Germany, 30 June – 4 July 2007* (ed. H. Lichtenberger und U. Mittmann-Richert; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2008; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 239–279. Die genannten Beiträge gründen in der wegweisenden Studie von H. Gese, „Die Weisheit, der Menschensohn und die Ursprünge der Christologie als konsequente Entfaltung der biblischen Theologie,“ in idem, *Alttestamentliche Studien* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 218–248.

8:12–21). Da in diesem Sinne die Weisheit beide Bereiche vertritt—den himmlischen und den irdischen Bereich—, wird sie zur Mittlerin Gottes an den Menschen. Die Weisheit gibt dem Menschen Anteil an Gott, sie lässt ihn gleichsam an Gott teilnehmen. Gott selbst vermittelt sich in seiner Schöpfungsordnung an die Welt, und in der menschlichen Erkenntnis dieser Schöpfungsordnung als Erkenntnis der Weisheit kommt diese Vermittlung zu ihrem Ziel.<sup>16</sup>

Entscheidend für die Weiterentwicklung der Weisheit im frühjüdischen Schrifttum der hellenistischen Zeit ist die Personalität der Weisheit und die Worthaftigkeit der weisheitlichen Vermittlung Gottes an den Menschen. Sie ist entscheidend, weil auch in den Geschichtstraditionen Israels die Personalität der Offenbarung und ihr Wortcharakter das Offenbarwerden des Gottes vom Sinai kennzeichnen. Daher wird nun die Weisheit als Mittlerin nicht nur der Schöpfung, sondern auch der geschichtlichen Offenbarung am Sinai erkannt, mehr noch: als das Wort Gottes selbst. Dabei werden die Sinai- und die Zions-tradition zusammengeführt in der Vorstellung von der irdischen Einwohnung der mit Gottes Wort identifizierten Weisheit in Zion (Sir 24:3–12). So wird die Weisheit automatisch auch zur kultischen Größe und konsequenterweise mit der Schekinah identifiziert.<sup>17</sup> Das aber bedeutet: Die Weisheit wird erkannt als der auf Erden offenbare Gott. Sie *ist* der im Wort der Selbstteilgabe auf Erden in Person dem Menschen gegenüber tretende Gott, der *deus praesens*. Es liegt in der Konsequenz dieser Entwicklung, dass in einem letzten Schritt die Person der Weisheit im Bereich des Irdischen visionär und auditionär manifest wird. Dies belegt insbesondere die Weisheit Salomos, die im Fortlauf dieser Analyse noch ausführlich zur Sprache kommt, da sie den theologischen Bezugspunkt für die Identifikation sowohl Christi als auch Melchisedeks im Hebräerbrief darstellt. Hier genügt es, festzuhalten, dass die neutestamentliche Identifikation Melchisedeks mit der Weisheit ein *personales* Weisheitsverständnis voraussetzt, wie es in den alttestamentlichen und frühjüdischen Weisheitsschriften die Grundlage sowohl der Schöpfungs- als auch der Geschichtstheologie bildet. In diesen beiden Zusammenhängen ist die Weisheit ausnahmslos personhaft gedacht. Die Erkenntnis Gottes erwächst aus der Begegnung mit Gott als dem, der sich in Gestalt der Weisheit als Schöpfer der Erde und Herr der Geschichte offenbart.

Der Hebräerbrief steht im alt- und neutestamentlichen Gesamtzusammenhang der Traditionen zeitlich am Ende der weisheitlichen Entwicklung und markiert innerhalb des Neuen Testaments einen Schlusspunkt. Bemerkenswert ist, wie tief diese späte neutestamentliche Schrift in der frühjüdischen Weisheitstheologie verwurzelt ist und wie selbstverständlich sie von einer sichtbaren und hörbaren Manifestation der Person der

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Gese, „Weisheit,“ 218–226.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. B. Janowski, „Gottes Weisheit in Jerusalem: Sir 24 und die biblische *Schekina*-Theologie,“ in *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, 1–29; Gese, „Weisheit,“ 226–231.

Weisheit ausgeht, wenn sie Melchisedek Präexistenz und ewiges Sein zuschreibt und ihn auf diese Weise mit der Weisheit identifiziert. Das aber heißt: *Melchisedek ist der offenbare Gott in Person.*

Dass im Hebräerbrief genau dies die Vorstellung ist, zeigt auch die zweite Vershälfte von Heb 7:3. Hier heißt es: „Er gleicht dem Sohn Gottes und bleibt Priester in Ewigkeit“ (ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές). Der Sohn Gottes—das ist im Hebräerbrief der mit Gott wesenseine Christus, der in seiner irdischen Existenzform Gott selbst auf Erden offenbar gemacht hat. Christus wird also auch als irdische Erscheinungsform der Weisheit identifiziert und Melchisedek an die Seite gestellt. Die Doppelheit der Personen ist Ausdruck einer heilsgeschichtlichen Differenzierung: Melchisedek ist die irdische Erscheinungsform der Weisheit in der Zeit des alten Bundes, Christus die irdische Erscheinungsform der Weisheit in der Zeit des neuen Bundes. So kommt für den Verfasser die irdische Selbstoffenbarung Gottes zu ihrem Ziel in Person der mit seinem Sohn Jesus Christus identischen Weisheit.

Dass in der Tat im Hebräerbrief auch Christus mit der Weisheit identifiziert wird, bestätigt der Anfang des Briefes, Heb 1:1–3:

- 1 Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέρας ἐν τοῖς προφήταις
  - 2 ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ, ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι’ οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας·
  - 3 ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καθαρισμόν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς.
- 1 Viele Male und auf vielerlei Weise hat Gott einst zu den Vätern gesprochen durch die Propheten;
  - 2 in dieser Endzeit aber hat er zu uns gesprochen durch den Sohn, den er zum Erben des Alls eingesetzt und durch den er auch die Welt erschaffen hat;
  - 3 er ist der Abglanz seiner Herrlichkeit und das Abbild seiner Person [Hypostase]; er trägt das All durch sein machtvolleres Wort, hat die Reinigung von den Sünden bewirkt und sich dann zur Rechten der Majestät in der Höhe gesetzt.

Die Motivik dieser Verse ist typisch weisheitlich: Christus ist der Schöpfungsmittler und daher rechtmäßiger Inhaber des göttlichen Throns (vgl. Sir 24:4). Er ist dies aber als der von jeher mit Gott wesenseine Sohn. In diesem Zusammenhang ist ausdrücklich auf den hier verwendeten Begriff ὑπόστασις, „Hypostase“ hinzuweisen (Heb 1:3). Dass Christus dabei nicht direkt als göttliche Hypostase bezeichnet wird, sondern als

*Abbild* der göttlichen Hypostase, hängt mit der schon erwähnten heilsgeschichtlichen Unterscheidung der Erscheinungsform der Weisheit zusammen: als Melchisedek zur Zeit des alten, als Christus zur Zeit des neuen Bundes. Der Begriff „Hypostase“ meint dabei nichts anderes, als was im bisherigen Verlauf der Argumentation mit „Person“ bezeichnet wurde. Es geht um die Selbstentäußerung Gottes und sein personales Offenbarwerden in Schöpfung und Geschichte im Sinne der Unterscheidung des irdisch offenbaren Gottes von dem in transzendenter Verborgenheit existierenden Gott.

Die Relevanz, die diese weisheitliche Melchisedek-Christus-Reflexion des Hebräerbriefes für das Verständnis von 11QMelch hat, ergibt sich an dieser Stelle aus der Tatsache, dass der Autor des Briefes ausdrücklich Bezug nimmt auf das frühjüdische Schrifttum. Heb 1:2–3 ist ein freies Zitat aus dem großen Lob der Weisheit in Weish 7, wo es in V. 24–26 heißt:

- 24 πάσης γὰρ κινήσεως κινητικώτερον σοφία,  
διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα.
- 25 ἀτιμίς γὰρ ἔστιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως  
καὶ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής·  
διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν μεμαμμένον εἰς αὐτὴν παρεμπίπτει.
- 26 ἀπαύγασμα γὰρ ἔστιν φωτὸς αἰδίου  
καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας  
καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ.
- 24 Denn die Weisheit ist beweglicher als alle Bewegung,  
sie geht und dringt durch alles wegen ihrer Reinheit.
- 25 Denn sie ist ein Nebelschleier der Macht Gottes  
und eine Emanation der lauterer Herrlichkeit des Allmächtigen;  
darum kann nichts Unreines in sie hineinkommen.
- 26 Denn sie ist der Abglanz des ewigen Lichts  
und der fleckenlose Spiegel der Wirksamkeit Gottes  
und das Ebenbild seiner Güte.

Die Identifikation Christi mit der Weisheit findet im Hebräerbrief in der direkten Übertragung der Wesensbeschreibung der Weisheit nach Weish 7:25–26 auf Christus statt. Wenn daher in Heb 7:3 von Melchisedek gesagt wird, er gleiche dem Sohn, dann zielt dies auf Christi Identität mit der Weisheit und erklärt, warum Melchisedek als von jeher und in Ewigkeit existierend vorgestellt wird. Die Gleichheit mit dem Sohn Gottes manifestiert in diesem Zusammenhang sein göttliches Wesen.

Von besonderer Bedeutung im Blick auf Christi und Melchisedeks priesterlichen Status ist bei der Übertragung von Weish 7 auf Christus die Aussage über die Reinheit der Weisheit in Weish 7:24–25. Sie zielt, ähnlich wie in Sir 24:10–11, auf die kultische Integrität der gesamten

Schöpfung, welche die Weisheit garantiert. Auf die Frage nach der kultischen Funktion der Weisheit läuft in Heb 1:3 die gesamte Argumentation des Textes zu. Denn der Abschnitt endet mit dem Hinweis auf das Sühnewirken des mit der Weisheit identifizierten Schöpfungsmittlers. Er wird kombiniert mit einer zitatartigen Anspielung auf Ps 110:1 und damit gerade auf denjenigen Psalm, der ebenfalls von Melchisedek als dem Urbild des davidischen Priesterkönigtums handelt (Ps 110:4).

Der Autor des Hebräerbriefes greift in der Identifikation des Priesterkönigs Melchisedek mit der präexistenten Weisheit allerdings nicht nur auf Weish 7 zurück, sondern auch auf Weish 18, wo die Weisheit als Weltenpriester auf Erden erscheint und Sühne schafft für Israel.

## 2. DIE PRIESTERLICHE PERSONIFIKATION DER WEISHEIT IN WEISH 18

Die Bedeutung von Weish 18 für die Rekonstruktion der Entwicklung der Weisheit in hellenistischer Zeit wurde lange Zeit verkannt,<sup>18</sup> weil innerhalb dieser Weisheitsschrift ein Umbruch der Weisheitskonzeption und der Terminologie stattzufinden scheint und fraglich ist, ob in Kapitel 18 überhaupt von der Weisheit die Rede ist.<sup>19</sup> Denn nach dem Preis der Weisheit in Weish 7 erscheint in Weish 18 der auf Erden offenbare Gott plötzlich in männlicher Form hypostasiert bzw. personifiziert, und statt der weiblichen Bezeichnung „Sophia“ ist nun der männliche Begriff „Logos“ verwendet (Weish 18:15). Dass dabei allerdings Logos und Sophia miteinander identifiziert werden (vgl. Weish 9:1–2),<sup>20</sup> zeigt

<sup>18</sup> S. Mittmann-Richert, „Joseph und Aseneth,“ 260–263, wo Weish 18 erstmals in die Rekonstruktion miteinbezogen wurde.

<sup>19</sup> Die Fülle der Literatur zur Weisheit Salomos ist groß. Um so auffälliger ist, dass in vielen Veröffentlichungen zum Thema die Frage nach einem möglichen Zusammenhang der Konzepte nicht einmal gestellt wird. Beispielhaft sei hier auf die Monographie zum Thema von M. Nehr, *Wesen und Wirken der Weisheit in der Sapientia Salomonis* (BZAW 333; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), verwiesen, in welcher Weish 18 gar nicht behandelt wird und ohne weiteren Kommentar als offensichtlich nicht zum Thema gehörig aus dem weisheitlichen Gesamtzusammenhang ausgeschlossen wird.

<sup>20</sup> Gegen H. Hübner, *Die Weisheit Salomons* (ATD Apokryphen 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 215.—Zu bestreiten ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die These von H. Engel, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament 16; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998), dass die Personifikation sowohl der Weisheit als auch des Logos als „literarische Personifikation“ zu deuten sei und „nicht eine selbständige personhafte Gestalt ‚neben‘ oder gar außerhalb von Gott“ bezeichne (247; vgl. 283).

sich daran, dass es vom Logos heißt, sein Herabkommen auf die Erde geschehe von seinem himmlischen Thron aus (Weish 18:15). Die himmlische Throngenossin Gottes zu sein, aber ist bereits in den alten Weisheitstexten das Charakteristikum der Weisheit (Prov 8:30; Sir 24:4). Die Identifikation von Weisheit und Logos ist schon deshalb konsequent, weil vom Sinai her das *Wort* das Offenbarungsmedium Gottes ist, durch welches Gott als Person erkennbar wird, weshalb, wie bereits erwähnt, die Weisheit, als Norm der Gottesbeziehung, im offenbarungsgeschichtlichen Kontext auch mit der Tora identifiziert werden kann. In der Weisheit Salomos ist daher der vom himmlischen Thron steigende Logos die Personifikation des göttlichen Offenbarungswortes und somit identisch mit der Weisheit. Wie konkret diese Personifizierung werden kann, zeigt die Tatsache, dass in Weish 18:15 der Logos (ὁ παντοδύναμος ... λόγος) als „harter Kriegermann“ (ἀπότομος πολεμιστής) betitelt wird. Dieser Titel hängt mit der Funktion zusammen, die der Logos im fraglichen Zusammenhang hat: Er muss Gericht halten und Gottes Recht auf Erden durchsetzen. Geschichtlich ist dabei zunächst auf Israels Zeit in Ägypten angespielt und wird das Gericht als Strafe an den Ägyptern verstanden, der Macht, die Israel versklavt. Ägypten steht hier, wie in anderen alttestamentlichen und frühjüdischen Texten auch, für das Urböse, das am Anfang der Geschichte Israel in Gefangenschaft hielt und zum Typos der gegengöttlichen Macht wurde.

Im Blick auf 11QMelch ist Weish 18 aus zweierlei Gründen interessant: Zum einen erscheint auch in 11QMelch Melchisedek als der Gerichtsherr, der das Gericht an Belial und seiner Gefolgschaft vollstreckt und die von Belial Versklavten und Gefangenen befreit (11QMelch II:4–6, 9, 13–14, 21–23); zum anderen verbindet die beiden Texte das priesterliche Element. Denn im Anschluss an die Gerichtsszene erscheint in Weish 18:21 die wiederum männlich verkörperte Weisheit nun in priesterlicher Funktion und entsühnt Israel. Die Entsühnung wird im genannten Zusammenhang notwendig, weil in V. 20 auch von Israel gesagt wird, dass es den Gotteszorn auf sich gezogen habe.

Allerdings ergibt sich an dieser Stelle im Blick auf die weisheitliche Gesamtkonzeption des Kapitels ein Problem: Denn die Weisheit erscheint hier, da Logos und Weltenpriester einander gegenüberstehen, in doppelter Personifikation. Wie ist diese personifizierte Doppelheit des göttlichen Wirkens auf Erden zu verstehen? Da die Antwort nur auf der Grundlage der in Weish 18 rezipierten Tradition gegeben werden kann, soll die Verstehensgrundlage dieses Textes in einem zweiten Exkurs erarbeitet werden. Er führt die in Exkurs 1 ausgezogene Linie traditions-

geschichtlich weiter und schließt den Überblick über die weisheitliche Gesamtentwicklung ab.<sup>21</sup>

EXKURS 2:  
DIE DOPPELTE MÄNNLICHE PERSONIFIKATION  
DER WEISHEIT IN WEISH 18

In Weish 18 zeigt sich, dass die Vorstellung von der Weisheit als einer personalen göttlichen Größe, wie sie in hellenistischer Zeit am eindrucklichsten Sir 24 und 1 Hen. 42:1–2 dokumentieren, im Kontext der ägyptischen Diaspora nochmals eine Weiterentwicklung erfahren hat hin zu einer Konkretisierung ihres irdischen Erscheinens: Die Weisheit wird auf Erden visuell und auditionell manifest. Dies belegt gleich am Anfang des Kapitels die Schilderung des Herabkommens des Logos von seinem göttlichen Thron:

- 14 ἡσύχου γὰρ σιγῆς περιεχοῦσης τὰ πάντα  
καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν ἰδίῳ τάχει μεσαζούσης
- 15 ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων βασιλείων  
ἀπότομος πολεμιστῆς εἰς μέσον τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἧλατο γῆς
- 16 ξίφος ὄξυ τὴν ἀνυπόκριτον ἐπιταγὴν σου φέρων  
καὶ στάς ἐπλήρωσεν τὰ πάντα θανάτου  
καὶ οὐρανοῦ μὲν ἤπτετο, βεβήκει δ' ἐπὶ γῆς.
- 14 Denn als tiefes Schweigen das All umfing  
und die Nacht in der ihr eigenen Geschwindigkeit ihre Mitte erreichte,
- 15 da fuhr dein allmächtiges Wort vom Himmel herab, vom königlichen  
Thron,  
als harter Kriegermann, mitten in die Zerstörung der Erde,
- 16 und trug als scharfes Schwert deinen unmissverständlichen Befehl  
und stellte sich hin und erfüllte das All mit Tod;  
dabei berührte es den Himmel, schritt aber auf der Erde einher.

Der Logos erscheint als Kriegermann, der auf der Erde in Ausübung seines Richteramtes einerschreitet, dabei aber weiterhin den Himmel berührt. Er ist also derjenige, der gleichzeitig den irdischen und den himmlischen Bereich vertritt, was ebenfalls auf seine Identität mit der Sophia schließen lässt. Nicht weniger konkret ist das Auftreten des Weltenpriesters in Weish 18:21–25 geschildert:

<sup>21</sup> Es sei an dieser Stelle angemerkt, dass Exkurs 2 die verkürzte Übernahme des entsprechenden Exkurses aus dem in Anm. 15 bereits genannten Beitrag „Joseph und Aseneth“ darstellt. Die nochmalige Präsentation im vorliegenden Kontext geschieht um des besseren Verständnisses der auf 11QMelch zulaufenden Argumentation willen, aber auch deshalb, weil die Forschungsbereiche, in welchen die aus Weish 18 gewonnenen Ergebnisse relevant werden, relativ weit auseinander liegen und der Kreis der jeweiligen Rezipienten nicht deckungsgleich ist.



- 20c οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔμεινεν ἡ ὀργή·  
 21 σπεύσας γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἄμειπτος προεμάχησεν  
 τὸ τῆς ἰδίας λειτουργίας ὄπλον  
 προσευχὴν καὶ θυμιάματος ἐξίλασμον κομίσας.  
 ἀντέστη τῷ θυμῷ καὶ πέρας ἐπέθηκε τῇ συμφορᾷ  
 δεικνὺς ὅτι σὸς ἐστὶν θεράπων·  
 22 ἐνίκησεν δὲ τὸν χόλον οὐκ ἰσχύι τοῦ σώματος,  
 οὐχ ὄπλων ἐνεργεία,  
 ἀλλὰ λόγῳ τὸν κολάζοντα ὑπέταξεν  
 ὄρκους πατέρων καὶ διαθήκας ὑπομνήσας.  
 .....  
 24 ἐπὶ γὰρ ποδήρους ἐνδύματος ἦν ὅλος ὁ κόσμος,  
 καὶ πατέρων δόξα ἐπὶ τετραστίχου λίθων γλυφῆς,  
 καὶ μεγαλωσύνη σου ἐπὶ διαδήματος κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ.  
 25 τούτοις εἶξεν ὁ ὀλεθρεύων.  
 20c Aber der Zorn [Gottes] währte nicht lang.  
 21 Denn ein Mann ohne Fehl eilte herbei und kämpfte für sie  
 und hatte mitgebracht die Waffe seines *eigenen* [priesterlichen] Dienstes:  
 Gebet und sühnendes Räucherwerk.  
 Er widerstand dem Zorn und machte dem Unheil ein Ende  
 und zeigte so, dass er dein Diener ist.  
 22 Er überwand aber den Zorn nicht mit Körperkraft  
 und nicht mit Waffengewalt,  
 sondern unterwarf den Strafgewaltigen mit dem Wort,  
 indem er an die den Vätern geltenden Eide und Bundesschlüsse erin-  
 nerte.  
 .....  
 24 Denn auf seinem fußlangen Gewand befand sich die ganze Welt,  
 und die Doxa der Väter stand eingraviert auf dem vierreihigen Schmuck  
 von Steinen,  
 und deine Majestät war auf dem Diadem seines Hauptes.  
 25 Davor wich der Verderber.

Die Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Personen zeigt schon die Tatsache, dass beide allein durch das Wort als das Medium der Selbstoffenbarung Gottes auf Erden handeln (V. 16, 22). Äußerlich scheint der Textabschnitt Weish 18:20–25 auf Num 17 anzuspielen, wo die Rede ist vom Aufbegehren Israels gegen Gott in der Wüste und von der Vernichtung großer Teile der Gemeinde. Sie endet durch das Einschreiten Aarons, der zwischen die Toten und die Lebenden tritt und für Israel Sühne wirkt. Die sprachlichen Bezüge aber zeigen, dass hier ein ganz anderer Text im Vordergrund steht, nämlich 1 Chr 21. Es ist dieser Text, der die Personenkonstellation in Weish 18 erhellt.

Auch in 1 Chr 21 geht es um ein Strafhandeln Gottes an Israel; der Grund des göttlichen Zornes ist in diesem Fall aber nicht das Volk, sondern David, der mit einer Volkszählung Gottes Eigentumsrecht an Israel verletzt hat. Wegen dieses Vergehens sendet Gott, als irdischen Repräsentanten seiner selbst, einen Strafengel nach Jerusalem, um die Stadt zu vernichten (1 Chr 21:14–15). Dass das,

was nun geschieht, dem Verfasser der Weisheit Salomos das Grundmuster der theologischen Reflexion in Weish 18 geliefert hat und das Kapitel insgesamt—nicht nur der von der Entsöhnung Israels handelnde zweite Teil—von 1 Chr 21 her konzipiert ist, ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass die Beschreibung des Logos, der als Krieger vom Himmel steigt, im ersten Teil des Berichts genau der des Strafengels entspricht. Dieser Engel steht zwischen Himmel und Erde und hält in der Hand ein Schwert, ausgestreckt über Jerusalem (1 Chr 21:16). Dies ist in der oben zitierten Stelle Weish 18:16 aufgenommen, wo es heißt, dass der Logos mit dem Schwert in der Hand als Vollstrecker des göttlichen Gerichts sein Werk tut, indem er in Person Himmel und Erde verbindet.

Die Ersetzung des Strafengels durch den Logos ist theologiegeschichtlich hochbedeutsam. Sie eröffnet einen Einblick nicht nur in die Entwicklung der Weisheit, sondern auch in die Entwicklung der Angelologie. Denn in dem Maße, wie in hellenistischer Zeit die Vorstellung vom himmlischen Heer in eine hochdifferenzierte, aber in sich vielfältige Engelslehre überführt wird, tritt die Vorstellung vom Engel des Herrn als dem Boten Gottes auf Erden in den Hintergrund. Und sie *muss* in den Hintergrund treten, da das himmlische Heer der geschaffenen Welt zugehört und die ihm angehörenden Engel trotz ihrer transzendenten Existenz in ihrem Sein und Wesen von Gott unterschieden sind, während der Engel des Herrn (מלאך יהוה) die irdische Erscheinungsform Gottes selbst ist: der offenbare Gott. Am deutlichsten zeigt sich dies in Exod 3, der Erzählung von der Berufung des Mose, wo es im Visionsteil zunächst der Engel des Herrn ist, der Mose am Dornbusch im Feuer erscheint (Exod 3:2), in der Audition aber Gott selbst, der zur Mose spricht und sich ihm offenbart (Exod 3:4–15). Der Unterschied ist ein schöpfungstheologischer. Da gleichzeitig im Bereich der Weisheit—im Zuge ihrer offenbarungsgeschichtlichen Aufweitung in hellenistischer Zeit—die Person der Weisheit als der auf Erden offenbare Gott erkannt wird, ist es traditionsgeschichtlich konsequent, wenn in den Texten der Spätzeit die Weisheit an die Stelle des Engels des Herrn tritt. Es ist nun die Weisheit, die Gottes Willen offenbar macht und in der Kraft des Wortes durchsetzt. So auch in Weish 18:14, wo der Strafengel aus 1 Chr 21 als der vom himmlischen Thron herabfahrende Logos betitelt ist.

Entscheidend für das Verständnis von Weish 18 aber ist das, was in 1 Chr 21 auf das Auftreten des Strafengels folgt: Angesichts der Unzahl derer, die in Israel dem Schwert des Engels zum Opfer fallen, bekommt Gott, obwohl er selbst den Strafengel ausgesandt hat und in dessen Handeln wirksam ist, Mitleid mit seinem Volk und gebietet dem Engel Einhalt (1 Chr 21:15b, 27). Das heißt: Gott stellt sich gegen Gott. Gott stellt sich gegen sich selbst und hebt den Richterspruch auf. Da aber die Aufhebung des Richterspruches die Entsöhnung Israels voraussetzt, weist Gott David an, auf einem von ihm eigens dazu bestimmten Stück Land einen Altar zu bauen und Opfer darzubringen. Das Stück Land (die Tenne Ornans) ist der Grund und Boden des späteren Jerusalemer Tempels. Und David, der Gott ja eigentlich den Anlass für sein Strafhandeln geliefert hat, fungiert hier als Priester, der das Opfer darbringt, das Israel entsöhnt. Es handelt sich in 1 Chr 21 also um nicht weniger als die Gründungserzählung des Jerusalemer Tempels und Kultes, in welcher David als Priesterkönig auftritt. Während allerdings in 1 Chr 21 Gott die Entsöhnung Israels durch David vollziehen lässt,

wirkt er in Weish 18:21–24 selbst die Entsühnung. Dabei ist—wie schon im Fall des Gerichtswortes Gottes—auch das Wort, das den Strafbefehl aufhebt, personifiziert: Es kommt ein „Mann ohne Fehl“ (ἀνήρ ἄμεμπτος), wie es in Weish 18:21 heißt, und das bedeutet: Es kommt ein Priester. Dass diese priesterliche Gestalt kein irdischer Mensch ist, sondern der seinem Volk in Liebe und Erbarmen zugewandte Gott in Person, zeigt sich an zweierlei: 1. Der Priester trägt ein Gewand, auf welchem die ganze Welt ist (ὅλος ὁ κόσμος). Er ist der Garant der kultischen Integrität der Schöpfung und daher niemand anderes als die Weisheit in Person, die als *principium* der Schöpfung und als *principium* der im Kult manifesten Offenbarung die Welt durchwaltet. 2. Die Entsühnung Israels geschieht nicht durch irdisch vollzogene Opfer, sondern allein durch das Wort (Weish 18:22), wie auch der als strafender Richter auftretende Logos das Gericht allein durch das Wort vollzieht (Weish 18:16). Die beiden Aspekte des Wirkens Gottes nach außen, sein Gerichtshandeln und sein Gnadenhandeln, sind hier in zweifacher Weise hypostasiert bzw. personifiziert, wobei im Gesamtkontext der Weisheit Salomos klar ist, dass es sich in beiden Fällen um die Weisheit Gottes handelt, deren universelle richterliche und kultische Funktion in Weish 7 vor Augen gestellt wurde und die in Weish 18 zur Garantin der göttlichen Weltordnung wird. Dass dabei das Gnadenhandeln Gottes sich in der Entsühnung Israels vollzieht und daher die Weisheit priesterlich personifiziert erscheint, entspricht ganz Sir 24:10, wo die Weisheit ebenfalls das priesterliche Amt auf dem Zion ausübt.

So zeigt sich gerade an der Doppelheit der göttlichen „Personen“ in Weish 18, die im Gegenüber Gottes Gerichts- und Gnadenwillen repräsentieren, wie selbstverständlich man in hellenistischer Zeit die theologische Reflexion von der Hypostasenvorstellung her betrieb, die in den alten Texten ihr Pendant in der Vorstellung vom Engel des Herrn als der irdischen Erscheinungsform Gottes selbst hat.

Zieht man von hier aus zunächst wieder die Linie zum Hebräerbrief aus, so zeigt sich, dass die spezifische Konzeption der Weisheit als einer irdisch manifesten und in dieser Manifestation priesterlich wirkenden Größe das Rückgrat der christologischen Reflexion bildet. Für den Autor des Hebräerbriefes konnte Weish 18 deshalb zum Anknüpfungspunkt seiner weisheitlich-priesterlichen Melchisedek-Christologie werden, weil hier das priesterliche Sühnewerk, das nach 1 Chr 21 David vollbringt, *Gott in Person der Weisheit selbst vollzieht*. Aufgrund von Ps 110:4, wo das Davidkönigtum als ewiges Königtum nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks und demnach als Priesterkönigtum klassifiziert wird, konnte Melchisedek als derjenige erscheinen, welcher nach Weish 18 die Entsühnung des Kosmos vollzieht, und d.h. als die irdische Erscheinungsform der Weisheit. Richtet man aber, unabhängig vom Hebräerbrief, von Weish 18 aus den Blick auf die bis heute umrätselte Figur Melchisedeks in 11QMelch, dann ist folgende Erkenntnis von grundlegender interpre-

tatorischer Bedeutung: Die Vorstellung von der Weisheit als einer irdisch manifesten göttlichen Person, die auf Erden den Priesterdienst verrichtet und die kultische Integrität nicht nur Israels, sondern des ganzen Kosmos garantiert, die ferner im eschatologischen Kontext heilstiftend wirkt, ist eine schon Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts v.Chr. im Judentum fest verankerte Vorstellung. Die Lösung des Rätsels der Melchisedekfigur in 11QMelch ergibt sich von hier aus schon deshalb von selbst, weil Melchisedek göttlich qualifiziert wird (11QMelch II:10; vgl. 11QMelch II:24–25). Der Rahmen der theologischen Reflexion in 11QMelch ist damit eindeutig kein angelogischer, sondern ein weisheitlicher. Die Frage ist nur, welche besondere Form die weisheitliche Personvorstellung im Kontext des Qumranschrifttums gewinnt.

### 3. MELCHISEDEK IN 11QMELCH

Wenn im Folgenden die Interpretation von 11QMelch im traditions-geschichtlichen Bezug auf die frühjüdischen Weisheitstexte, besonders auf Sir 24 und die Weisheit Salomos, gleichzeitig auf den neutestamentlichen Hebräerbrief vollzogen wird, so geht es—dies sei ausdrücklich angemerkt—nicht darum, literarische Abhängigkeiten zu etablieren oder direkte Bezüge nachzuweisen.<sup>22</sup> Solche Verbindungen der Texte untereinander sind schon wegen der zeitlich, geographisch und theologiegeschichtlich ganz unterschiedlichen Entstehungsbedingungen der Schriften auszuschließen. Es geht vielmehr darum, für die Interpretation von 11QMelch Denkmöglichkeiten in den Raum zu stellen, die in der Qumranforschung bislang nicht oder nur am Rande diskutiert wurden. Vor einer Neuinterpretation des Textes müssen allerdings die bisherigen Lösungsmöglichkeiten erörtert und auf ihre Gültigkeit hin überprüft werden.

Zwei Interpretationsansätze beherrschen gegenwärtig die Forschung zu 11QMelch: zum einen die Identifikation Melchisedeks mit einem Engel, zum anderen die Identifikation Melchisedeks mit dem Menschensohn nach Dan 7. Im letztgenannten Fall wird die Deutung noch dadurch

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<sup>22</sup> Die These einer direkten Verbindung zwischen dem Autor des Hebräerbriefes und essenischen Kreisen, wie sie etwa Y. Yadin, „The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews,“ in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin und Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 36–53, 38; C. Spicq, „L'Épître aux Hébreux, Apollos, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran,“ *RevQ* 1 (1959): 365–391, 390, und Delcor, „Melchizedek,“ 126–127, vertreten, ist nicht zu halten.

erschwert, dass auch die Frage, was für eine Gestalt der Menschensohn sei, höchst umstritten ist und von den meisten Forschern die Antwort ebenfalls im Rahmen der Angelologie gegeben wird. Weil dennoch die Begründungsmuster ganz unterschiedlich sind, sollen im Folgenden die beiden Deutungsansätze gesondert betrachtet werden.

### 3.1. *Melchisedek als Engel*

Bei der generellen Identifikation Melchisedeks mit einem Engelwesen,<sup>23</sup> verweist man gemeinhin auf die Völker- oder Erzengelvorstellung. Zumeist wird in diesem Zusammenhang Melchisedek mit Michael identifiziert (vgl. Dan 10:13).<sup>24</sup> Allerdings entsteht bei dieser Klassifikation Melchisedeks als eines Engelwesens eine Schwierigkeit. Sie liegt in der offensichtlichen Überordnung Melchisedeks über das gesamte himmlische Heer (11QMelch II:14).<sup>25</sup> An zwei Stellen wird, wenn man der gängigen Textrekonstruktion folgt, Melchisedek sogar ausdrücklich „Gott“ genannt: אֱלֹהִים (11QMelch II:10, 24–25), was nicht sofort interpretatorisch relativiert und umgedeutet werden sollte.<sup>26</sup> Denn auch wenn der Terminus אֱלֹהִים in anderen Kontexten wie den Sabbatliedern als Bezeichnung für die im himmlischen Heiligtum priesterlich dienenden Engel verwendet werden kann, so ist damit doch nie ein einzelnes Engelwesen bezeichnet. אֱלֹהִים *als Singular* findet sich—mit Ausnahme der Belege in 11QMelch—nur als Bezeichnung für Gott selbst, gerade

<sup>23</sup> S. z.B. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 176. Wie selbstverständlich man Melchisedek als Engel klassifiziert, zeigt der Beitrag von G.G. Xeravits, „Wisdom Traits in the Qumranic Presentation of the Eschatological Prophet,“ in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, 183–192, der zu Beginn seiner Analyse von 11QMelch Melchisedek als „angelic protagonist“ vorstellt, ohne diese Klassifikation inhaltlich zu begründen (188).

<sup>24</sup> So bereits A.S. van der Woude, „Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,“ *OtSt* 14 (1965): 354–373, 368–373. S. auch Delcor, „Melchizedek,“ 125; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 369; J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 171; J.R. Davila, „Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven,“ *SBLSP* 35 (1997): 259–272; P. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (Library of Second Temple Studies 61; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 56–57.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. Heb 1:4, wo ausdrücklich die Überordnung des mit der Weisheit identifizierten Christus über die Engel festgestellt wird und damit die Ungleichheit des Wesens.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. J.A. Fitzmyer, „Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11,“ *JBL* 86 (1967): 25–41, 32. Gegen G.J. Brooke, „Melchizedek,“ *ABD* 4:684–688, 685.

auch in den *Sabbatopferliedern*.<sup>27</sup> Und ebenso häufig wie mit dem Plural אֱלֹהִים<sup>28</sup> werden in den *Sabbatopferliedern* die Engel mit dem Plural אֱלִים<sup>29</sup> benannt.

Dass überhaupt die Engel als אֱלֹהִים bezeichnet werden können, verdankt sich Ps 29:1; 89:7 (vgl. Exod 15:11) und setzt traditionsgeschichtlich die Auseinandersetzung mit den heidnischen Göttern voraus, deren Depotenzierung und gleichzeitige angelologische Integration das Bemühen Israels zeigt, innerhalb des monotheistischen Gottesglaubens das Verhältnis der himmlischen Wesen zu Gott genau zu bestimmen.<sup>30</sup> Gerade weil aber die göttliche Betitelung der Engel in der jüdischen Tradition *nicht* auf die Wesensgleichheit Gottes und der Engel zielt, sondern, ganz im Gegenteil, auf die Unterscheidung ihres Wesens von dem des ungeschaffenen, ewigen Gottes, wird in dem Maße, wie man in hellenistischer Zeit nicht nur in Qumran, sondern im Judentum allgemein die Angelologie immer stärker entwickelt und systematisiert, immer eindringlicher auch auf die Geschöpflichkeit der Engel hingewiesen. Dass sie der geschaffenen Welt angehören, unterscheidet die Engel grundsätzlich von Gott (vgl. 4Q403 1 i 35–36; *Jub.* 2:2).<sup>31</sup> In dieser angelologischen Systematik hat freilich die Vorstellung vom Engel des Herrn als der irdischen Erscheinungsform Gottes selbst keinen rechten Platz mehr. Daher ist es nur konsequent, wenn an die Stelle des Engels des Herrn eine andere Größe tritt, die terminologisch nicht mehr der Engelwelt zugerechnet wird: die Weisheit als der in Person auf Erden offenbare Gott. Die Integration der Angelologie in die Schöpfungstheologie und die Integration der Offenbarungstraditionen Israels in die Weisheit gehen Hand in Hand. Und wo in den Schriften gleichwohl der *angelus interpres* dem Menschen erscheint und als Offenbarer des göttlichen Willens fungiert (Dan 7:16;

<sup>27</sup> 4Q400 2 8; 3 ii+5 8; 4Q401 1–2 2; 16 1; 4Q402 1 2; 4 7–8, 12; 9 2; 4Q403 1 i 2, 4–6, 10, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 42, 45; 1 ii 18, 20, 25–26; 4 5; 4Q405 4–5 2; 6 6, 9; 8a–b+9 2; 14–15 i 3; 11Q17 I:7; II:4, 6 (rek.); III:3 (rek.); IV:3; VII:9 (rek.), 10; VIII:5–6.—Auch von daher ist der von Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 22, 43, 56–57, für die Sabbatlieder vorgenommenen angelologischen Einordnung Melchisedeks nach 4Q401 11 3; 22 3 zu widersprechen.

<sup>28</sup> 4Q400 1 i 2, 5; 1 ii 7; 2 2–3, 5; 3 i 3; 4Q401 1–2 5; 11 2; 5 4; 14 i 8; 28 1; 4Q402 3 i 2, 4, 6, 11–12; 4 9–10, 14; 4Q403 1 i 2, 31–33, 36, 44; 1 ii 5–6, 12, 20; 4Q404 3 3; 4 3; 4Q405 4–5 1, 4; 6 5; 14–15 i 5–7; 15 ii–16 4; 11 Q17 I:7; VIII:4.

<sup>29</sup> 4Q400 1 i 4; 1 ii 9, 17; 2 1, 7; 4Q401 14 i 5, 7; 16 1; 30 1; 4Q402 4 8; 9 2; 4Q403 1 i 14, 18, 21, 26, 31, 34–35, 38; 1 ii 26, 33, 35; 4Q404 2 2; 4 6–7; 4Q405 4–5 1–3; 13a–b 2, 5; 14–15 i 3; 11Q17 IV:3, 10 (rek.); VIII:7. Vgl. auch 11QMelch II:14.

<sup>30</sup> Dazu ausführlich M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2.Jh.s v.Chr.* (3. Aufl.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 424–425.

<sup>31</sup> S. Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 19, 29.

8:17–19; 9:21–22 u.ö.), tut er dies zwar als Abgesandter der himmlischen Welt, der dem Menschen ihre Geheimnisse vermittelt, bleibt dabei aber das dem Wesen nach unterschiedene Geschöpf Gottes. Er ist nicht die Erscheinungsform Gottes selbst.<sup>32</sup>

Die nicht nur in der Qumranforschung, sondern auch in der biblisch-exegetischen Forschung und in der Forschung am griechischsprachigen frühjüdischen Schrifttum mehrheitlich undifferenzierte Verwendung des Engelbegriffs macht eine konzeptionelle Klärung des Problems dringend notwendig.<sup>33</sup> Diese Klärung kann wegen der Integration der alten Vorstellung vom Engel des Herrn in die Weisheit, wie sie auch die Transformation der Engelvorgstellung von 1 Chr 21 in Weish 18 belegt, nur in Auseinandersetzung mit der frühjüdischen Weisheitsvorstellung geschehen.

### 3.2. *Melchisedek als der Menschensohn*

Die konzeptionell undifferenzierte Betitelung himmlischer Personen beherrscht auch die Menschensohndiskussion, welche im Blick auf 11Q-Melch das terminologische Problem noch verschärft. Denn man kann Melchisedek nur dann als den Menschensohn klassifizieren, wenn man in dieser Gestalt ein Engelwesen im Sinne der geschöpflichen Engelhierarchien erblickt.<sup>34</sup> Gerade diese Deutung des Menschensohnes aber muss als höchst zweifelhaft gelten. Der Menschensohn ist in der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Tradition nie als genuin himmlisches Wesen dargestellt; er ist stets der *von der Erde* in den Transzendenzraum Gottes gelangende *Mensch* (Dan 7:13).<sup>35</sup> Dies zeigt schon der Titel der so benannten escha-

<sup>32</sup> Einen Grenzfall stellt Dan 10 dar. Allerdings wird hier die Gestalt, die Daniel am Fluss Tigris erscheint, gerade nicht als Engel betitelt. Dazu ausführlich Mittmann-Richert, *Joseph und Aseneth*, 257.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. auch Mittmann-Richert, *Joseph und Aseneth*, 269 Anm. 53 in Auseinandersetzung mit G.J. Brooke, „Men and Women as Angels in *Joseph and Aseneth*,“ *JSP* 14 (2004–2005): 159–177.

<sup>34</sup> Stellvertretend für andere Untersuchungen seien die entsprechenden Beiträge des vorliegenden Sammelbandes von J.H. Ellens, „The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Son of Man in Daniel, 1 *Enoch*, and the New Testament Gospels: An Assessment of 11QMelch (11Q13),“ und P. Bertalotto, „Qumran Messianism, Melchizedek, and the Son of Man,“ genannt.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. nochmals Gese, „Messias,“ 138–145. Die Wolken, auf denen nach Dan 7:13 der Menschensohn in den himmlischen Lebensbereich Gottes gelangt, manifestieren in alttestamentlich-jüdischer und auch christlicher Tradition stets die Grenze zwischen Himmel und Erde. Sie sind daher in entsprechenden Kontexten das adäquate Medium der Grenzüberwindung, markieren im Blick auf den Menschensohn also seine *irdische* Herkunft.

tologischen Figur (aram. *בר אנש*; hebr. *בן אדם*). Der Menschensohn ist der eschatologische Menschheitsrepräsentant, der trotz der göttlichen Herrschaftsübertragung *nie*—auch in den *Bilderreden* Henochs nicht—als wesensgleich mit Gott gedacht wird. Ja, in den *Bilderreden* Henochs ermöglicht allein die Tatsache, dass die göttliche Weisheit ihren „Wohnort“ im Menschensohn nimmt, die Übertragung der Herrschaft im transzendenten Gottesreich auf den Menschensohn (1 *Hen.* 49:3; vgl. 48:7). Dass diese eschatologische Herrschaftsgestalt wie in 11QMelch II:10, 24–25 den Titel *אלוהים* tragen könnte, erscheint schon angesichts des Titels „Menschensohn“ als undenkbar. Die herrscherliche Wirksamkeit des Menschensohns umfasst auch nie ein priesterliches Sühnehandeln, wie es in 11QMelch II:6–9 für Melchisedek ausdrücklich festgestellt wird.

### 3.3. *Melchisedek als Personifizierung der Weisheit*

Die einzige „Person“, auf die in den zeitgenössischen Quellen alle Epitheta Melchisedeks in 11QMelch passen, ist die Weisheit. Die Weisheit ist göttlichen Wesens, sie ist der auf Erden offenbare Gott in Person, der in der Gestalt der Weisheit die Erde königlich regiert, das Gericht über den Menschen vollzieht und um der Integrität des Kosmos willen selbst das Werk der Entsühnung vollbringt.<sup>36</sup> Wie im christlichen Hebräerbrief erscheint auch in 11QMelch Melchisedek als die Verkörperung der Weisheit. Ihre der Tradition nach gleichzeitig königlich-richterliche und priesterliche Funktion konnten schon deshalb ohne weiteres auf die Person des Priesterkönigs aus Gen 14 übertragen werden, weil in Ps 110:1 das Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes im eschatologischen Zusammenhang als ein *gemeinsames* himmlisches Thronen Gottes und des Priesterkönigs „nach der Ordnung Melchisedeks“ gedeutet werden konnte und offensichtlich gedeutet wurde. Auch wenn in den erhaltenen Resten von

<sup>36</sup> Den Vorbehalt, den M. de Jonge und A.S. van der Woude, „11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament“, *NTS* 12 (1966): 305–306, gegenüber der priesterlichen Funktion Melchisedeks in 11QMelch äußern, relativiert schon der Name „Melchisedek“, mit dem sich von Haus aus bestimmte Vorstellungen verbinden. Der gemeinsame Nenner der biblischen Melchisedeküberlieferungen ist das König-Priestertum Melchisedeks, weshalb eine Rezeption dieser Figur im eschatologischen Kontext unter Ausblendung ihrer priesterlichen Funktion als unwahrscheinlich gelten kann. Die Abtrennung der Aussagen über die Schuldbefreiung (11QMelch II:6) und Entsühnung der „Männer des Loses Melchisedeks“ (11QMelch II:8) von den Aussagen über Melchisedeks Gerichtshandeln an den Frevlern des Bundes (11QMelch II:13–14) entbehrt der traditionsgeschichtlichen Grundlage.



11QMelch Ps 110 nicht explizit zitiert wird, hat doch das Ende dieses Psalms ganz offensichtlich die Gerichtsvorstellung von 11QMelch beeinflusst (Ps 110:5–6):

- 5 Der Herr ist zu deiner Rechten!  
Er zerschmettert Könige.
- 6 Am Tag seines Zorns (בְּיִום אַפּוֹ) hält er Gericht.  
Mit Leichen füllt er die Täler,  
zerschmettert Häupter auf weitem Gefilde.

Und allein dieser Psalm erklärt auch, warum in 11QMelch II:9 die Melchisedekerwartung mit Jes 61:1–3 verbunden wird, wo Israel das Erlassjahr angekündigt wird und die Auslösung des Volkes aus seinen Fesseln (vgl. auch 11QMelch II:14). Denn in Jes 61:2 ist die Verkündigung der Freilassung und Sündenvergebung verbunden mit der Ankündigung des Tages der Rache, יוֹם נִקְמָה, was ganz der Ankündigung des Gerichts über die gottfeindliche Welt am Tage des Zornes Gottes in Ps 110:6 entspricht.

Gegen die hier vorgeschlagene Identifikation Melchisedeks mit der Weisheit kann nicht das irdische Auftreten Melchisedeks nach Gen 14 ins Feld geführt werden, das—wie beim Menschensohn—die irdische Herkunft Melchisedeks impliziert. Denn Gottes Erscheinen in Person der Weisheit ist dort, wo sie sich irdisch manifestiert, notwendig ein Erscheinen in Menschengestalt, wie es der alten Vorstellung vom Auftreten des Engels des Herrn entspricht. Dies ist am Beispiel von Weish 18 hinreichend deutlich geworden. Dabei kann, wie es der Hebräerbrief dokumentiert, im Prozess der theologischen Reflexion eine menschliche Figur auch nachträglich als Personifikation der Weisheit „erkannt“ werden. Einen ganz ähnlichen Vorgang bezeugt auch die ägyptische Diasporaschrift *Joseph und Aseneth*, deren weisheitliches Profil wegen der einseitigen Fixierung der Forschung auf die Angelologie bislang ebenfalls viel zu wenig beachtet wurde.<sup>37</sup> Dass Melchisedek in der frühjüdischen und christlichen Tradition im Rahmen der Weisheit als die Erscheinungsform Gottes selbst erkannt wurde, ist von Ps 110 her zu verstehen, wo das Thronen des Priesterkönigs zur Rechten Gottes in dem Moment die Zugehörigkeit Melchisedeks zur göttlichen Welt implizierte, in dem der Psalm nicht mehr auf das irdische Thronbesteigungsritual bezogen, sondern eschatologisch interpretiert wurde.

<sup>37</sup> S. Mittmann-Richert, „Joseph und Aseneth.“

## 4. RESÜMEE

Die These, dass Melchisedek in Qumran als eine weisheitliche personale Größe zu verstehen ist, impliziert eine grundsätzliche Neuausrichtung der Forschung zur Weisheit in Qumran. Auch wenn an dieser Stelle keine Einordnung von 11QMelch in den Gesamtrahmen der Weisheitsschriften aus Qumran vorgenommen werden kann, sollen am Schluss doch zwei Anmerkungen die hier durchgeführte Richtungsänderung in der Interpretation von 11QMelch untermauern.

1. Angesichts der unbestrittenen weisheitlichen Grundausrichtung der essenischen Gemeinschaft wäre es verwunderlich, wenn die in der Tradition verbreitete und seit persischer Zeit konstitutive Vorstellung von der Weisheit als einer göttlichen Hypostase im Denken der Gemeinschaft keine Rolle gespielt hätte.<sup>38</sup> Die einseitige Ausrichtung der Forschung auf die sogenannte Spruchweisheit deckt nur ein Segment der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Weisheit ab und ignoriert das große Feld der im Bereich der Weisheit beheimateten schöpferischen- und offenbarungstheologischen Reflexion, die gerade in hellenistischer Zeit zur Integration der Geschichtstraditionen in die Weisheit führt.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Einen ersten Schritt in die angedeutete Richtung unternimmt B.G. Wright, „Wisdom and Women at Qumran,“ *DSD* 11 (2004): 240–261, der die Frage nach der weiblichen Personifikation der Weisheit in Qumran stellt, dabei aber nicht zu einem endgültigen Ergebnis kommt. Die Frage ist, ob nicht die männliche Verkörperung der Weisheit in Gestalt Melchisedeks und die eschatologische Funktion dieser Figur die weibliche Personvorstellung zurückgedrängt haben. Zum Problem s. auch G.J. Brooke, „Biblical Interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran,“ in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, 201–220, 219.

<sup>39</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich auch die Frage, in welchem Verhältnis andere Texte, die von einer eschatologischen priesterlichen Figur sprechen, zu 11QMelch stehen. Vgl. etwa 4QapocrLevi<sup>b</sup>? ar (4Q541) 9 i 2–7 im Zusammenhang mit 4Q541 7, wo von der Öffnung der Bücher der Weisheit die Rede ist: ספריי הכתובים [אין] יתפתחו; vgl. auch in 4Q541 2 ii 6 den Hinweis auf die Weisheit einer im näheren Kontext nicht eindeutig zu identifizierenden Gestalt. Ob das Fragment tatsächlich levitisch geprägt ist, wie man gemeinhin vermutet, oder sogar „the future Levi“ ankündigt (G.J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* [London: SPCK, 2005], 145), ist im weisheitlichen Gesamtrahmen zumindest neu zu prüfen. Vgl. auch Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 35–37, zur siebenfachen Manifestation der göttlichen Gegenwart auf den sieben himmlischen Thronen im 10. Sabbatopferlied (4Q405 15 ii–16 1–8 + 11Q17 9–12 i 3–10 + 4Q405 17 1–9 [?]). Und schließlich muss man im Blick auf die *Sabbatopferlieder*, in denen Melchisedek in priesterlicher Funktion in das himmlische Gesamtbild integriert zu sein scheint (4Q401 11 3; 11Q17 II:7), generell die Frage stellen, ob Melchisedek im Gegenüber von Gott und seinen Engeln nicht auf Seiten Gottes zu stehen kommt. S. dazu bereits Anm. 27.

2. In den biblischen und frühjüdisch-außerbiblischen Schriften wird strikt und konsequent unterschieden zwischen der personalisierten göttlichen Weisheit und dem davidischen und/oder priesterlichen Messias bzw. Menschensohn, und zwar im Blick auf ihre göttliche bzw. menschliche Herkunft. Daher müssen auch im Qumranschrifttum die eschatologischen Vorstellungen deutlicher voneinander differenziert werden.<sup>40</sup> Auch wenn die These von Tantlevskij, dass Melchisedek als göttliche Hypostase zu verstehen sei, grundsätzlich als Fortschritt in der Interpretation von 11QMelch zu werten ist, so ist es doch unmöglich, diese himmlische priesterliche Gestalt, wie der Autor es tut,<sup>41</sup> gleichzeitig mit dem messianischen Freudenboten in 11QMelch II:18 zu identifizieren. Hier werden Konzepte vermischt, die theologiegeschichtlich streng voneinander zu unterscheiden sind. Der jesajanische Freudenbote ist in allen Quellen stets ein von Gott zum Amt der Verkündigung berufener irdischer Mensch, nie eine Personifikation Gottes, wie sie der Hypostasenbegriff impliziert. Die in Weish 18 vollzogene Hypostasierung bzw. göttliche Personalisierung des nach 1 Chr 21 von David vollzogenen priesterlichen Sühnehandelns zeigt einerseits den Entsprechungscharakter zwischen dem Handeln Gottes und dem seines irdischen Repräsentanten, es zeigt andererseits aber auch die zwischen Immanenz und Transzendenz verlaufende Grenze. So muss auch in 11QMelch das Entsprechungsverhältnis zwischen Melchisedek und dem erwarteten Messias als ein Verhältnis zwischen Gott und seinem irdischen Repräsentanten verstanden werden. David ist nach Ps 110:4 Priester nach der

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<sup>40</sup> Als Schritt in die falsche Richtung ist der Beitrag von R. van de Water, „Michael or Yhwh? Toward Identifying Melchizedek in 11Q13,“ *JSP* 16 (2006): 75–86, 85–86, zu bewerten, in welchem der Autor vorschlägt, „Melchisedek“ in 11QMelch als Sammelnamen für ganz unterschiedliche eschatologische Figuren zu klassifizieren bzw. die Person Melchisedeks als eine Figur zu verstehen, in welcher die Vorstellung vom messianischen Freudenboten und die Menschensohnavorstellung mit der rabbinisch belegten Vorstellung von der personal doppelten himmlischen Präsenz Gottes zusammengeführt wurden. Eine solche Zusammenführung der Konzepte unter der Prämisse eines multiplen hypostatischen Heraustretens Gottes aus sich selbst ist im Blick auf all jene Traditionskomplexe undenkbar, in welchen die eschatologische Erwartung sich auf eine menschlich-irdische Gestalt wie den Messias bzw. den Menschensohn richtet.—Unbefriedigend bleibt auch die Bestimmung Melchisedeks als „a superior being of some sort“ bei F.L. Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 79. Vgl. auch C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia: Tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche (sec. II a.C.–sec. III d.C.)* (Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 12; Brescia: Paideia, 1984), 74–75.

<sup>41</sup> Tantlevskij, *Melchizedek Redivivus*, 21–23.

Ordnung Melchisedeks, aber *er ist nicht Melchisedek selbst*. Diese letzte personale Identifizierung zwischen der priesterlichen Person der Weisheit und dem davidischen Messias und Menschensohn wird erst im christlichen Rahmen vollzogen, und zwar auf der Grundlage der Vorstellung von der gleichzeitig göttlichen und menschlichen Natur Christi. Die Vereinigung göttlichen und menschlichen Wesens ist im antik-jüdischen Traditionsrahmen nicht denkbar! Hier liegt der Unterschied zur christlichen Melchisedekrezeption, die gleichwohl durch die frühjüdische Weisheitstheologie vorbereitet wurde und ohne Kenntnis der frühjüdischen theologischen Entwicklung, die auch 11QMelch dokumentiert, nicht verstanden werden kann.



THE "HEART" IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS:  
NEGOTIATING BETWEEN THE PROBLEM OF HYPOCRISY  
AND CONFLICT WITHIN THE HUMAN BEING

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INTRODUCTION

Since the discoveries of documents from Cave 1, readers and students of the Dead Sea Scrolls have noted dualistic features in many of the texts.<sup>1</sup> Not infrequently, the writers and first readers of the materials defined themselves in relation to dualistic oppositions such as those between light and darkness, good and evil, God and Belial, spirits of truth and iniquity, and the present age of wickedness and future age of salvation. These contrasts are all the more interesting because they do not, strictly speaking, correspond to the more conventional socio-religious distinction between those who are righteous and those who are wicked. This may come as a surprise especially in documents that *prime facie* appear to draw unmistakable boundaries between insiders and outsiders.

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<sup>1</sup> The literature is abundant. In particular, one may see the following: J.H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John," *NTS* 15 (1968-1969): 389-418, repr. in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 76-106 (esp. 76-89); H.W. Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten: Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhle I) und der Damaskusfragmente: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums* (ATANT 34; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959) and P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); J.G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 93 (1974): 356-385; D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 533-536; J. Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32-56; and, especially, J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*, Cambridge 1995 (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275-335.

It is in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* that most of these stark contrasts converge into a complex of interwoven ideas.<sup>2</sup> While “the sons of light” (1QS III:24, 25; or “of righteousness” III:20, 22; “of truth” IV:6) and “the sons of iniquity” (III:19, 21) are referred to as distinct groups, the remaining dualistic categories are more profound. The Prince of Lights and Angel of Darkness each have dominion over separate spheres in the cosmos; the Angel of Darkness, however, is the one whose influence lies behind the sins, iniquities, guilt and deeds of transgression committed by “the sons of righteousness” (III:23–24). Thus the catalogue of virtues and vices in 1QS IV:2–8 and 9–14 does not actually describe the sons of light and the sons of darkness *per se*, but rather the “paths” or “ways” (IV:2, 10, 11; cf. IV:17, 19) in which they walk when engaged in corresponding activities.

Now this instruction about the two paths is given “to illuminate the heart of man” (IV:2) and to “establish fear in his heart for the judgements of God” (IV:2–3).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in the present world order the battleground of conflict between truth and iniquity does not so much lie between definable communities of the righteous and wicked; instead, it is “the heart of man”—that is, the heart of all human beings—in which the spirits of truth and iniquity contend against one another (IV:23), and it is here where the separation of outsiders from insiders will, at the visitation of God (IV:18–19), ultimately take place.

The discussion to follow shall return to this same *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, though after what shall first be a brief survey of the “heart” in the Dead Sea Scrolls and a brief consideration of the use of this term in relation to both biblical tradition and evolved usage in the later texts. Second, and in particular, I shall examine several texts which refer to activity “with a double heart.” By exploring this motif, we shall be in a better position to understand how “the heart” functions in two contemporary, yet very different, modes of discourse and to see what this means for the theological anthropologies adopted by the writers of the texts.

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<sup>2</sup> Only the contrast between God and Belial, which dominates the discourse in 1QS I–III (I:16–19, 21–24; II:4–9, 19–26), is not upheld. In the *Treatise* God is portrayed as transcendent. He is posed above the opposition between “the Angel of Darkness” and “the Prince of Lights” (1QS III:20–25), though it is God—as well as “the Angel of Truth”—who comes to the aid of the sons of light when they stumble because of the malevolent influence of the Angel of Darkness.

<sup>3</sup> Translations in the present contribution are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

## 1. "HEART" IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: A BRIEF SURVEY

To a considerable degree, much of the language about the "heart" in the Dead Sea texts can be traced back to the influence of several recurring motifs in the Hebrew Bible. Below I list some of the more prominent turns of phrase that reflect or draw upon biblical tradition:

- a. obedience with "the whole heart" (CD 15:9, 12; 4Q266 8 i 3; 1QS V:9; 4Q256 IX:7; 4Q257 i 1; 4Q258 I:6; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI:37; VII:23; 4Q504 1-2 ii 13; 11Q5 XXII:12; 11Q19 LIV:13; LIX:10; 4Q196 ar 17 ii 1 [Tobit])
  - see the *Shema*' in Deut 6:5; further, cf. 2 Kgs 23:25; 2 Chr 6:14, 38; 22:9; 30:19; 34:31; Jer 24:7; Prov 3:5
- b. walking in "stubbornness of heart" (CD 2:18; 3:5, 12; 7:8, 19; 19:20, 33; 20:10; 4Q266 5 ii 11; 1QS I:6; II:14, 26; III:3; V:4; VII:19, 24; IX:10; 4Q257 III:5; 4Q258 I:4; 4Q266 5 ii 11; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:16; 4Q393 3 3, 5)
  - Deut 29:18; Jer 7:24; 9:13; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17
- c. a perfect/peaceful heart (CD 1:10; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII:25, 35)
  - 2 Chr 12:39; 25:2
- d. a pure heart or purity of heart (4Q436 1a+b i 10 par. 4Q435 2 i 1; 4Q525 2 ii + 3 1; 4Q542 ar 1 i 10)
  - Pss 51:12; 73:1; Prov 22:11
- e. melting the heart (1QM VIII:10; IX:9; X:6; XIV:6; 1QH<sup>a</sup> X:8, 30; XII:33; XXII:33; 4Q432 3 5; 11Q19 LXII:3, 4)
  - Deut 1:28; 20:8; Josh 14:8; 2 Sam 17:10; Isa 13:7; 19:1; Ezek 21:7, 15
- f. strengthening the heart (4Q421 9 2; 4Q422 III:7, 11; 4Q504 1-2 vi 9)
  - Pss 10:17; 104:15; cf. 2 Chr 16:9
- g. harden the heart (4Q365 4 2)
  - Exod 4:21; 7:3; 14:4; Isa 63:17
- h. "thoughts of the heart" (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:14 [God's heart]; 4Q511 63-64 ii 3)
  - Ps 33:11; cf. Ps 139:23
- i. "double heart" (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:15; 4Q452 1 i 9)
  - Ps 12:3(2)
- j. "heart of stone" (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXI:12, [13-14]; 4Q427 10 3)
  - Ezek 11:19; 36:26; cf. 1 Sam 25:37; Job 41:24
- k. circumcise/circumcision of the heart (1QpHab XI:13; 4Q434 1 i 4; 4Q435 1 1; 4Q504 4 [11]; 4Q509 287 [1]); cf. 1QS V:5)
  - Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4, 9:25



- l. "heart of man"/"human heart" (1QS IV:2, 23)
  - Prov 12:25; 19:21; 20:5
- m. "wise ones of heart" (4Q418 81 + 81a 20; 4Q468a 1 2)
  - Exod 28:3; Job 37:24
- n. "those upright in heart" (4Q266 5 i c-d 2); cf. (o) below
  - 2 Chr 29:34; Pss 7:11; 11:2; 32:11; 36:11(10); 64:11(10); 94:15; 97:11; cf. Ps 119:7; 78:72
- o. "uprightness of heart" (CD 8:14; 19:27; 1QS XI:2)
  - Deut 9:5; 1 Kgs 9:4; 1 Chr 29:17
- p. turn the heart aside (from God) (11Q19 LVI:19)
  - 1 Kgs 11:9
- q. "heart of deceit" (4Q525 2 ii + 3 3; 5 7; cf. 4Q381 85 3)
  - Jer 23:26; cf. Job 15:35; Prov 12:20; Sir 1:30
- r. "an evil heart" (4Q370 1 i 3; 4Q525 5 6)
  - Prov 25:20

While biblical tradition has undeniably shaped the language about "the heart" in the Scrolls, there are a number of expressions and phrases among the Scrolls texts which, in their precise form, mark a departure from language preserved in the Hebrew Bible. Supplied with the closest approximations from the Hebrew Bible, these include the following:

- a. "foolish ones of heart" (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX:39; 4Q418 58 1; 69 ii 4, 8; 205 2); cf. Qoh 10:2
- b. to bring/give/open up understanding to/teach the heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> VI:19; XXII:31; 4Q372 3 3, 5; 8 4; 4Q423 7 7; 4Q426 1 i 4; 4Q444 1-4 i + 5 3; 4Q511 18 ii 8; 48-49 + 51 1); cf. Ps 51:8(6) and Prov 2:10
- c. a good heart (4Q385 6 2); cf. Deut 6:5
- d. open the heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII:35; XVIII:33); no examples in the Hebrew Bible, though see Acts 16:14 and 2 Cor 6:11
- e. heart of knowledge/knowledge of the heart (4Q511 63-64 ii 3; 11Q5 XXVI:12; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> X:20); no examples with the substantive "knowledge" in the Hebrew Bible
- f. illumination of the heart/enlighten the heart (1QS II:3; IV:2; XI:5; 4Q511 18 ii 8)
- g. "Belial I will not keep in my heart" (1QS X:21; 4Q260 V:2)
- h. "spirit of holiness" placed by God in the heart (4Q435 2 i [2]; 4Q436 1 ii [1]); cf. Ps 51:8(6)
- i. "walk in the way of your [God's] heart" (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:18, 22, 25; XIV:9-10; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:14; 1Q35 1 11; 4Q266 2 i 15; 4Q428 10 5); cf. Deut 10:12; Josh 22:5; 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:23; 9:4; 2 Chr 6:14
- j. make upright in heart (4Q432 3 1)

A cursory glance of and comparison between the two lists just provided makes clear that most developments in the Dead Sea texts can still be interpreted in relation to biblical traditions. Nevertheless, in the Scrolls, formulations that involve the "heart" take several new directions: (1) the language, which previously has been primarily related to human beings (though cf. 2 Sam 7:21; Job 10:13; Ps 78:72), now refers to the heart of God, whose adherents "follow in the way of your (viz. God's) heart"; (2) Belial, an opponent to or counterpart of God, can reside in the human heart and, therefore, the pious one can seek to remove him (g); (3) a "spirit of holiness" can be placed in the heart (h); (4) the heart can be "opened" to divine revelation (d); and (5) and (6) the heart is a place within the human being that can be enlightened by or receive light from God (f).<sup>4</sup>

On the basis of these differences, one should be cautious in drawing up a synthesis that can be assigned to a coherent worldview on the part of the authors with often distinguishable aims. Motifs (f) and (g), however, can be explained in relation to a dualistic framework that contrasts respectively between light and darkness and between God and Belial. Furthermore, even where the language is shared with biblical tradition, its meaning can often be transformed in its newly acquired contexts. With dualistic categories in mind, I would like to examine the degree to which such transformation may or may not be observed in relation to two motifs of the first list: (i) and (l). In such an examination, the significance of examining the Scrolls within broader streams of tradition during the Second Temple period becomes apparent.

## 2. ACTIVITY WITH A DOUBLE HEART (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:15 AND 4QTQAHAT AR [4Q542] 1 i 9–10)

In the Scrolls, activity "with a double heart" (לב ולב) occurs twice: once in a sectarian Hebrew text and once in an Aramaic text. The biblical passage behind this language is Ps 12:3(2):

they utter lies to each other; with flattering (lit. smooth) lips (שפת חלקות)  
and a double heart (לב ולב) they speak (NRSV)

In the psalm, falsehood and deceit are marks of those who are without piety (12:2[1]). The synonymous counterpart in the text to speaking with

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eph 1:18; 4 Ezra 14:25.

“double heart” is the expression “flattering (lit. smooth) lips” (שפת חלקות). The text does not merely have in view humanity as a whole (cf. 12:2[1]), but builds a profile that seems rather to refer to those among God’s covenant people who oppress the poor (עניים מאנקת, 12:6[5]), whose cause the psalmist is taking up. In 12:4(3), the text expresses a longing that God will cut off “all flattering lips” (כל שפתי חלקות) which are further described with the collective expression, “a tongue which says great things” (NRSV: “makes great boasts”). Taking the context into consideration, we may infer that a “double heart” implies that those with smooth lips say one thing and do another. There is no hint, however, that there is any conflict *within* them, that is, that a “double heart” refers to two conflicting principles that reside within the human being. Instead, double-hearted speech, in terms of theological anthropology, is in itself treated as a culpable characteristic that applies to persons as a whole.

“Double hearted” behaviour is picked up in the Hebrew text of the *Hodayot* at 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:8–15. In the edition of the text by H. Stegemann and E. Schuller, the translation prepared by C. Newsom reads as follows:<sup>5</sup>

- (8) ... Deceitful interpreters (מליצי רמיה) led them astray and they came to ruin without understanding, for [ ]
- (9) with delusion their deeds, for (I) have been rejected by them. They have no regard for me when you show your strength through me, for they drive me away from my land
- (10) like a bird from its nest. All my friends and my relatives are driven away from me, and they regard me like a broken pot. But they are lying interpreters (מליצי כזב)
- (11) and deceitful seers (חוזי רמיה). They have planned devilry (בליעל) against me to exchange your law, which you spoke repeatedly in my heart, for slippery words (בהלקות)
- (12) for your people. They withhold the drink of knowledge from the thirsty and for their thirst they give them sour wine to drink so that they may gaze on
- (13) their error, acting like madmen on their feast days, snaring themselves in their nets. But you, O God, despise every devilish plan (מחשבת בליעל)
- (14) and it is your counsel that will stand, and the plan of your mind that will be established forever. But they, the hypocrites (נעלמים), concoct devilish plans (זמות בליעל יחשובו)
- (15) and seek you with a divided heart (וידרשוכה בלב ולב).

<sup>5</sup> H. Stegemann, E. Schuller, and C. Newsom in *DJD* XL (2009): 157–166 (for text, critical notes, and translation).

One term for the hymnist’s description of the “deceitful interpreters” (line 8; cf. line 10) is translated by the editors as “hypocrites” (line 14), which more literally refers to being “clandestine,” that is, to engaging in non-transparent behaviour. The writer regards such people as seeking God “with a divided (lit. double) heart” (line 15), and goes on to declare that they are “not established in your truth” (line 15). As far as the expression “double heart” is concerned, the text does not substantially deviate from what we have observed in Ps 12: all doubled-hearted activity is calumnious.

Nonetheless, four details in this text show particular interests on the part of the hymnist that move beyond the biblical tradition. First, the oppressors of the pious are more specifically described as “deceitful interpreters” (line 8) and “lying interpreters” (line 10). In this and a previous hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> X:33) the writer seems again to have referred to this group as “lying interpreters” (מליצי כזב; perhaps an interpretation of Ps 12:3(2): שוא ידברו “they speak deception”).<sup>6</sup> The writer of that previous hymn, in thanking God for having “delivered me” from his opponents, caricatures them under the influence of Ps 12 as “the congregation of those who seek smooth things” (עדת דורשי חלקות). Second, in another, earlier hymn, the same writer not only refers to “erring interpreters” (מליצי תעות, X:16) and also calls them “seekers of smo[oth things]” (דורשי חלקות, X:17), but—in a departure from Ps 12—marks himself out as the divinely appointed “expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries” (מליץ פלא דעת ברזי, X:15). In this role, the writer regards himself as the arch-opponent of those who seek (God) with a double heart. By applying the term “interpreter” to himself, that is, the same word he has used to designate the opponents, the writer admits that the teachers of error share his Torah tradition, but have changed it (להמיר תורתכה, XII:11) and so interpret it wrongly. The negative momentum of the writer’s invectives against the detractors does not allow him to stress what they all hold in common, but rather erects and reinforces hard boundaries between his inspired instruction and their false teaching. Third, in thanking God for deliverance from the congregation of smooth things, the hymnist also refers to himself as “the poor one” (אביון, X:33). The poor ones whom the

<sup>6</sup> Exegetically, the term for “interpreters” reflects an interpretation of the more general verb דבר (“say, speak”) which is associated with flattery and double-heartedness in Ps 12 (vv. 3[2] and 4[3]).

flatterers oppress in Ps 12 (called עֲנִיִּים and אַבְיִוִּים, Ps 12:6[5]) are transformed by the writer into a self-designation. The fourth difference to notice is that the division between the flatterers and the hymnist is cast against the backdrop of categorical opposition between Belial (who lies behind the plots of the mediators of deceit, X:16–18) and God (who, the writer claims, is the revealer of his own knowledge and instruction; X:15, 19–20).<sup>7</sup> Significantly, in the lines immediately following the passage quoted above, this contrast is rearticulated with reference to “heart” language: the opponents’ “stubbornness of heart” corresponds to their inability to choose, recognize and walk “the way of your (viz. God’s) heart” (XII:18, 19, 22, 24; see also XIV:10, 24 and the language of 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] 2 i 15).<sup>8</sup>

Thus, on the one hand, Ps 12 accounts for several features retained in the web of rhetoric employed in several of the *Hodayot* (flattering or smooth things, double hearted activity, oppression of the poor, and speech). On the other hand, the opposition between the poor ones and those engaged in double-hearted speech is recast as an opposition between *the Poor One* (the hymnist) and the double-hearted and fraudulent interpreters of the Torah who have irretrievably placed themselves on the side of Belial. In neither the biblical tradition nor the *Hodayot* passage does the expression “double hearted” have anything to do with an interiorizing theological anthropology. If anything, despite the tradition shared by the poor and the flatterers, the notion of double heartedness marks out the wicked as *wholly deceptive* and counterfeit, while the hymnist aligns himself wholly with the Torah which accords with the plan of God’s heart (XII:14, מַחֲשַׁבַת לִבָּכָה; cf. lines 18–19) and which God has etched into his heart (XII:11, שִׁנְתָהּ בְּלִבִּי). The language of the psalm has been interpreted within a more dualistic framework which, in turn, is placed in service of the hymnist’s claim to inspired interpretation in the face of opposition.

<sup>7</sup> Newsom’s translation frequently renders בליעל as “devilish,” as is the case here. Even if the word can be taken this way, the notion of Belial as a malevolent being behind the opponents schemes is not remote; the next hymn opens, for example, with a reference to “the council of deception and the congregation of Belial” (X:24).

<sup>8</sup> Ideologically close to this is the language of the *Damascus Document* at CD A 1:10–11, according to which God raised up a “Teacher of Righteousness” for those who sought after God “with an undivided heart (בלב שלם) . . . in order to direct their way on the path of his heart” (בדרך לבי) par. 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q266] 2 i 15).

The other occurrences of "double heart" are preserved within the Aramaic text of 4QTQahat ar (4Q542) 1 i 7–10. The patriarch instructs Amram and his siblings as follows:

- (7) ... Grasp the word of Jacob
- (8) your father, and take hold of the judgments of Abraham and of the righteous deeds of Levi and of myself. Be holy and pure
- (9) from every manner of mingling, grasping the truth and walking (אזלין) in uprightness, not with a double heart (ולא בלבב ולבב)
- (10) but with a pure heart (להן בלבב דכא) and with a truthful and good spirit.

Here, the expression is associated with the verb "to walk" and, as such, is contrasted with "walking in uprightness." The notion of walking "in a double heart" is a fixed expression for the disobedient who mingle what they have with foreigners (cf. lines 5–6: "do not give your inheritance to foreigners or dispossess yourselves to mixed kinds") and do not conduct themselves with purity. Unlike the *Hodayot* text discussed above, this passage is not shaped by a reading of Ps 12. Instead, the preserved text, if anything, may have its counterpart in the influential exhortation of the *Shema'* to "love the Lord your God with your whole heart and with all your soul and with all your strength" (Deut 6:5), in which the human heart, soul, and strength are summoned to undivided covenant obedience. The *Testament of Qahat* also differs from the *Hodayot* in its emphasis on the problem of social intercourse with non-Jews. The scope of the *Hodayot* is more sectarian and focuses more on the contrast between a *single* person (the hymnist!) and his opponents. Nevertheless, as in the *Hodayot*, the expression "double heart" has nothing to do with an interior state of being. Both passages share a view of double-heartedness as a disposition that is not even capable of pursuing righteousness. Although there is some hint of cosmic dualism in the *Testament of Qahat* (i.e. a possible contrast between darkness and light in the fragmentary text of 4Q542 2 11–12), the writer makes no apparent attempt to integrate the language of double heartedness into such a system of ideas.

### 3. DOUBLE-HEARTEDNESS IN OTHER SECOND CENTURY B.C.E. LITERATURE (BEN SIRA, EXHORTATION OF ENOCH)

The precise connotations of the phrase "double heart" in the *Hodayot* and *Testament of Qahat* are not simply to be understood against the

background of biblical interpretation. The expression is further illuminated if we draw into consideration two further writings composed during the second century B.C.E. and also extant in fragments amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls: Ben Sira<sup>9</sup> and the Enochic Exhortation in *1 En.* 91:1–10, 18–19.<sup>10</sup>

In Ben Sira, the idea of a “double heart” occurs almost at the outset. Whereas in the *Hodayot* the expression applies to opponents who, though once associated with the hymnist, are outsiders to his community, the language of Ben Sira, as *Testament of Qahat*, is less sectarian. At 1:28, which is not preserved in any of the Hebrew materials, the Greek translation exhorts:

Do not disobey the fear of the Lord and do not approach him in a double heart (μη ἀπειθήσης φόβω κυρίου και μη προσέλθης αὐτῷ ἐν καρδίᾳ δισση).

As the surrounding context shows (1:28–30), this exhortation has the worshipping assembly in view. Ben Sira thus admits that it is possible to participate in the assembly without actually fearing God (1:28, 30; cf. 1QS II:11–14). To have a “double heart,” then, is tantamount to hypocrisy (1:29, μη ὑποκριθῆς): one is not to act pretentiously “in human mouths” while being watchful over ones “lips.” As with the *Hodayot*, the language of Ps 12 (vv. 2–3[1–2]) may well lie in the background. In addition, similar to the *Hodayot*, being double hearted is equivalent to having “a heart full of deceit” (1:30, ἡ καρδία . . . πλήρης δόλου). Ben Sira goes on to develop this understanding with a related expression, “double-tongued” (δίγλωσσος), which functions as the virtual equivalent for “the sinner” (ὁ ἁμαρτωλός; cf. 6:1 and further 5:14; 28:9, 13).

As in the Dead Sea texts, the “double heart” in Ben Sira categorically distinguishes the one who is wicked from the one who is pious without suggesting at all that the wicked experience an *inner* moral

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 2Q18, two fragments corresponding to a few words, respectively, from Sir 6:14–15 (or possibly 1:19–20) and 6:20–31; 11QPs<sup>a</sup> [11Q5] XXI–XXII (to Sir 51:13–19, 30). For a brief summary on Ben Sira among the Scrolls, 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.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:24–66 (here 35–37).

<sup>10</sup> 4QEn<sup>g</sup> (4Q212) 1 ii 13–21 (lines 13–17 have no precise equivalent, while 18–21 correspond to *1 En.* 91:18–19); see L.T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 153–154, 173 and 182.

conflict.<sup>11</sup> The larger context of this language, however, is more complicated. More explicitly than in either the *Hodayot* or *Testament of Qahat*, the exhortation of Ben Sira in 1:28 may be comprehended in relation to instruction about the "two ways" or "paths."<sup>12</sup> In 2:12, the writer pronounces a "woe" against "a sinner who traverses on two paths" (ἀμαρτωλῶ ἐπιβαίναντι ἐπὶ δύο τριβους). If these two paths have to do with good and evil, respectively, then here we have a mild admission on the part of the author that "a sinner" might indeed live a life that includes what is good. This makes room for a degree of ambiguity or at least allows for the possibility that the boundaries between the pious and sinners are porous, a point that Ben Sira does not attempt to develop. To be sure, he does make conceptual space for dualistic principles set up by God for the created order (33:15; 42:24–25). Although these principles of good and bad remain exterior to human nature, human beings are neither caught up in a conflict between the two<sup>13</sup> nor are the righteous and the wicked aligned, respectively, with the one sphere or the other. Humans are treated as essentially whole beings who, at any one time, are either wholly sinners or wholly pious. Despite this correspondence with the *Hodayot*, the language of double-heartedness in Ben Sira, which can be correlated to existence on "two paths" (so 2:12), does not result in as clear-cut a division between the righteous and wicked.

This point is augmented by a further consideration of the wider context of Ben Sira's presentation: for the writer, the "righteous one" is not "sinless" in any way; it is, rather, a classification that includes those who have sinned, have repented and have been forgiven (23:2–3). The distinction between "the sinners" and "the godly" is, strictly speaking, not so much descriptive as it is socio-religious in orientation. Broadly, there are those who ignore the Torah (41:8; 42:2), are lacking in wisdom (37:21) and misuse wealth (34:21–27); and then there are those who, on the other hand, take a proper attitude towards their own sin by seeking forgiveness

<sup>11</sup> We shall see below that in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, an inner conflict draws on a different linguistic idiom.

<sup>12</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:18–19 refers twice to "the way of your (God's) heart" without, however, contrasting it with the opposite path.

<sup>13</sup> They are endowed with freedom of choice and can alternatively choose at any one time to do what is right or wrong (Sir 15:14, 16–17; cf. 15:11–12, 20). See the treatment of 15:11–20 by M. Gilbert, "God, Sin and Mercy: Sirach 15:11–18:14," in *Ben Sira's God: Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference, Durham—Ushaw College 2001* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel; BZAW 321; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 118–135 (esp. 119–121).



(cf. 2:11; 3:3, 14–15; 5:6–7; 23:4) and adhere to Ben Sira's repeated summons to acquire wisdom and obey the Torah (1:14–27; 9:15; 15:1–10; 19:20–24; 21:11; 24:23–34; 35:1; 38:34–39:11).

The language of Ps 12 only shapes the way Ben Sira appropriates the “double heart” motif in a limited sense. Like the psalm, Ben Sira implies that double-hearted disposition manifests itself in speech (1:29), though precisely which kind of speech is not explicitly stated. There may, however, be some analogy with what happens in the *Hodayot* where, as we have seen, the writer recasts the double-hearted and flattering speech of the biblical text to his opponents' activities as fraudulent interpreters of the Torah. To this extent, Ben Sira envisions those who would be likely to speak in assemblies (1:30) and should take care that what they say not be a matter of pretence (1:29). But whereas the writer of the *Hodayot* texts in 1QH<sup>a</sup> X and XII applies Ps 12 to a sectarian situation in which opposing communities are already completely separate, Ben Sira envisions double-heartedness as an ever present problem within the worshipping community.

The other text to consider, 1 *En.* 91:3d–4b, occurs near the beginning of an Exhortation (91:1–10, 18–19) composed in the form of a testamentary address by an Enochic author to his offspring (i.e. Methuselah and his brothers). The text, which is only preserved in Ethiopic, can be translated as follows:

Love uprightness and walk in it.  
 And neither draw near to uprightness with a double heart (*ba-keḷ'ē leb*),  
 nor associate with those who have a double heart (*'ellā ba-keḷ'ē leb*);  
 instead, walk in righteousness, my children,  
 and it will lead you in the ways of goodness,  
 and righteousness will be your companion.

Similar to Ben Sira, the Enochic text conceives of “a double heart” in terms of drawing near (*'i-teqrabu*, 91:4a) and co-ordinates this with a socio-ethical distinction between the righteous and the wicked. But whereas Ben Sira thinks of an approach (μη προσέλθης, 1:28) to God in the worshipping assembly, the Exhortation seems more explicitly fixed on ethics: “neither draw near to *uprightness* with a double heart.”

Indeed, a comparison between the Exhortation (including its wider literary context), Ben Sira, and the Dead Sea texts makes further differences of emphasis apparent. For one thing, the opposition between the righteous and the wicked is nowhere linked up with other dualistic language (e.g. God versus Belial, light versus darkness, principle of good versus bad in the created order). Moreover, and much in contrast

to Ben Sira in particular, neither the writer of the Exhortation nor the writers of the *Epistle of Enoch* that follows (*1 En.* 92:1–5; 93:11–105:2) allow for any ambiguity as far as the origin of sin and the possibility of the pious sinning (or of the sinners doing pious acts) are concerned.

Throughout *1 En.* 91–105 (including the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in 93:1–10 and 91:11–17), the Enochic writers emphasize categorical opposition between the two “ways” or “paths.” The instructions on these distinct paths are most clearly set forth in *1 En.* 91:3–4, 18–19, and 94:1–5. Though some mention is made that the wicked offer instruction based on a tradition shared with the Enochic author and his adherents (cf. 98:9–99:2; 104:10–13?), these teachings are branded as “false words” and “lies” (98:15) and as departures from “the words of truth” and “the eternal law/covenant” (99:2; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:11: the opponents are accused of changing God’s Torah).<sup>14</sup> The existence of shared traditions between the writer(s) of the *Epistle* and the “sinners,” however, remains implicit; unlike Ben Sira, nothing is said about any socio-religious connections between the righteous and the wicked. Rhetorically, the two groups are distinct in every way. It is possible that this strict differentiation is teleological: the righteous and wicked are distinct because that is what will happen when the rewards and punishments are meted out to humanity at the time of eschatological judgement. The righteous ones are so clearly presented as downtrodden, enslaved, and oppressed in contrast to the wicked ones who are wealthy and socially elite, however, it is reasonable to infer that for the *Epistle* (and probably the Exhortation that precedes it), being righteous is a matter of transparency in the present socio-religious order of things. Ben Sira’s possibility of someone being “on two ways” at once is excluded by the Enochic authors from the start. Not only are the Enochic readers exhorted not to draw near to uprightness with a double heart, they are not even to associate with those who are of such a disposition (*1 En.* 91:4; see the same emphasis in the *Epistle* at 97:4; 99:10; 104:6). Thus, without invoking an opposition such as that between God and Belial and without drawing on the language of Ps 12, the author comes close to the *Hodayot* text in treating his readers and those whom he counts among the wicked as carrying out their respective forms of religiosity in largely separate spheres.

<sup>14</sup> For a more sustained discussion of the text and theological argument of *1 En.* 98:9–99:2 and 104:9–105:2, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 351–381 and 582–605.

Sociologically, the *Hodayot* have their nearest parallel in the way the Enochic tradition developed the motif of “double heartedness.” The Enochic texts show, in particular, how such language could be placed in service of a group which, appealing to a two-ways instruction, is at least in the process of separating from a larger socio-religiously dominant community. On the other hand, the *Testament of Qahat*, for all its interest in the retribution of sinners at the final judgement (4Q542 1 ii 6, 8), does not reflect a social context in which a community has either separated itself from others or is being summoned to do so. As noted above, one of the fragments (2) does seem to draw on a dualistic distinction between darkness and light, but the insufficiently preserved text does not allow us to determine whether or how this was related to socio-religious circumstances of the writer’s community.

#### 4. “THE HEART OF MAN” IN THE *TREATISE OF THE TWO SPIRITS*

We return to the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* mentioned in the introduction above. The anthropologically significant phrase, “heart of man” (בלבב גבר, 1QS IV:23; לב איש, IV:2), occurs several times in the biblical tradition, though only in Proverbs and only in the form לב איש (12:25; 19:21; and 20:5). In the Proverbs texts, the expression denotes the affective side (12:25) and cognitive activity (19:21; 20:5) of the human being. In the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* the term “heart” is more comprehensive in scope: it is almost synonymous with human nature as a whole and, as such, is the place acted upon by cosmic powers. In Proverbs, moreover, the human heart is capable of knowing anxiety, devising plans, and directing the individual in this or that course of action. The occurrences in Prov 19:21 and 20:5 are consistent with the way the expression functions in 1QS IV:2: the enlightened “heart of man” manifests itself in a long list of virtues (IV:2–8), as opposed to a list of vices assigned to “the spirit of iniquity” (IV:9–14; רוח עול, line 9). These virtues and vices are, in turn, associated with contrasting “paths” (III:26–IV:1, 15) reminiscent of the widespread two ways instruction as found, for example, in 1 En. 91:4, 18–19 and 94:1–5.<sup>15</sup> Both here and in the wider context (cf. 1QS III:17–IV:1 and IV:15–17), however, these ethical contrasts are

<sup>15</sup> For discussions of the wide impact of the two ways discourse in Second Temple Jewish literature, see K. Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 59–63; H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache:*

aligned with two opposing spirits ("spirit of truth/holiness" versus "spirit of iniquity/darkness/impurity") or angels ("Prince of Lights"/"angel of his truth" vs. "Angel of Darkness") whom God has placed within the created order (III:17–19). It is ultimately these cosmic forces that contend in "the heart of man" (IV:23).

This combination of the two ways with two cosmic forces offers a tension not dissimilar to the one we have observed in Ben Sira: the juxtaposition of human free choice, on the one hand, with a God-given opposition between good and evil, on the other. The predetermined opposition in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* between two angels with separate dominions over light and darkness (1QS III:18–IV:1) both crystallises and intensifies Ben Sira's more general emphasis that God has arranged the universe from the very beginning to consist of pairs, both good and bad (Sir 42:24–25; 33:15). Moreover, the *Treatise* moves well beyond Ben Sira's oppositions by developing them along cosmological (i.e. light and darkness), theological (Prince of Lights versus Angel of Darkness), and anthropological (conflict within the person) lines. By focusing on and interweaving each of these oppositions, the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* goes a significant step further. It is not that these contrasting influences are at work at different times, so that a person conducts him- or herself in wholly one way or the other (as presented in *Hodayot*, *Testament of Qahat*, 1 *En.* 91–105, and even Ben Sira); instead, these oppositions are *concurrent and overlapping*.<sup>16</sup> To be sure, the righteous can be called "sons of truth" (1QS IV:6), "sons of light" (III:25), and "sons of righteousness" (III:20, 22), while the wicked can be called "sons of iniquity" (III:21). But unlike the Enochic tradition and even Ben Sira, this classification between two sorts of people is never going to be fully transparent in the present world order (IV:15–26). Whereas in Ben Sira, the pious person can remedy

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*Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (CRINT 3.5; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002), 55–111; and M. Del Verme, *Didache and Judaism: Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), esp. 126–130.

<sup>16</sup> Some precedent for opposing angelic powers vying for power over a human may be found in the Aramaic *Visions of Amram* (4Q543–547, 4Q548?): two angels who, together, have authority over all humanity are presented as trying to gain control over the patriarch Amram. The angel associated with darkness is named "Melki-resha'," while the other (unnamed) angel who speaks with the patriarch is associated with light (4Q544 1 10–14). Since the patriarch is asked to choose between the two (4Q544 1 12), the pre-deterministic strain found in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is absent here. On the fragments, see P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedeq and Melchireša'* (CBQMS 10; Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1981) and their publication by É. Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 283–405.

wicked behaviour by repenting from sin, in the *Treatise* the problem of sin persists within the human being until the time of God's visitation, when the conflict between the "divisions" within humanity shall come to a decisive end (IV:15–20). All human beings, whether socially on the inside or outside of the righteous community, provide the battleground wherein the conflict between the opposing powers is, in effect, carried out; the boundaries between wickedness and righteousness are neither discernible (*contra* Ben Sira) nor socially delineated (*contra* Exhortation in *1 Enoch*, *Hodayot*, *Testament of Qahat*).

The possible charge of hypocrisy against sinners who carry out their activities "with a double heart"—so *Hodayot*, Ben Sira, and the Enochic Exhortation—is, if not altogether absent, demoted to being one of the many vices that characterise the "spirit of iniquity" (IV:9–11, including רומ לבב "haughtiness of heart" and כיבוד לב "hardness of heart" which, along with the other vices, are associated with "paths of darkness"). The more conventional problem of hypocrisy gives way in the *Treatise* to a dualistic web of oppositions that explains *inconsistent behaviour as endemic to the "heart of man," that is, to human nature itself*.

#### CONCLUSION

Discourse concerned with "hypocritical" behaviour in the *Hodayot*, the Exhortation of *1 Enoch* and Ben Sira is less interested in anything happening within the human being than with marking out those whose claims to piety should not be confused with authentic religiosity. In keeping with the tradition in Ps 12, the demarcation between those who are pious, on the one hand, and the sinners, on the other, is visible, that is, the writers assume that this is a socially discernible contrast. We have seen that the motif of double-heartedness is a feature of such discourse. A different line of thought is taken up in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*: a visible distinction "the sons of light/righteousness" and "the sons of iniquity" is not guaranteed. Here "the heart" of each human being is regarded as a combat zone for powers that struggle to assert their control. The principled opaqueness of insiders and outsiders—which stands in contrast with much of the remainder of the *Community Rule*—is only temporary. As God has apportioned to each human being a certain measure of each spirit, whether of "truth" or "iniquity," so an apocalyptic act of divine cleansing at the end will reveal the people of God as they have been predetermined to be from the beginning.

These differing modes of discourse should not in each instance be mistaken as systematic reflections of those who adopted them. It is likely, for example, that the writers of the *Hodayot*, Sirach, and the Exhortation in *1 Enoch* were aware that they themselves, as well as members of their communities, might be confronted by ambiguities that would cast into doubt their identity of being "amongst the pious." For them to have reflected or elaborated on such possibilities, however, would have run counter to the reasons they wrote, whether such reasons involved the shoring up of sectarian identity (*Hodayot*), the admonition of pious readers with straightforward advice (Ben Sira), or the provision of a voice to a group of those being oppressed by the social and religious elite (*1 En.* 91–105). It is the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* which ventures into the arena of principled ambiguity, though even here—as its incorporation into the Qumran *Community Rule* may attest—the writer(s), who did not develop the implications of the instruction to their logical end, may have belonged to a sectarian community that had physically separated itself from others.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, while the dualistic language, explored here in relation to the motifs of double-heartedness and the human heart as a battle zone, should not be mirror-read or mapped straightforwardly onto socio-religious equivalents, it does communicate something about where, in terms of theological anthropology, writers were locating the religious tensions in their communities and about how they attempted to negotiate them in relation to their communities' ideals.

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<sup>17</sup> For the view of the *Treatise* as an originally separate document from the rest of the *Community Rule* (and therefore reflecting a different ideology), see, conveniently, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger, "Qumran," *TRE* 28:45–79; H. Stegemann, *The Library from Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 108–110; and Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 279–280.

## The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context

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# The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context

Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls  
in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages,  
and Cultures

Volume Two

*Edited by*

Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold

In association with Bennie H. Reynolds III



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## INTRODUCTION

It is a pleasure for the editors of the “Dead Sea Scrolls in Context” proceedings to introduce our readers to their second volume. We expressed our gratitude to all those colleagues, institutions, and individuals who made both the conference and its proceedings possible already in the introduction to the first volume. In addition, we would like to thank Dr. Nóra Dávid who supported us with the editorial work on the second volume. As with the first volume, if not indicated otherwise, abbreviations follow *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (ed. P.H. Alexander et al.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999).

The first volume of the conference proceedings focused on new methodologies applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls, the relevance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, for ancient Semitic languages, for interpreting the individual books of the Hebrew Bible, and for Second Temple Jewish literature written in Hebrew or Greek. The second volume of the Vienna conference proceedings explores the contexts of Jewish history, culture, and archeology, Jewish thought and religion, Jewish literature and culture of the rabbinic and medieval periods, early Christianity, and the ancient Mediterranean and ancient Near Eastern worlds. While the first volume focused mainly on methodological, linguistic, and literary topics, the second volume is concerned with questions of material culture, political, cultural, and religious history, as well as the non-Jewish cultural and religious environments of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The volume begins with the archeological and historical contexts of the Dead Sea Scrolls (“Jewish History, Culture, and Archeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls”). *Hanan Eshel* ח'נן אשל (“Qumran Archeology in Light of Two Rural Sites in Judea”) contextualizes the Qumran settlement archeologically by comparing it with the Second Temple ruins of Horvat Mazad (a way station on the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa) and the remnants of the country villa at Khirbet el-Muraq. Eshel shows that the Qumran settlement is very different from both sites and hence could have neither been a way station nor a Roman villa. That the Qumran settlement was not a Roman manor house is further supported by a comparison to a group of sites that contain courtyard installations and that were

defended by a tower surrounded by a glacis. The architectonic similarities of these sites are not indicative of their functions. Structures of this sort were used for a variety of purposes in the Second Temple period. Another archeological context is discussed in an unconventional paper by *Minna and Kenneth Lönnqvist* ("Parallels to Be Seen: Manuscripts in Jars from Qumran and Egypt"). Based on research by J.T. Milik, these scholars compare the Qumran scroll jars from Cave 1 with cylindrical jars from Deir el-Medina and suggest that it was a common practice in antiquity to store ancient manuscript in jars. In their comparison with the Deir el-Medina jars, Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist find confirmation that the Qumran community was founded in the middle of the second century B.C.E. and consider the possibility that the scroll jars from Qumran may have served as portable archives or genizoth over a longer period of time. *Nóra Dávid* ("Burial in the Book of Tobit and in Qumran") discusses archeological evidence from Qumran in the context of Second Temple Jewish literature. She compares the archeological evidence from the Qumran graveyards with the information about burials in the book of Tobit. Dávid argues that as part of their asceticism the Qumran community practiced the average way of burying the dead as the poor of the country did. Although the random burials depicted in the book of Tobit may be similar in execution to Qumran graves, the motivation for this particular form of burial in the book of Tobit was not ascetic in nature but was simply the easiest and quickest way of burying the dead.

With historiography, *Edward Dąbrowa* ("The Hasmoneans in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls") points to yet another field of study for which the Dead Sea Scrolls might be helpful. By comparing the allusions to historical events and persons from the Hasmonean period with what we know about these events from other sources, Dąbrowa searches for the attitudes that the authors of the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls had to past and present events and persons. He shows that the Qumran authors were not particularly interested in history. "Past events and historical figures, even if known to them, were only used as illustrative material to promulgate their own theological beliefs" (509).

By addressing "Jewish Thought and Religion in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," the next part of the conference proceedings studies the Dead Sea Scrolls in the context of Second Temple Judaism as well. Three papers by Esther G. Chazon, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, and Russell C.D. Arnold address questions of prayer, liturgy, and ritual while two papers by Sandra Jacobs and Alex P. Jassen are dedicated to the idea of the end of prophecy



and the covenant of the rainbow as well as circumcision. *Esther G. Chazon* (“Shifting Perspectives on Liturgy at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism”) discusses prayers and liturgical texts from Qumran in the context of Second Temple and rabbinic prayers and liturgical texts. She shows that the non-sectarian Qumran scrolls in particular document a sizeable, continuous liturgical tradition stretching from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. In some instances these scrolls document perhaps even a precursor or direct antecedent of a later rabbinic benediction or liturgical practice. The Dead Sea Scrolls unambiguously attest regular, public prayer in the two centuries prior to the Temple’s destruction. The establishment of the new institution of obligatory Jewish prayer by the rabbis after the Second Temple’s destruction was not *ex nihilo* but happened against a rich background of considerable, well-steeped, liturgical precedent and tradition. In comparison with rabbinic and Second Temple Jewish literature, *Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra* (“When the Bell Rings: The Qumran Rituals of Affliction in Context”) develops a typology for rituals of affliction in Second Temple Judaism. He distinguishes between rituals and rites of affliction. Rituals of affliction include a) incantations, b) independent purifications, c) punishments, d) Yom Kippur, e) burials and mourning rites, and f) covenant renewal ceremony. Rites of affliction include a) apotropaic prayers, b) minor purifications, c) confessions, and d) curses. Although being part of an overall ritual continuity in Second Temple Judaism, some rituals of affliction that are prominent in Second Temple, rabbinic, and/or early Christian texts are rare in the Qumran scrolls. Absent or rarely mentioned in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls are regular fast days (with the exception of Yom Kippur), rites to handle collective emergencies, and individual healings. The latter absence is all the more interesting as a study of the bacterial remains in Qumran toilets points to the ubiquitous presence of sickness among the people of Qumran. *Russell C.D. Arnold* (“The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies”) applies concepts of ritual studies of contemporary communities to the Qumran *yaḥad*. He points to the pervasiveness of ritual in the *yaḥad*. Based on the examples of calendrical rites, rites of passage, and feasts and fasts, Arnold argues that rituals structured the *yaḥad*’s existence. Calendrical rites provided opportunities for the priestly *yaḥad* to be obedient to divine law and to ensure their coordination with the workings of the cosmos, until the end comes. Rites of passage served the purpose of identity construction, instruction and indoctrination as well as social control. Communal meals reinforced the members’ shared experience and united them around common goals and a

common identity thus strengthened the *yahad*'s group identity. They furthermore ritually enacted the hierarchical ranking that served to keep members in line.

Beyond the theme of ritual studies, *Sandra Jacobs* ("Expendable Signs: The Covenant of the Rainbow and Circumcision at Qumran") asks why the covenant of the rainbow and circumcision play minimal roles in the sectarian texts from Qumran although both are priestly signs. She suggests that the sign of the rainbow, with its inherent symbolism of sexuality and fertility, was of no value to men in the *yahad* community, who otherwise enforced increased levels of ritual purity and sexual restraint. Identifying themselves as "the elect, remnant of Israel," the members of the *yahad* had little interest in the covenant of the rainbow and the sign of circumcision as both included people beyond the *yahad* as well. Neither circumcision nor the covenant of the rainbow supported their self-defined elitism. In comparing the Dead Sea Scrolls with other Second Temple Jewish literature, *Alex P. Jassen* ("Prophecy after 'the Prophets': The Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Prophecy in Judaism") revisits the question of whether or not prophecy ceased in the Second Temple period. His comparison shows that for some individuals or communities few features distinguished their own activity from that of the ancient prophets while for others their models of divine-human communication were radically different from ancient prophecy. In the Qumran community, no explicit prophetic terminology is applied to the activity of communal leaders. Nevertheless a rich world of human-divine communication exists at Qumran which expresses itself in new models that are either absent or underrepresented in biblical prophecy. These modes of human-divine communication were regarded by the community not merely in continuity with the ancient prophets, but as equivalent to prophetic activity.

The next part of the conference proceedings ("The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish Literature and Culture of the Rabbinic and Medieval Periods") addresses the difficult question of the extent to which the Dead Sea Scrolls are of importance for the understanding of Jewish culture and religion after the destruction of the Second Temple and thus shifts the reader's attention to later periods in the history of Judaism. *Lawrence H. Schiffman* ("Second Temple Literature and Rabbinic Judaism") probes the continuities and discontinuities between Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism. Of that which was composed or transmitted in the Second Temple period, the rabbis did not read anything beyond the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, Schiffman observes rich parallels between Second

Temple and rabbinic texts for which a rigorous debate between the Pharisees, as the spiritual ancestors of the Tannaim, and other Jewish groups is responsible. Although it was quieted when the Pharisaic-rabbinic movement emerged as the consensus group, various aspects of the common Judaism of Second Temple times were preserved in the rabbinic movement and its literature due to this debate. The Dead Sea Scrolls play a crucial role in documenting this debate between the Pharisees and other parts of Second Temple Judaism. *Günter Stemberger* (“Mishnah and Dead Sea Scrolls: Are there Meaningful Parallels and Continuities?”) narrows the question of continuities and discontinuities between Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism to the relation of the Mishnah to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Admitting a gap between Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism, Stemberger finds substantial evidence for a continuity of halakhic traditions from the time before 70 C.E. to the rabbis. Most of these traditions are not specifically Pharisaic, but more representative of a “common” Judaism. Furthermore, Qumran texts which polemically oppose laws identical with or very close to what we find in the Mishnah, sometimes confirm the information we have from Mishnaic or other rabbinic texts on halakhic controversies between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Stemberger emphasizes though that not everything opposed by the people of Qumran and accepted by the Pharisees is *eo ipso* a specifically Pharisaic law. It may represent a wider consensus opposed only by some priestly groups. *Paul Heger* (“Rabbinic Midrashei Halakhah, Midrashei Aggadah in Qumran Literature?”) emphasizes the differences between rabbinic midrash and interpretations of legal and narrative biblical texts at Qumran in a debate with Steven D. Fraade. He argues that Fraade’s use of the term midrash is not appropriate for describing the mode of interpreting both legal and narrative topics in the Qumran collection. Heger finds a fundamental distinction between the rabbinic and Qumranic methods of interpretation. He argues that Qumran scholars adhered to the simple interpretation of the biblical rules without any consideration of the practical difficulties posed by the law. In contrast, rabbinic interpretations were based on the rabbis’ understanding of the texts and of the general principle of the Torah as well as an awareness of the necessity of adapting the traditional rules and customs to actual circumstances. While in Qumranic interpretation of legal and narrative texts their simple meaning was implemented in disregard of practical issues, rabbinic halakhot were based on the rabbis’ reflections. Scriptural interpretation was used as a means of justification. *Moshe J. Bernstein* (“The *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Aramaic *Targumim* Revisited: A View from

Both Perspectives”) moves the discussion about rabbinic contexts of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the relationship of 1QapGen ar with the Targumim of rabbinic times. Bernstein does not classify 1QapGen ar as a Targum. The composer(s) of the *Genesis Apocryphon* employed citations or paraphrases of biblical texts not deriving from its primary base text. Some of these citations or paraphrases are stylistic in nature while drawing attention to the analogous circumstances of the various biblical stories. In this approach, the *Genesis Apocryphon* (and other Second Temple works of the same genre) might have served as a model for certain features of the Palestinian Aramaic Targumim.

The contribution of *Stefan C. Reif* (“The Genizah and the Dead Sea Scrolls: How Important and Direct is the Connection?”) discusses yet another Jewish context of the Dead Sea Scrolls by comparing the Qumran collection with the finds from the Genizah of the Karaite Ezra Synagogue in Cairo. Both collections are uniquely extensive and cover lengthy periods. Both collections represent, at the least, an important part of the Jewish and related literatures of their day. Both collections testify to a considerable degree of literacy, usually in at least two languages, and a tendency to create Jewish linguistic dialects. In contradistinction to these commonalities, the Qumran collection does not include many documents that are interested in the many mundane areas that are well represented in the Cairo Genizah. The Cairo Genizah does, furthermore, not testify to a rejection of establishment figures, notions and practices as the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls do. The four texts discovered both in the Qumran collection and the Cairo Genizah were transmitted in a live manuscript tradition and illustrate that ideas recorded in and around Qumran had the opportunity of finding surroundings in which to hibernate, or perhaps simply to exist in low key, before being adopted by the Karaite movement between the ninth and twelfth centuries. *Meir Bar-Ilan* (“Non-Canonical Psalms from the Genizah”) studies a collection of poetic texts from the Cairo Genizah which was regarded by David Flusser and Shmuel Safrai as a Qumranic text. Bar-Ilan shows that this collection of psalms has parallels in the Qumran corpus but does not originate in the Qumran community. More likely it was composed in the first century after the destruction of the Second Temple in non-rabbinic circles.

Having addressed rabbinic and post-rabbinic Jewish contexts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the next part of the conference proceedings (“The Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity”) is dedicated to early Christianity as a religious group which grew out of Judaism but moved away from it after the Qumran settlement and the Second Temple were destroyed

by Roman armies. *Karl P. Donfried* (“Paul the Jew and the Dead Sea Scrolls”) understands Paul primarily as a Jew and shows that the thoughts expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls shaped him significantly. Being educated as a Pharisee, Paul nevertheless encountered the *yaḥad*. According to Donfried, the *yaḥad* facilitated Paul’s break from the rationalist Pharisaic stream of Judaism and provided him with a context in which he was able to interpret and articulate his Damascus experience. The encounter with the *yaḥad* would have thus allowed Paul to become the apostle for the Gentiles. While Donfried is concerned with an overall reading of Paul, *Cecilia Wassen* (“Because of the Angels?: Reading 1 Cor 11:2–16 in Light of Angelology in the Dead Sea Scrolls”) focuses on 1 Cor 11:10 and interprets it in light of the angelology of the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular and Second Temple Judaism in general. The Dead Sea Scrolls show that the phrase “because of the angels” in 1 Cor 11:10 points to a belief in the presence of angels among the Corinthian Christians. In Qumran and Corinth, such an angelic presence demanded a proper dress code—in Corinth men with unveiled heads and women with veiled heads. For both the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul divine-human unity is expressed through imitation of the divine. It is likely that Paul encourages imitation of the angels in the context of this communion. The lost glorious nature of Adam—which can be likened to an angelic state of being—was partly attainable for the Qumran sectarians and Paul already in the present. In 1 Cor 11:2–16, Paul applies these ideas to the creation of Adam and his original angelic looks. With regard to appearance, men are naturally closer to the divine beings whom they resemble than women. In imitation of the male angels, women have to hide their long hair in order to attain the same authority as men have to prophesy and praise together with the angels.

*Renate J. Pillinger* (“Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christian Art”) carries the argument beyond the New Testament to the Christianity of the first centuries C.E. She directs the attention of her readers to an unexplored field of research, i.e. the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the understanding of early Christian art. By way of the select examples of the Giants, Melchizedek, messianic thought and motifs, John the Baptist and baptism, communal meals, and resurrection, Pillinger points to convergences and divergences between ideas and motifs expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Christian artwork. *Agnethe Siquans* (“Hermeneutics and Methods of Interpretation in the Isaiah Pesharim and in the *Commentary on Isaiah* by Theodoret of Cyrus”) illustrates the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the understanding of the Christianity

of late antiquity by comparing the interpretation of the book of Isaiah in the *Isaiah Commentary* of Theodoret of Cyrus and in the Isaiah pesharim. Siquans finds parallels between the pesharim and Theodoret in their subject matter and their hermeneutical strategy: Both identify figures mentioned in the biblical text with persons (or groups) of their own time; both understand Isaianic rhetoric metaphorically and apply the Isaiah text to their own situations; both quote other biblical texts to support their arguments. Next to these parallels, Siquans observes fundamental differences between the pesharim and Theodoret as well. These differences are due to different eschatological expectations of the pesharists and Theodoret which motivate their respective interpretations. Focusing on the recent past, the present, and especially the near future, the Qumran pesharim find their exegetical objective in the (eschatological) salvation history of the Qumran community. Theodoret reads Isaiah with regard to the time of the prophet himself, with regard to the time of Jesus and the apostles, and with regard to his own time. As a Christian exegete, Theodoret presupposes the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies in Jesus Christ. Theodoret finds his exegetical objective hence on a spiritual level.

While most of the contexts discussed already in the conference proceedings have enjoyed extensive scholarly interest, the question of the extent to which the Dead Sea Scrolls are of importance for the understanding of their non-Jewish cultural environments and vice versa was far removed from the center of the discussion about the finds from the Judean desert. In the last part of the proceedings ("The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Ancient Mediterranean and Ancient Near Eastern Worlds") we try to rectify this situation at least to some extent. *Gebhard J. Selz* ("Of Heroes and Sages: Considerations on the Early Mesopotamian Background of Some Enochic Traditions") reads the Enochic traditions of Second Temple Judaism in light of Sumerian and Akkadian evidence from Mesopotamia. Selz argues that the official transmission of texts in Mesopotamia was supplemented by a wealth of oral traditions. The Jewish Enoch traditions are rewritings of these ancient Mesopotamian concepts. More extensive study of such backgrounds will uncover more interpretative possibilities than traditional exegesis has. Another Mesopotamian influence on a text from the Qumran collection is traced by *Ursula Schattner-Rieser* ("Levi in the Third Sky: On the 'Ascent to Heaven' Legends within their Near Eastern Context and J.T. Milik's Unpublished Version of the *Aramaic Levi Document*"). She surveys an unfinished manuscript of Józef Tadeusz Milik about the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD) and provides in an appendix Milik's text and French translation of

the first 48 verses of this text according to his reconstruction. Schattner-Rieser shows that the heavenly journeys of the *ALD* attest to two celestial concepts, one involving three heavens and the other one involving seven. The motifs of three and seven heavens are of Mesopotamian origin. The *ALD* demonstrates that Jewish ascent to heaven legends share vocabulary, cosmology (the architectural representation of the heavenly realm), and eschatological ideas (the belief in a final judgment of the righteous) with Persian legends and Babylonian cosmography. Jewish ascent to heaven legends thus depend on ancient oriental sources. *Ida Fröhlich* (“Qumran Biblical Interpretation in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Historiography”) asks how forms and methods of historical memory that are attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls correlate with those known from other ancient Near Eastern cultures. She compares, furthermore, the attitudes towards history that are displayed in the Dead Sea Scrolls with the ones known from ancient Near Eastern literature. Both in the Qumran and ancient Near Eastern literatures, the basis on which historical facts and events are evaluated is an ethical viewpoint. In both literatures, historical overviews represent a semiotization of the history in the name of ethics.

Moving from the ancient Near East to Coele-Syria and the Greco-Roman worlds, the contributions of Jan Dušek, Bernhard Palme, Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše, as well as George Branch-Trevathan examine the legal, hermeneutical, and utopian contexts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. *Jan Dušek* (“Protection of Ownership in the Deeds of Sale: Deeds of Sale from the Judean Desert in Context”) compares clauses warranting the protection of ownership in deeds of sale from the various sites around the Dead Sea with those in Aramaic, Hebrew, Nabataean, Greek, and Syriac legal documents from the fifth century B.C.E. until the third century C.E. from Palestine, Egypt, and Syria. He identifies three legal groups. 1) A comparison of deeds of sale from Wadi Daliyeh (satrapy of Transeuphrates) and from Elephantine (satrapy of Egypt) shows that within the Persian Empire the law protecting purchased property was not identical in all satrapies. 2) Aramaic, Nabatean, Greek, and Syriac deeds of sale from Wadi Daliyeh, Naḥal Ḥever, and Dura Europos spreading from the fourth century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. reflect the same—or similar—legal tradition of the protection of the buyer’s rights. This legal tradition is attested in Palestine and Syria, especially in Aramaic or its later dialects, but also in Greek texts, under Persian, Nabataean and Roman administration. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Roman administration in Palestine and Syria did not interfere excessively with local legal traditions. 3) Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale from Naḥal Ḥever

and Wadi Murabba'at, which were written during the second Jewish war (131–135 C.E.), reflect the same legal tradition as the documents from the second group but also display the influence of Greek (Ptolemaic?) legal traditions. In Palestine, this Greek legal influence seems to have coexisted with the earlier Aramaic legal tradition in at least the first and second centuries C.E. *Bernhard Palme* (“Public Memory and Public Dispute: Council Minutes between Roman Egypt and the Dead Sea”) explores the Greco-Roman legal context of the Dead Sea Scrolls. He shows how the Babatha archive, especially the extract of council minutes from P. Babatha 12 (5/6H̄ev12) written 124 C.E. in Petra, helps to better understand the political and judicial institutions in the Roman Near East in general and in Roman Egypt in particular. *Armin Lange and Zlatko Pleše* (“The Qumran Pesharim and the Derveni papyrus: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Ancient Jewish and Ancient Greek Commentaries”) compare the hermeneutics of the Derveni papyrus—a lemmatic commentary to an orphic poem dating to late the fifth or early fourth century B.C.E.—with the ones of the pesharim. Lange and Pleše detect a common hermeneutical pattern underlying the exegetical techniques of both metatexts. The Derveni papyrus isolates individual elements from an Orphic theology and recontextualizes them into the discourse of philosophical cosmology. The Qumran pesharim isolate individual elements from the prophetic scriptures of Judaism and recontextualize them into the (eschatological) history of the Essene movement. Being distinct in their aims, both metatexts nevertheless overcome estrangement from their authoritative religious traditions by transposing one narrative into the context of another one. Lange and Pleše describe this shared hermeneutical approach as transpositional hermeneutics. Transpositional hermeneutics is a dialectical process in which both the primary and secondary narratives undergo structural adjustments and acquire new meanings. As a cross-cultural phenomenon, transpositional hermeneutics developed independently in Greek and Jewish cultures. *George Branch-Trevathan* (“Why Does 4Q394 Begin with a Calendar?”) asks, in comparison with the use of solar symbolism in the Greco-Roman cultures of the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods, why *MMT* includes a solar calendar. He argues that sections B and C of *MMT* portray the *yahad* as an utopian or eschatological community. In connecting the solar calendar to this idealistic depiction of the community, it participates in a widespread use of solar symbolism in utopian and eschatological discourse in Greco-Roman culture. *MMT*'s use of a solar calendar is comparable to the use of solar symbolism in Iambulus' travel narrative *Commonwealth of the Sun*, in Aristonicus'



*Heliopolitae*, and in the propaganda of the Roman emperor Augustus. In the discursive context of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, a solar calendar powerfully symbolized the utopian and eschatological claims made in the rest of *MMT*.

In our perception, both the Vienna conference on “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context” and its proceedings show that the Dead Sea Scrolls can be best understood in light of Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism as well as early Christianity and the eastern Mediterranean and ancient Near Eastern cultures surrounding them. The Dead Sea Scrolls shed new light not only on the Hebrew Bible and its textual, canonical, and reception histories, but also on Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism, early Christianity, and the eastern Mediterranean and ancient Near Eastern cultures.

Armin Lange, Bennie H. Reynolds III,  
Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold  
Jackson, Jerusalem, and Vienna, January 2011



JEWISH HISTORY, CULTURE, AND ARCHEOLOGY  
AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



## QUMRAN ARCHEOLOGY IN LIGHT OF TWO RURAL SITES IN JUDEA

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In recent years, archeologists seeking alternatives to the “consensus” identification of Khirbet Qumran as a settlement of a religious community, have proposed that the site was a way station inn or a Roman villa.<sup>1</sup> In this short note, I compare Qumran to two sites: (1) Horvat Mazad, which served as a way station on the road between Jerusalem and Jaffa in the Second Temple period and (2) Khirbet el-Muraq, which is the only country villa from the end of the Second Temple period to have been found in Judea to date. This comparison demonstrates how different Khirbet Qumran is from both of these sites.<sup>2</sup> Following this comparison, I examine courtyard installations that have been uncovered in Judea in which a tower surrounded by a glacis has been built into one of the external walls.

Horvat Mazad is located on the road between Jerusalem to Jaffa (fig. 1). The site was surveyed by Moshe Fisher, Benjamin Isaac and Israel Roll as part of a project investigating Roman roads from Jerusalem to Jaffa.<sup>3</sup> Moshe Fisher supervised three seasons of excavations at Horvat Mazad in 1972, 1978, and 1980. Two levels of Second Temple period occupation were uncovered in Horvat Mazad: a Hasmonean layer and a Herodian one (fig. 2). In the Hasmonean period, a tower was built at the site. In the Herodian period, a surrounding wall was added. A number of rooms were constructed along the length of the southern wall. One *miqwah* was built in this period as well.<sup>4</sup> The site was built to function as a station

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<sup>1</sup> M. Broshi and H. Eshel, “Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Contention of Twelve Theories,” in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches* (ed. D.R. Edwards; New York: Routledge, 2004), 162–169.

<sup>2</sup> On the archeology of Khirbet Qumran, see R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon, eds., *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha*, vol. I (Fribourg: Academic Press, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> M. Fisher, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judea*, vol. 2: *The Jaffa-Jerusalem Roads* (British Archeological Reports International Series 628; Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1996), 212–216.

<sup>4</sup> M. Fisher, “The Road Jerusalem-Emmaus in light of the Excavation in Horvat

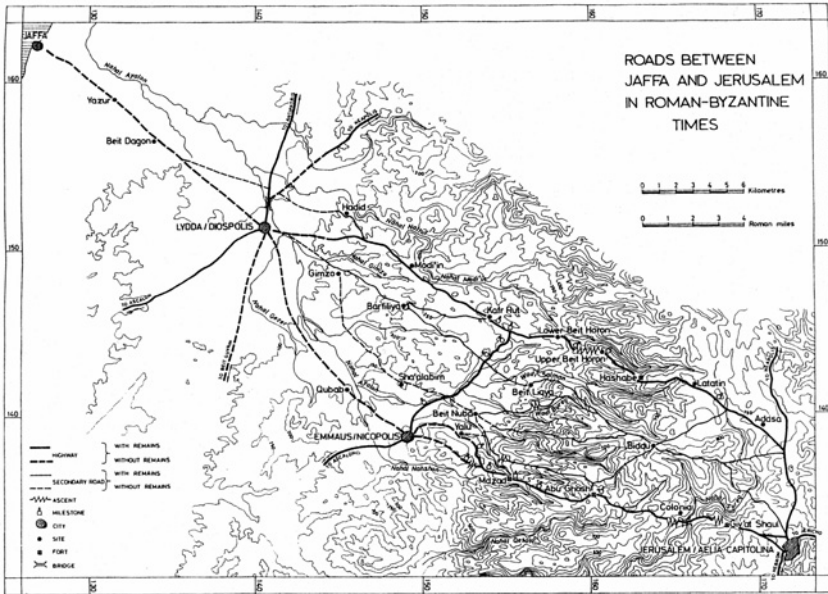


Fig. 1. Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem (according to Fisher, Isaac, and Roll).

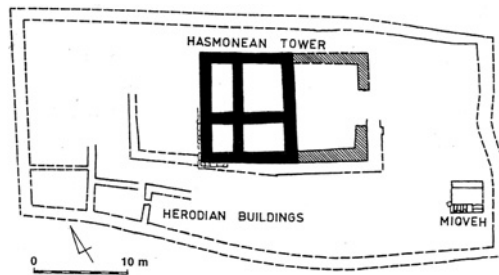


Fig. 2. Plan of Horvat Mazad (according to Fisher).

along the road that connected Jaffa to Jerusalem. Wayfarers would have stopped at this location to eat and to replenish their provisions before continuing on their way to Jerusalem. It may be supposed that some travelers would have occasionally spent the night at Horvat Mazad, when they had miscalculated the pace of their journey and realized that they

Mazad," in *Greece and Rome in Eretz-Israel* (ed. A. Kasher, G. Fuks, and U. Rappaport; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 1989), 185–206 (Hebrew).

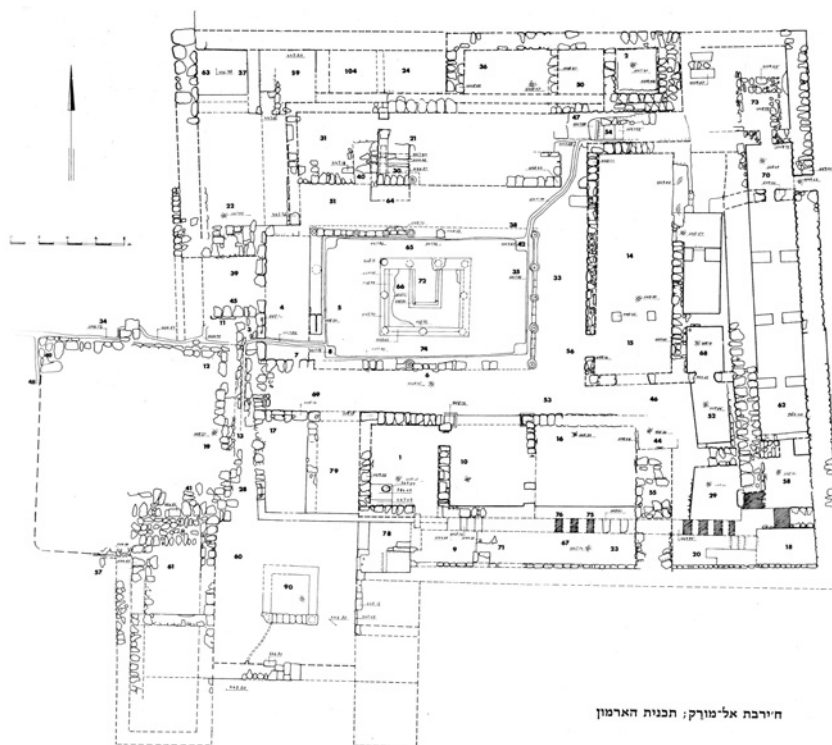


Fig. 3. Plan of Khirbet el-Muraq (according to Damati).

would not be able to reach Jerusalem before sunset. There is no similarity at all between Khirbet Qumran and Horvat Mazad, other than the fact that a tower was constructed at both sites.

We now turn to Khirbet el-Muraq, which is also called “The Palace of Hilkiya,” because of an inscription found on a cornerstone at this site, which reads: ΕΛΚΙΑΣ ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΕΓΡΑ(ΨΕ)—“Hilkiya son of Simon [wrote] the inscription.” The site is located west of Hebron at the western part of the Judean mountains, overlooking the Shephela and the coastal plains. Khirbet el-Muraq was excavated by Emanuel Damati, who supervised five seasons of excavations at the site, between 1969 to 1983.<sup>5</sup> The installation at Khirbet el-Muraq was built around a central courtyard with a peristyle (a row of columns surrounding the courtyard; fig. 3). In the middle of the courtyard stood an elevated *triclinium*, surrounded by

<sup>5</sup> E. Damati, “Khirbet el-Muraq,” *IEJ* 22 (1972): 173; idem, “The Palace of Hilkiya,” *Qadmoniot* 15 (1982): 117–120 (Hebrew).



Fig. 4. Picture of Khirbet el-Muraq (according to Damati).

additional columns. An open *triclinium* of this sort has not been found in any other site in the land of Israel. The site was built in the time of Herod and appears to have been in use until the Bar Kokhba revolt. North of the *triclinium* there were a number of rooms that served as a bath house, including a hot room with a hypocaust dug into the rock; a warm room decorated by a mosaic floor featuring a colorful rosette at its center; and a cold room in which was dug a pool with stairs, which looks like a *mikvah* (room 30 in the plan).

A tower surrounded by a glacis was built into the western wall. An ornate gatehouse was built near the tower, in the southern wall of the site (locus 90). The peristyled courtyard had a mosaic floor. The *triclinium* was surrounded by an aqueduct, which Damati believes was intended to cool the diners. Pieces of red, green, and yellow stucco were found in the palace, and Nabatean capitals were found at the site (fig. 4).

Most of the features found at the palace of Hilkiya are absent at Qumran. Other than the fact that both sites have a courtyard structure incorporating a tower surrounded by a glacis, they are entirely dissimilar. No *triclinium* was built at Khirbet Qumran; no pillars were found at the site, nor was a bath house built there (fig. 5). There are no mosaic floors or Nabatean capitals, and there was no stucco ornamentation at Khirbet Qumran.



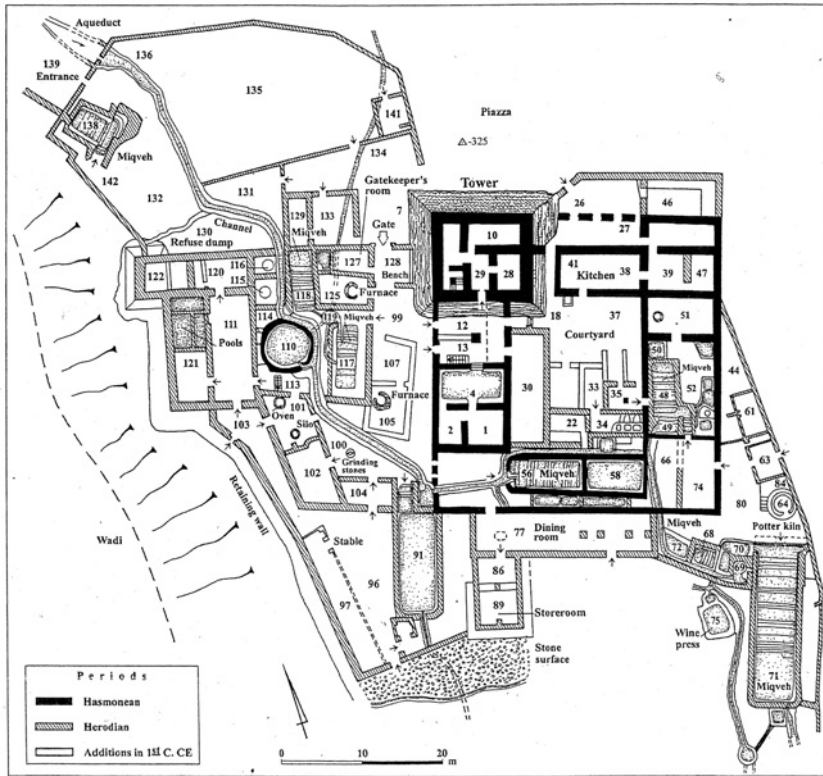


Fig. 5. Plan of Khirbet Qumran (according to Hirschfeld).

We now turn to a discussion of Second Temple era courtyard installations in Judea that feature a tower surrounded by a glacis. In 1991, Shimon Riklin excavated a site named Ofarim in western Samaria, east of Jaffa. He uncovered a tower surrounded by a glacis, with a small courtyard to its east (fig. 6). The artifacts found in this installation include pottery from the first century B.C.E. and four coins from the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.).<sup>6</sup> Riklin pointed out the architectural similarity between the site at Ofarim and the eastern building at Qumran. In

<sup>6</sup> S. Riklin, "A Hasmonean Site at Opharim," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 3 (ed. Z.H. Erlich and Y. Eshel; Ariel: The College of Judea and Samaria, 1994), 127–136 (Hebrew); idem, "When did the Essenes Arrive at Qumran? An Architectural Answer," in *Studies in the Land of Judaea* [פרקים בנחלת יהודה: קובץ מחקרים בגיאוגרפיה היסטורית] (ed. Z.H. Erlich; Ofra: Moriah Press, 1995), 263–266 (Hebrew); idem, "The Courtyard Towers in the Light of Finds from 'Ofarim,'" *Atiqot* 32 (1997): 95–98 (Hebrew).

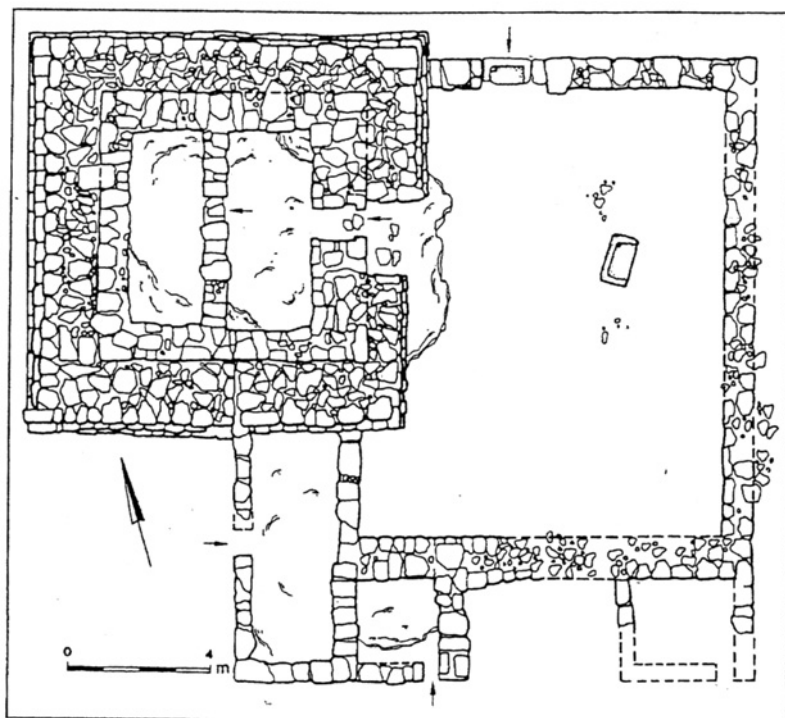


Fig. 6. Plan of the site in Ofarim (according to Riklin).

1994 and 1995 he published popular articles in which he suggested that the evidence he had found at Ofarim ought to be used for learning about the archeology of Khirbet Qumran.

Following Riklin's excavation, Yizhar Hirschfeld published an article in which he collected data about structures that had been found in Judea that included a central courtyard in which a tower surrounded by a glacis had been incorporated into one of its sides.<sup>7</sup> Hirschfeld identified ten structures of this type (fig. 7). In his view, these comprise a well-defined group, and are all to be identified as private villas. On the basis of the perceived similarity between Qumran and these other installations, Hirschfeld proposed that Khirbet Qumran was a "large Manor house" that had belonged to one of the friends of Herod.

<sup>7</sup> Y. Hirschfeld, "Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran," *JNES* 57 (1998): 161–189.

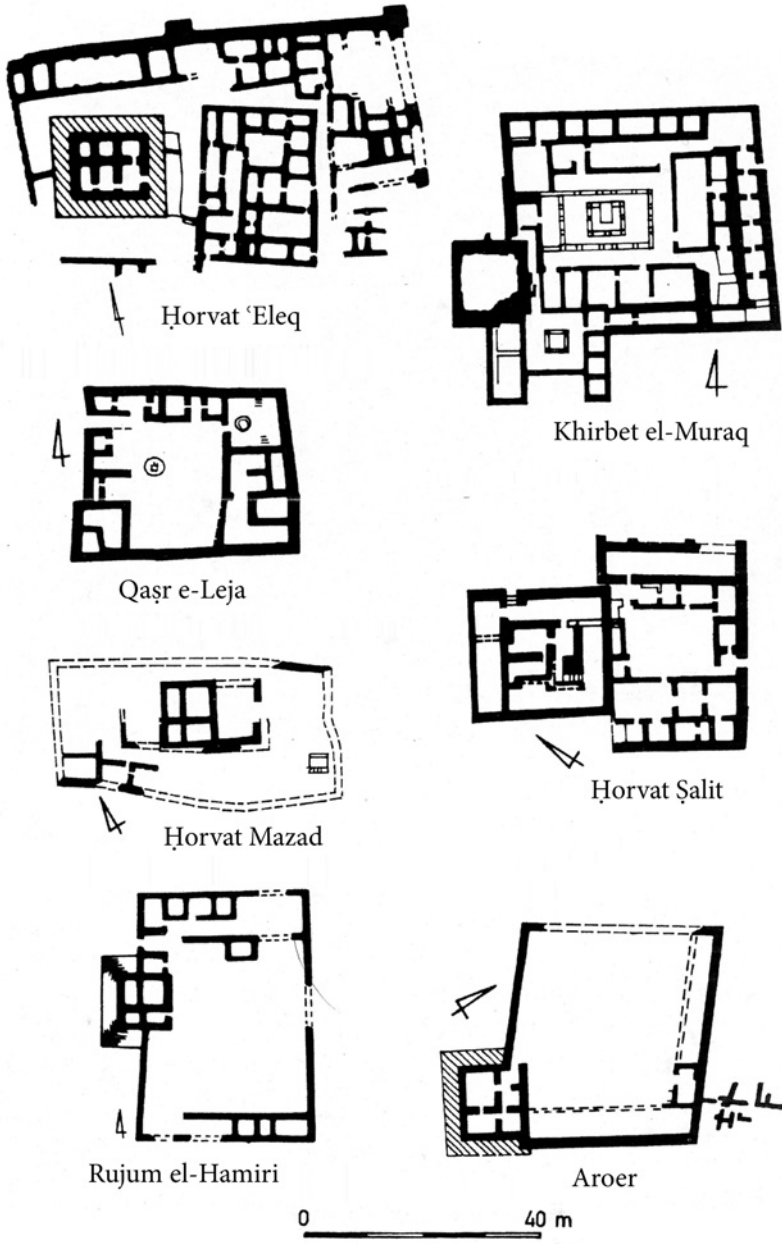


Fig. 7. Sites with courtyards, towers, and glacis (according to Hirschfeld).

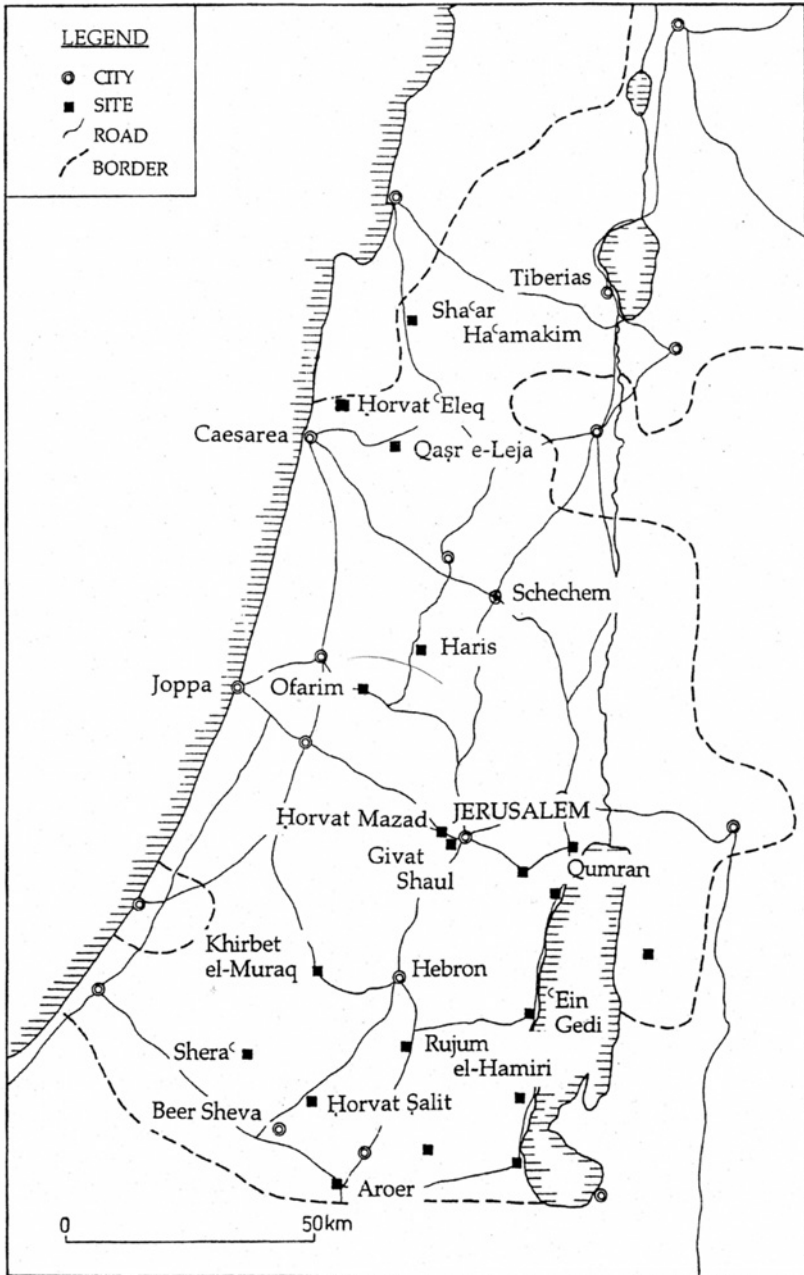


Fig. 8. Map of sites with courtyards, towers, and glacis (according to Hirschfeld).

The ten Judean sites designated by Hirschfeld are:<sup>8</sup> (1) Ofarim; (2) Khirbet el-Muraq; (3) Rujum el-Hamiri;<sup>9</sup> (4) Aroer;<sup>10</sup> (5) Qumran; (6) Qasr e-Leja; (7) Horvat 'Eleq; (8) Horvat Salit; (9) Horvat Mazad; (10) Qasr et-Turabeh (fig. 8). The first five locations on this list are indeed Second Temple period sites with courtyard installations featuring a tower surrounded by a glacis. In my opinion, however, the remaining five sites ought not be placed in this group. Qasr e-Leja has been surveyed, but not yet excavated. It lies north of the other sites that have a courtyard and a tower surrounded by a glacis. It seems that this site is later than the Second Temple period and is to be dated to the second or third century C.E. Moreover, there was no glacis constructed around the tower found in the corner of Qasr e-Leja. There is no basis for including this structure in the group of sites of this type.<sup>11</sup>

Horvat 'Eleq is a multi-layered site. Hirschfeld's depiction of this site includes structures from a number of periods.<sup>12</sup> The tower surrounded by a glacis that was built at Horvat 'Eleq was not built into one of the sides of the courtyard structure, and so it should not be included in the list of sites similar to Qumran.<sup>13</sup>

The site of Horvat Salit was in use during the Bar Kokhba revolt, and it too differs from the sites of the type under discussion. The fortified structure here is attached to the courtyard installation, but the tower is much larger than those in the first five sites listed by Hirschfeld, and it is not surrounded by a glacis.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. See also Y. Hirschfeld, "Qumran in the Second Temple Period: A Reassessment," in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 223–239, 233 n. 30; idem, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archeological Evidence* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 222–225.

<sup>9</sup> On Rujum el-Hamiri, see Y. Barouch, "The Roman Castles in the Hills of Hebron," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies 4* (ed. Z.H. Erlich and Y. Eshel; Ariel: The College of Judea and Samaria, 1995), 137–143 (Hebrew).

<sup>10</sup> On Aroer in the period of the Second Temple, see M. Hershkovitz, "Aroer at the End of the Second Temple Period," *ErIsr* 23 (1992): 309–319 (Hebrew).

<sup>11</sup> Hirschfeld himself determined that the site at Qasr e-Leja was from the second or third century C.E. See Y. Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing, 1995), 52–53.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Orit Peleg, the current supervisor of the excavations at Horvat 'Eleq, for this information.

<sup>13</sup> Y. Hirschfeld, *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations: Final Report of the 1984–1998 Seasons*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 235–293.

<sup>14</sup> On Horvat Salit, see G. Bijovsky, "The Coins from Ḥorbat Ṣalit," *Atiqot* 39 (2000): 155–169.

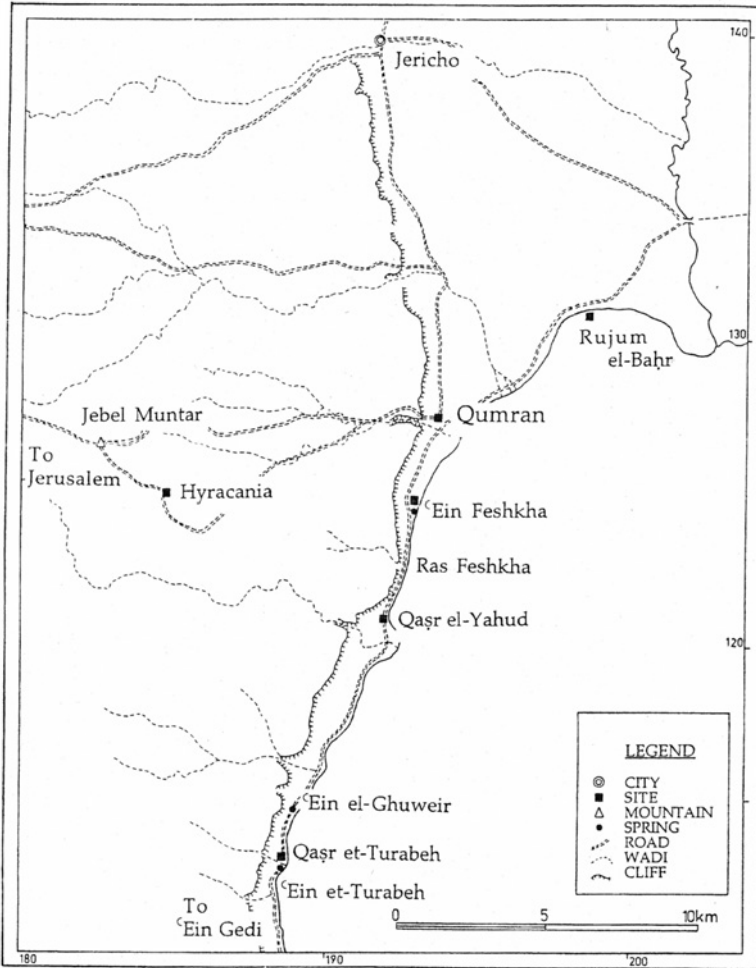


Fig. 9. Road map of the Qumran region (according to Hirschfeld).

As I have already shown in the beginning of this article, Horvat Mazad does not belong to this group either. The tower at this site is in the center of the installation, and it is not surrounded by a glacis.

The final site listed by Hirschfeld is Qaṣr et-Turabeh. It is located on the shore of the Dead Sea, about 12 km south of Khirbet Qumran (fig. 9). This site was excavated in its entirety by Pesah Bar-Adon in 1971. The square installation at this site includes a tower surrounded by a glacis attached to its southern wall (fig. 10). Alongside the western and northern walls of the structure there are rows of monoliths, i.e., stone

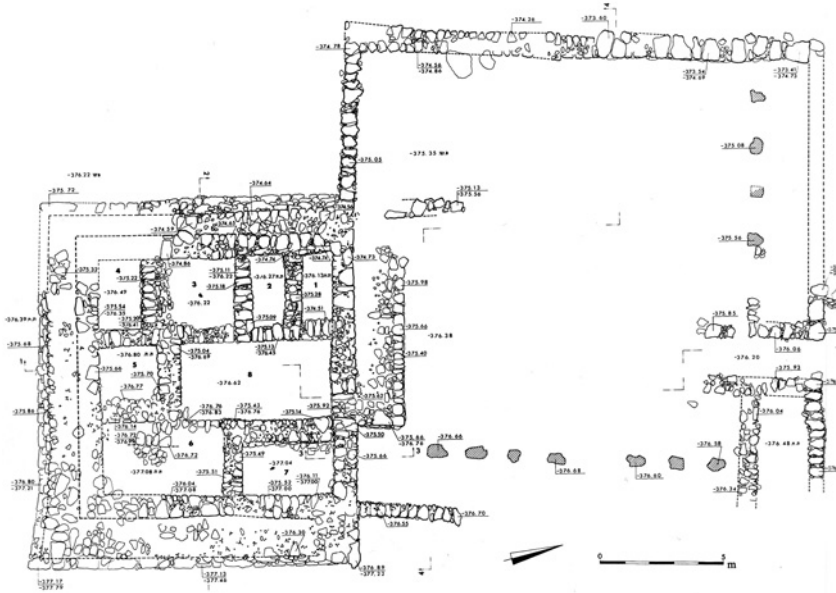


Fig. 10. Plan of Qasar et-Turabeh (according to Bar-Adon).

pillars, which are typical architectural features of the Iron Age. Bar-Adon found 37 indicative ceramic artifacts at the site. Thirty-two of these are from the Iron Age II, including a complete juglet. The items appear to date from the seventh century B.C.E. Bar-Adon found only five potsherds from the Hasmonean era in his excavation.<sup>15</sup> The architectural components as well as the pottery found at Qasar et-Turabeh indicate that the structure was originally built in the Iron Age II, and continued to function as a way station into the Second Temple period.

A comparison between Khirbet Qumran and the sites enumerated by Hirschfeld yields many more dissimilarities than similarities: None of the other sites that have a courtyard installation with a tower surrounded by a glacis feature ten *miqwaot*, as Qumran does.<sup>16</sup> The other sites do not have manufacturing installations like those found at Qumran (such as the potters' workshop). We have not found anything elsewhere similar to the

<sup>15</sup> P. Bar-Adon, "Excavations in the Judean Desert," *Atiqot* 9 (1989): 41–49 (Hebrew).

<sup>16</sup> Following R. Reich's identification of ten *miqwaot* at Qumran, see R. Reich, "Miqwa'ot (Ritual Baths) at Qumran," *Qadmoniot* 30 (1997): 125–128; see also J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 134–162.

dining hall and the dishes found in the southern part of Khirbet Qumran. We have not found another site that is in the proximity of a cemetery with over 1100 burials. Not one of the other sites has an aqueduct of the type found at Qumran. Thus, despite the architectonic similarity between Khirbet Qumran and the other four Judean sites with a courtyard tower and glacis, it is clear that Qumran is very different from these other sites.

To date, we have uncovered five Judean sites featuring a courtyard installation in which a courtyard surrounded by a glacis has been incorporated into one of its walls. These five sites may be placed into four categories: The installations at Rujum el-Hamiri and Aroer were constructed for defensive purposes. These sites were constructed at strategic locations, and it is likely that they were inhabited by professional soldiers who served in the Hasmonean and Herodian armies. In contrast, the installation at Ofarim was built for the defense of a private individual and his family, who resided near their orchards in the fruit harvesting season. Evidence for this can be found in the tiny dimensions of the structure at Ofarim, which is much smaller than any of the other installations. Khirbet el-Muraq was a country villa or a palace. As noted above, it is the only country villa to have been found in Judea from the Second Temple period. At Qumran, the courtyard installation with the tower and glacis served a religious community that used the site at the end of the Second Temple period. It appears that the idea of building courtyard structures protected by a tower and surrounded by a glacis began already in the First Temple period, at the end of Iron Age II, as indicated by the excavations of Qasr et-Turabeh.

I would like to conclude this study with a general statement about archeological method. From a scientific standpoint, it is not legitimate to ask "what would we have thought about the site of Khirbet Qumran if the scrolls had not been discovered?" No responsible archeologist would assert that it is preferable to determine the date of a particular structure by deliberately disregarding the artifacts found in it, such as pottery or coins. In the same way, it would not be valid to suggest that the walls of a building be ignored in evaluating the purpose of the structure. Archeological method demands that a proposed explanation address all of the finds uncovered at a particular site. Thus, attempting to explain the purpose of the buildings at Khirbet Qumran, while ignoring the scrolls found near the site, is a game that is not relevant to serious inquiry.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> H. Eshel, "Qumran Archaeology" (review of Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*), *JAOS* 125 (2005): 389–394.



In summary, in this note I first compared Khirbet Qumran to a way station from the Second Temple era that was found west of Jerusalem. We saw that this site, Horvat Mazad, bears no architectonic similarity to Qumran. I then compared Qumran to Khirbet el-Muraq, which is the only known country villa from the Second Temple period. And, again, we saw that these sites were very different from one another. Finally, we compared Khirbet Qumran to a group of sites that contain courtyard installations that were defended by a tower surrounded by a glacis. We saw that the architectonic similarities of these sites was not indicative of the functions of the sites, but that structures of this sort were used for a variety of purposes in the Second Temple period.



PARALLELS TO BE SEEN:  
MANUSCRIPTS IN JARS FROM QUMRAN AND EGYPT\*

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CYLINDRICAL JARS WITH AND WITHOUT  
MANUSCRIPTS FROM QUMRAN

The famous story of the Bedouin shepherd of the Ta'amireh tribe discovering ancient manuscripts in the caves at Qumran in 1947 does not provide us with secure archaeological documentation of the find. However, the Bedouin account is the only evidence at our disposal that manuscripts were actually found in jars in 1947 in the area (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, there are several other accounts of hiding and discovering manuscripts in jars around Eastern Mediterranean, Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, including the Bible and rabbinic literature. It is, for instance, known that manuscripts were found in jars near Jericho already in antiquity, and in the Dead Sea region in the Middle Ages, but there is no exact information as to whether these discoveries were associated with Qumran in specific.<sup>2</sup>

That the Bedouin's story of the Qumran discovery is largely credible is supported by the archaeological accounts from Egypt. Already in 1949 R. de Vaux,<sup>3</sup> followed by J.T. Milik in 1950<sup>4</sup> and B. Couroyer in

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<sup>1</sup> In his account the Bedouin, however, dates the discovery to 1945. See, e.g., W.H. Brownlee, "Muhammad ed-Deeb's Own Story of his Scroll Discovery," *JNES* 16 (1957): 236–239.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16.3, and O. Eissfeldt, "Der Anlass zur Entdeckung der Höhle und ihr ähnliche Vorgänge aus älterer Zeit," *TLZ* 74 (1949): 597–600 (597–598).

<sup>3</sup> R. de Vaux, "La grotte des manuscrits hébreux," *RB* 56 (1949): 586–609 (592).

<sup>4</sup> J.T. Milik, "Le Giarre dei Manoscritti della Grotta del Mar Morto e dell'Egitto Tolemaico," *Bib* 31 (1950): 504–508.



*Fig. 1.* Qumran Cave 1, the Site of the Bedouin Discovery. Photograph: K. Lönnqvist.

1955,<sup>5</sup> pointed to the fact that apart from Qumran the tradition of hiding manuscripts in jars is especially well testified in Egypt, and that the only excavated finds of scrolls in jars were from Egypt. The date of the excavated manuscript finds varied from the Ramesside to the Ptolemaic and early Christian era. These finds contained papyri and parchment documents written in Hieratic, Demotic, Aramaic, Greek and Coptic. Most of the finds are scrolls, while the later texts were often in codex-form, like the early Christian and Gnostic literature (see table 1).

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<sup>5</sup> B. Couroyer, "A propos des dépôts de manuscrits dans des jarres," *RB* 62 (195): 76–81.

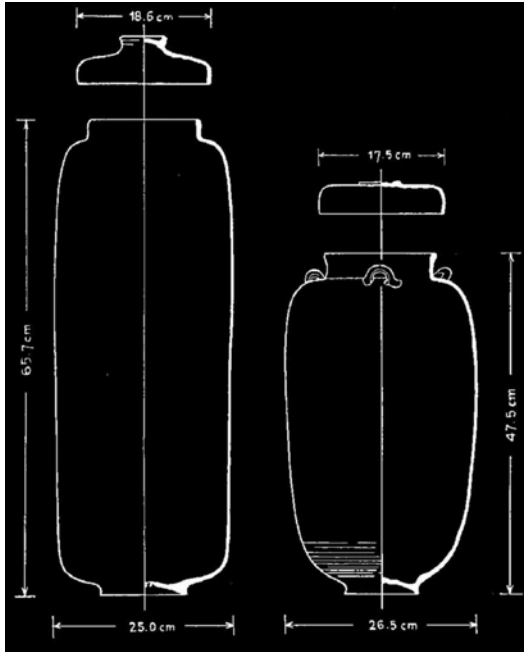


Fig. 2. The Qumran Cave 1 Jars Containing Manuscripts. (The Hebrew University Collection of Qumran Jars. After Sukenik 1955, 21.)

Table 1. A Short Summary of Jars Containing Scrolls or Codices Found in Egypt

Ramesses III (Hieratic)	1 occurrence
Sixth century B.C.E. (Saqqara and Hermopolis, both Aramaic)	2 occurrences
Ptolemaic/Hellenistic (1 Elephantine in Greek and Demotic, 1 Deir el-Medina in Greek and Demotic + 1 Deir el-Medina in Greek and Demotic)	3 occurrences
Early Christian/Gnostic texts (2 Nag Hammadi, 1 Fayum, 1 Kôm-Išgây)	4 occurrences

The two jars associated (fig. 2) with the original discovery of Cave 1 at Qumran were purchased by E. Sukenik with some manuscripts from a Bethlehem dealer for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> During the subsequent cave excavations at Qumran, L.G. Harding and R. de Vaux

<sup>6</sup> E.L. Sukenik, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955).

found in Cave 1 dozens of broken pottery pieces of the same type as these intact jars, further reinstating the Bedouin discovery. In addition, the linen wrappings that were still attached to some pieces of pottery support the authenticity of the Bedouin discovery.<sup>7</sup> The excavations by R. de Vaux<sup>8</sup> in the 1950s and by Y. Magen and Y. Peleg<sup>9</sup> in 1993–2004 at the settlement of Qumran have produced cylindrical jars of the type found in the nearby caves. The common cylindrical jar types, then, have been used as an argument to connect the scroll caves with the main settlement at Qumran.

In Qumran studies, the cylindrical jars were for long generally thought to be unique to the Qumran region in Palestine. But in the last few years R. Bar-Nathan has pointed to similarities between the Qumran storage jars and the ceramic repertoire of the Hasmonaean and Herodian winter palaces at Jericho and Masada.<sup>10</sup> In addition, according to J. Magness, there are cylindrical jars from Qalandiya north of Jerusalem and Quailba (Abila) in Jordan.<sup>11</sup> The Masada jar finds are, however, more comparable in shape to the cylindrical jars from Cave 1 than the Jericho jars. For example, the “bag-shaped” jar type from Jericho, despite sharing some common features, is not comparable to the two cylindrical jars in the Hebrew University Collection that came to be called the “scroll jars.”<sup>12</sup> Late Roman so-called bag-shaped amphora types of Peacock’s Class 48 (Zemer 53) produced in Palestine, Gaza and Egypt do also bear some resemblance to the Qumran jars in their elongated shape, but they are later than the Qumran and the Jericho finds.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, beside the Qumran region the only hitherto known comparable and contempo-

<sup>7</sup> G.L. Harding in *DJD* I (1955): 7.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon, eds., *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshka*, vol. I: *Album de photographies, répertoire du fonds photographique, synthèse des notes de chantier du Père Roland de Vaux OP* (NTOA.SA 1; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, “Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research, 1993–2004,” in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–113.

<sup>10</sup> R. Bar-Nathan, “Qumran and the Hasmonaean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho: The Implication of the Pottery Finds on the Interpretation of the Settlement at Qumran,” in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 263–277.

<sup>11</sup> J. Magness, “Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article,” *RevQ* 22 (2005–2006): 641–664 (662–663).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also *ibid.*, 662.

<sup>13</sup> D.P.S. Peacock and D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991).

aneous cylindrical jars from the Dead Sea area are those from Masada called Masada group 2. These jars belong to the so-called last occupation (68–73/74 C.E.)<sup>14</sup> of Masada by the Zealots, or the *sicarii* according to Flavius Josephus (*J.W.* 4.398–400; 7.275–279, 303–406). Although the shape of the Qumran and Masada jars is the same, *the Masada jars did not contain manuscripts*. Based on the evidence from Masada, Bar-Nathan explains that the cylindrical jars from Qumran are from the first century C.E. This generalizing conclusion is, on the one hand, problematic, as we shall see in due course when studying the analyses of the clay that the Qumran pottery was made of, the existing parallels of cylindrical jars, as well as the dating of the texts that were discovered inside the jars. It is true that Bar-Nathan is right concerning the dating of some later examples of cylindrical jars found at the settlement, but this conclusion does not necessarily apply to the date of all the cylindrical jars that came from the Qumran caves, or the origin of burying scrolls in jars at the site. Therefore, there is a further problem that needs to be considered, i.e., how did, in fact, the jar type end up in Masada: Was it actually acquired from Qumran by the last fighters? Or did some Qumran occupiers join the last fighters? Moreover, how should one then interpret the fate of the cities in the vicinity such as Ein Gedi (Engaddi), which the *sicarii* destroyed?<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, Y. Yadin found on Masada a version of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Mas1k) comparable to that from the Qumran Cave 4 (4Q400–405) and Cave 11 (11Q17). Yadin indeed believed that the occupiers of Qumran were Essenes and that the find from Masada was a proof that some Essenes participated in the Jewish revolt against Romans and joined the last fighters of the Zealots/*sicarii* on Masada.<sup>16</sup> J. Magness agrees with Yadin's deduction.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, in the light of the present evidence we would only conclude that the common jar type and the manuscript find indicate that there were some contacts with the last occupants of Masada and Qumran.

J. Gunneweg and M. Balla analysed the origin of (the clay of) 61 jars from Qumran Caves 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 28, 31, 38 and 39 by using the Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA).<sup>18</sup> Of the 61 jars studied, 34 jars

<sup>14</sup> Bar-Nathan, "Qumran and the Hasmonaean and Herodian Winter Palaces."

<sup>15</sup> Josephus, *J.W.* 4.402.

<sup>16</sup> Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and Zealots' Last Stand* (New York: Random House, 1966), 172–174.

<sup>17</sup> Magness, "Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article," 663.

<sup>18</sup> J. Gunneweg and M. Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis: Scroll Jars and Common Ware," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha*, vol. II: *Études d'anthropologie, de physique et*

were of the elongated cylindrical shape—often called “scroll jars.” The height of the jars varied from 35 cm to 78 cm. Some jars had handles and/or lids, whereas others lacked them. Similar jars were also analyzed from the Qumran settlement, but the function of these cylindrical jars discovered in the settlement—according to the authors—may have been different as the jars are of different size and thus may have been used for storage of other materials. Also in J. Magness’ opinion the cylindrical jars from Qumran were used for storing other materials such as food and drink beside manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> The NAA samples of the clays point to the fact that generally the jars and ceramics from the settlement and caves were locally produced: probably in the Jericho-Dead Sea region or near Hebron from the Mozza clay, not representing the *terra rossa* type of clay. However, there is an intriguing but unidentified clay substance in a small group of Qumran jars which may have come from elsewhere. It should furthermore be noted that there are clear examples of clay “fingerprints” typical of the Nabataean pottery among the other types of jars from Qumran.<sup>20</sup>

#### MANUSCRIPT JARS FROM EGYPT: THE DEIR EL-MEDINA FINDS

It is apparent that J.T. Milik’s pioneering article on the similarities between the Qumran jars and the jars from Deir el-Medina published in 1950 has fallen on “deaf ears” because it was written in Italian.<sup>21</sup> Milik emphasized, as we did in 2002,<sup>22</sup> that by then—before the publications

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*de chimie* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; NTOA.SA 3; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 3–57.

<sup>19</sup> Magness, “Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article,” 663.

<sup>20</sup> Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis.”

<sup>21</sup> See n. 4 above.

<sup>22</sup> Milik, “Giarre dei Manoscritti,” 507–508 says that: “*Vasi di tipo analogo ci sono però nell’Egitto contemporaneo*,” or that jars that are typologically similar and contemporary are from Egypt; and “*la similitudine morfologica delle giarre di Dêr et-Medîna e del Mar Morto è evidente*,” or that the morphological similarities between the Deir el-Medina jars and the Dead Sea jars are obvious; that “*L’esame più esteso della ceramica ellenistica dell’Egitto rileverà senza dubbio raffronti più numerosi e più esatti e confermerà con ogni probabilità l’ipotesi della provenienza dall’Egitto di questo tipo di vasellame della ceramica palestinese*” or in English “that a more fuller examination of the Hellenistic pottery of Egypt finds without any doubt so numerous and exact comparisons and confirms in all probability the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin for this type of Palestinian pottery vessel.” See also M. Lönnqvist and K. Lönnqvist, *Archaeology of the Hidden Qumran: The New Paradigm* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002), 73–78.



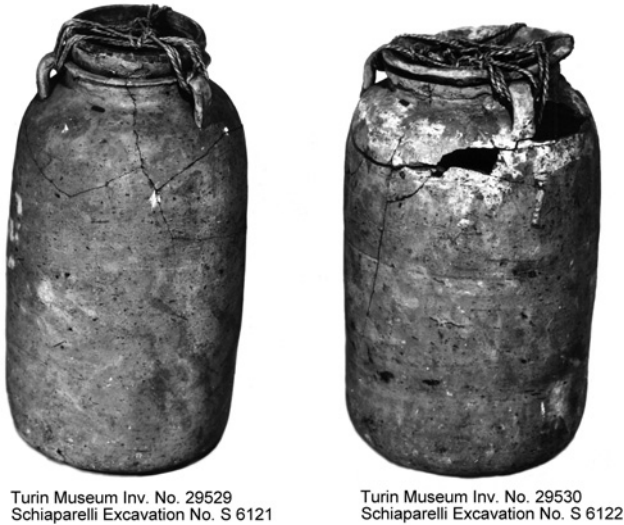


Fig. 3. The Deir el-Medina Jars from Schiaparelli's Expedition to Egypt in 1905. Published with permission of The Egyptian Museum at Turin, Italy.

of other parallels from Israel—the closest typological and functional parallels to the smaller Qumran jar type from Cave 1 were found in Egypt. Milik's list of Egyptian parallels contained two cylindrical vessels that are now housed in the Egyptian Museum in Turin in Italy (fig. 3).

In 1905, E. Schiaparelli's excavation team found these two clay jars still closed and sealed with ropes in a house at the village of Deir el-Medina in Western Thebes in Egypt. The house was associated with a large tomb that may have been a part of the Temple of Hathor. An archive of Greek and Demotic papyri was recovered from the two jars.<sup>23</sup> The authors of this paper had an opportunity to closely study these Deir el-Medina jars in the Egyptian Museum of Turin in Italy in 2005.<sup>24</sup> Both jars have three small

<sup>23</sup> G. Botti, *L'Archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh* (2 vols.; Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Prima: Monumenti e Testi 1; Florence: Le Monnier, 1967). B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 20; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1948), 27, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Schiaparelli's two jars meet the following description: Jar A (Inv. No. 29,529), height 39 cm, diameter 23 cm, thickness 0.8–0.6 cm. The lid is of "anelliform" being 13 cm in diameter. Jar B (Inv. No. 29,530) is 39 cm in height, with a diameter of 24.5–24.3 cm and thickness of 0.5 cm. The diameter of the lid is 17.5 cm. The smaller Hebrew University jar that is thought to originate in Qumran Cave 1 is 47.5 cm in height, 26.5 cm in diameter



Fig. 4. The Deir el-Medina Jar No. 29,529 from Schiaparelli's Expedition to Egypt in 1905. Published with permission of The Egyptian Museum at Turin, Italy. Photograph: K. Lönnqvist.

loop-handles close to the neck of the vessel. At the time of the original discovery, the handles of the jars were used to close the lid with a rope. The clay of both jars is fine *rossa* with some white inclusions, typical of the Mediterranean *terra rossa* pottery. The function of the Deir el-Medina jars was to preserve a family archive, and as such probably intended to be a *portable archive*. These jars contained altogether 33 papyrus scrolls, 95 folios of which nine documents are in Greek and 45 in Demotic. The papyri dated between 188 and 101 B.C.E. include liturgical texts, deeds of sale, marital and divorce contracts, property agreements of funerary organisations, cancellation of debts, etc. The manuscripts found in the jars are thus from the Ptolemaic/Hellenistic era, and secure a date for both the use of the private archive and its subsequent deposit.<sup>25</sup>

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and its lid is 17.5 cm in width (fig. 1 above). The jar is therefore 8.5 cm taller than the Deir el-Medina jars and ca. 2 cm wider in diameter.

<sup>25</sup> Botti, *L'Archivio demotico*.

With the kind assistance of Dr. Marcella Trapani from the Egyptian Museum at Turin, we also discovered in 2005 that, in addition to Schiaparelli's 1905 find, another family archive had been discovered in jars in 1922 by E.B. Coxe Jr. under C. Fisher's archaeological expedition at Deir el-Medina in a house dating to the Ptolemaic period. This find was unknown to R. de Vaux and J. Milik. The expedition found altogether 32 Demotic papyri in two jars (of "beet form") in a house built against the pylon of the nineteenth dynasty tomb at Dra'-Abu-el-Naga. The documents dated from the years 317-217 B.C.E. also being Ptolemaic/Hellenistic. With regard to the contents, the find resembles Schiaparelli's discovery: leases of houses, marriage contracts and divorce settlements, statements of accounts, mortgages, gifts and services for mummies. The jars and some of the manuscripts are now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia, some in the Cairo Museum, but unfortunately, we have no information about the pottery vessels.<sup>26</sup>

#### MANUSCRIPT JARS FROM EGYPT: THE ELEPHANTINE FINDS

The Deir el-Meidna jars are not isolated examples in the material culture of ancient Egypt. In addition, it is elucidating to bring forth the archaeological fact that some Greek and Demotic papyri were also found in jars in 1906 during the German excavations at Elephantine in Upper Egypt. There were five papyri dating from 311/310-284/283 B.C.E. and nineteen from the years 225/224-223/222 B.C.E.<sup>27</sup>—the dates falling more or less into the same period as the latter finds by E.B. Coxe Jr. and C. Fisher from Deir el-Medina. Because these Greek and Demotic papyri from

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<sup>26</sup> C.S. Fisher, "A Group of Theban Tombs," *University of Pennsylvania: The Museum Journal* 15 (1924): 28-49; N. Reich, "Marriage and Divorce in Ancient Egypt: Papyrus Documents Discovered at Thebes by the Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition to Egypt," *University of Pennsylvania: The Museum Journal* 15 (1924): 50-57; repr. (with corrections) in *Mizraim* 1 (1933): 135-139; M. El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes: Demotic Papyri in the Philadelphia and Cairo Museums from the Ptolemaic Period*, vol. 1: *Transliteration and Translation* (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 1959). See also J.R. Abercrombie, "A History of the Acquisition of Papyri and Related Written Material in the University (of Pennsylvania) Museum" (ca. 1980; published only electronically: [http://www.sas.upenn.edu/religious\\_studies/rak/ppen/paphist.htm](http://www.sas.upenn.edu/religious_studies/rak/ppen/paphist.htm)).

<sup>27</sup> O. Rubensohn, *Elephantine-Papyri* (Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen in Berlin: Griechische Urkunden: Sonderheft; Berlin: Weidmann, 1907), 4-5, 34. The jars were oval and elongated, 32 cm in height.

Elephantine were found in jars, E.G. Kraeling, who published some of the Jewish Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, suspected that they were probably originally stored and found in jars owing to their exceptionally good state of preservation.<sup>28</sup> They had been purchased by C.E. Wilbour from locals in 1893<sup>29</sup> in the same manner as Dr. Sukenik had done with the Qumran manuscripts, and therefore the exact circumstances of the discovery are unknown. It should be noted that these Aramaic papyri from Elephantine in the Brooklyn Museum collection date from the fifth century B.C.E. and belonged to the Jewish military colonists living at Elephantine. Other fifth century documents of the Jewish colony were also published by A.E. Cowley.<sup>30</sup> Although these Jewish manuscripts are earlier than the manuscript jar finds made at Elephantine, Deir el-Medina and Qumran, Kraeling's suggestion that the manuscripts at the Brooklyn Museum collection had been originally stored in jars, does not have to be very far-fetched if we look at the finds in table 1. There are two known occurrences of Aramaic texts in jars dating from the sixth century B.C.E. found at Saqqara and Hermopolis.

The Persian domination of Egypt obviously influenced the contents of the writings of the Jewish colonies, and the languages used. As exemplified in the Elephantine documents, Aramaic and Greek were commonly used in the area in official texts in the Persian and Graeco-Roman period. The same situation obtains at Qumran even though the majority of the Qumran texts were composed in Hebrew. The Aramaic used in the Elephantine papyri belongs to the so-called Imperial Aramaic used during the Persian era until the conquest of Alexander the Great, after which Greek largely replaced Aramaic in official texts in the Near East.<sup>31</sup> The Qumran Aramaic dialect contains, in contrast to Imperial Aramaic, fixed Hebrew loanwords, but no Greek ones.<sup>32</sup> As far as the writing materials are concerned, the Elephantine texts were written on papyrus, which is,

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<sup>28</sup> E.G. Kraeling, ed., *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 51.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>30</sup> A.E. Cowley, ed., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923).

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g. K. Beyer, *The Aramaic Language: Its Distribution and Subdivision* (trans. J.F. Healey; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 14–19.

<sup>32</sup> C. Müller-Kessler and F. Schiller *apud* K. Lönnqvist, "Winds of Change: Impressions from an International Conference called: *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context, Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*," QC 16 (2008): 1–13 (13).

in fact, frequently encountered at Qumran, too (also at Cave 1), although the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls were written on parchment. Furthermore, it is important to recall here that the Dead Sea area, like the rest of Palestine, was under Ptolemaic rule for an entire century in the Hellenistic period. The foreign domination continued in the Roman era, when Mark Antony bequeathed Jericho and her balsam groves with other areas to Queen Cleopatra, the Ptolemaic ruler of Egypt.<sup>33</sup>

As contacts and movement of people between Jewish communities and under different political dominations were common in antiquity, influences were naturally transmitted. Papyrus Padua 1, for instance, indicates that there were contacts between the Jews of Elephantine and those of another garrison city at Migdol in the Delta region.<sup>34</sup> After the Jewish temple of Elephantine was destroyed,<sup>35</sup> Jews from Elephantine may have relocated to areas such as the Delta region whereas others may even have returned to Palestine. The Jewish philosopher Philo the Alexandrian describes the life of the community of Jewish Therapeutae at Marea, another military colony in the Delta area.<sup>36</sup> These Jewish Therapeutae had doctrinal teachings and customs similar to the ones we encounter in the Qumran texts, and which the contemporary Essenes in Palestine had.<sup>37</sup>

#### MANUSCRIPT JARS FROM EGYPT: THE NAG HAMMADI FINDS

The provenance studies of the Qumran “scroll jars” conducted by J. Gunneweg and M. Balla do not take into account Milik’s previously mentioned references to the typologically and morphologically comparable jars with manuscripts found in Egypt. The authors only mention a later jar find including Gnostic and Coptic manuscripts from Chenoboskion

<sup>33</sup> Josephus, *J.W.* 1.361–362.

<sup>34</sup> See also E. Bresciani, “Papiri aramaici egiziani di epoca persiana presso il Museo Civico di Padova,” *RSO* 35 (1960): 11–24.

<sup>35</sup> A letter dating from 407 B.C.E. is a petition for authorization by Elephantine Jews to build a new temple to replace the old one, and includes a detailed description of the destruction of the first one. See, J.B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East*, vol. 1: *An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 279–281. See also Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 31.

<sup>36</sup> Philo, *On the Contemplative Life*.

<sup>37</sup> See G. Vermes and M.D. Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Oxford Centre Textbooks 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), *passim*.

in Egypt.<sup>38</sup> This find from Egypt, also listed by Milik, is obviously the same as the Nag Hammadi (or Naj Ḥammādi) discovery, as the site was called Chenoboskion in antiquity. The discovery of the famous Nag Hammadi Christian apocryphal and Gnostic codices in Upper Egypt in 1945 is a surprisingly similar story to the contemporary Qumran finds.<sup>39</sup>

The Bedouins at Nag Hammadi found a jar containing ancient manuscripts while digging for fertilizers, but it was destroyed and what remains is a description and drawing.<sup>40</sup> The colour of the bowl is deep reddish brown, connecting it to the *terra rossa* of the Deir el-Medina jars in Turin. The height is comparable with the taller jar from Qumran Cave 1,<sup>41</sup> but it is apparent that the Nag Hammadi jar was not as narrow as the Cave 1 jar. The Bedouin drawing points clearly to the existence of a wide amphora-type vessel which allegedly accommodated the original manuscripts. As far as the Nag Hammadi finds are concerned, they also contained much later religious texts, though not Jewish, but Gnostic Christian. The esoteric nature of both the Qumran texts and the Nag Hammadi texts has been noticed by several scholars.

#### THE STORAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS FOR THEIR PRESERVATION

In the cases of Qumran and Egypt the dry desert climate has been a major factor contributing to the preservation of the ancient manuscripts, though it is by no means the only factor. Both the Qumran jars and the Deir el-Medina jars, which are cylindrical in shape, have pottery saucers or bowls as a lid. In Qumran the bowls were turned upside down to protect the contents. As mentioned, the Nag Hammadi jar had a comparable lid—now in the Schøyen collection in Norway—to the

<sup>38</sup> Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis." See also J. Michniewicz and M. Krzyśko, "The Provenance of Scroll Jars in the Light of Archaeometric Investigations," in *Khirbet Qumrān et 'Ain Feshkha*, vol. II, 59–99.

<sup>39</sup> J.M. Robinson, "The Discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library and its Archaeological Context," *BA* 42 (1979): 206–224.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* The Bedouins describe its size as having been 60 cm in height, 30 cm in diameter at the bottom and the mouth having been 15–20 cm. Only the lid is preserved and is of a parallel bowl-type, such as the Qumran jar lids. The lid of the Nag Hammadi find belongs to the Schøyen Collection (MS 1804/7) in Oslo, Norway. It is 23.3 cm in diameter, the ring foot being 7.7 cm in diameter at the base. The description of the jar and the bowl-like lid is on pp. 212–213.

<sup>41</sup> Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, fig. 6.

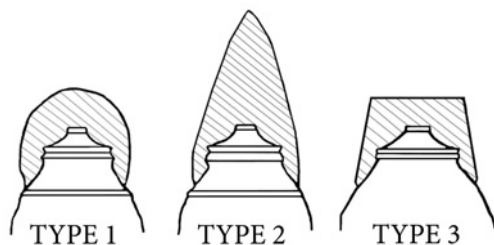


Fig. 5. Types of Clay Jar-Sealings and Lids in Archaic Egypt. Following Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, 210 fig. 123. Redrawn and digitized by K. Lönnqvist.

Qumran bowls. Outside Qumran a single bowl of the type used in the jars allegedly found in Cave 1 has also been discovered in Beit Zur on the way to Bethlehem.<sup>42</sup>

It should be noted that already in the beginning of the First Dynasty in Egypt, it was common to seal large wine jars by placing a round bowl-like pottery cap in an inverted position over the mouth (see fig. 5). It could have been further sealed with a lump of clay to protect the contents.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the Deir el-Medina jars have loop handles near the neck of the vessel comparable to the smaller jar purchased by Sukenik to the Hebrew University (fig. 2). In the case of the Deir el-Medina jars the loop handles functioned to tighten the closing mechanism of the lid with a rope or a thong. It is likely that this was also the case in the smaller jar from Cave 1 at the Hebrew University collection. This closing mechanism prevented, e.g., animals from entering the jars.

#### MANUSCRIPTS DATING JARS

A distribution map of the jars discovered containing manuscripts from the Graeco-Roman era (see fig. 6.) demonstrates that the archaeological finds from the period concentrate in Egypt. The Egyptian finds with dated manuscripts discovered *in situ* provide a secure dating for the use of the jars. The closing date of the deposit of the Deir el-Medina jars and archive found by Schiaparelli's team is ca. 101 B.C.E. (*terminus post*

<sup>42</sup> R.W. Funk, "The 1957 Campaign at Beth-Zur," *BASOR* 150 (1958): 8–20.

<sup>43</sup> W.B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt: Culture and Civilization in Egypt Five Thousand Years Ago* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 207–210.



Fig. 6. Archaeological Find Locations for Jars Containing Scrolls from the Graeco-Roman Period. White Coloured Circles: Qumran, Deir el-Medina and Elephantine.

*quem*), but this does not rule out the possibility that this private portable archive with the cylindrical jar types was already in use in 188 B.C.E. and remained so until the archive was closed. The dating of the manuscripts found in the Deir el-Medina jars demonstrates that the jar type is most likely dating from the second century B.C.E. of the Ptolemaic era.

It is believed that the famous Isaiah scroll from Qumran Cave 1 (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>) was originally deposited in the jars which Sukenik bought. Other documents associated with the Qumran Cave 1 discovery are the *War Scroll* (1QM) and fragments of the *Thanksgiving Scroll (Hodayot)* (1QH<sup>a</sup>).<sup>44</sup> In addition, the finds from Cave 1 also include the *Community*

<sup>44</sup> Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*.



*Rule* (1QS) and *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab). As the manuscript discoveries from Deir el-Medina consisted of family archives, the contents are not directly comparable with the Qumran texts that belonged to a religious community. Instead, it is possible to compare the composition of the Deir el-Medina archives with the fifth century B.C.E. Jewish Aramaic papyri from Elephantine in Upper Egypt.<sup>45</sup> However, apart from civil and judicial transactions, the Deir el-Medina papyri did also contain some liturgical and religious documents which—as religious documents—are comparable with the *Thanksgiving Scroll* from Qumran Cave 1 (1QH<sup>a</sup>).

The radiocarbon date of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>) is 356–103 BC, with calibrated age ranges 250–103 Cal BC (with 76% probability). Palaeographic studies have dated it to 150–125 B.C.E., which is closer to the lower calibrated radiocarbon age. The *Community Rule* (1QS) dates to 2041±68 BP and *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) written on papyrus dates to 2054±22 BP. The former is calibrated to 206 Cal BC–Cal AD 111 (with 98% probability), and the latter to 120–5 Cal BC (with 97% probability). The former age, and part of the latter, is within the range of the lower calibrated radiocarbon date of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>) and is in accordance with its palaeographic dating. The lower calibrated radiocarbon ages of the *Community Rule* (1QS) and *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) around the turn of the millennium and the Common Era, however, could even indicate a date towards the end of the Qumran settlement and the First Jewish Revolt (66–73 C.E.).<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to observe that the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), which was probably stored in jars, is apparently of the same age as the second century B.C.E. jars from Deir el-Medina. However, the dating of the manuscripts found in jars by E.B. Coxe Jr. under C. Fisher's archaeological expedition concurs with the higher calibrated radiocarbon age of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>), but not with the lower one or the latest palaeographic dates, which agree with the Schiaparelli find.

Comparison of the radiocarbon dates of the Qumran texts from Cave 1 with the dating of the Deir el-Medina cylindrical jars comprising manuscripts allows us to tentatively date the Cave 1 jars in the Hebrew University collection to the second century B.C.E., i.e., to the Hellenistic

<sup>45</sup> See nn. 28–30 above.

<sup>46</sup> A.J.T. Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11–19, esp. table 2. See also J. van der Plicht, "Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on 'Redating,'" *DSD* 14 (2007): 77–89, esp. 83.

era. This is also the dating which Milik originally supported, although he did not have the latest radiocarbon datings from the Cave 1 manuscripts available.

### CONCLUSIONS

The Hellenistic date of the use of the Deir El-Medina archives discovered by Schiapparelli's team, and the calibrated radiocarbon dates as well as the palaeographic dates for the texts from Qumran Cave 1 are in agreement. In our view this implies that the jars—at least the smaller comparable one—allegedly found in Cave 1 at Qumran and now in the Hebrew University collection date from the second century B.C.E., like Milik originally suggested. In the light of this evidence we may suggest that the dating of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> to ca. 180–125 B.C.E. is more plausible than a third century B.C.E. date, and this could also be the case with *Pesher Habakkuk*. This has interesting repercussions as far as the establishment of the Qumran community and settlement is concerned, according to de Vaux's original view. The authors of this paper agree with a mid-second century B.C.E. date for the founding of the Qumran community, also suggested by the recently published numismatic evidence from Qumran, possibly even a date as early as the first half of the second century B.C.E.<sup>47</sup>

The question remains whether the scrolls of Cave 1 were written in or outside the Qumran community/region. That the Qumran Cave 1 jars—at least the smaller one—seem to date from the second century B.C.E. poses considerable complications, for instance, to the theory that second century B.C.E. or older scrolls would have been hidden during the First Jewish War in 68–73/74 C.E. in centuries old ceramic vessels. We have no evidence either in favour of the view that the people, who inhabited Qumran in the main occupation period, in the first century C.E. (Period II) would have used “old” ceramic types from the second century B.C.E. This discrepancy of storage of manuscripts in jars during the First Revolt was also noted in J. Gunneweg's and M. Balla's studies. If jars and documents would have been hidden in the caves at such a very late date would, nevertheless, not change the plausibility that the custom to store manuscripts in jars had been introduced at an earlier date and

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<sup>47</sup> K. Lönnqvist and M. Lönnqvist, “The Numismatic Chronology of Qumran: Fact and Fiction,” *NumC* 166 (2006): 121–165.

that jars may have served as *portable archives* or as *genizoth* over a longer period of time.

The cylindrical jar type used for the storage of the Qumran Cave 1 manuscripts is typical of the Dead Sea area in Palestine, and there is no reason to reject the notion that the Masada jar of the same type could originally have come from Qumran. As far as the archaeological evidence is concerned, Egypt also provides cylindrical jars containing manuscripts from the same period, and the archaeological evidence of the storage of the manuscripts in jars with particular closing mechanisms goes way back in Egypt.



## BURIAL IN THE BOOK OF TOBIT AND IN QUMRAN

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“Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His pious ones.”

(Ps 116:15)

The type of burials found at Qumran differ from the common way of burying the dead in the Second Temple period.<sup>1</sup> Instead of the well-built mostly rock-cut family tombs, the community used very simple shaft tombs. We can search for the reasons why the community used this type of burial, but as only a small number (ca. 4.5 percent) of the tombs have been excavated up to now, it is difficult to draw significant conclusions on the basis of the unearthed material.<sup>2</sup> If we accept the common view that the Essenes lived at the site of Khirbet Qumran, we must probably speak about an ascetic community, living according to the rules set down in the *Rule of the Community* and the *Temple Scroll*, etc.

### THE CEMETERY OF KHIRBET QUMRAN<sup>3</sup>

The cemetery of Khirbet Qumran reflects some kind of deliberateness in the burials,<sup>4</sup> which differs from the average Second Temple method. Behind this we should expect some imprint in the written texts from

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<sup>1</sup> For the most detailed and complex introduction to the burial customs of the Second Temple period see R. Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (JSJSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> For the detailed history of research of the cemetery of Khirbet Qumran see: B. Schultz, “The Qumran Cemetery: 150 Years of Research,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 194–228.

<sup>3</sup> The main cemetery is located 30–40 meters east of the settlement (fits the Mishnaic law: *m. B. Bat.* 2:9), and divided into several parts: three extensions (so-called “fingers”), to the north, east and south; and the so-called north hill. The cemetery contains about 1100–1200 graves, well arranged in ordered rows, most of them oriented north-south. On the surface, the graves are marked by heaps of stones, and a large headstone. The tombs are simple shaft tombs, dug into the marl-terrace, to an average depth of 0.8–2.5 meters.

Qumran. But there we can only find a few allusions to the belief in afterlife and the proper way of caring for the corpse. One finds hardly anything about the proper way of burying it or about the cemetery. The lack of textual evidence could theoretically be solved by appeal to the archaeological evidence, but in the case of the Qumran cemetery the data are limited.

In order to find out any information about the possible intentional arrangement of the burials in the Qumran cemetery we have to look for parallels. The search for archaeological parallels—i.e., similar burials and cemeteries—has already been done.<sup>5</sup> The parallels discovered share three general similarities: the arrangement of the tombs, the lack of remarkable custom of placing grave-goods with the corpse, and the typical simple execution of the mostly individual tombs. But besides these similarities it is difficult to discover any shared intentions or other matching-points. To explain this method of burying the dead in this simple way, scholars mainly mention two possibilities: these tombs were common prior in time to the elaborated rock-cut tombs,<sup>6</sup> or they were used by the poor of the settlements.<sup>7</sup> In the case of Qumran I can support the second,

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At the bottom of the graves, a *loculus* (burial niche) was dug out on one side, where the one body was placed. This *loculus* was sealed by stone slabs, or mud bricks, then filled up with soil. For a more detailed description of the tombs see: J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 168–175; Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs*, 13–20; H. Eshel et al., “New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 135–165.

<sup>4</sup> The similarity of the elaboration and the strictly ordered rows of the graves reflect that these burials were not accidental, but well planned and organized.

<sup>5</sup> P. Bar-Adon, “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea,” *BASOR* 227 (1977): 1–25; H. Eshel and Z. Greenhut, “Hiam el Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judaeen Desert,” *RB* 100 (1993): 252–259; K.D. Politis, “Rescue Excavations in the Nabatean Cemetery at Khirbat Qazone 1996–1997,” *ADAJ* 62 (1998): 611–614; idem, “The Nabatean Cemetery at Khirbet Qazone,” *NEA* 62 (1999): 1–28; idem, “The Discovery and Excavation of the Khirbet Qazone Cemetery and its Significance Relative to Qumran,” in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden, Brill, 2006), 213–219; É. Puech, “The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumran and ‘Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife,” *BASOR* 312 (1998): 21–36; B. Zissu, “‘Qumran Type’ Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of an Essene Community?” *DSD* 5 (1998): 158–171; idem, “Odd Tomb Out: Has Jerusalem’s Essene Community Been Found?” *BAR* 25/2 (1999): 50–55.

<sup>6</sup> A possible suggestion of it is to be read in Puech, “Necropolises,” 28.

<sup>7</sup> J.E. Taylor, “The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and the Women’s Presence at the Site,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 285–323 (312–313); Zissu, “‘Qumran Type’ Graves in Jerusalem,” 166.

because—if we accept the common view, that the community lived at the site of Khirbet Qumran from 200 B.C.E. until 70 C.E.<sup>8</sup>—in terms of time, the community already should have become familiar with the practice of burying the dead into caves, from which they had enough in the vicinity.

The second reason—as we will see below—is easier to explain; also the individuality of the tombs supports it. As Rachel Hachlili notes: “Qumran is a desert site suitable for people seeking isolation.”<sup>9</sup> The community of the Essenes living at the site could be something like a sect or monastic order, living an ascetic life of poverty. If this was the common way of burying the dead of the people who could not afford themselves a costly burial into rock-cut tombs in the Second Temple Period, it is reasonable to accept the explanation. Even if the skeletal research on the bones from the cemetery of Qumran shows that people buried there came from an upper layer of the society,<sup>10</sup> they most probably did not bury their dead because they could not have afforded themselves the costly burial into rock-cut tombs, but because they did not want to do so. Nevertheless, Brian Schultz has challenged this interpretation saying: “One striking difference [between the similar burials and the Qumran cemetery], however, is the high degree of uniformity in the orientation of the burials at Qumran, higher than at any other of the cemeteries, even of Khirbet Qazone where all the burials are said to be north-south.”<sup>11</sup>

At this point, in order to better understand the burial practices of the Qumran community, we must also look for parallels in written sources. As we do not know any texts belonging to the group living at Qumran besides the scrolls from the site, we can only try to examine the sources possibly written in the same period. As some of the texts found in Qumran were most probably written before the establishment of the community at the Khirbeh, the criteria for being contemporary can be a date of composition somewhere between the end of the third century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., i.e., the end of the Second Temple period.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The basic periodization of the chronology of Qumran was made by Roland de Vaux. According to this the first period of habitation (Period Ia) began in ca. 130 B.C.E., and the last (Period III) ended in 73 or 74 B.C.E. Later Jodi Magness dated the beginning of habitation to ca. 100–50 B.C.E. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 68.

<sup>9</sup> Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs*, 476.

<sup>10</sup> O. Röhrer-Ertl, F. Rohrhirsch, and D. Hahn, “Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran, insbesondere die Funde der Campagne 1956,” *RevQ* 19 (1999): 3–46 (13).

<sup>11</sup> Schultz, “The Qumran Cemetery,” 198.

<sup>12</sup> About the problem and method of dating the texts from Qumran see e.g.: J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 15–20; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), XXIII–XXV.

In this paper my aim is to search for possible parallels in the book of Tobit.<sup>13</sup> In the history of research of the book of Tobit Qumran has its own importance. Before the discoveries at Qumran, Tobit was known only in Greek versions. The Aramaic and Hebrew fragments of the book from Cave 4 changed that. It is especially significant that the Aramaic fragments cover 42 percent of the verses of the longer Greek text from codex Sinaiticus and the Hebrew covers 13 percent of them.<sup>14</sup> There are no significant differences between the text of the Septuagint and the fragments from the caves, but the fact that the community read the book has its own significance. Origen wrote in his *Epistula ad Africanum* (240 c.E.), that “Concerning it [the book of Tobit], we must recognise that Jews do not use Tobit.”<sup>15</sup> But, as we can see after the discovery of the Tobit fragments from Qumran, at least some Jews did.

#### DEATH AND BURIAL IN THE BOOK OF TOBIT

Death plays an important role in the book of Tobit. It is not merely one motif among others in the story, but a thread running through the entire book. It comes out not only in Tobit’s pious acts of burying dead fellow-Jews killed in the Assyrian court, but also as a central motif of the proper burial of the corpse of the ancestors, or the importance of the only son for the parents to carry out their desire of the proper final rest. The desire for a proper final resting place is well represented in the prayer of Tobit:

So now deal with me as you will; command my spirit to be taken from me, so that I may be released from the face of the earth and become dust. For it is better for me to die than to live, because I have had to listen to undeserved insults, and great is the sorrow within me. Command, O Lord,

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Especially about the dating of the *Temple Scroll* see: Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, vol. 1: *Introduction* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 386–390.

<sup>13</sup> The general agreement about the dating of the book is the third or early second century B.C.E. For a detailed analysis of the problem of dating the book of Tobit see: e.g. F. Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit* (New York: Harper, 1958), 21–27; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 51–52; B. Ego, *Buch Tobit* (JSRZ II/6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 899–900; eadem, “Tobit (Buch),” *TRE* 33:573–574. For the whole text and the fragments see: J. Fitzmyer in *DJD* XIX (1995): 1–76.

<sup>14</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, “Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–675 (659).

<sup>15</sup> Origen, *Ep. Afr.* 19 (SC 302:562).



that I be released from this distress; release me to go to the eternal home, and do not, O Lord, turn your face away from me. For it is better for me to die than to see so much distress in my life and to listen to insults.

(Tob 3:6 NRSV)

In the book of Tobit the reader meets two main aspects, or levels of burials. The first is the burial as a pious act, honouring the dead.<sup>16</sup> This act of Tobit is listed among others already at the beginning of the book after the taking of the firstfruits and tithes to Jerusalem, the almsgiving, and the exemplary family life. These passages are the following: 1:17–18; 2:3–8; 4:3–4; 6:15; 14:2, 10–13. It occurs for the first time in 1:17: “if I saw the dead body of anyone of my nation tossed beyond the wall of Nineveh, I would bury it.” It reflects “the Jewish horror of corpses left unburied,<sup>17</sup> especially those of fellow Jews.”<sup>18</sup> Later also the proper way of burial is emphasized.<sup>19</sup> This verse is the first, of which we have an Aramaic fragment from Cave 4: “the wall of Nineveh” (4Q196 1), which surely must be a part of the verse quoted. Verse 18 tells the same, but the accent is on the new Assyrian king Sennacherib, who forbade burying the corpses and pursued Tobit, that increased the risk of Tobit’s deeds. In chapter 2 the son is also involved: he is the one who notices the body. Here we can read a whole burial-story with all its preparation and after-effects, to which I will return later. In chapters 4, 6 and 14 the burial is mentioned and discussed in another way: the proper burial of the father and the mother by the son. Tobit asks his son several times to bury him and his wife after their death properly. It was an obligation

<sup>16</sup> As for the burial as ethical task in the book of Tobit see: J. Bolyki, “Burial as an Ethical Task in the Book of Tobit, in the Bible and in the Greek Tragedies,” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology* (ed. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 89–103. He classifies the burial motif in the book as an ethical norm in three directions: “obedience towards God, piety towards outsiders and setting an example and assuming solidarity, strengthening the internal cohesion of the community towards the members of their people” (100).

<sup>17</sup> In the *Temple Scroll* (11QT<sup>a</sup> [11Q19] LXIV) the case of the guilty of a capital crime is discussed: he must be hung on the tree, but the corpse can not hang on the tree by night, but must be buried on the day of the death, because: “those hanged on the tree are accursed by God and men; you shall not defile the land which I give you for an inheritance” (11QT<sup>a</sup> LXIV:11–12).

<sup>18</sup> Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 118. See also at Josephus Flavius, *Contra Apionem*: “not leaving (a corpse) unburied” (*C. Ap.* 2.211).

<sup>19</sup> Already in the Old Testament there was, above all, the traditional concern for the proper burial of all the dead; the height of disgrace was not to be buried (Deut 28:26; 1 Kgs 14:11; Qoh 6:3; Isa 14:20; Jer 7:33; 22:18–19; Ezek 29:5; 39:15). Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 118. See also in the later rabbinic tradition about *mēt mišwāh* in *b. Meg.* 3b.

of the son to bury the parents in honour. Tobit asks Tobiyah to bury Sarah into the same tomb as him,<sup>20</sup> following the ancient custom of burying the wife and husband—or even more members of the family—together.<sup>21</sup>

The second aspect is the hiding of the body of Tobiah by Raguel in 8:9–12 and 8:18 for the case if the bridegroom dying on the night of the wedding. The father of Sarah was afraid that the eighth groom of his daughter would die too and they would “become laughing-stock and object of ridicule” (8:10). He really wanted to hide the corpse from the other people, so on the night of the wedding (after the couple went to bed) he asked his servants to help him digging a grave, so that before sunset they would have been able to bury the corpse of Tobiah. Later in the night he asked a maidservant to check whether he was still alive or not. When he made sure that the couple was alive, he asked the servants to fill up again the hole in the ground “before dawn would come” (8:18).<sup>22</sup>

As we can see, the aim of the burial is completely different from the first “type.” The one thing in common is the way; let’s say the “duration in time” of the burial. In both cases it takes a very short time, only maybe a few hours to prepare a grave, which, in this case, could only be a simple shaft grave dug out of the ground for one individual. Tobit went out alone to dig the grave, and also Raguel sent only few servants, but according to the Greek short recension, Raguel himself went out alone and “dug a grave” (Καὶ ὤρυξεν τάφον, 8:9).<sup>23</sup>

As I have mentioned, a whole burial-scene is told in chapter 2. The intention to act piously gives birth to another pious act: the son being sent out to look for the poor of their “kinsfolk” to invite them to join the Pentecost-dinner finds a murdered fellow-Jew. Tobit ran out to find a place for him “in one of the outhouses until the sun would set” (2:4); after returning he bathed, and ate his dinner in grief. After sunset he

<sup>20</sup> Θάψον αὐτήν παρ’ ἔμοι ἐν ἐνὶ θάφῳ (Tob 4:4).

<sup>21</sup> A detailed description of family tombs and about the burial of women can be found in: Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs*, 235–337.

<sup>22</sup> The Greek expression for “rebury the grave” in Tob 8:18 is χῶσαι τὸν τάφον. At other loci the burial as act is expressed by verbs formed from θάπτω, which basically means to bury, and the making of the grave is from ὀρύσσω. In the Latin text the verb *sepeliō* is used, which has the original meaning: to put into a grave, to bury. Some of these terms are with the original meaning of “to dig,” they most probably refer to the making and usage of simple shaft tombs.

<sup>23</sup> For the different textual versions of the book of Tobit see: S. Weeks, S. Gathercole, and L.T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).

went out and “dug a grave and buried him.” After everything, according to the longer Greek version: he went home, bathed again and went to the courtyard to sleep (2:9). We can see the importance of purifying after getting in contact with a corpse. Tobit not only bathes, but sleeps in the courtyard in order not to defile the house as a closed unit with the possible uncleanness. The point is not stressed in the longer Greek version, but is in the shorter: “because I was defiled, I lay down to sleep beside the courtyard wall” (2:9). The *Vetus Latina* reads: “and I washed again in that hour after I had buried; I entered my house and laid down to sleep near the wall.” The notion—following the Jewish law—of the defiling nature of the corpse is unambiguous, but the way of purifying is not. In the different texts we find three different ways: 1) to bathe after the burial and to lay in the courtyard (longer Greek version); 2) not to bathe, but sleep in the courtyard (shorter Greek version); 3) to bathe, but sleep in the house (*Vetus Latina*).<sup>24</sup>

#### PURITY RULES REGARDING CORPSE-CONTAMINATION IN QUMRAN

From the very few sources we have from Qumran relating death and burial, the most important ones are the purity rules concerning the corpse. In the Qumran scrolls the corpse is represented as the highest source of impurity. As also in later Jewish tradition, it is referred to as “the father of uncleanness,” or as Rashi states “father of the fathers of uncleanness.”<sup>25</sup> This view is represented in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT<sup>a</sup>), where the majority of these purity rules can be found (mostly in cols. XLVIII–L). We find in col. XLV a ban on anybody who had contacted the impurity of the dead (*tamē la-nefēs*), in order not to enter the city of the sanctuary. In 11QT<sup>a</sup> XLVIII types of non-Jewish mourning rituals show up as counter-examples. The “holy men of JHWH” can not behave as gentile people, so they cannot bury their dead within their city limits, but they have to separate a place for them, just like for people contaminated with other uncleanness. Here we can see the authors’ aim of expressing the holiness of the community, and the high pollution rate of the dead, even for the land. After the land, a closer unit follows. The house is the

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<sup>24</sup> Tob 2:9. For the texts see: Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Tobit*, 98–99.

<sup>25</sup> See Rashi on *b. Pesah*. 14b and 17a.

closest space for a person (only later do the persons themselves count, the pregnant woman, with a *fetus* inside). After someone dies, besides the house itself where it occurs, even all the people, food and vessels in it become unclean, and must to be purified. The main features of this purification are the bathing in water, the sprinkling of the waters of purification (made of the ashes of the red heifer) and the washing of clothes. The *termini* are the first, the third and the seventh days. The vessels should be washed on the third and seventh days only, while the men even on the first day should wash themselves and their clothes. By the evening of the seventh day everybody and everything becomes clean. The same rules should also be applied for people getting in contact in opened field with a corpse, with bones, or even if they touched a grave!

The other important text from the caves of Qumran regarding the impurity of the corpse-contaminated person is 4QRitPur A (4Q414) 2. As Esther Eshel has stressed, this fragment—which mentions the importance of cleansing on the first day—was “composed according to the law found in the Temple Scroll.”<sup>26</sup> So we have a contemporary legal text with similar regulations regarding the need of cleaning on the first day. As for the significance of the purification on the first day, Jacob Milgrom understood it as “the first day ablution is to allow the impurity bearer to remain in the city.”<sup>27</sup> This is why the corpse-contaminated are not listed in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT<sup>a</sup> XLVI:16–18) among those quarantined or expelled from the city because of impurities such as the leper, the gonorrhoeic, etc.<sup>28</sup> But in 11QT<sup>a</sup> XLV:17 there is the clear ban of entering the city for everyone unclean through contact with the dead.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> E. Eshel, “4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse Contaminated Person,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–10.

<sup>27</sup> J. Milgrom, “Studies in the Temple Scroll,” *JBL* 97 (1978): 501–523 (515).

<sup>28</sup> On the contrary, Josephus mentions the corpse contaminated among the defiled who needs isolation: *Ant.* 3.261–262. Also the Torah proscribes that he had to be expelled from the Temple city (Num 5:2–3). What could be the reason, for the author of the *Temple Scroll* to differ from it? According to Milgrom, it could be the *pshat* reading of the biblical text, therefore, the phrase “and then he may return to the camp” occurs in all other cases, but not at the mentioning of the corpse contamination. Milgrom, “Studies in the Temple Scroll,” 515.

<sup>29</sup> This law is opposed to the laws of the Sages. For further details see Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:293.

PURITY RULES REGARDING  
CORPSE-CONTAMINATION BESIDES QUMRAN

As we see in the book of Tobit, purification after being in contact with a corpse is important. He washes himself after hiding the body on the Pentecost-evening, and also after the burial of that night. Furthermore, he sleeps in the court and not in the house. The *Temple Scroll* addresses the issue of corpse-contamination as follows: “anyone who entered the house shall bathe in water and wash his clothes on the first day” (11QT<sup>a</sup> XLIX:17). So purification on the first day is needed, and as we further read also on the third and seventh days. The above mentioned fragment of 4QRitPur A (4Q414) also confirms this rule. If we look to Jewish tradition and law, we encounter contradictory examples.<sup>30</sup> For example, the rules of the purifying water in Numbers read as follows:

Whoever in the open field touches one who has been killed by a sword, or who has died naturally, or a human bone, or a grave, shall be unclean seven days. For the unclean they shall take some ashes of the burnt purification offering, and running water shall be added in a vessel; then a clean person shall take hyssop, dip it in the water, and sprinkle it on the tent, on all the furnishings, on the persons who were there, and on whoever touched the bone, the slain, the corpse, or the grave. The clean person shall sprinkle the unclean ones on the third day and on the seventh day, thus purifying them on the seventh day. Then they shall wash their clothes and bathe themselves in water, and at evening they shall be clean. (Num 19:16–19 NRSV)

So the Torah does not prescribe the purification for the first day. Also the later rabbinic tradition does not stress the importance of cleansing on the first day.<sup>31</sup> As we can see the regulations are the same in Qumran and in the mind of the author of the book of Tobit, and unambiguously differ from mainstream Judaism.

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<sup>30</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “The Impurity of the Dead in the Temple Scroll,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. idem; JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 135–156 (146–148).

<sup>31</sup> The seven-day period of impurity after the contamination from a corpse in the rabbinic times is based on the laws of the Torah. The detailed description of this system can be found in H.K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations* (SBLDS 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 141–179.

To sum up:

- The widely known sources of the “mainstream Judaism”—i.e. the Bible and rabbinic literature—reflect a system of purifying ritual, which prescribes cleaning on the third and seventh days.
- On the contrary, the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QT<sup>a</sup>, 4QRitPur A [4Q414], and the Tobit manuscripts 4Q196–200) reflect the importance of the cleansing also on the first day after the contamination from a corpse.
- Besides the Dead Sea Scrolls our only source for the purification on the first day is the book of Tobit.
- Besides this parallel of the purity rules, there is a practical parallel too. However, this is hypothetical, we do not know what these tombs looked like, we can only deduce from the way of their execution from the description of the text. On the basis of that, those tombs could only be simple shaft tombs dug into the ground.

Certainly my aim is not to prove that the author of the book of Tobit was familiar with the so-called “Qumran-type” tombs, but to demonstrate that this simply elaborated form of burial was known and practiced in the Second Temple period also outside of Khirbet Qumran. Archaeological proofs besides the cemetery of Khirbet Qumran come from the above referred sites, but it does not mean at all, that it was used nowhere else as the burial method of the poor. Moreover, most probably the community of Qumran expressed its desire to be simple and poor also in their death, as in their life: living as an ascetic group in the desert.

#### OPEN QUESTIONS

First of all, one could easily ask while reading the book of Tobit: where did Tobit bury the corpses? His faithfulness to Jewish law is strongly represented and stressed in the book, but here, the author makes no mention of the place of the burials. The reader can expect at the least, a reminder that he kept the rules of purity and buried the dead outside of the city. Burial into heathen cemeteries was also not proper. This question can give birth to another: if a proper burial was so important for Tobit, why did not he prepare a tomb for himself and for his wife still in his life, though as we read at the beginning of the story he was a wealthy man. In Tob 4:3–4 Tobit orders his son to bury him after his death, and, when his mother dies, bury her at his side. Burying couples close together

was a widespread custom already since Abraham and Sarah, but it was most probably not practiced into simple shaft tombs, but rather into the well known burial niches of the Second Temple period. Caves suitable for similar family burials were often bought already in the lifetime of the head of the family, in order to insure the most proper place for the eternal rest. The sentence in 4:17 (“Be generous with bread and wine on the graves of virtuous men, but not for the sinner.”) also reflects to a more developed and subtle cult of the dead, which is difficult to link with the practice of the simple shaft graves.

On the basis of the above, we can sum up that in the book of Tobit the reader meets a really conscious and deliberate way of placing to the final rest. The author mentions burials neither into the widespread burial caves, nor into the simple shaft tombs, but often refers to a highly developed system of thanatology.

As for the eschatology what we can read out of the book,<sup>32</sup> the vocabulary used for the descriptions is really similar to the usage of the expression of death and afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls: death is conceived of as a release from “the face of the earth” and a becoming “dust” (3:6). Going to the “everlasting home” (3:6),<sup>33</sup> also the Hades (3:10), and the “darkness” (4:10) is mentioned.<sup>34</sup>

## EPILOGUE

In order to conclude and place this study into a more general context, I would like to mention a contemporary phenomenon. In several cemeteries where sisters who used to live in one convent are buried, one can observe that their tombs are markedly different from the others. All the graves are simple—marked only with heap of soil and a wooden cross.<sup>35</sup> Although the nuns lived in poverty, they could have afforded

<sup>32</sup> Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 48–49; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “Tobit and Enoch: Distant Cousins with a Recognizable Resemblance,” *SBLSP* (1988): 54–68.

<sup>33</sup> S. Beyerle, “Release Me to Go to My Everlasting Home . . .’ (Tob 3:6): A Belief in Afterlife in Late Wisdom Literature?” in *The Book of Tobit* (ed. Xeravits and Zsengellér), 71–89 (76–82).

<sup>34</sup> <sup>33</sup> For a detailed analysis of the terminology of death and afterlife in the Qumran corpus see: N. Dávid, “The Terminology of Death at Qumran,” in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (ed. K.D. Dobos and M. Kőszeghy; Hebrew Bible Monographs 21; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 339–348.

<sup>35</sup> The average graves are marked with decorated stone or marble structures.

more expensive and elaborate monuments. In my opinion, they chose simplicity. Even in death they wanted to lie in simple poverty. In this way, they could also express the aim of differing from the mainstream or stress the unimportance of property, wealth or exterior. The community of Qumran may have had similar ideas about burying their dead. Their lack of description for or stress on the proper way of burial also supports this idea: they practiced the average way of burying the dead, as the poor of the country did. The random burials depicted in the book of Tobit may be similar in execution to these, but not in rationale. The reason behind the burials in Tobit was not the separation from the local practice, but simply, that it was the easiest and quickest way of burying the dead. Despite this contradiction, similarities between burial practices at Qumran and in the book of Tobit call attention to possible trends in Jewish thought and practice.



## THE HASMONEANS IN THE LIGHT OF THE QUMRAN SCROLLS\*

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Ever since the Qumran scrolls were discovered, researchers have been trying to date them. Despite repeated attempts, no definite answer has been found. Likewise, controversy surrounds their place of origin and the nature of the whole collection.<sup>1</sup> Both questions are not without consequence for our subject of interest. But space constraints forbid a detailed presentation of the various scholarly positions in this essay. All researchers agree in principle that most of the texts were written in the second to first centuries B.C.E. At that time Judea was ruled by the Hasmoneans. Given their role first in organizing and then leading an armed uprising against the Hellenistic religious reform during the reign of Antiochus IV, and also in creating and strengthening an independent Jewish state, it is only natural to inquire about how their actions were perceived by their contemporaries.

Searching for a picture of the Hasmonean period in the Qumran documents may hardly seem an original proposition, since similar attempts have been made many times and their more or less satisfactory results are common knowledge.<sup>2</sup> But our purpose is neither to offer more examples for historical allusions hidden in the Qumran scrolls nor to suggest a new

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\* I would like to acknowledge assistance of Professor Mark Geller with linguistic correction of this paper. Any errors of fact or interpretation are my sole responsibility.

<sup>1</sup> See A.I. Baumgarten, "Crisis in the Scrollery: A Dying Consensus," *Judaism* 44 (1995): 399–413; A. Lange, "The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls-Library or Manuscript Corpus?" in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel, and E. Tigchelaar; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 177–193 (186–193); cf. also E. Tov, "The Corpus of the Qumran Papyri," in *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity: Papers from a New York University Conference marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 85–103 (98–99).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); H. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

interpretation, but to present some observations on the attitudes of the Qumran texts' authors towards the events and persons of the Hasmonean period, as well as to the past.

With the slow publication of Qumran manuscripts over more than half a century, it was impossible to form a full picture of the historical events to which they referred. Although each of the successively published texts that contained historical references or allusions immediately became the subject of many commentaries and interpretations, they were all geared primarily to establishing the chronology of the community that created them. It was only the publication of the pesharim, which contained an especially large number of historical allusions that cast more light on the community's attitudes toward developments in the world surrounding it.<sup>3</sup> Now that the publication of the manuscripts is almost complete (there are a few privately owned scrolls which still await publication), we can engage in a full, systematic analysis of the historical information contained in all of them and, moreover, reliably assess their value and nature. Numbering about 900 manuscripts, the Qumran corpus has enabled experts to identify at least several dozen references to historical figures and events relating to the Judea of the Hasmoneans. In addition, the documents contain many allusions to members of the ruling dynasty, although their real sense is difficult to establish, not least for the obscure language the authors used.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W.H. Brownlee, "The Historical Allusions of the Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash," *BASOR* 126 (1952): 10–20 (12–16); J.M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect," *JBL* 75 (1956): 89–95; idem, "Thrakidan, the 'Lion of Wrath' and Alexander Jannaeus," *PEQ* 91 (1959): 47–51; J.D. Amusin, "The Reflection of Historical Events of the First Century B.C. in Qumran Commentaries (4Q161; 4Q169; 4Q166)," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 123–152; I.R. Tantlevskij, "The Historical Background of the Qumran Commentary on Nahum (4QpNah)," in *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters: Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums, 9.–14. März 1994 in Berlin* (ed. B. Funck; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 329–338.

<sup>4</sup> The best-known example of such a text is the excerpt from the *Peshet Habakkuk* referring to the Wicked Priest (1QpHab VIII:8–13). At first, most scholars narrowed the title down to a single person. It took A.S. van der Woude ("Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary," *RevQ* 17 [1982]: 349–359) to argue that the text can just as well apply to a number of figures since the designation of Wicked Priest was used for several members of the Hasmonean family; cf. Brownlee, "Historical Allusions," 10–16; idem, "The Wicked Priest, the Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher—the Problem of Identity," *JQR* 73 (1982): 1–37 (1–15). See also F. García Martínez, "Was Judas Maccabaeus a Wicked Priest? Marginal Notes on 1QpHab VIII 8–13," in idem, *Qumranica Minora*, vol. 1: *Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism* (ed. E.J.C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007),

The history of the Qumran community featured two watershed events: its creation and the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness (or the Righteous Teacher)<sup>5</sup> and the Wicked Priest. According to the *Damascus Document* (CD 1:5–10), the community was founded 390 years after the Jews went into Babylonian captivity, with the Teacher of Righteousness appearing twenty years later. The chronology of events known to us suggests that the earlier occurrence may be dated at 197 B.C.E.; the latter at 177–175 B.C.E.<sup>6</sup> Both dates suggest a close link between the Qumran community and the Hellenistic religious reform during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, no other Qumran document fully

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53–66. This proposition became a major part of the so-called Groningen Hypothesis about the beginnings of the Qumran community (cf. F. García Martínez, “Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis,” *FO* 25 [1988]: 113–136; repr. in *Qumranica Minora*, 1:3–29; idem and A.S. van der Woude, “A ‘Groningen’ Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” *RevQ* 14 [1989–1990]: 521–541 [521–524]). Although van der Woude’s premises for his hypothesis have since been questioned (T. Lim, “The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis,” *JBL* 112 [1993]: 415–425), the idea that the title of the Wicked Priest might have been applied to different individuals has not been rejected, see Lim, “Wicked Priests,” 424; I. Fröhlich, “*Time and Times and Half a Time*: Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras (JSPSup 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 164–165; A.S. van der Woude, “Once Again: The Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk Peshar from Cave 1 of Qumran,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 375–384; J.J. Collins, “The Time of the Teacher: An Old Debate Renewed,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P.W. Flint, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 212–229.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 28–30.

<sup>6</sup> According to Charlesworth the dates in the *Damascus Document* cannot be used as a serious historical argument (ibid., 87: “... the 390 years, mentioned in CD 1:5–6, is not a mathematical computation but an adaptation from Ezekiel 4:5 which may be, nevertheless, not far off the mark.”).

<sup>7</sup> H. Ulfgard, “The Teacher of Righteousness, the History of the Qumran Community, and Our Understanding of the Jesus Movement: Texts, Theories and Trajectories,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Copenhagen International Seminar 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 310–346 (314–318); M. Geller, “Qumran’s Teacher of Righteousness—a Suggested Identification,” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 1 (2002): 9–19 (10–13); Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 25–67; M.O. Wise, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the *floruit* of his Movement,” *JBL* 122 (2003): 53–87 (63–65). Based on chronological data in the *Damascus Document*, N. Kokkinos (“Second Thoughts in the Date and Identity of the Teacher of Righteousness,” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 2 [2004]: 7–15) believes that the Teacher of Righteousness flourished and the Qumran community was created in the latter half of the third century B.C.E. On the other side Charlesworth (*Pesharim and Qumran History*, 27 n. 35) expresses an opinion that “CD represents the life and concepts of Jews similar to those at Qumran, but living elsewhere in ancient Palestine.”

supports this dating. This is the reason for the considerably diverging scholarly opinions on the dating and identities of the Teacher of Righteousness<sup>8</sup> and of the Wicked Priest. Each of these figures is of key importance in establishing the chronology of the Qumran community. Since no text mentions the Teacher of Righteousness by name, scholars concentrate instead on identifying the Wicked Priest, who the account of the conflict suggests must have been one of the ruling Hasmoneans.<sup>9</sup> Naming the Wicked Priest would make approximate timing of the conflict possible.<sup>10</sup> In support of their proposed identifications of the Wicked Priest, proponents look for arguments not only in the Qumran documents, but especially in 1 Maccabees or in the works of Josephus Flavius. Each of those accounts was written at a different time and for a different purpose. This being the case, it is debatable whether we can indeed fully rely on them to solve a dating question that is of fundamental importance for the history of the Qumran community and for its relations with the Hasmoneans.

To solve this issue, we need first to focus on all historical references in the Qumran texts that relate to the Hasmoneans. One can hardly imagine that the documents would have neglected to mention the Hasmoneans in some capacity if much of the community's history including its paramount event coincided with their reign. Of much help in such an investigation is the list of historical allusions and references in Qumran scrolls compiled by M.O. Wise.<sup>11</sup> Each item in this list carries a body of additional information concerning:

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<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, 30–40, 87–93; Eshel, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 29–61.

<sup>9</sup> A presentation of all hypotheses on the identity of the Wicked Priest falls outside our scope here, so we stop at indicating the publications where they are comprehensively discussed or where relevant bibliography is given. See Collins, “Time of the Teacher,” 212 nn. 1–4, 218–227; D.N. Freedman and J.C. Geoghegan, “Another Stab at the Wicked Priest,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, vol. 2: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 17–24 (17 n. 1). Some more new publications appeared also in recent years; cf. *ibid.*, 19–22.

<sup>10</sup> The key juncture in establishing the identity of the Wicked Priest is a description of the circumstances of his death: 1QpHab IX:1–2, 9–12. Cf. Collins, “Time of the Teacher,” 218–229.

<sup>11</sup> Wise, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness”; cf. also G.L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 701–705; Eshel, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 3–4.

(a) the person, process, or event, (b) the date or temporal span for that reference, whether exact or approximate, (c) the manuscript containing the reference or allusion, (d) the actual wording of such, in the original language and in translation, (e) the suggested origin of the work, whether sectarian or nonsectarian, (f) any miscellaneous comments.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from the first two entries (a–b), of all these items, the information about the origin of the respective texts (e) is most important for our search because the form and content of a reference or allusion largely depend on whether its author was part of the community or an outsider.

An analysis of the data collated by Wise reveals that the scrolls mention the names of only some of the Hasmoneans: Alexander Jannaeus, Alexandra Salome, Hyrcanus II, and Aristobulus II. The names appear mainly in texts classified as “non-sectarian.” In documents numbered among those created at Qumran (“sectarian”), references and allusions to the Hasmoneans are devoid of any clear dating clues. Out of a total of more than a dozen relevant allusions, most come from a mere handful of texts, mainly from the pesharim. The historical references of the commentaries serve usually as examples of actions and practices deserving condemnation and just punishment by God.<sup>13</sup> In the other types of preserved Qumran documents, only very few historical allusions can be found.<sup>14</sup> Those that do appear are of limited use to the historians.

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<sup>12</sup> Wise, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness,” 66–67. Cf. also Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 19–25.

<sup>13</sup> On historical allusions in the pesharim: Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 80–83.

<sup>14</sup> Such documents include the fragmentarily preserved texts 4Q245, 4Q448, and 4Q523 which mention King Jonathan or Jonathan. The hottest dispute arose from a fragment in 4Q448 that mentions King Jonathan. The publishers of the fragment identified him as Alexander Jannaeus because on his coins he used the name Jonathan: E. Eshel, H. Eshel, and A. Yardeni, “A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom,” *IEJ* 42 (1992): 199–229 (216–219); H. Eshel and E. Eshel, “4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpISA<sup>a</sup>,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 645–659 (652–657). This identification was contradicted by G. Vermes, (“The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment [4Q448],” *JJS* 44 [1993]: 294–300 [298–300]), who tried to offer arguments for Jonathan, the brother of Judah Maccabaeus. Yet his position failed to win approval and now most scholars accept identification of King Jonathan with Alexander Jannaeus: A. Lemaire, “Le roi Jonathan à Qoumrân (4Q448, B–C),” in *Qoumrân et les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte: Un cinquantenaire* (ed. E.-M. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 57–70 (70); E. Main, “For King Jonathan or Against? The Use of the Bible in 4Q448,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretations of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion*

In some cases, they may even be an editor's suggested reconstructions of damaged portions of the text.<sup>15</sup>

Such limited usefulness of historical allusions in the scrolls also applies to the pesharim, as attempts to read their precise message must be considered less than successful. One reason for this difficulty is that their authors recalled historical events completely at random, summoning examples from the past when they needed to express more clearly a theological thought. Besides, even when referring to a specific person, social group, or event, they conceal his or its identity under cryptic names or sobriquets, only some of which have been plausibly deciphered.<sup>16</sup> But even then, such suggested interpretations and identifications remain largely hypothetical since they are based on arguments drawn from sources outside Qumran, such as 1 Maccabees or from Josephus' historical writings. Any determinations reached in this way may be seriously in error because information from non-Qumran sources allows scholars to match virtually any proposed identification of the Wicked Priest with Maccabeans and Hasmoneans ranging from Judah the Maccabee<sup>17</sup> to Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. Studied separately, Qumranite and non-Qumranite texts present two quite different historical pictures with far fewer common elements than generally believed. Each author

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*Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 113–135; J.C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:487–533 (531); Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 104–105; Wise, "Dating the Teacher of Righteousness," 69–70; J.C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 335; Collins, "Time of the Teacher," 227–228; G. Vermes, "Historiographical Elements in the Qumran Writings: A Synopsis of the Textual Evidence," *JJS* 58 (2007): 121–139 (136); G.G. Xeravits, "From the Forefathers to the 'Angry Lion': Qumran and the Hasmoneans," in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology: Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pépa, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005* (ed. idem and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 118; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 211–221 (214–217).

<sup>15</sup> The historical references contained therein mainly come down to mentions of the names of some Hasmoneans in lists of priests or to identifying with Judean kings the figures mentioned in texts, cf. Wise, "Dating the Teacher of Righteousness," 67–69 nn. 1–6.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Amusin, "Reflection of Historical Events," 139, 151–152; Brownlee, "Wicked Priest," 1–3; Fröhlich, "Time and Times," 160–163; Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 615–618; Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 40–41, 94–109. See also the recent study on this subject by M.A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls* (Library of Second Temple Studies 67; London: T&T Clark, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. García Martínez, "Judas Maccabaeus," 53–56.

looked at events through his particular lens and used his own idiom to narrate them. Different, too, were the purposes the various writings were meant to serve.<sup>18</sup>

For the most part, the Qumran manuscripts reflected the views and religious concepts of the community that produced them. Its members had consciously elected to isolate themselves from the outside world and its affairs. Dramatic though some of them might have been, such affairs could not divert their attention from theological discourse: indeed, they reinforced the community's determination in following their chosen path. Another notable trait in their attitude was a near complete lack of interest in the past other than that of their community.<sup>19</sup> It may seem that even their own history was known only superficially and did not inspire deeper interest. Only a handful of past episodes were deemed important enough to be recalled on various occasions. The Qumran texts clearly indicate that such events included the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest, leading to the martyrdom of the earlier. Occurrences like these were regarded by Qumran authors as the root cause of all misfortunes that happened to Judea ever since. Through the lens of these events, the Qumran authors interpreted both the past and their surrounding realities in a highly emotional way.

Most historical allusions in Qumran documents, particularly in the pesharim, concern broadly understood religion. For the Hasmonean period, most such allusions—chiefly in the pesharim—refer to religious struggles between the king who is described as the Lion of Wrath or Angry Lion<sup>20</sup> and a group called the Seekers-After-Smooth-Things<sup>21</sup> (these designations most probably stood for Alexander Jannaeus<sup>22</sup> and the Pharisees,<sup>23</sup> respectively). The allusions offer not a word, however,

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Collins, "Time of the Teacher," 217–218.

<sup>19</sup> Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 67: "It should now be clear that no Qumran scroll is identified as a book dedicated to history or a text defined by an interest in history." Cf. *ibid.*, 70–77, 115–116.

<sup>20</sup> 4QpNah (4Q169) 3–4 i 5–8; 4QpHos<sup>b</sup> (4Q167) 2 2.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. 4QpNah (4Q169) 3–4 i 2, 7; ii 2, 4; iii 3, 6–7; 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163) 23 ii 10.

<sup>22</sup> Allegro, "Further Light," 92–93; *idem*, "Thrakidan," 47–51; Amusin, "Reflection of Historical Events," 140–146, 151; Tantlevskij, "Historical Background," 329–336; Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 99–106; Xeravits, "From the Forefathers to the 'Angry Lion,'" 212; *contra* Doudna, 4Q Peshar Nahum, 604–607.

<sup>23</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "Pharisees and Sadducees in Peshar Nahum," in *Minḥah le-Naḥum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday* (ed. M. Brettler and M. Fishbane; JSOTSup 154; Sheffield: JSOT Press), 272–290

about the cause of the struggles. The Seekers-After-Smooth-Things recurrently appear in Qumran manuscripts (also under different designations).<sup>24</sup> The Qumran authors display unconcealed hostility to them, as they also do to their adversaries, the Sadducees.<sup>25</sup> Another frequently mentioned group is the Kittim, now identified with the Romans.<sup>26</sup> The names of the Hasmoneans usually dispense with any additional information, which is due to the fragmentary state of preservation of most of the texts where they appear. Only in a few instances does such information clearly point to individuals. Most of these instances deal with Alexander Jannaeus.<sup>27</sup> Only rarely are the events connected with the feud between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II mentioned. How often the Hasmoneans are mentioned does not, however, signal any special attention given to them by the Qumran authors. The names merely

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(274–277); M.P. Horgan, “Pesharim,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6B: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 1–193 (144, 149 n. 13); J.C. VanderKam, “Those Who Look for Smooth Things, Pharisees, and Oral Law,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 465–477; Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 20 n. 11, 97–99; Xeravits, “From the Forefathers to the ‘Angry Lion,’” 212, *contra* Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 654–656.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Horgan, “Pesharim,” 119, 144, 149 n. 13.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Schiffman, “Pharisees and Sadducees,” 284–286.

<sup>26</sup> Allegro, “Further Light,” 93; Amusin, “Reflection of Historical Events,” 139–140; Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum*, 608–612; H. Eshel, “The Kittim in the *War Scroll* and in the Pesharim,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January, 1999* (ed. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D.R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44 (41–43); Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 73 n. 229, 103, 109–112.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. 4QpNah (4Q169) 3–4 i 5–8; 4QpHos<sup>b</sup> (4Q167) 2 1–7; 4Q448; 4Q523 (cf. Wise, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness,” 70 n. 8). Especially contentious is 4Q448. According to some scholars (Eshel, Eshel, and Yardeni, “Qumran Composition,” 214–216; Eshel and Eshel, “4Q448,” 652–657; É. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie et les débuts de la communauté de Qumrân: 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QpAp (4Q448),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 241–270 (253, 257), it is a prayer on behalf of Alexander Jannaeus. Yet critics point out that such interpretation is unfounded and go on to present arguments to show that it should be seen as a prayer for the well-being of the Qumran community, and in fact meant against Alexander Jannaeus (Lemaire, “Le roi Jonathan,” 62, 66–70; Main, “King Jonathan,” 113–135; Xeravits, “From the Forefathers to the ‘Angry Lion,’” 213–217). According to Charlesworth this text is favorable to Alexander Jannaeus, but it is not a Qumran composition. The text was probably brought to Qumran by somebody who fled Jerusalem ca. 88 B.C.E. during Jannaeus’ repressions against the Pharisees (Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 103–105).



serve as chronological reference points. In the few cases where the Has-moneans attract the authors' attention, it is only to condemn them as those Judean rulers whose actions contributed to a decline of religious life.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, this dimension is the main focus for Qumran authors, who chose to ignore all other aspects of social and political life. The large number of references to developments in the first half of the first century B.C.E. leads scholars to date most documents containing such mentions to that period.<sup>29</sup> This hypothesis is of considerable importance to our discussion as it suggests that most historical allusions in Qumran documents indeed concern contemporary events known to the authors from first-hand experience. By contrast, references to events and figures from the preceding period are few and in most cases not quite certain.<sup>30</sup>

The foregoing remarks suggest that the Qumran authors did not exhibit a particular interest in history. Past events and historical figures, even if known to them, were only used as illustrative material to promulgate their own theological beliefs. This peculiar attitude toward the past is further confirmed by an absence of any historical texts among Qumran scrolls. It is therefore unjustified to suppose that by merely using allusions and references to selected past events the Qumran authors aimed to show causal relationships between them or to offer an objective, true-to-life description of people. Random references to historical events, sprinkled with highly subjective opinions, can in no respect provide a solid foundation on which to build credible historical interpretations.<sup>31</sup> It must therefore be concluded that students of Judean history under the

<sup>28</sup> J. Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 88–92; Xeravits, "From the Forefathers to the 'Angry Lion,'" 211–221. Considered the best-known example of critics of the Hasmoneans is the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab); cf. van der Woude, "Wicked Priest," 349–359.

<sup>29</sup> Wise, "Dating the Teacher of Righteousness," 82–87. Based on this dating, a hypothesis has been proposed about the presumable date of death of the Teacher of Righteousness. See Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 753–754; Collins, "Time of the Teacher," 212–218, 228–229. Cf. Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 38, 90–91.

<sup>30</sup> Of 31 historical allusions identified in the manuscripts, only six refer to the second century B.C.E. figures and events. All are found in texts classed "non-sectarian": Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 109–118; Wise, "Dating the Teacher of Righteousness," 67–69 nn. 1–6. Still, it should be remembered that more than a half of those allusions are hypothetical: see *ibid.*, 67 n. 1 (= 4Q245 1 i 9), 68 nn. 3–4 (= 4Q245 1 i 10) and n. 5 (= 4Q331 1 i 7).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*, 116–118; Eshel, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 181–187.

Hasmoneans cannot find in Qumran scrolls any important information not already known from other sources. Consequently, the texts cannot be treated as sources to verify or question the credibility of known historical accounts dealing with that period.

JEWISH THOUGHT AND RELIGION  
IN LIGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS



SHIFTING PERSPECTIVES ON LITURGY  
AT QUMRAN AND IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM\*

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Two revolutions—one in Qumran studies, the other in the field of Jewish liturgy—began in the same year nearly two decades ago. In the spring of 1990, Ezra Fleischer published his monumental article, “On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer.”<sup>1</sup> This article overturned the previous consensus built upon Joseph Heinemann’s model of a gradual, evolutionary development of Jewish liturgy from Second Temple times to late antiquity.<sup>2</sup> Fleischer established a different paradigm that views the statutory liturgy as a completely new form of worship created *ex nihilo* by the rabbis at Yavneh at the end of the first century C.E., *after* the temple’s destruction. Fleischer’s paradigm raises questions about the relevance of Second Temple texts, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, for the history of Jewish prayer and poses a special challenge to scholars of Second Temple Judaism.

Just a few months after Fleischer’s article appeared, Emanuel Tov was appointed editor-in-chief of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ending the forty-year reign of the original editors and ushering in a decade of rapid publication by a greatly expanded international team. In November, 2001 Tov announced the completion of the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In fact, a few more volumes of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* appeared after 2001. The final volume of previously unpublished scrolls (*DJD XXXVII*), an edition of Aramaic texts by Émile Puech, was released

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<sup>1</sup> *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 397–441 (Hebrew). See the review by R. Langer, “Revisiting Early Rabbinic Liturgy: The Recent Contributions of Ezra Fleischer,” *Proof* 19 (1999): 179–194 and the responses by Fleischer, “On the Origins of the ‘*Amidah*: Response to Ruth Langer,” and Langer, “Considerations of Method: A Response to Ezra Fleischer,” *Proof* 20 (2000): 380–387.

<sup>2</sup> J. Heinemann, *Prayer in the Period of the Tanna'im and the Amora'im: Its Nature and Patterns* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964) (Hebrew); idem, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* (trans. R.S. Sarason; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977).

in November 2008. With this last edition, sixty-one years after the initial discovery of the first Qumran cave, the age of Scrolls publication has drawn to a close. One of the great challenges in the post-publication era is to integrate the Scrolls into the study of all related disciplines and associated corpora with a goal of attaining a better picture of Jewish culture, religion, and society in the formative Second Temple period and beyond.

In the spirit of taking up the research challenges of the twenty-first century, this paper sets forth the key issues in the current study of Qumran prayer and early Jewish liturgy with an eye to pinpointing mutual concerns. The final part of the paper elucidates these issues in a concrete example at the intersection of the two fields.

#### QUMRAN STUDIES

I begin with the most recent stage of Qumran research. Now that nearly all the Dead Sea Scrolls have been published, we are in a position to take stock of the entire corpus of 1500 scrolls, 930 from Qumran alone, most of which are recent acquisitions in the last 30 *DJD* volumes. Three main issues are crucial at this major juncture in Qumran research.

The first is the provenance of the texts in the Qumran “library.” Although this issue has been at the forefront of Qumran studies since the early 1990s, the provenance of many of the texts remains an open question. Recent calculations put the distinctively Qumranic compositions authored by members of the sect at only about 25 % of the Qumran corpus.<sup>3</sup> This surprisingly low figure completely changes our picture of the Qumran library and of the sect who collected it. The library is far less sectarian in origin than envisioned prior to the publications of the 1990s, which brought to light more biblical and previously known

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<sup>3</sup> For figures on the distribution of the Qumran library (based on 800 manuscripts) see P.R. Davies, G.J. Brooke, and P.R. Callaway, *The Complete World of The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 77 and D. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. eadem and L.H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58 (figures on pp. 31–32, 58). See also eadem “The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 170–176.

apocryphal works such as Tobit and the *Testament of Naphtali*. The same period also saw publication of methodological studies that identified many texts as non-sectarian on the basis of such criteria as language, use of the tetragrammaton, a different calendar or ideology.<sup>4</sup> Besides the biblical scrolls, which make up about 25 % of the library, the remaining non-sectarian texts—approximately 400 manuscripts—belong to a vast, largely unknown body of Jewish literature. The *Reworked Pentateuch*, *Paraphrase of Gen and Exod*, *Prayer of Enosh*, *Admonition on the Flood*, *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*, and *Time of Righteousness* are just a few of the hundreds of formerly lost Jewish works preserved by the Qumran community. To date, the provenance of a number of major texts in almost every genre is still under debate; these include the *Temple Scroll*, 4QInstruction, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the *Barkhi Nafshi* psalms,<sup>5</sup> and even the prayers in the decidedly sectarian *War Scroll*.

Most recently, skepticism about the prospects of determining origin, together with post-modern perspectives, have shifted scholarly attention away from the discussion of origins.<sup>6</sup> But this historical pursuit is too

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<sup>4</sup> A number of programmatic, methodological studies set down criteria for determining a work's provenance. See C.A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature in Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W.H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D.N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–187; E.G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17, and eadem, "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994): 265–284; Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts." See now C. Hempel, "Kriterien zur Bestimmung 'essenischer Verfasserschaft' von Qumrantexten," in *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 71–85, and in the same volume, A. Lange, "Kriterien essenischer Texte," 59–69.

<sup>5</sup> See F. García Martínez, "Temple Scroll," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:927–933; D. Dimant, "Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the 'Apocryphon of Joshua,'" in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–134; M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 6–23, 228–232; E.M. Schuller, "Prayers and Psalms from the Pre-Maccabean Period," *DSD* 13 (2006): 306–318.

<sup>6</sup> The shift away from origins and onto such questions as the scrolls' readership and reception was evident in the Qumran sessions at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature; for example, James Davila's paper on "Counterfactual History and Other New Methodologies" and Alison Schofield's on "From the Wilderness to a Door of Hope: Thematic (Re)Conceptualization of the Wilderness in Liturgical Texts." For a fine example of the contribution of the new approaches see M. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

important to abandon. A great deal is at stake in the case of each work under debate. There are serious implications for the ideological make-up of the Qumran community vis à vis other groups as well as for the history and transmission of biblical exegesis, Jewish law, and liturgy. It makes a huge difference, for instance, whether or not the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are Qumranic in origin. If Qumranic, these songs may be understood as designed to serve as a spiritual substitute for sacrifice in the defiled Temple.<sup>7</sup> A sectarian, apocalyptic context may then be posited for the *merkabah* mystic and liturgical *Qedushah* traditions they attest.<sup>8</sup> If they are non-Qumranic in origin, then we must look to another author, social context, and liturgical function. A few scholars have suggested a priestly origin with links to the Jerusalem Temple cult but there are other possibilities.<sup>9</sup> I return to this significant case below. For now, we should bear in mind that the balance of manuscripts has shifted but not the essential fact that the library contains Qumranic as well as non-sectarian works.

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<sup>7</sup> A.S. van der Woude, "Fragmente einer Rolle der Leiden für das Sabbatopfer aus Höhle xi von Qumran," in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: FS J.P.M. van der Ploeg* (ed. W.C. Delsman et al.; AOAT 211; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 311–337; J. Maier, "Shirê 'Ólat hash-Shabbat: Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and their Style," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11.1–2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:543–560. Maier, however, suggests (ibid., 559–560) that the Sabbath Songs also may have been used by priests outside of Qumran and that similar compositions may have been recited by priests not "actually engaged in service" at the Jerusalem Temple. Eyal Regev recently postulated that the Jerusalem Temple was "the cradle of fixed prayer in Israel" (see below p. 520) but that the Qumran prayers, including the Sabbath Songs, are sectarian (Qumranic or another sectarian group).

<sup>8</sup> I. Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism* (BEATAJ 14; Frankfurt: Lang, 1988), 145–170; R. Elior, "Mysticism, Magic, and Angelology-The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature," *JSQ* 1 (1993): 3–53 and eadem, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (trans. D. Louvish; Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), esp. 11, 15–16 where she updates her view of the Songs' provenance and places this liturgy in the category of literature "preserved" but not authored at Qumran (see below) which, in her opinion, "represents the ancient centuries-old, priestly literature, the exclusive heritage of the Temple priesthood, preserved by the Zadokite priests and their allies." See now P. Alexander, *Mystical Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 7; London: T&T Clark, 2006). For the new assessment of the Songs' non-Qumranic authorship by the text's editor, C.A. Newsom, see her article, "'Sectually Explicit,'" 179–185. The first edition, C.A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) is an indispensable tool.

<sup>9</sup> See my comments on Maier and Elior, respectively, in nn. 7 and 8 above as well as Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 128–132, and pp. 520–522 below.



The second key issue in current Qumran research is the internal development within the Qumran community during the course of its 200 year history. Recent studies on the literary growth of the Community's own writings such as the *Community Rule*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Hodayot* point to an evolution in the sect's thought and practice.<sup>10</sup> There is also a growing appreciation of ostensibly contradictory materials in the vast and diverse Qumran library. Differences in such matters as calendar, the penal code, liturgies for the annual covenant ceremony, and deterministic theology signal an *internal* dynamic within the Qumran community not fully appreciated beforehand.<sup>11</sup> In addition, scholars now ponder the sect's continuous accretion and readership of non-Qumranic literature throughout its long history, its on-going intellectual and economic contacts with non-members, those officially in the lot of the "sons of darkness," and the impact of such persistent permeability on developments in sectarian practice, thought, and literature. These internal sectarian developments not only make a fascinating

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<sup>10</sup> For example, P. Alexander and G. Vermes in *DJD XXVI* (1998): 1–4, 9–12 ("The Recensional History of Serekh ha-Yahad"); S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden, Brill, 1997) and eadem, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from Rule Texts Found at Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004): 315–335; E. Eshel and H. Eshel, "Recensions and Editions of the War Scroll," in *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After*, 351–364; J. Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004); R. Yishay, "Prayers in Eschatological War Literature from Qumran: 4Q491–4Q496," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 129–147 (Hebrew); E. Schuller, "Hodayot," in *DJD XXIX* (1999): 69–75; A.K. Harkins, "The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation," *DSD* 15 (2008): 121–154 and eadem, "Sixty Years of Scholarship on the Community Hymns from 1QH<sup>a</sup>," in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana* (ed. D.K. Falk et al.; STDJ 91; Leiden, Brill, 2010), 101–134; E.G. Chazon, "Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection," in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, 135–149.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 177–178; J.C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998), 79–90, 110–112; J. Ben-Dov, "Jubilean Chronology and the 364-Day Year," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 49–59 (Hebrew); J.M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992): 268–276; Metso, "Methodological Problems"; B. Nitzan, "The Benedictions from Qumran for the Annual Covenantal Ceremony," in *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After*, 363–371. One wonders, for example, how the Qumran sect reconciled the different approaches to determinism versus moral choice present in its library particularly with respect to non-sectarian works used in Qumranic religious practice (e.g., the petitionary prayers in the *Words of the Luminaries*, 4Q504–506) or in the composition of sectarian writings (e.g., 4QInstruction in the *Community Rule's Treatise of the Two Spirits*). See, for example, Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 117–120 and the sources cited there.

subject of inquiry in their own right but are also a factor in sorting out Qumran's relationship to the outside world, which is the next point to be addressed.

The third major issue that arises now that the full scope of the Qumran corpus is available concerns the relationship between the Qumran community and the various authors, groups, and institutions whose works it preserved. Initially, this inquiry requires looking at the interface between Qumran thought and praxis according to the sect's own writings and the ideas and practices represented in the clearly non-sectarian works. What did the Qumran community borrow, from whom, in what way, and for what purpose?<sup>12</sup> Careful attention to different nuances in the shared material can provide clues about how the Qumran community read and adapted certain traditions, practices, and ideas; why it chose them and instituted various changes; and which groups, institutions, and social contexts influenced the sect during its formative years and entire history. Remarkably, the shared material extends across a broad spectrum of non-Qumranic works. It includes not only Bible, rewritten Bible, and apocalypses, but also sapiential, legal, poetical and liturgical texts. In the area of prayer alone, the scholarly literature is replete with comparisons between scrolls of diverse provenance and apocryphal, rabbinic, and early Christian texts regarding specific prayers, formulae, prayer-times, and other liturgical practices, some of which I discuss below.<sup>13</sup> After focusing inward on the Qumran corpus for many years due to the exigency of the publication project, the time is ripe to turn our gaze outward to the other corpora, which have served us well for deciphering

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<sup>12</sup> Clear-cut, long-standing examples of borrowing are the citations of *1 Enoch*, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, and the book of *Jubilees* in the *Damascus Document* (CD 2:18–19; 4:15–19; 16:4, respectively); see J.C. Greenfield, “The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in Damascus Document IV, 15–19,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 319–322. For the influence of the previously unknown non-sectarian work, 4QInstruction, on the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* in the *Community Rule*, and on some of the *hodayot* in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, see E. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 194–207 and M.J. Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 263–288. See Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit,’” 180–181, for the influence of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, which she considers non-sectarian, on 4QBerakhot, a sectarian covenant ceremony, and on the *Songs of the Sage*, an apotropaic liturgy apparently of sectarian origin.

<sup>13</sup> See pp. 522–527 below and the literature cited there. See further Chazon, “Liturgical Function,” for the deployment of a traditional closing blessing formula by the sectarian editor of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. For other sectarian adaptations of originally non-Qumranic material see n. 12 above.

individual scrolls, but need to be revisited in their own right and in light of all the new finds. Arguably, the most far-reaching goal in the next stage of research is redrawing the map of Second Temple Judaism with the benefit of the fully published corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls.

### JEWISH LITURGY

I turn now to the key questions in Jewish liturgical studies on which the Dead Sea Scrolls impact. Perforce, they are issues in the early history of the liturgy, that of the rabbinic period. The Scrolls' publications of the last fifteen years have already engendered a number of shifting perspectives on Jewish prayer as I demonstrate below.

The first and most fundamental question for the early history of Jewish liturgy is this: Did the Jewish population outside of Qumran engage in any regular, public prayer before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E.? Whereas just fifteen years ago we might have wondered how the Dead Sea Scrolls could teach us anything about prayer and religious practice outside of Qumran, scholars are currently asking how the Scrolls illuminate this issue. The change is predicated on a shift in scholars' understanding of the origins of many scrolls. More specifically, scholars now think that the overwhelming majority of texts from the Qumran library, including dozens of prayers, are non-sectarian in origin.

For the 2004 International SBL meeting, Eileen Schuller surveyed the Qumran corpus and composed a list of the pre-Maccabean prayers and psalms, which she published with some modifications in *DSD* 13 (2006).<sup>14</sup> Schuller is careful to put on her list only those texts that meet at least one of the hard criteria for non-Qumranic provenance such as a pre-Qumranic manuscript date, the use of the tetragrammaton, or a calendar that diverges from the sectarian solar calendar. The list has 24 items, 8 of which are collections, yielding a total of at least 100 non-biblical psalms; prayers embedded in narrative works such as the *Aramaic Levi Document*; and, most relevant for the present inquiry, annual and daily liturgies. The latter include the *Festival Prayers* (1Q34<sup>+bis</sup>, 4Q507–509), the weekly liturgy of the *Words of the Luminaries*, the *Daily Prayers* in 4Q503, and the more vigorously debated *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Prayers and Psalms," 314–316.

<sup>15</sup> Schuller puts in italics "texts whose provenance is the subject of considerable uncertainty or disagreement" ("Prayers and Psalms," 313–316). A strong case for non-sectarian

The non-Qumranic liturgical collections are direct evidence for religious practice outside of Qumran and open a window onto Second Temple Judaism. They place before us set texts of communal prayers for fixed prayer times—annual festivals, Sabbaths, and regular weekdays. They unambiguously attest regular, public prayer in the two centuries prior to the Temple's destruction. This essentially positive finding for some regular public prayer invites the next two questions, respectively, about the extent of this phenomenon during the Second Temple period and the connection to the statutory Jewish liturgy established by the rabbis after the Temple's destruction.

The second question is, then, in which institutions, locations, and groups—other than the Qumran community—was regular, public prayer taking place during the Second Temple period? This question naturally entails, at least in its initial investigation, an effort to fit the data from the Scrolls into the framework of known groups and institutions.

Indeed, in this endeavor, much attention has been focused lately on the Jerusalem Temple. Eyal Regev's 2005 article, "Temple Prayer as the Origin of Fixed Prayer (On the Evolution of Prayer during the Period of the Second Temple)," is indicative of this approach.<sup>16</sup> Even after reconsidering all the evidence Regev amasses for prayer in the Temple—from Ben Sirā's account of popular prayer at the end of the sacrificial service (Sir 50:17–19; cf. Luke 1:10; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.196) to the Mishnah's description of the priests' daily prayer in the Chamber of Hewn Stone and of Levitical song upon conclusion of the daily offering (*m. Tamid* 5:1; 7:3)—I still have serious doubts about whether this activity on the temporal and geographic perimeters of the cult is really "the origin of fixed prayer" in Israel.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, Regev's work—like that of Johann Maier and Daniel Falk before him—does open the door, I suppose, to

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provenance can be made, however, for the italicized texts that use the tetragrammaton, such as the morning and evening prayers in 4QapocrMoses<sup>c</sup>? (4Q408), or whose calendar differs from the sectarian calendar, for example, 4QpapPrQuot (4Q503) and the *Festival Prayers* (for the latter see Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," 177–178 and Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran," 271–272, 282 n. 68).

<sup>16</sup> *Zion* 70 (2005): 5–29 (Hebrew). A literal translation of the Hebrew title would be, "The Temple as the Cradle of Fixed Prayer in Israel: Factors and Processes in the Development of Prayer in the Second Temple Period."

<sup>17</sup> For this locus of song and prayer *outside* the inner priestly "sanctuary of silence" see I. Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115 (1996): 17–30 and the revised Hebrew version in *Mehqerei Talmud: Talmudic Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Ephraim E. Urbach* (ed. Y. Sussman and D. Rosenthal; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2005), 2:740–753.

considering this, albeit peripheral, Temple prayer activity as *one* possible source of inspiration for the post-destruction institutionalization of Jewish liturgy.<sup>18</sup> It also ties in with a growing awareness that not all fixed, public prayer came into being as a substitute for sacrifice. This new perspective on regular public prayer “alongside of Temple worship,” to quote Eileen Schuller, is actually a necessary implication of the non-sectarian liturgies discovered at Qumran.<sup>19</sup> To see these two forms of worship—public prayer and sacrifice—as co-existent, symbiotic, or even complementary does not, however, require locating them together at the Temple.

Nor does regular public prayer appear to have been conducted in Second Temple period synagogues, at least not in Judaea and much of the Diaspora. The choice of the term *synagoge*, “(place of) assembly,” for Judaeian and some Diaspora synagogues as well as the simple, participant-oriented architectural design of the buildings indicate a general, multi-purpose communal use, rather than a specifically religious function. Admittedly, a number of Diaspora synagogues are called *proseuche*, “(place of) prayer”; however, even for those, as for all other ancient synagogues, the epigraphic and literary sources amply document a variety of communal activities including public Torah reading and study but not regular prayer services.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Johann Maier’s article, “Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 543–586, was seminal in systematically differentiating between priestly, Levitical, and lay liturgies. See D.K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 53–54, 90–92, 123–124, 215, 253–255 and idem, “Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts From Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies* (ed. idem, F. García Martínez, and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–126. See also D. Levine, “A Temple Prayer for Fast Days,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E.G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 95–112, and the thesis of D.D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 31–38, 404–415, 477–493.

<sup>19</sup> Schuller, “Prayers and Psalms,” 317. See also Falk, “Qumran Prayer Texts,” 106–108, 124–126 and his discussion there of the classic model of prayer as a substitute for sacrifice.

<sup>20</sup> See L.I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2nd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–173. Levine reports that “Of the fifty-nine references to Diaspora synagogues, thirty-one, i.e., some 53 %, refer to a *proseuche*,” and that this term “is used almost exclusively in Hellenistic Egypt, the Bosphorus, and Delos” (138). For the use of *synagoge* for this institution in Rome, Greece, Asia Minor, and Cyrene see pp. 102–103, 106, 115–120, 138–139. I agree with Levine (165 nn. 156–157) that Josephus’ mention of prayer in Tiberius’ *proseuche* on a fast day during the war likely refers

Clearly, other institutions, groups, and locations need to be considered. Proposals put forth in recent studies suggest a range of possibilities: from the town plazas and open public spaces throughout Palestine seen by Lee Levine as the venue for the communal activities that later found a home in the first-century synagogue<sup>21</sup> to the proto-Qumranic, priestly circles associated with works like the book of *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* that Israel Knohl put forth as candidates.<sup>22</sup> Still other options exist—in the field, taking account of archaeology, historical geography, and demography; and in the literature, for example, in sapiential works associated with wisdom schools. The *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, apocryphal Psalm 154, and the *Wisdom of Solomon* all contain numerous references to regular prayer practices in addition to offering religious poetry. In short, a complex picture of the social map of public prayer is emerging, and there is need for much future work in this area.

The third question about the impact of current Scrolls research on our understanding of early Jewish prayer is this: What evidence is available now for the structure, form, and content of the later institution of Jewish

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to ad hoc prayer (*Life* 290–295; this is the only occurrence of *proseuche* for Judaea) and that Agatharchides' reference to Sabbath prayer "in the temples" of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.209) is probably to the Jerusalem Temple (I understand the *Damascus Document's* reference to a "house of prostration" in a similar vein, see CD 11:21–12:1). I do not agree with Levine's assessment (*ibid.*), however, that prayer *per se* (as distinct from Torah reading) necessarily was "an integral part of Diaspora worship." For an inventory of synagogues until the first century C.E. see P. Richardson, "An Architectural Case for Synagogues as Associations," in *The Ancient Synagogue From Its Origins Until 200 C.E.: Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001* (ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003), 90–117; consult the articles in that volume for the current state of the research.

<sup>21</sup> Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 28–44. It is telling that the Mishnah still describes the lay counterpart (*ma'amadot*) to the priestly courses serving at the Temple as gathering "in their towns," without mentioning synagogues (*m. Ta'an.* 4:2, note also that *m. Bik.* 3:2 describes those bringing first-fruits to Jerusalem as gathering in the town square of the *ma'amad's* city). The fact that the *ma'amadot* ceremony consisted of public Torah reading, not prayer, is both significant and in keeping with the data for Palestinian (and Diaspora) non-sacrificial religious activity during the Second Temple period. At Qumran, the one Second Temple site in Palestine where we know daily communal prayer took place, there is no synagogue building and we are left to imagine where prayer services were held: the open space on the plateau beside the main complex is as good a candidate as the communal dining room (locus 77), small benched room (4) or adjacent, non-descript hall (30) that were suggested by Levine, "Ancient Synagogue," 65 and Richardson, "Architectural Case," 111–112.

<sup>22</sup> Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence," 29–30 (751–753 in Hebrew version). I thank Israel Knohl for sharing his further update on *1 Enoch* in his response to this paper at the Vienna conference.

liturgy, if not in its entirety then at least in substantial parts? From the pioneering work of David Flusser, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Moshe Weinfeld to more recent studies by Johann Maier, Billah Nitzan, Daniel Falk, and others, dozens of suggestions have been made for identifying specific, traditional Jewish prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls and associated literature, most notably in Ben Sira and 1–2 Maccabees.<sup>23</sup> While I do not find all of those identifications convincing, I do see a significant number of close correspondences for certain prayers, formulae, and practices. Three sterling examples will suffice to illustrate my point.

1. The liturgical collections from Qumran, both those of sectarian and non-sectarian origin, attest the systematic use of blessing formulae to open and close liturgical prayers during the Second Temple period. For example, a blessing formula such as “Blessed is the God of Israel” opens each of the evening and morning prayers in 4Q503 and closes many of them, occasionally adding “You” or “Your name” to the formula. Similarly, each weekday prayer in the *Words of the Luminaries* and each of the *Festival Prayers* conclude with a “Blessed is the Lord” formula. This formal function closely accords with the rabbinic liturgical benediction, which imposes an opening and closing blessing framework on the

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<sup>23</sup> S. Talmon, “The ‘Manual of Benedictions’ of the Sect of the Judaean Desert,” *RevQ* 2 (1960): 475–500; idem, “The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of the Qumran Literature,” in idem, *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 200–243. D. Flusser, “Sanktus und Gloria,” in *Abraham unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel: FS O. Michel* (ed. O. Betz, M. Hengel, and P. Schmidt; AGSU 5; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 128–152; idem, “Qumran and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205; idem, “‘He Has Planted It [i.e., the Law] as Eternal Life in Our Midst,’” *Tarbiz* 58 (1989): 147–153 (Hebrew). M. Weinfeld, “Traces of Kedushat Yotzer and Pesukey De-Zimra in the Qumran Literature and in Ben Sira,” *Tarbiz* 45 (1976): 15–26 (Hebrew); idem, “The Prayers for Knowledge, Repentance and Forgiveness in the ‘Eighteen Benedictions’—Qumran Parallels, Biblical Antecedents, and Basic Characteristics,” *Tarbiz* 45 (1979): 15–26 (Hebrew); idem, “The Morning Prayers (*Birkhoth Hashachar*) in Qumran and in the Conventional Jewish Liturgy,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 481–494; “Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years*, 241–258; idem, “The Angelic Song Over the Luminaries in the Qumran Texts,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, 131–157; see also L.H. Schiffman, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L.I. Levine; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1987), 33–48. Maier, “Zu Kult und Liturgie”; B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), and eadem, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 195–219; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, and idem, “Qumran and the Synagogue Liturgy,” in *The Ancient Synagogue*, 404–433. See also Chazon, “Prayers from Qumran,” and the specific examples given below.

obligatory prayers (principally, the *Shema* Benedictions and the *Amidah*).<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the liturgies from Qumran show that the formal, liturgical use of closing blessings and the second person address to God as “You” in the benedictory formulae are innovations vis à vis the classic biblical blessing, which opens a spontaneous expression of praise *about* God.<sup>25</sup> These are two Second Temple period developments that serve as forerunners of the rabbinic liturgical benediction.

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<sup>24</sup> Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, 77–103. Heinemann differentiates between the rabbinic opening formula, “Blessed are You, Lord, King of the Universe, who has done . . .” and the concluding, participial eulogy pattern, “Blessed are You, Lord who makes . . .,” which was also used as an alternate opening formula, for example, at the beginning of the *Shema* Benedictions, “Blessed are You, Lord, King of the Universe, who forms light and creates darkness, makes peace and creates all.” The Scrolls now show (contrast Heinemann, *ibid.*, 93) that in this earlier period both the relative clause and the active participle were used alternately in closing as well as opening blessings, and that both forms could be couched either in the second or third person (on the second person address to God see also below). For the Qumran data see E.M. Schuller, “Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts From Qumran,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins Presented to J. Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins, and T.H. Tobin; Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 133–143; E.G. Chazon, “A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: ‘Words of the Luminaries’ (4QDibHam)” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 100–101 (Hebrew); Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 72–80; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 37–42, 79–84, 182–185. In addition to the three non-sectarian liturgies from Qumran cited above, it is important to observe that at least two sectarian liturgical collections employ concluding blessings (*Songs of the Sage*, 4Q511 63 iv 1–3, and 1QH<sup>a</sup>, for which see Chazon, “Liturgical Function”) and several regularly employ opening blessing formulae (e.g. the Purification Rituals in 4Q512 and 4Q284; 4QpapRitMar [4Q502]; and many of the hymns in the *Hodayot*, see H. Stegemann, “The Number of Psalms in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and Some of Their Sections,” in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 191–234). These sectarian examples demonstrate that the Qumran Community followed accepted liturgical conventions in writing its own prayers. Some features of the various formulae are discussed further below.

<sup>25</sup> For the biblical pattern and its use as the prototype for the rabbinic opening blessing see Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, 82–89. In the Bible, closing blessings are only used to mark the end of each book of Psalms (41:14; 72:19; 89:53; 106:48) and a few individual psalms (68:36; 72:18; 135:21). The Second Temple apocryphal works known before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls provided just a few instances of closing blessings (Tob 13:19; *Pss. Sol.* 2:37; 5:19; 6:6; 3 Macc 7:23) and of blessings with a second person address to God (Tob 3:8, 15–17; LXX Dan 3:3, 29). For the latter as a late biblical expression occurring in Ps 119:12 and 1 Chr 29:10 see A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), 144–145. The second person address to God is employed in some closing blessings of the *Daily Prayers* and in the *Songs of the Sage*; it is regularly part of the opening blessing formulae in the Purification Ritual and the *hodayot* (see n. 24 above). Tellingly, a supralinear correction changes the typical *hodayot* formula, “I thank you, Lord” to “Blessed are You” in one hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII:22) and the



2. The New Year liturgy in the *Festival Prayers* from Qumran and the Friday prayer in the *Words of the Luminaries* now attest the liturgical recitation of a petition for the in-gathering of the Diaspora at those fixed prayer times. Not only does the liturgical practice correspond to that in later Jewish daily and festival prayer but, there is a common tradition of formulating this petition with Isa 11:12. The latter tradition underlies the *Festival Prayers* from Qumran and other exemplars of this petition from the Second Temple period. Notable examples include Sir 36:13, 2 Macc 1:27, and Pss. Sol. 8:28, as well as the rabbinic daily *Amidah*, which uses Isa 11:12 in the tenth benediction's petition for in-gathering (*b. Ber.* 29a) and Isa 56:8 in its eulogy (*y. Ber.* 2:4, 5a; cf. Sir 51:12).<sup>26</sup> To illustrate their close correspondence and common tradition, I quote the text from Qumran followed by the talmudic sources for the tenth *Amidah* benediction:

You shall assemble [our banished ones] for an appointed time of [...],  
and our dispersed ones for the season of [... may you] ga[ther].<sup>27</sup>  
(4Q509 3 3-4)

Our dispersed ones You shall gather from four (corners) ...  
(abbreviated Eighteen Benedictions, *b. Ber.* 29a, cf. *y. Ber.* 4:3, 8a)  
(Blessed are You, God) who gathers the banished ones of Israel.<sup>28</sup>  
(eulogy, *y. Ber.* 2:4, 5a)

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second person pronoun (אתה) is added supralinearly to the opening blessing formula in the morning and evening liturgy of 4Q408 (frg. 3 + 3a), which is a liturgy similar to 4QpapPrQuot (4Q503). The data from Qumran thus provide early evidence for a growing tendency toward the second person address to God in opening and closing blessings.

<sup>26</sup> The hymn of praise in Sir 51:12 is probably a later addition because it is absent from the Greek and ancient Hebrew manuscripts. Sir 36:13 and 2 Macc 1:27 combine Isa 11:12; 49:5-6. The *Festival Prayers* from Qumran provide a closer linguistic parallel than the petition in the weekday *Words of the Luminaries*, which is formulated with Deut 30:1-4. For a fuller discussion and tables of the parallel texts see E.G. Chazon, "Gather the Dispersed of Judah: Seeking a Return to the Land as a Factor in Jewish Identity of Late Antiquity," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 159-175.

<sup>27</sup> The extant verb, וְאַסְפַּתָּהּ, could be taken as a perfect with consecutive *waw* denoting the past (E. Qimron, "Prayers for the Festivals from Qumran: Reconstruction and Philological Observations," in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* [ed. M.F.J. Baasten and W.T. van Peursen; OLA 118; Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 383-393) or as a perfect with conversive *waw* denoting the future, as in Maurice Baillet's translation, which accords with his reading of [ךך]ק[ת in line 4 and the allusion to Isa 11:12 in lines 3-4 (*DJD* VII [1982]:185-187).

<sup>28</sup> The full version in the Palestinian prayer rite preserved in the Cairo Genizah reads:

3. The *Daily Prayers* from Qumran bear a striking similarity in form, content, language, and function to the rabbinic Benediction on the Luminaries (*b. Ber.* 11b–12a).<sup>29</sup> Both sets of benedictions offer praise twice a day at sunrise and sunset for the creation and daily renewal of the heavenly lights, using the verbs לְהַאִיר, “to shine” (e.g., 4Q503 10 3) and לְחַדֵּשׁ, “to renew” (4Q503 29–32 9). Both follow the practice of mentioning darkness as well as light in the morning and evening blessings. Both add traditional Sabbath themes (rest, delight, holiness, and election) in the special form of the benedictions for the Sabbath days.<sup>30</sup> Both contain a description of the praise offered by and in unison with the angels, which is known in the statutory liturgy as the *Qedushah* of the *Yotser*, the blessing to God “who forms (*Yotser*) light and creates darkness.” Clearly, these texts represent the same religious phenomenon, reflect a shared liturgical tradition, and are similar enough to enable the Qumran scroll to shed light on Jewish liturgy, for example, on the antiquity of the *Yotser Qedushah* and the Babylonian custom of its *daily* recitation.<sup>31</sup> As impressive as the parallels

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Sound the great ram's horn (Isa 27:13) for our freedom,  
 Hold up a signal (Isa 11:12a) to gather our exiled ones,  
 (Gather us together from the four corners of the earth [Isa 11:12b] to our land)  
 Blessed are You, God, who gathers the banished ones of His people Israel (Isa 56:8).

Y. Luger, *The Weekday Amidah in the Cairo Genizah* (Jerusalem: Orhot, 2001), 114–118; see also S. Schechter, “Geniza Specimens,” *JQR* (Old Series) 10 (1898): 654–659; for the similar version in the Babylonian rite see the early (ninth century C.E.) prayer book, *Seder Rab Amram Ga'on* (ed. D.S. Goldschmidt; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1971), 25 (Hebrew). The petition for in-gathering recited on festivals is worded differently in both the Palestinian and Babylonian prayer rites. For the latter see e.g., *Amram* (ibid., 126): “Bring near our scattered among the nations (Joel 4:2) and assemble (Ps 147:2) our dispersed (Isa 11:12) from the ends of the earth (Jer 31:8).” This formulation of the petition might already be attested by the version of the abbreviated Eighteen Benedictions recorded in the Palestinian Talmud (*y. Ber.* 4:3, 8a), “our scattered ones You will gather.”

<sup>29</sup> For the full text in early prayer books see Schechter, “Geniza,” 654; J. Mann, “Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service,” *HUCA* 2 (1925): 269–323; Goldschmidt, *Amram*, 13–14, 52, 71.

<sup>30</sup> 4Q503 24–25 5; 37–38 13–15; 40–41 4–6; see E.G. Chazon, “On the Special Character of Sabbath Prayer: New Data from Qumran,” *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 15 (1992–1993): 1–21. The dates of the month assigned to the Sabbath prayers in 4Q503 render this liturgy inapplicable, in its present form, to every month of the year; however, the character of these evening and morning blessings suggests that blessings like them were recited daily by the worshippers who used this liturgy (see E.G. Chazon, “The Function of the Qumran Prayer Texts: An Analysis of the Daily Prayers [4Q503],” in *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After*, 217–225).

<sup>31</sup> E.G. Chazon, “The Qedushah Liturgy and its History in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *From Qumran to Cairo: Studies in the History of Prayer: Proceeding of the*

are both quantitatively and qualitatively, some differences in detail such as the astronomical terminology in the *Daily Prayers* from Qumran,<sup>32</sup> on the one hand, and the absence of the thrice-holy/*qedushah* verse in that scroll, on the other, lead me to question whether we actually have here an ancient version of this Jewish prayer. “Precursor” would be a more apt term.

The three examples given above are part of what now amounts to a critical mass of liturgical formulae, prayers and practices with striking parallels to their counterparts in the statutory Jewish liturgy. This picture is not unlike what Joseph Heinemann described as “common liturgical property,”<sup>33</sup> but on a far grander scale and with the highly significant contribution of early, non-sectarian liturgical collections. Thus, the Scrolls have uncovered a sizeable, continuous liturgical tradition stretching from the second century B.C.E. to the third century C.E., and in some instances perhaps even a precursor or direct antecedent of a later rabbinic benediction or liturgical practice. These results would appear to have implications for the early history of Jewish liturgy and for refining Ezra Fleischer’s historical model of the liturgy’s creation *ex nihilo* at Yavneh. They suggest that the establishment of the new institution of obligatory Jewish prayer by the rabbis after the Second Temple’s destruction was not *ex nihilo* but rather came against a rich background of considerable, well-steeped, liturgical precedent and tradition.

#### PENITENTIAL PRAYER

The final section of this study focuses on one particular genre, that of penitential prayer, also known as communal confession or supplication.<sup>34</sup> This genre cuts across Second Temple literature up until, and including, early rabbinic prayer. It provides an opportunity to address together,

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*Research Group Convened Under the Auspices of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997* (ed. J. Tabory; Jerusalem: Orhot, 1999), 7–17.

<sup>32</sup> The terminology is explained by J.M. Baumgarten, “4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar,” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 399–406.

<sup>33</sup> Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, 56; see his second chapter on “The Development of Prayers and the Problem of the ‘Original Text,’” 37–76.

<sup>34</sup> See “Appendix A: Designations for Penitential Prayer,” which also lists the prayers of this genre, in M.J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9* (BZAW 277; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 198–202.

in a holistic fashion, the corresponding issues on the agendas of both Qumran research and Jewish liturgical studies as outlined above. These issues are the non-sectarian provenance of liturgical texts discovered at Qumran; the interface between sectarian, early non-sectarian, and later rabbinic prayer; and the social map of regular, public prayer during the Second Temple period.

Penitential prayer has been the subject of a number of major studies in the last few years as well as of a three-year consultation at the Society of Biblical Literature. These have produced a general consensus about the genre's origin at the very beginning of the Second Temple period, a basic list of prayers of this type, and an accepted working definition. The definition has been formulated by Rodney Werline as follows:

Penitential prayer is a direct address to God in which an individual, group, or an individual on behalf of a group confesses sins and petitions for forgiveness as an act of repentance.<sup>35</sup>

The chief exemplars of this genre are considered to be: Ezra 9:6–15; Neh 1:5–37; 9:5–37; Dan 9:4–19; Bar 1:5–3:18; the Prayer of Azariah in LXX Dan 3:2[25]–21[45]; 3 Macc 2:1–20; Esther's prayer in the Septuagint (LXX Esth 14); and the Greek Prayer of Manasseh.

In the Qumran corpus, scholars generally class the following *non-sectarian* texts as penitential prayers: the Hebrew Prayer of Manasseh in the *Non-Canonical Psalms* (4Q381 33 + 35); the *Festival Prayers*, especially the one for the Day of Atonement (4Q508 3); the weekday prayers in the *Words of the Luminaries*; and 4QCommunal Confession (4Q393) which was first published in 1994.<sup>36</sup> Significantly three of these are in liturgical collections, of which two are collections for fixed prayer times. The time of recitation is not specified in the fourth text (4Q393), but its content and language better suit a regular rather than an ad hoc occa-

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<sup>35</sup> "Defining Penitential Prayer," in *Seeking the Favor of God*, vol. 1: *The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.J. Boda, D.K. Falk, and R.A. Werline; SBLEJL 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), xv. A petition for removal of the problem plaguing the petitioner(s) usually ensues. See R.A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (SBLEJL 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 2–3 and Boda, *Praying the Tradition*, 28–29.

<sup>36</sup> See especially E. Schuller, "Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: A Research Survey," in *Seeking the Favor of God*, vol. 2: *The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.J. Boda, D.K. Falk, and R.A. Werline; SBLEJL 22; Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 1–15. For 4Q393 see D.K. Falk, "4Q393: A Communal Confession," *JJS* (1994): 184–207.

sion. What is most striking about this list of scrolls is that it informs us unequivocally about the application of penitential prayer to fixed prayer times already in the second to first centuries B.C.E. and indicates that this liturgical regularization was taking place outside of the Qumran community.

Yet, the vast majority of penitential prayers in Second Temple literature are still for times of acute distress and particularly for recitation during special, ad hoc public assemblies called to deal with the crisis, which was understood as divine punishment for sin.<sup>37</sup> This original, emergency use persisted throughout the rabbinic period as seen in the fast-day ritual in tractate *Ta'anit* (Mishnah, Tosefta and both Talmuds), continuing even when the rabbis fixed penitential prayers in their Day of Atonement and daily liturgies (see below). Thanks to the Scrolls, we now know that the regular, liturgical use of penitential prayer also goes back to the middle of the Second Temple period. Furthermore, the Scrolls, especially the *Words of the Luminaries*, demonstrate how penitential prayer was adapted from ad hoc occasions to a new religious practice of daily communal prayer that was a harbinger of future developments in rabbinic liturgy. For instance, by shifting the emphasis away from sin and onto petitions for on-going spiritual and physical needs, the *Words of the Luminaries* tempered the penitential mode of prayer and accommodated it to a routine daily liturgy in a manner comparable to the incorporation of petitions for knowledge, repentance, forgiveness, and redemption in the daily *Amidah* prayer.<sup>38</sup>

Of the issues laid out above, the most difficult to solve is that of mapping the groups and settings in which penitential prayer was taking place on an ad hoc or regular basis during the Second Temple period. When surveying all the extant penitential prayers, it is striking how many of these there are for times of acute distress and how broad this

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<sup>37</sup> Although some scholars prefer to see the genre's *Sitz im Leben* in covenant ceremonies like those in Ezra-Nehemiah, (and later, in 1QS I:16–II:23), the crisis is very much in view in all the exemplars in late biblical and apocryphal literature. See Werline, *Penitential Prayer*, 3–6, 194–195, and the recent assessments of research by S.E. Balentine, “I Was Ready to Be Sought Out by Those Who Did Not Ask,” and M.J. Boda, “Form Criticism in Transition: Penitential Prayer and Lament, *Sitz im Leben* and Form,” both in *Seeking the Favor*, 1:1–20 and 1:181–192, respectively.

<sup>38</sup> E.G. Chazon, “The *Words of the Luminaries* and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times,” in *Seeking the Favor*, 2:177–186. See also the discerning comments by Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, 197–199 on the confessional in the rabbinic daily, Day of Atonement, and emergency fast-day liturgies, as well as Weinfeld, “Prayers for Knowledge, Repentance and Forgiveness.”

practice was both geographically and chronologically. Although each of those occasions was ad hoc, the practice itself was regularly implemented in frequently occurring crisis situations and may, therefore, be seen as habitual. Some evidence of penitential prayer on annual holidays now comes from separate quarters thanks to the non-sectarian *Festival Prayers* from Qumran that broaden the context in which to view the holiday penitential prayer in Baruch (Bar 1:14). The establishment of penitential prayers for certain yearly festivals and as the regular program for public emergencies may have laid the groundwork for the appropriation of penitential prayer in the weekday liturgy of the *Words of the Luminaries*, a practice not attested again until the rabbinic period.

The limited number of annual and daily penitential prayers from the Second Temple period makes it extremely difficult to determine how narrow or broad these practices were or which groups engaged in them. Some clues may be forthcoming from tracking all the examples of penitential prayer and from recent work on the groups behind the genre and its provenance. For instance, Dalit Rom-Shiloni finds the origins of this genre in what she calls “orthodox” circles of the mid-late sixth century B.C.E., by which she means the deuteronomistic historiographers, priests mainly of the Holiness school, and prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel.<sup>39</sup> Her finding fits the picture of the authors and settings of the penitential prayers throughout the Second Temple period both in Palestine and the Diaspora as exemplified by Ezra, Nehemiah, Baruch, and 3 Maccabees.<sup>40</sup> The Scrolls afford an opportunity to see how an anti-establishment group adopted but radically reinterpreted the genre in its own practice, as in its annual covenant ceremony,<sup>41</sup> while absorbing traditional exemplars of the genre like those in the *Festival Prayers* and the *Words of the Luminaries*, which apparently hailed from non-separatist circles that plausibly had closer ties than the Qumran community to the power base and Temple cult in Jerusalem.

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<sup>39</sup> “Social-Ideological *Setting* or *Settings* for Penitential Prayer,” in *Seeking the Favor*, 1:51–68.

<sup>40</sup> Both prayers in 3 Macc are recited by priests; the decidedly penitential prayer in 2:1–20 is said by the high priest in the Jerusalem Temple.

<sup>41</sup> For the Qumran covenant ceremony see n. 37 above and Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 219–222.

## CONCLUSION

The case of penitential prayer can provide a model for future research. It is an example of intensive research and consultation on a specific type of prayer and religious practice in every quarter of Second Temple Judaism over the course of the entire period, also taking account of earlier biblical traditions and later rabbinic trajectories. The map of Second Temple Judaism is richer and more detailed as a result. We have gained insights into the various groups employing this type of prayer, different nuances in separate quarters, and the application of ad hoc penitential practice to routine festival and daily communal prayer in non-sectarian circles. These matters lie at the heart of the key issues and mutual concerns of both Qumran research and Jewish liturgy. In conclusion, I propose adding another dimension to Qumran studies in the twenty-first century: not only the perspective of the entire corpus, its integration with all associated corpora, and a look at the interface between Qumran and the outside world, but also a new stage of collaborative, interdisciplinary research that will bring together scholars in the related disciplines and push the envelope on the outstanding, critical issues in the fields of Qumran and Jewish liturgy.





WHEN THE BELL RINGS:  
THE QUMRAN RITUALS OF AFFLICTION IN CONTEXT

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In the last twenty years, the disciplines of religious studies and e.g., political science, have seen the emergence of the thriving new perspective of “ritual studies.” There is now a *Journal of Ritual Studies* and a *Ritual Studies Monograph Series*. Many institutions of higher education offer introductory classes to ritual studies.<sup>1</sup> There are many interesting focuses and perspectives through which ritual studies can throw light on religious behavior. Here, I shall limit myself to one of the endeavors of this new discipline: the attempt to develop a typology of ritual activity. In recent years, much progress has been made in the study of Qumran religion by studies cataloguing and systematizing Qumran liturgical texts.<sup>2</sup> Rituals, however, are larger than words. Ritual studies are particularly interesting for their attention to the non-verbal aspects of ritual and even for wholly non-verbal rituals. I do not want to say that these aspects have been completely neglected in previous studies,<sup>3</sup> yet, as is usual for a discipline dominated by philology, the study of words has clearly been preferred to that of ritual action.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See also the huge long-term *Sonderforschungsbereich* “Ritual Dynamics” in Heidelberg with more than 50 collaborators (see <http://www.ritualdynamik.uni-hd.de/en/index.htm>).

<sup>2</sup> Let me only mention B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chapman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) and D.K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998). Many of the important works written by E. Chazon, D. Flusser, J. Maier, E. Schuller and M. Weinfeld deal with the history of tradition, the antecedents to, the heirs of, as well as the parallel developments to the prayer texts discovered at Qumran.

<sup>3</sup> Much of the work of D.K. Falk, e.g., focuses on the relation of ritual and chronological as well as socio-historical aspects.

<sup>4</sup> This is also exemplified by the revolution in Qumran Studies caused by the work of L.H. Schiffman that brought halakhah back to the place of primordial importance such an issue should have in the study of a Jewish religious community.

Among the pioneers and driving forces for the success of ritual studies are scholars such as Ronald Grimes and the late Catherine Bell.<sup>5</sup> In her *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*—arguably the best introduction to ritual studies—Bell proposed a typology of rituals and her work has been rather influential.<sup>6</sup> To my knowledge, the first application of Bell's typology to Qumran texts was an article by Rob Kugler.<sup>7</sup> Two brief articles by James Davila survey the texts of the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.<sup>8</sup> The most extensive work so far is the recent dissertation *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* by Russell Arnold that admirably elaborates on Kugler's study.<sup>9</sup>

I shall proceed in three steps. The first part addresses problematic aspects in Bell's typology, focusing one of her types: "rites of affliction." In the second part, I briefly investigate Arnold's (and Kugler's) applications of Bell's typology and propose my own. In the third and final part, I shall make some observations resulting from comparisons of Qumran's rites of affliction with those of other forms of early Judaism and Christianity. Special consideration will be given to the paradox of the existence of

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<sup>5</sup> C. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); eadem, *Ritual Theory Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); R. Grimes, *The Beginnings of Ritual Studies* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994). See also R.A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); J.Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago Series in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

<sup>6</sup> Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 91–137.

<sup>7</sup> R. Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–152.

<sup>8</sup> J.R. Davila, "Ritual in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha," in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* (ed. L.J. Lawrence and M.I. Aguilar; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158–183 (*non vidit*) (conference paper available online at [http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/divinity/ritual\\_pseud.html](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/divinity/ritual_pseud.html)). Davila articulates his larger project in his paper "Ritual in the Old Testament Apocrypha" (draft for discussion at the Symposium on Anthropology and the Old Testament, Glasgow, 27 August 2004), 1–7 (here 1), online: <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/academic/divinity/RitApoc.htm>.

<sup>9</sup> R.C.D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), cf. his contribution "The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies" in this volume. See also E. Larson, "Worship in Jubilees and Enoch" in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 369–383 and the communication of "Ritual in Jubilees" by M.A. Daise in the same venture. See also: M.A. Daise, "Ritual Density in Qumran Practice: Ablutions in the *Serekh Ha-Yahad*," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. E.G. Chazon and B. Halpern-Amaru; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 51–66.

rituals of affliction in the ritual behavior of a group that believes in predetermination. After all, the main aim of these rituals is normally an effort to change the current miserable situation, a seemingly futile endeavor for people with a deterministic worldview.

Bell suggests distinguishing the following six groups of rituals:<sup>10</sup>

1. Rites of passage / life-cycle rites are rites (such as birth or marriage) that deal with the sociocultural and/or biological events of human life.<sup>11</sup>
2. Calendrical and commemorative rites (such as Passover) “give socially meaningful definitions to the passage of time.”<sup>12</sup>
3. Rites of exchange and communion (e.g. community meals) secure “the well-being of the community and the larger cosmos” and “redefine the culture’s system of cosmological boundaries . . . while simultaneously allowing the crossing or transgression of those very same boundaries.”<sup>13</sup>
4. Rites of affliction (e.g. response to meteorological disaster) “attempt to rectify a state of affairs that has been disturbed or disordered: they heal, exorcise, protect, and purify.”<sup>14</sup>
5. Rites of feasting, fasting, and festivals (such as Lent, Ramadan or Carnival) emphasize the public display of religiocultural sentiments.<sup>15</sup>
6. Political rituals (enthronization, military parades) “specifically construct, display and promote the power of political institutions . . . or the political interests of distinct constituencies and subgroups.”<sup>16</sup>

We should not forget, however, that Bell states herself that this list is *not* exhaustive.<sup>17</sup> We should therefore add a seventh category:

7. X (other).

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<sup>10</sup> Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 91–137.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>12</sup> Both, *rites de passage* and calendrical rites “impose cultural schemes on the order of nature,” while commemorative rites “recall the important historical events” (*ibid.*, 102, 103, 104). These recurring rites often “express the most basic beliefs of the community” (*ibid.*, 105). Calendars and festival calendars also define boundaries.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 92 and 135. This has not been exploited in the applications of Bell to early Judaism by Arnold, Davila or Kugler.

Bell's typology is appealing because of its brevity and its clarity. This clarity, however, might only be apparent. My main methodological critique of Bell is that she seems to employ two different sets of criteria, functionalist and phenomenological, to establish her typology. For example, category Five, "Rites of feasting, fasting and festivals" is defined in largely phenomenological terms (rituals with mass feasting or fasting), while category six "political rites" is rather functionalist and category two "calendrical rites and commemorative rites" is a mixture of both. Many of the calendrical rites are feasts, fasts or festivals. She is well aware that many rituals may be categorized in multiple rubrics, yet, it seems to me, that not only the polyvalent functions of one ritual foster the problem of classifying rituals in one or another category but also that her six categories are not so to speak six brands of apples but a mix of apples *and oranges*. The Shiite Ashura could be classified among the calendrical and commemorative rites (2) as well as rite of affliction (5) or among the rites of feasting, fasting, and festivals (4). It can easily assume political aspects (6) when Hizbollah publicly displays its power in demonstrations on this day.

An emergency rite such as a public fast prescribed in *Mishnah Ta'anit* could fit category four "rites of affliction," as well as category five "rites of feasting, fasting, and festivals." Yom Kippur fits both categories as well as "calendrical and commemorative rites," i.e., categories two, four and five. In the fifth and fourth century B.C.E., it was to some extent even a political rite as it was *the* rite performed by the High Priest, the acting ruler of Yehud that also established his claim to the high-priesthood, shown by his special garments, the legendary feast at the end of the day and in much later times by the struggle about who would control the garments. He is the only one to perform this ritual, so the one who performs it is recognizably the High Priest.

Let us now have a closer look at Bell's category "Rituals of Affliction." "Of" in this expression has to be understood as adversative "against," so very different from the other terms she uses in her typology (e.g. rites of feasting and fasting).<sup>18</sup> Bell defines rituals of affliction as rites that "attempt to rectify a state of affairs that has been disturbed or disordered: they heal, exorcise, protect, and purify."<sup>19</sup> They "redress the devel-

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<sup>18</sup> Davila seems to have misunderstood this when he includes also "vision-quests" in the category of rituals of affliction. Vision quests are preparatory rituals for visional experiences that often involve self-affliction.

<sup>19</sup> Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 115.

opment of anomalies or imbalances.”<sup>20</sup> According to Bell, we speak primarily of emergency rites and the majority of rituals (but not the totality) concerns the individual.<sup>21</sup> It is therefore frequently regarded as the most “magical” sort of rites. Among the main problems for which these rites are “needed,” she lists meteorological disorders, physical or psychological health problems and impurities but also e.g., sins. Her wide range of examples for these three subtypes include the exposition of divine statues to the burning sun in times of drought in China for meteorological disorders, Shamanistic healing rites from Korea, Western psychoanalysis, and the Red Indian Ghost Dance for physical or psychological health problems. The third subcategory, purifications, includes those performed after contact with untouchables or foreigners among Indian Brahmins, and others after menstruation in Hinduism, Shintoism, medieval Christianity and Judaism. Bell also includes recurring calendric events such as the annual fire-walking of statues in China, purification before Shabbat, as well as the *Kumbha Mela* of India, the largest religious gathering in the world celebrated every twelve years with tens of millions of participants.

In my opinion, the inclusion of regular purification before Shabbat shows a problem. The *main* focus is Shabbat, not the purification or an affliction. When an Orthodox bishop washes his hands before proceeding to the liturgy, or Muslims perform the *wudu'* and wash the face, hands and feet before beginning the statutory prayer, the purifications are minor matters preparing and introducing the essential ritual. As Bell states herself, her typology largely disregards context and what I would call the intertextuality of ritual. I would add that her typology also seems to disregard hierarchy. Accordingly, I shall distinguish between independent rituals and minor rites that are part of a ritual in my analysis.

Naturally, any attempt to approach religion by categorizing all rituals of *all* religions is a daunting enterprise. For some religions this typology, which was developed out of the experience with a selection of religions, might be a sort of a Procrustean bed. For example, Bell's typology does not really have a category for daily prayer, demonstrating her background outside of Jewish orthodox or Christian monastic traditions. Yet, one should approach models from the social sciences pragmatically with

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> “[I]n some cases it may also involve the intercession of powerful beings to rectify intrusions and imbalances that go beyond the body of a single person” (ibid.).

questions such as: Are they useful? What is the surplus knowledge gained by their application? Let us therefore regard the actual application of Bell in the work of Russell Arnold.

In his recent book on Qumran rituals, Russell Arnold (who accepts Bell's typology without much discussion) comes up with three subtypes for "rituals of affliction": a) curses, b) apotropaic prayers and incantations and c) purifications. Each of these three types is further distinguished into two subtypes: There are curses against humans and those against supra-humans. Apotropaic prayers address evil as such while incantations are directed against specific demon(s). And finally, purifications can treat specific causes (such as genital or corpse impurity) or be calendrically cyclical.<sup>22</sup>

Arnold's classification differs at some points from Kugler's earlier attempt—without always stating why. Arnold is certainly right in the first point to add apotropaic prayers and incantations, rites of affliction *par excellence*.<sup>23</sup> With regard to our distinction between rituals and rites, incantations are normally independent emergency rituals for specific occasions,<sup>24</sup> while most apotropaic prayers are rites subordinate to and part of complex and recurring rituals.<sup>25</sup> Only for the former do we have texts arguably composed by the *yahad*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 159–186.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 165–168. On apotropaic prayers, see D. Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205; E. Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E.G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88.

<sup>24</sup> E. Eshel refers to 4Q560, 8Q5, 11Q11, all non-sectarian compositions. 4Q560 is an Aramaic magic formula for a person plagued by illness and sins: J. Naveh, "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran," *IEJ* 48 (1998): 252–261. 8Q5 is a very fragmentary text beginning [ג]בור אני מיראומע [בשמכה]. 11Q11 speaks to an individual and mentions demon(s) (I:10; II:3–4), an aggressive angel (מלאך תקיף, IV:5), healing (רפואה, II:7), and exorcism language (משביע, III:4; IV:1; cf. I:7), God's name (II:8), Salomon (II:2), and Raphael (V:3).

<sup>25</sup> In addition to the sectarian texts mentioned below, Eshel refers to Num 6:24–26, the prayer of Levi in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (4Q213a), 11Q5 XIX:13–16 (*Plea for Deliverance*) and XXIV (Ps 155), and *Jub.* 6:1–7 and 12:19–20 as non-Sectarian apotropaic prayers. In Judaism, Mezuzot and Tefillin are frequently thought to contain apotropaic aspects, but this is not clear in Qumran, see P.S. Alexander "Magic and Magical Texts," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:502–504 (here 502).

<sup>26</sup> Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 84. She refers to 4Q510–511, 4Q444, 6Q18 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4 as examples for apotropaic prayers from sectarian or para-sectarian texts found at Qumran.

Second, Kugler's rituals of affliction encompass also the Day of Atonement and "additional rites of affliction" such as e.g., communal confession.<sup>27</sup> As stated above, the polyvalence of Yom Kippur makes this day a problematic case for Bell's typology. Despite the fact that Yom Kippur is a recurring event and has much in common with "calendrical rituals" or "feasting, fasting and festivals," Yom Kippur is also the central rite to handle two of the main afflictions mentioned by Bell: impurity and sin.<sup>28</sup> Both impurity and sin are particularly closely connected in Qumran. I would, therefore, side with Kugler in putting Yom Kippur among the "rituals of affliction."<sup>29</sup>

Third, I would follow Kugler in classifying communal confessions and other rites dealing with the expiation or atonement of sin equally as "rites of affliction."<sup>30</sup> Since they rarely stand on their own and are usually parts of more complex liturgies such as daily prayer, they are rites rather than rituals.

Fourth, despite the fact that Kugler and Arnold agree that curses are rites of affliction, I regard them as a borderline case. These rites do not *rectify* a disorder but, as Arnold correctly states, they "*establish* . . . boundaries between members and outsiders."<sup>31</sup> With exception to the excommunication rite in the *Damascus Document*,<sup>32</sup> they are not full-fledged rituals in themselves, but rites that form rather extensive parts of the initiation and covenant ceremony. They define "we" versus "them" in a dualistic, black and white perspective. In comparison to later Jewish and Christian liturgies such as the "*Birkat*" *Haminim*,<sup>33</sup> curses are prominent in Qumran.<sup>34</sup> Functionally, curses might be classified under

<sup>27</sup> Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious," 146.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>29</sup> Arnold treats Yom Kippur under "feasts and fasts" (*The Social Role of Liturgy*, 101–105). We could also deduce from analogy with one of the examples mentioned by Bell, the annual fire-walking of statues in China that seems to be a similar yearly purgation ritual, Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 118.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. 4Q393, CD 9:13, 15:4, 1QS I:24–26.

<sup>31</sup> Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy*, 160. See also the contribution of J.S. Anderson "Curses and Blessings: Social Control and Self Definition in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in the first volume of these proceedings.

<sup>32</sup> See below. *Serekh ha-Yahad* speaks of exclusion of members for grave sins for a limited time or for good, without giving the details of a ritual for excommunication.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also Gal 1:8–9, 1 Cor 16:22 and *Did.* 10:6. R. Deichgräber and S. Hall, "Formeln, Liturgische II. Neues Testament und Alte Kirche," *TRE* 11:262, 265 refer to Tertullian, *Scorp.* 1 and *Praescr.* 6.

<sup>34</sup> See M. Bar Ilan "Segen und Fluch IV. Judentum," *TRE* 31:84–88 who refers to *m. Soṭah* 7:8, the synagogue inscription from Ein Gedi, *b. Meg.* 31b, the "*Birkat*" *Haminim*,

Bell's calendaric and commemoration rites that do serve the function of establishing cosmic order, especially when they are part of the yearly covenant renewal ceremony and turn also against angelic forces. Arnold subsumed the initiation and covenant ceremony under life cycle rites and Qumran daily prayer among the calendrical rites. These are reasonable choices that demonstrate again the problems inherent in Bell's typology. If curses are rites of affliction, we could classify the yearly covenant renewal ceremony that employs them amply as a ritual of affliction. I would, however, hesitate to do so, as the covenant renewal ceremony can be categorized as almost every single one of Bell's six types and as the affliction treated here (possible apostasy, threats from the outside) is minor with regard to the other functions of the ritual.

Finally, let us ask whether there are some other candidates for the category of rituals of affliction not mentioned by either Kugler or Arnold: I would think in particular of a) punishments, and b) funerals, mourning and purification rites after death. Let me briefly expound each of them:

Punishments are clearly emergency rituals attempting to rectify a disorder. Afflictions are imposed upon an individual that has afflicted the community by transgressing its codes. The most current punishment in the very developed penal system of Qumran is deprivation of participation in the pure food, which comes close to some sort of fasting.<sup>35</sup> This practice is not unlike the exclusion of penitents from the Eucharistic service in Late Antique Christianity. Kugler puts the punishments in Bell's "festivals, feasting and fasting" as their "main social function was to socialize community members 'in physical practices that reproduce central doctrinal traditions and identities.'"<sup>36</sup> But Bell's examples for

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*piyyutim* of Yannai and medieval Ashkenazi curses against non-Jews on Yom Kippur. On the latter, see I. Yuval, "Vengeance and Damnation, Blood and Defamation: From Jewish Martyrdom to Blood Libel Accusations," *Zion* 58 (1993): 33–90 (Hebrew).

<sup>35</sup> For analyses of the texts chiefly from *Serekh ha-Yahad* and the *Damascus Document*, see e.g. J.M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992): 268–276; idem, "Judicial Procedures," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:457–460; C. Hempel, "The Penal Codes Reconsidered," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*, Cambridge 1995 (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 337–348; L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1986).

<sup>36</sup> Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious," 139.



feasting and fasting rituals demonstrate that she had mainly those rituals in mind where everybody is acting in the *same* way, either feasting a potlatch or fasting in Ramadan. Here, however, the *yahad* has been afflicted by the sin of one of its members and reacts very pointedly by temporarily afflicting this specific member. More severe forms of punishment than food deprivation are excommunication<sup>37</sup> and the death penalty.<sup>38</sup> In my view, all these punishments attempt to “rectify a state of affairs that has been disturbed” and they function as rites of affliction.<sup>39</sup>

A second type of rituals that might belong here are rituals dealing with death. Death may be regarded as the worst of sicknesses, one of the major afflictions that—as other maladies—does not only affect the victim itself but also his or her family and close ones with deep distress. Most cultures have developed rituals addressing this problem. As most anthropologists, Bell classifies rites dealing with death as life-cycle rites. Rites dealing with pollution resulting from death, however, she regards as a prominent rite of affliction.<sup>40</sup> This division of two often closely connected rite complexes shows again that we speak of a borderline case. In any case, in Qumran texts, life-cycle rites including rites dealing with death seem to be underrepresented. This phenomenon dovetails with the absence of other life-cycle rites.<sup>41</sup> Circumcision, e.g., is extremely rarely noted.<sup>42</sup> The so called *Ritual of Marriage* (4Q502) has nothing to do with a marriage.<sup>43</sup> If we focus on Qumran literature one might be

<sup>37</sup> For the ritual of excommunication, see 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 11 5–16 (וכול המואס במשפטים) (par. 4QD<sup>e</sup> [4Q270] 7 ii).

<sup>38</sup> CD 9:1; 9:23–10:3 par. 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 8 ii 8–9 par. 4QD<sup>e</sup> (4Q270) 6 iii 16. Cf. also the non-community texts: 4QBibPar (4Q158) 9 1; 4QOrdin<sup>a</sup> (4Q159) 2–4 + 8 5–6 and 8–9; 4QJub<sup>f</sup> (4Q221) 4 4 (*Jub.* 33:13); 4QHalakha A (4Q251) 8 3–6; 4QRP<sup>b</sup> (4Q364) 13 3 (Exod 21:15); 11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XXXV:4–8; LI:16–18; LXIV:2–13; LXVI:2–8; 4QT<sup>b</sup> (4Q524) 1 and 14 2–3.

<sup>39</sup> See the two emic explanations for the punishment of the “stubborn son,” decontamination of the collective and admonition to all in 11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) XIV:5–6: עירו באבנים וימות ובערתה הרע מקרבכה וכול בני ישראל ישמעו ויראו ורגמוהו כול אנשי.

<sup>40</sup> Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 115.

<sup>41</sup> I have dealt with this issue in my paper “When the Bell Rings: The Qumran Life-Cycle Rituals // Rites de Passage” (presented at the SBL Annual Meeting in Boston, 20–25 November 2008) that I plan to publish elsewhere.

<sup>42</sup> Lev 12:3 is quoted in 4Q4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 6 ii 6 and 4QRP<sup>e</sup> (4Q367) 1a–b 4. Cf. the circumcision of Abraham in CD 16:6 par. 4QD<sup>e</sup> (4Q270) 6 ii 18–19 par. 4QD<sup>f</sup> (4Q271) 4 ii 7.

<sup>43</sup> J.M. Baumgarten, “4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?” *JJS* 34 (1983): 125–135; M. Satlow, “4Q502, a New Year Festival?” *DSD* 5 (1998): 57–68. In this light, Arnold’s focus on the Qumran initiation ritual for this category seems a wise decision.

tempted to say that in Turnerian terms Qumran was a liminal community largely neglecting essential events of individual life such as birth or death. This idealized impression from the texts stands in blatant contrast to the archaeological remains. The adjacent cemetery with more than 1000 tombs suggests that a substantial number of people who lived at the site also died there. Burials must have been quite frequent a ritual, every two or three months or so, and at least some people as well as the site itself must have been afflicted by corpse impurity quite regularly.<sup>44</sup> The *Temple Scroll*, a text appreciated by the Qumranites, details rules of purification after death, yet we know nothing from the scrolls about their burial and mourning rites.<sup>45</sup>

To sum up part two: In addition to Arnold's incantations and independent purification rituals, I would regard Yom Kippur<sup>46</sup> and the punishments prescribed in the penal code as *rituals* of affliction and apotropaic prayers, small scale purifications and confessions as *rites* of affliction. In addition, burial and mourning rites, curses and the covenant renewal ceremony are borderline cases. This new model would look as follows:

1. Rituals of Affliction
  - a. incantations
  - b. independent purifications
  - c. punishments
  - d. Yom Kippur (borderline with calendrical rituals)
  - e. (burials and mourning rites [borderline with *rites de passage*])
  - f. (covenant renewal ceremony [borderline with nearly all types of ritual])<sup>47</sup>
2. Rites of Affliction
  - a. apotropaic prayers
  - b. minor purifications
  - c. confessions
  - d. (curses [borderline with political rituals])

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<sup>44</sup> If Qumran was occupied during roughly 150 years, around six people would have died each year giving a population estimation of 200 in average and one burial every two months—a frequent ritual.

<sup>45</sup> R. Hachlili, "Cemetery," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:125–129.

<sup>46</sup> Despite its overlapping with calendrical rites as part of the festival calendar.

<sup>47</sup> For the initiates that are introduced to the *yahad* in this ritual, it is a *rite de passage* (see Arnold). As it is a yearly recurrent event, it is also a calendrical ritual. It gives sense to time passing. It establishes a political and cosmic hierarchy and its boundaries of insiders and outsiders as well as leaders, members and novices.

In the final part, I would like to make some more general observations on the basis of a macrocomparison of the map of Qumran rites of affliction with that of early Judaism. As Davila has shown, all of the rites and rituals of affliction attested for Qumran are part and parcel of many streams of Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism. On the micro-level there might be differences, but rarely do they distinguish Qumran from all other forms of Second Temple Judaism. Curses are certainly of higher importance at Qumran. Inner participation as condition for purification in 4Q512 and 4Q414 is attested also in John the Baptist. Baumgarten is wrong in juxtaposing a sad Sectarian Yom Kippur to a joyous Pharisaic one. Both include aspects of joy and sorrow.<sup>48</sup>

If we turn tables, however, we can observe that a substantial number of rituals of affliction attested in Second Temple, rabbinic (and early Christian) texts are absent from the Qumran scrolls. And it is here where our macrocomparison, with the help of Bell's typology, might prove heuristically fruitful. To use the expression of the title of this paper: it is now, when the Bell rings.

a. As others have remarked, the absence of evidence for regular fast days except Yom Kippur is truly exceptional. Zechariah 8 mentions four yearly fasts and rabbinic and patristic sources give evidence that some late Antique Jewish and Christian groups celebrated fasts accordingly.<sup>49</sup> The *Didache* knows of two weekly Jewish and Christian fasts.<sup>50</sup> In the third and fourth century the various forms of Lent emerge, in the fourth century Roman Christianity introduces the Ember Days, in the fifth or sixth Eastern Syriac Christians inaugurate the fast of the Ninevites. In the Qumran texts, arguably all occurrences of fasting and self-affliction refer to Yom Kippur.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps the ruling deterministic ideology may have

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<sup>48</sup> See D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (WUNT 163; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 35.

<sup>49</sup> *M. Ta'an* 4; *y. Ta'an* 4:5, 20b; *b. Roš Haš.* 18b; Jerome, *Comm. Zach.* 8:18–19 (CCSL 76A:820), referring to the 17 Tammuz, 9 Av, 3 Tishri and 10 Tevet; Philaster of Brescia, *Diversarum Hereseon Liber* 149 (written between 385 and 391 C.E.): “*absolute praedicauit, ut mysteria Christianitatis in ipsis quattuor ieiuniis nuntiata cognosceremus. Nam per annum quattuor ieiunia in ecclesia celebrantur, in natale primum deinde in pascha, tertio in ascensione, quarto in pentecosten*” (CSEL 38:120:24–121:4 [F. Marx 1888]).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. also Matt 9:14–15.

<sup>51</sup> N. Hacham, “Communal Fasts in the Judean Desert Scrolls and Associated Literature,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead*

fathered the opinion that fasts cannot alter divine predestination anyhow. Yom Kippur was only retained since it was the only fast ordained in the Torah. That Yom Kippur was highly significant for the group's identity is also visible in the memories attributing a persecution of the group to this day as foundational event as well as in the future expectations of a divine redemption on Yom Kippur may have played a role.<sup>52</sup>

b. In addition to the *absence of* regular fast days, I do not know of any evidence for other rites to handle collective emergencies. Descriptions and prescriptions of emergency public fasts abound in early Jewish and Christian literature.<sup>53</sup> How did the Qumranites react ritually when the Jewish War broke out and news of the developments in Jerusalem and the Galilee arrived there? Had texts like the *War Scroll* a liturgical *Sitz im Leben* in such a situation? Many crises in antiquity, as today, are meteorological disasters. Rituals in times of meteorological catastrophes are among Bell's first examples for affliction rituals. They are widely attested in early Judaism and Christianity. Jesus calms the storm.<sup>54</sup> Hanina ben Dosa prays for rain.<sup>55</sup> The Mishna and Talmudim include a whole tractate describing such a ritual (*Ta'anit*). And Gregory of Nazianzus reports of ritual responses during an episode of a severe drought.<sup>56</sup> Handling weather and meteorological mishaps do not however seem to play a role in Qumran ritual life.<sup>57</sup> Could this observation be used as an argument

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*Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January, 1999* (ed. D.M. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D.R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 127–145. Can we infer from the name “the festival of the fasting/affliction” (מועד התענית) for the Day of Atonement that this was the only day Qumranites fasted? The plural forms in 4QShir<sup>a</sup> (4Q510) 1 4–8 par. 4QShir<sup>b</sup> (4Q511) 10 1–6 and 4QShir<sup>b</sup> 8 5 and 121 2 and 11QapocPs (11Q11) IV:12 may, perhaps, refer to affliction/humiliation in general, but this is not certain. The late H. Eshel, however, has argued that 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) 2 9–11 refers to a communal fast in a dreadful drought in 65 B.C.E., a fast, that was kept not only by the Qumranites but in general, see *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonaean State* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2004), 135 (Hebrew) and p. 149 in the English translation (*Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> See 1QpHab XI:7–8, 11QMelch (11Q13) II:7–8 and Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur*, 97–100.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. in Jonah 3–4; 1 Macc 3:46–55; *m. Ta'anit*.

<sup>54</sup> Mark 4:35–40 par.

<sup>55</sup> *B. Ta'an.* 24b.

<sup>56</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or. Bas.* 16.

<sup>57</sup> Almost all references to rain appear in narratives of Enoch and retellings of the story of the flood. But see 1Q34 3 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI:16–17: “But You, O my God, have placed Your words in my mouth, as showers of early rain, for all [who thirst] and as a spring of living

that the people behind the scrolls lived in the desert of Qumran, where they could lead a life largely independent of the follies of the weather gods?

c. If Joe Zias' analyses of the bacterial remains in Qumran toilets prove true, sickness must have had a ubiquitous presence among the inhabitants of Qumran—having caused a considerable number of fatalities according to the cemetery data.<sup>58</sup> In the Qumran texts, however, individual healing seems to be a minor affair.<sup>59</sup> Most references to healing are halakhic developments on how to decide whether somebody has to be regarded as healed and therefore pure or not.<sup>60</sup> Almost all other passages address God as healer in very general and/or eschatological terms or speak of the object of healing in a very general plural: “they” or “them.” The majority of extra-biblical references about individual healing are in texts that have been written in Aramaic who were owned but not produced by the community: e.g. Pharaoh's afflictions due to Sara and Nabonidus' illness.<sup>61</sup> The incantation 4Q560, the only text that one might compare to a medical treatise, is part of this alien Aramaic wisdom, too. Were it not for 11QapocrPs (11Q11), the one exception mentioned above, one might think that healing prayers were completely futile in the eyes of people believing in predetermination.<sup>62</sup>

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waters. The heavens shall not fail to open, 17 nor shall they run dry, but shall become a stream pouring out up[on] water and then to seas without en[d.]” 11QSefer ha-Milhamah (11Q14) 1 ii 7–11 par. 4QSefer ha-Milhamah (4Q285) 8 4–7: “God Most High will bless you and shine his face upon you, and he will open for you 8 his rich storehouse in the heavens, to send down upon your land 9 showers of blessing, dew and rain, the early rain and the latter rain in its season, and to give you fruit[t], 10 produce, grain, wine and oil in abundance; and the land will produce for you [d]elightful fruit 11 so that you will eat and grow fat.” Both translations are taken from E. Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Cf. also 4QBer<sup>a</sup> (4Q286) 3 a–d 4.

<sup>58</sup> J. Zias, “Toilets at Qumran, the Essenes, and the Scrolls: New Anthropological Data and Old Theories,” *RevQ* 22 (2005–2006): 631–640.

<sup>59</sup> For healing in Second Temple Judaism, cf. L.P. Hogan, *Healing in the Second Temple Period* (NTOA 21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992). M.O. Wise, “Healing” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:336–338.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. 4QRP<sup>c</sup> (4Q365) 18–20 and 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 6 i–iii; 4QD<sup>s</sup> (4Q272) 1 i–ii; 4QpapD<sup>h</sup> (4Q273) 4 ii (cf. CD 13:4–7); on the 4QD texts see C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 43–50.

<sup>61</sup> 1QapGen ar (1Q20) XX:12–32 and 4QPrNab ar (4Q242).

<sup>62</sup> The earliest extant inventory of a Christian or Jewish library is that of the monastery of Elias in Egypt, which includes a medical treatise as the one and only non-purely religious book.

d. The reality of the people in Qumran is only very partially described in its texts. On the one hand, the society described by the texts found in Qumran was clearly a highly ritualized one. We have evidence for a great number of very diverse rituals. Blessings and curses, praises and hymns fill pages and pages. Yet, the Qumran texts talk very little about the actual performance of the rituals and give very few hints about the details with regard to where, how, who—actions, actors, places, etc. Speaking in Roman Catholic terms, there are very few rubrics. The amount of “black ink” widely outdoes that of “red ink.” The two major exceptions are only apparent exceptions: Temple rituals (including the red cow)<sup>63</sup> and the Qumran initiation ritual. Temple rituals, however, are theory—not practice—for anyone who is not in control of the Temple and they do not belong to the life of the community in the strict sense. And a closer look at the initiation or the covenant renewal ritual reveals that despite a considerable amount of words, the details of where, who, when remain unknown. Did they sing the curses, whisper or scream a sentence like *אָרױר אַתָּה לֵאמֹן רַחֲמִים*? Similarly, the great mass of texts on purification rituals deceives in the sense that we have very little information about how exactly these rituals were performed. The greater part of ritual lore and expertise was not transmitted through written form, and probably not even orally, but by non-verbal action and mimesis. With regard to Qumran ritual, the extant texts constitute only the tip of the iceberg. Nevertheless, we should try to get an idea of this iceberg. Arnold and Kugler have the merit to have opened the door to a promising discussion to which this paper hopes to be another small contribution.

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<sup>63</sup> J. Bowman, “Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?” *RevQ* 1 (1958): 73–84; J.M. Baumgarten, “The Red Cow Purification Rites in Qumran Texts,” *JJS* 46 (1995): 112–119.

# THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS, QUMRAN, AND RITUAL STUDIES

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The present study has two primary objectives. First, I present what I consider to be some of the benefits of bringing a ritual studies approach to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *yahad* community associated with Khirbet Qumran.<sup>1</sup> Second, I discuss some lessons we learn from employing a ritual studies approach with respect to Qumran that can enhance our investigations of the lives of other communities from Ancient Israel to Early Judaism and Christianity.

## DEFINITIONS OF RITUAL AND LITURGY

Before I get too deeply into this discussion, I should pause to present my working definitions of the key terms, ritual and liturgy. A good place to begin for a definition of ritual comes from Roy Rappaport: “the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not encoded by the performers.”<sup>2</sup> I would modify this definition slightly to include the symbolic element of ritual for the performer. I define ritual as an action or series of actions, governed by culturally determined guidelines or rules, which is understood by the participants as significant beyond the mundane or regular practice of such an act. The difference, for example, between a bath for the sake of washing and a ritual bath or ritual washing may or may not be evident from the action itself. The behavior may be more formal and more consistent from one

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<sup>1</sup> Many of the conclusions described in this first part of the paper are based on the results of my Ph.D. dissertation research, which surveyed the entire range of ritual and liturgical material associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls community. Cf. R.C.D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> R.A. Rappaport, “The Obvious Aspects of Ritual,” in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Richmond: North Atlantic Books, 1979), 175.

person to the next, but what truly makes it a ritual washing, is that it is infused, by the participant and/or by the culture, with meaning that goes beyond cleaning off the dirt. This does not mean that such a ritual washing does not actually clean off the dirt, but only that it does more than that. For a ritual to be successful, therefore, the participants in the ritual ought at least to know that what they are doing carries more significance than the act in itself. At the same time, the participants are not necessarily aware of the full significance of the ritual, such that certain rituals may, from an outsider's perspective, be seen to function to establish boundaries or unify or solidify the identity of the members or any number of other things that could not be precisely articulated by the participants in the ritual. Obviously, since we have no access to individual Qumran practitioners, we must rely on the textual evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls that indicates the symbolic significance of these actions.

I use the term *liturgy* to describe an element used in rituals. Liturgy is the spoken component of any particular ritual. Many of our texts give only this liturgical component with a short introduction indicating a ritual context, usually a time referent.<sup>3</sup> In other cases we have texts that both provide the wording/liturgy and more detail about the ritual context and ritual action.<sup>4</sup> In other cases we have clearly liturgical texts without any indication of their ritual context.<sup>5</sup> The fact that most of our knowledge of Qumran ritual derives from liturgy is primarily a result of the evidence that we have, that is, texts. Secondarily, it is an outgrowth of the Qumran community's strong emphasis on the importance of proper speech.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> E.g. "[On the] 17th day of the mon[th in the] evening, they bless ..." (4Qpap-PrQuot [4Q503] 29–32 i 12). See also the *Words of the Luminaries* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Translations throughout the paper are mine unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>4</sup> See for example the initiation and covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS I–III; V–VI. For a recent challenge to connecting these two sections of 1QS see M.A. Daise, "The Temporal Relationship between the Covenant Renewal Rite and the Initiation Process in 1QS," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. M.T. Davis and B.A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 150–160. Other examples may be found in the ritual purification texts (4Q512, 4Q414, and 4Q284).

<sup>5</sup> Psalms and the *Hodayot* are the best examples of such liturgical material.

<sup>6</sup> I discuss this idea in more detail in R.C.D. Arnold, "Qumran Prayer as an Act of Righteousness," *JQR* 95 (2005): 509–529.



THE NATURE OF THE YAḤAD  
AND ITS CONNECTIONS TO QUMRAN

Much recent scholarship has taken up, once again, the complicated questions about the nature of the community or communities associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as their connections with the Qumran site.<sup>7</sup> At the heart of much of this discussion is the relationship between the varied but connected legal traditions of the *Community Rule* (1QS, 4QS) and the *Damascus Document* (CD, 4QD) as well as the variants found within these traditions.<sup>8</sup> I am, by no means, intending to solve this complicated issue here in these few pages. For my purposes here I take as starting points for my study the following conclusions that seem to me to be well supported by the evidence and by most scholars: 1) Despite some differences between the S and D traditions, the many similarities indicate that they represent different perspectives within a larger ideological community, 2) A connection exists between the Scrolls, especially those from caves 1 and 4, and the Qumran site, although the *yaḥad* was not exclusive to Qumran, 3) While it is not certain that Qumran was the headquarters of the *yaḥad*, it held, at least for some of its history, a community of members who likely sought to live according to the *yaḥad*'s prescriptions.<sup>9</sup> Recognizing the complexity associated with mapping out the different communities within the larger Dead Sea Scrolls movement, I use the term Qumran Community to refer to those who participated in the Qumran complex and saw themselves as part of the *yaḥad* associated with the S tradition. By focusing on the part of the *yaḥad* at Qumran, we can tentatively include data from the archaeological remains and the physical context, where relevant, to better understand the community's ritual life together.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See especially the recent issue *DSD* 16/3 (2009) devoted entirely to these questions. A summary of the articles and their positions can be found in M.A. Knibb, "The Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Introduction," *DSD* 16 (2009): 297–308.

<sup>8</sup> These include also other rule texts such as 4Q265, 5Q13, etc. For a recent discussion of radial-dialogic approach to the legal corpus see A. Schofield, "Between Center and Periphery: The *Yaḥad* in Context," *DSD* 16 (2009): 330–350.

<sup>9</sup> J.J. Collins, "Beyond the Qumran Community: Social Organization in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 16 (2009): 351–369.

<sup>10</sup> Obviously, there are difficulties in connecting an array of texts that develop over time and in different locations with the practices at Qumran with great certainty. My purpose here is to highlight how bringing the textual and archaeological evidence into conversation with a ritual studies approach can help us achieve a thicker description of the life of the community. As such, I concede that different conclusions about the dating

## RITUAL DENSITY

One of the first things that we notice about Qumran is the pervasiveness of ritual in the life of the community. As many as one-fourth of the non-biblical texts discovered in the Qumran caves can be classified as ritual or liturgical. Although there are a number of ways ritual types can be categorized, Catherine Bell's system helps us to see the breadth and depth of Qumran's ritual practice.<sup>11</sup> Although there are certainly overlaps between some of these categories, they remain useful for addressing both the characteristics and the functions of the whole range of ritual practice.<sup>12</sup> Bell's categories are as follows: Calendrical Rites,<sup>13</sup> Rites of Passage,<sup>14</sup> Feasts and Fasts,<sup>15</sup> Rites of Affliction,<sup>16</sup> Political Rites,<sup>17</sup> and Rites of Exchange and Communion.<sup>18</sup> After mentioning some of the Qumran examples from these categories, Rob Kugler describes the density of Qumran ritual as follows:

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or context of one of the texts or some of the material remains would yield different results. I contend, however, that applying ritual studies approaches would be productive in any case.

<sup>11</sup> C. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>12</sup> See the article by D. Stoekl Ben Ezra in this volume for an assessment of the category of Rites of Affliction.

<sup>13</sup> This is the largest category found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are rites associated with daily cycles (*Daily Prayers* and *Words of the Luminaries*), weekly cycles (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*), and yearly cycles (*Festival Prayers* and the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS).

<sup>14</sup> The initiation of new members is presented as a rite of passage in 1QS. There is no mention of rituals associated with birth, circumcision, or death and the possible reference to marriage in 4Q502 is highly questionable. See M. Baillet in *DJD* VII (1982): 81–105; J.M. Baumgarten, "4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?" *JJS* 34 (1983): 125–135; M.L. Satlow, "4Q502 A New Year Festival?" *DSD* 5 (1998): 57–68.

<sup>15</sup> Communal meals are represented especially in 1QS VI:1–8 and 1QSa II:17–22. Somewhat surprisingly there is no mention of fasts other than the biblically prescribed fast on the Day of Atonement.

<sup>16</sup> Such rites either protect against elements of disorder whether they be spiritual forces or physical ailments or impurities. Qumran's purification rituals (4Q414, 4Q512, 4Q284) and curses (1QS II:4–18, 4Q586 7, 4Q280 2) fall in this category.

<sup>17</sup> Political rites establish hierarchies, social structures, and the authority of leaders. At Qumran, these elements are strongest in the ranking of members associated with the covenant renewal ceremony and the regular communal meals. Authority of the priests is reinforced in practices described in 1QM and 1QSB.

<sup>18</sup> These rites establish or express connections between humans and those in the divine realm, angelic realm, and/or human realm. At Qumran, Psalms and the *Hodayot* hymns provide a kind of social cohesion and connection with the divine. Other texts, such as *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, also establish communion with the angels.

From the way they measured their time to the way they consumed their meals, from their rising in the morning to their laying down at night, from the way they prayed to the way they saw to the purity of their bodies, from their entry into the community to their departure from it, the people of Qumran patterned their actions in “more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances” aimed at bringing them closer to God.<sup>19</sup>

The pervasiveness and importance of ritual at Qumran makes it an important test case for the application of ritual studies approaches to historical communities in antiquity. We are also fortunate to have a relatively large amount of material, much of it written by its own members, about the religious life of a narrow, relatively localized community that thrived for only a couple centuries.

Once we recognize the pervasiveness of ritual and liturgical texts at Qumran we are left with the question of what to do with these texts. My interest is to follow the methodological challenge set forth by Lawrence Hoffman: to move beyond text-focused, philological, historical, and form-critical approaches and treat ritual and liturgical texts themselves and other texts about the practice of ritual as evidence of a living community of practitioners.<sup>20</sup> Hoffman draws on insights from the work of the anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, who claims that the task of interpreting culture is to understand what is meant, or what is being said, by a particular ritual or practice.<sup>21</sup> Hoffman presents the holistic study of liturgy as a similar process of using all textual and material evidence to sort out what is signified by the liturgy, what is being said, not just *in* the liturgy, but also *by* the liturgy.<sup>22</sup> Looking at Qumran ritual practice we see how ritual and liturgy can communicate through the doing, not just the meaning of the words to be recited. This is at the heart of what we can learn from ritual studies. No action is univalent, especially ritual action.

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<sup>19</sup> R. Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,” *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131–152. Notice that Kugler uses Rappaport’s definition of ritual as cited above in n. 2.

<sup>20</sup> L. Hoffman, *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987). Hoffman argues that liturgical texts are a remarkable expression of a community’s worldview and indicate the nature of the community’s relationships with the divine/holy, and with those outside the community.

<sup>21</sup> C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

<sup>22</sup> Hoffman’s interpretations of rabbinic liturgical practice were hindered by the lack of sufficient concrete information describing the social structures governing the rabbinic communities. By comparison, such social information regarding the *yahad* is quite abundant, although by no means as complete as we might like.

We turn now to some examples that highlight how ritual studies improve our understanding of the complex and multivalent meanings of ritual and liturgical practice at Qumran. In the interest of time and space we will not discuss rituals from all six categories. Instead we will focus our attention on examples from the first three: calendrical rites, rites of passage, and feasts and fasts.

#### CALENDRIAL RITES AS SYSTEMS

Calendrical rites are among the most varied and pervasive rituals found at Qumran. The scrolls contain liturgies designed to mark every one of the key calendrical units: Evening and morning (*Daily Prayers* [4Q503], 1QS X, 4Q408); Days of the week (*Words of the Luminaries* [4Q504, 506]); Sabbaths (weeks) of the quarter (*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* [4Q400–407, 11Q17]); Festivals of the Year (*Festival Prayers* [1Q34, 4Q507–509 + 505]). Each of these texts establishes a fixed periodic sequence of rituals, liturgies to be recited in a regular order. The prayer for the fifth day will always be read after the prayer for the fourth day. Ritual studies tell us that, as a ritual system, each individual ritual should be interpreted in terms of the whole system. Arnold van Gennep argues that the individual elements of a ritual have no inherent symbolic meaning, but can only be understood as part of a sequence, related to what came before and what came after.<sup>23</sup> In order to understand how the different elements affect the interpretation of the system, Pierre Smith highlights what he calls the focalizing element of a ritual system, i.e. that action or idea that frames the symbolic message of the ritual.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, two

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<sup>23</sup> A. van Gennep, "On the Method to Be Followed in the Study of Rites and Myths," in *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion: Aims, Methods and Theories of Research* (ed. J. Waardenburg; 2 vols.; Religion and Reason 3; The Hague: Mouton, 1973–1974), 1:287–300.

<sup>24</sup> P. Smith, "Aspects of the Organization of Rites," in *Between Belief and Transgression: Structuralist Essays in Religion, History and Myth* (ed. M. Izard and P. Smith; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 103–128. Since Smith puts such emphasis on finding the focalizing elements of the ritual, he believes that it is important first to consider the rituals in their most stripped down form. By understanding the central thrust of the ritual, then one can understand the meaning or purpose of the accumulating glosses and the various accessories associated with the ritual in its full-blown form. While I agree with Smith about the importance of locating an overarching purpose in order to understand the various elements of the ritual, it must be noted that the basic elements of the ritual may not always be clear and are subject to the scholar's interpretation. It may also be true that some elements attached to rituals may be either unrelated or perhaps counterproductive.

identical elements that appear in the rites of different communities may, in fact, have different meanings based on their importance within each system, in relation to each focalizing element. Smith states, “[I]n a general way, a single type of ritual act, such as sacrifice, initiation, prayer, or the display of ritual masks, can be integrated, either centrally or accessorially, to various systems, differently interconnected among themselves, and in this way receive different colorings or orientations, pertinent for its analysis.”<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere I have argued for an alternative understanding of confession at Qumran on this basis.<sup>26</sup>

The discovery of a large number of calendars, and the fact that the particulars of the community’s calendar seems to have been a prominent boundary marker, invests these calendrical rites with important reinforcements to community identity.<sup>27</sup> This is true even with those texts that are likely to have originated outside the *yahad* because their use at Qumran would make them part of the larger sectarian calendrical ritual system.<sup>28</sup>

The importance of the calendrical system, as a system, is evident because the Qumran calendar is based on divine commands concerning the appointed times. God had created these cycles and ordained that the precise times be appointed for such liturgies. Maintaining the proper times is described as central to walking in the ways commanded by God in the *Community Rule*:

They (i.e. potential members) shall not depart from any one of the words of God concerning their times; they shall neither rush nor delay the times of any of their appointed times, they shall not turn aside from any of the true precepts to go either to the right or to the left.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>26</sup> R.C.D. Arnold, “Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony,” in *Seeking the Favor of God*, vol. 2: *The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.J. Boda, D.K. Falk, and R.A. Werline; SBLEJL 22; Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 159–175.

<sup>27</sup> See for example, the dispute over the Day of Atonement between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab XI:6–8. S. Talmon, “Yom Hakkipurim in the Habakkuk Scroll,” *Bib* 32 (1951): 549–563. See also idem, “Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: The Case of the ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant,’” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 279–395, 388 n. 35.

<sup>28</sup> In other words, texts such as *Words of the Luminaries* and *Festival Prayers*, once incorporated into the practice of the *yahad*, would have come to be understood as part of the calendrical system.

<sup>29</sup> 1QS I:13–15, emphasis added. See also 1QS III:9–11 “Let him order his steps to walk perfectly in all the ways commanded by God concerning the times appointed

The hymn in col. X indicates that specific acts of speech were required at these appointed times. Blessings and prayers were to be offered at the appointed times. It also indicates that such words were to be offered “according to the precept engraved forever”:

at their appointed times I will bless him with the offering of the lips  
according to the precept engraved for ever . . .  
All my life the engraved precept shall be on my tongue as the fruit of  
praise and the portion of my lips.<sup>30</sup>

The *yaḥad* developed its liturgical practice both by adopting liturgies used in the temple service, and by creating new liturgies for their own use. This practice, they believed, was done according to God’s eternal precept both in terms of precise time for such ritual, and perhaps also in terms of the content of the liturgy. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* reveal the *yaḥad*’s concern to indicate the legitimacy of its own priesthood and to ensure the continued functioning of their service in conjunction with the heavenly service, even at a time when the service in the temple was disrupted by impurity.<sup>31</sup> With all this in mind, we recognize that the *yaḥad*’s calendrical rites are best understood, not primarily as independent acts of prayer establishing communication with God on these special occasions, but rather as opportunities for the priestly *yaḥad* to be obedient to divine law and to ensure their coordination with the workings of the cosmos, until the end comes. Such an understanding only emerges by focusing on the ritual system, rather than on each prayer individually.

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*for them*, and stray neither to the right nor to the left and transgressing none of his words.”

<sup>30</sup> 1QS X:5–6, 8. This translation follows G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 112. The first person references in this hymn are ascribed to the *maškil*, a member of the community who played a leadership role in liturgical matters.

<sup>31</sup> One way that this is accomplished in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is through a series of rhetorical questions in Song 1, “How shall we be reckoned among them? How shall our priesthood (be considered) in their dwellings? [And our] ho[liness] with their holiness? How does the offering of our tongue of dust compare with the knowledge of the divine [beings]?” (4Q400 2 6–7). While these questions might seem to indicate distance between the human members and the angelic priests, in the context of the system established by the collection of weekly songs these questions marvel at the reality of the close connection between the two. “By identifying themselves with the cult of the heavenly temple they could exalt their own rank above the priesthood of the mere earthly temple in Jerusalem.” J.R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 90.

## RITES OF PASSAGE AND COMMUNITY FORMATION

The only rite of passage about which we have evidence is the initiation ceremony described in some detail in the *Community Rule*. To understand this central ritual of the community, we shall draw on a variety of approaches that focus on the real effects on the lives of the participants involved as they are integrated into the life of the community.<sup>32</sup> The ritual has six parts, although we will only discuss how the first three (Preparation, Entrance of New Initiates, Blessings and Curses) contribute to identity construction, instruction and indoctrination, and social control.<sup>33</sup>

*Identity Construction*

The first section of the *Community Rule* (1QS I:1–15) establishes the framework that governs the transformation of new initiates from sons of darkness into sons of light. In order to approach the community for membership, these initiates were expected to have rejected the ways of wickedness and now to freely offer themselves to perfect obedience to the laws of God<sup>34</sup> with a total commitment of their strength, knowledge, and wealth for the benefit of the community (1QS I:11–12).<sup>35</sup> Beginning the initiation process for entrance into the *yahad* required repentance. Repentance was undertaken on two fronts. First, a person who offered himself to join the *yahad* was expected to “turn from all evil . . . and to separate from the congregation of the men of wickedness” (1QS V:1–2). Second, he was to return to the covenant (1QS V:22), to the law of

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<sup>32</sup> Speech act theory, initiated by J.L. Austin and developed by John Searle, highlights the different ways speech can do things. The real effects of speech acts on the participants are called perlocutionary effects. J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965); J.R. Searle, *Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

<sup>33</sup> The final three stages are: Entrance into the *Serekh*, Purification and Instruction, and Rebuke and Dismissal. For a more detailed discussion see Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 52–81.

<sup>34</sup> 1QS V:2, 9 explicitly indicate that initiates are to follow the law as interpreted by the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of the *yahad*. Two of the manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community* from Cave 4 lack explicit reference to the sons of Zadok, but retain reference to the interpretive authority of the men of the *yahad*. For more information about the differences between the Cave 1 and Cave 4 manuscripts see S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

<sup>35</sup> This exhortation is reminiscent of the three-fold commitment in the Shema (Deut 6:5). Notice also the reference in 1QS I:2 to heart and soul, and the contrast between love and hate.

Moses (1QS V:8), and to the truth (1QS VI:15). This language indicates that repentance was a boundary issue;<sup>36</sup> no one who had not completed their repentance could be considered for membership and participate in the rest of the ceremony.<sup>37</sup> The ritual itself reenacted the passage from darkness to light that marked the transformation of one's social identity made possible by one's repentance. Once an initiate crossed over into the covenant, he became identified with the children of light who receive blessings rather than the sons of darkness who receive curses (1QS II:1–9).

### *Instruction and Indoctrination*

The introduction to the initiation ritual in 1QS I:1–15 also indicates the instructional effects of this ritual. The first half of the introduction uses general terms of obedience and seeking God: loving what God loves and hating what God has rejected (I:3–4). The second half uses some of the same verbs, but it applies them in distinctly sectarian ways. Here, they are to love the children of light and hate the children of darkness, to be united in the council of God, and to walk in perfection (I:9–11). Newsom claims, “What the introduction models in its structure is that as persons are brought into the community, so is their language.”<sup>38</sup> This indicates that, in this preparation phase, potential members were taught the meaning of obedience in the particular world of the *yahad*. Specifically, they were taught how to interpret the commitments from Deuteronomy employed in the first half of the introduction. They were also taught how to talk, the modes of discourse modeled by the members.<sup>39</sup> The transformation of their use of language goes hand in hand with the indoctrination into the sectarian worldview of the *yahad*.

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<sup>36</sup> The *Damascus Document* (CD 4:2; 6:5; 8:16; 9:29) identifies the members of the *yahad* as “the ones who have repented” (שבֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל).

<sup>37</sup> The fact that the *yahad* settled in the wilderness, in fulfillment of Isa 40:3 (1QS VIII:14; IX:20), may indicate that they viewed themselves as living in a liminal state outside of the normal structure of society in order to complete the transition to a renewed covenant. As such, the entire community would experience the strength of the community bond and the separation from society described by Victor Turner as *communitas*. V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

<sup>38</sup> C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 113.

<sup>39</sup> This follows Thomas Csordas' work on the instruction about community discourse, T.J. Csordas, “Genre, Motive, and Metaphor: Conditions for Creativity in Ritual Language,” *Cultural Anthropology* 2 (1987): 445–469.



*Social Control*

The initiation ritual also established the strict discipline that served as the mechanism for social control within the life of the strictly hierarchical community. Upon crossing over to enter the covenant, initiates were warned against “turning aside because of any fear, terror, or testing” (1QS I:17). The authority of the priests and Levites was established by the next stages of the liturgy. The priests recited all God’s mighty and righteous deeds, followed by the Levites rehearsing Israel’s failures and a formulaic confession recited by the initiates (1QS I:21–II:1). This historical liturgy reminds the initiates of what was expected of them by contrasting the perfection of God’s righteousness with the transgressions of Israel over the years. The not so subtle message is to heed the warning, avoid the pitfalls of Israel’s past, and achieve perfect righteousness. The set of blessings and curses that followed (1QS II:1–10) reinforced the strict boundary between insiders and outsiders by granting blessings to those destined for the lot of God and curses for the lot of Belial.

The pronouncement of the second set of curses against those who enter insincerely (1QS II:11–18) addressed the dangerous possibility that some who claimed to be of the lot of God, might actually be shown otherwise. This was a warning to any initiates who held on to any thoughts about maintaining their independence within the *yahad*. Membership in the *yahad* required complete submission to its authority and discipline in all things. If someone were to keep apart by telling himself privately that he would be okay even if he “walked in the stubbornness of his heart,”<sup>40</sup> this would confirm that he did not belong to the children of light in the first place. His deeds would show him to be of the lot of Belial and deserving of the curses directed toward that lot. In this way, this second curse reframed the first. The first set of curses, which seemed to be directed only against the evil outsiders, might have actually applied to some of those crossing over. Every one of them was required to be on their guard against falling away from the path of righteousness. They were also expected to be alert to the failures of others among them, reproving and rebuking them when necessary in order to maintain the high standards of perfection required of members of the community.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Deut 29:18–19 is quoted here.

<sup>41</sup> 1QS V:24–VI:1 presents rules governing reproof based on Lev 19:17, which reads, “you shall not hate your brother in your heart; you shall surely rebuke your neighbor, and you shall bear no sin because of him.”

## MEALS AND COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

The last example to discuss is the community meal. Much has been written about the character of the communal meal as either a sacred meal, an eschatological banquet, or a Hellenistic symposium.<sup>42</sup> For our purposes we have time only to highlight the complexity of the ritual surrounding the meal and the many political and communal effects of it.

The clearest description of the Qumran meal is found in 1QS VI:1–8.<sup>43</sup> Notice the juxtaposition of emphasis on the unity and togetherness of all members and reminders of the strict hierarchy headed by the priest.

In these things they shall walk at all their dwellings/sojourns all who are located each with his neighbor. And they shall hear/obey from the smallest to the greatest regarding work and money. And *together* they shall eat and *together* they shall bless and *together* they shall take counsel. In every place which there are there ten men from the council of the *yahad*, there shall not cease from with them a man who is a priest and each according to his rank shall sit before him and thus (i.e. according to rank) they shall ask for their counsel for everything or on any matter. And when they shall set the table to eat or the new wine to drink, the priests shall send his hand first, to cause to bless the firstfruits of the bread and the new wine. And there shall not cease, in any place which there are ten men, a man who interprets the Torah day and night always alternating one with his neighbor. And the Many shall watch over *together* a third of every night of the year to read in the book and to interpret judgment(s) and to bless *together*.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> P. Bilde, "The Common Meal in the Qumran Essene Communities," in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (ed. I. Nielsen and H.S. Nielsen; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998), 145–166; K.G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; Westport: Greenwood, 1975), 65–93; J. Magness, "Communal Meals and Sacred Space at Qumran," in *Shaping Community: The Art and Archaeology of Monasticism* (ed. S. McNally; BAR International Series 941; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 15–28; J. Pryke, "The Sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in the Light of the Ritual Washings and Sacred Meals at Qumran," *RevQ* 5 (1966): 543–552; J. van der Ploeg, "The Meals of the Essenes," *JSS* 2 (1957): 163–175. The main challengers of such designations are L.H. Schiffman, "Communal Meals at Qumran," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 45–56, and A.R.C. Leane, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (NTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966). Sorting out the various positions presented in the above articles requires deciphering how each author defines these terms. Given the theologically charged nature of such terms, and the lack of their clear use at Qumran to describe the meals, we will leave this discussion for another occasion.

<sup>43</sup> The other key text informing our understanding of the meal is 1QSa II:17–22.

<sup>44</sup> Italics added to highlight the repetition of the term *יחד* (*yahad*) both to refer to the community and the ideal of togetherness within the community.

The first thing we notice here is the complicated interplay between eating and blessing, taking counsel, and interpreting the Torah. Although it is indeed difficult to determine precisely how these elements would have fit together within the ritual event, we must recognize that the community perceived a strong connection between eating, blessing, and instruction.

Our evidence shows that Qumran's communal meals were restricted only to members in good standing.<sup>45</sup> Initiates, those being punished, and of course non-members were all excluded from participation. Those who could participate were constantly reminded of the importance of acting together as a community. The passage above employs the term *יחד* (*yahad*) six times, highlighting the communal nature of this activity. The members ate together, blessed together, and took counsel together. The combination of these activities reinforced the members' shared experience and united them around common goals and a common identity.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time that the communal meals strengthened the *yahad's* group identity, they ritually enacted the hierarchical ranking that served to keep members in line. The priest's ultimate authority was not to be questioned or usurped, even by the messiah of Israel who was to come.<sup>47</sup> Each member's place within the community was daily reinforced by where he sat, when he was questioned by the priest, when he gave a blessing for the food, and when he could eat.<sup>48</sup> These constant reminders of the ranking ensured that members would take seriously the annual examinations that were part of the covenant ceremony. This brief examination of Qumran's meals recognizes the many layers on which they work. The meals contain elements of instruction and counsel, blessing, and purity of the food and those eating it. In addition, they serve as both rites of communion (emphasizing common identity) and political rites (establishing order).

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<sup>45</sup> Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 90–92.

<sup>46</sup> “The common meal appears to have been a strong expression of the Qumran-Essene communities common history, experiences, identity and solidarity. It manifested the congregation as the only legitimate expression as the ‘true,’ ‘pure,’ ‘holy’ chosen people” (Bilde, “Common Meal,” 162).

<sup>47</sup> This is evident in the description of the eschatological banquet in 1QS*a* II:14–22.

<sup>48</sup> It is interesting for our purposes to note that the nature and purpose of the blessing before eating seems to have been completely overshadowed by the importance of maintaining the proper order according to the ranking.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR RITUAL STUDY OF OTHER COMMUNITIES

What lessons do we learn from applying ritual studies approaches to the *yahad* that would be useful for understanding the religious life of other groups in antiquity?

First of all, I believe our study provides additional evidence that approaches developed to describe practices in the modern world can be successfully adapted to suit historical groups. Doing this effectively requires an approach to the study of texts that is sensitive to the relationship between text and practice. The text is not itself the ritual. We are not witnesses to the ritual itself, and we cannot ask follow-up questions of the text and receive further explanation. Ritual texts, therefore, must be assessed regarding whether they are meant to be prescriptive or descriptive. If they are prescriptive, it remains possible that the texts represent idealized rituals, rather than those actually practiced. At Qumran, given the evidence throughout for significant social conformity in the service of righteousness, we can be fairly certain the rituals prescribed were generally practiced as prescribed. In studying other communities, however, the absence of such strong internal forces would introduce more uncertainty about the correlation between text and practice. In other words, aspects of a community's social dynamics (conformity, authority, permeability of boundaries, etc.) are extremely important in making judgments about the degree of connection between the text before us and the ritual lives of the people behind the texts.<sup>49</sup>

Another issue raised by this work, especially important for ritual studies and the Pentateuch, involves the relationship between ritual and religious law or halakhah. Gruenwald describes halakhah as "an applied philosophy of life. It organizes into a ritual manner every aspect of life in systemic categories that create ritual clusters."<sup>50</sup> Since both ritual and law are concerned with appropriate behavior at appropriate times according to divine command, we propose that ritual theories might be applied to all aspects of biblical law, not only what we separate out as ritual.

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<sup>49</sup> One useful typology of communities with respect to social dynamics is described by M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Barrie & Rockliff: Cresset, 1970). Charts that illustrate her typology can be found in S.R. Isenberg and D.E. Owen, "Bodies, Natural and Contrived: The Work of Mary Douglas," *RelSRev* 3 (1977): 1-16; B.J. Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for Biblical Interpretation* (Atlanta: Knox, 1986).

<sup>50</sup> I. Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (The Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism 10; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 33.

One thing we find at Qumran is that righteousness (an all encompassing obedience to the law of God and the community) is the goal. What we call ritual is just a part of that, but is not distinguished from other behavior. So, for example, it is not only ritual acts like prayer that fill in the gap left by the temple, but also things like purity, study, and sectarian life in general.<sup>51</sup> With this in mind we should broaden our focus when applying ritual studies to biblical books like Deuteronomy or Leviticus. Obviously, ritual studies will be useful in understanding the laws surrounding sacrifice, but we should consider carefully how it might help understand laws related to sexual behavior, agriculture, or damages.

With respect to the interpretation of specific rituals, one of the most important principles we learn from Qumran is to treat all ritual practices as part of a system (or in some cases multiple systems). This systemic approach requires that we do not treat individual practices or individual symbols apart from their context(s). A fine example of careful consideration of context in discussion of baptism in the early church has been carried out by Richard E. DeMaris.<sup>52</sup> DeMaris challenges the simple assertion that baptism was *the* entry rite for early Christians, instead treating it more broadly as a type of boundary crossing ritual that played a part in the process of reformulating social relationships and establishing new kinship ties within the church.<sup>53</sup> In this way, DeMaris places baptism within the larger system of rites that facilitate this transition. DeMaris' next chapter contextualizes baptism in a different way by placing the practice of baptism in the Corinthian church within the system of Corinth's dynamic traditions of using water for religious purposes.<sup>54</sup> Understanding the rite in this context opens our eyes to the possible political or polemical functions of water baptism particularly in Corinth.

With respect to the study of ritual practices from Ancient Israel, our study of the *yahad* challenges us to think beyond the simple focus on ritual sacrifice in connection with the temple cult. To be sure, the temple and its ritual practices pervaded Ancient Israelite conceptions of religion. However, none of the biblical texts unambiguously presents the tradition of the temple priests. Again, a systems approach helps us understand each ritual practice as it relates to the temple practice in

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<sup>51</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L.I. Levine; Philadelphia: ASOR, 1989), 34.

<sup>52</sup> R.E. DeMaris, *The New Testament in Its Ritual World* (London: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 14–22.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–56.

a radial-dialogic way.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, we must go beyond simple explanations that focus only on sacrifice as a means for atonement and prayer as a replacement for sacrifice.<sup>56</sup> We can begin to ask about how the priests understood their purpose vis-à-vis the lives of the people. We can investigate the social effects of the various systems of sacrifice and the impact centralization had on those systems. We also think more carefully about how differences between the worldviews and settings of the Priestly Code (P), the Holiness Code (H), and the Deuteronomic Code (D) affect the meaning of the same ritual practices set within these different systems.

Finally, as we are all aware, it is important to recognize the cultural distance between us and the ancient communities we study. Reading ritual studies of modern societies helps us to recognize the otherness of our subjects, and to better understand societies that had much higher ritual density. In this regard, Qumran may not be representative of mainstream Second Temple Judaism, but it is certainly closer to it than we are. Our study of Qumran gives us a more historically near parallel from which to draw. The relative wealth of information about Qumran gives us more questions to ask, and a greater desire to dig deeper. For example, investigations of meal rituals in various Pauline communities could be usefully compared to the *yahad* with respect to any indications we have of social hierarchy and communal identity. The comparison could help us better understand the theological, political, and social implications of the contested ritual practice of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11. Recognizing the depth of ritualization and the multivalence of its meanings and functions within the *yahad* forces us to not be satisfied with simplistic theological or social interpretations of ritual practice in other contexts. We must strive for the thickest descriptions possible of the complex ritual lives of the communities that are the subject of our study.

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<sup>55</sup> This concept is developed concerning the *yahad* in Schofield, "Between Center and Periphery."

<sup>56</sup> For an example of a more sophisticated study of biblical sacrifice see J. Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

EXPENDABLE SIGNS:  
THE COVENANT OF THE RAINBOW  
AND CIRCUMCISION AT QUMRAN\*

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The covenant of the rainbow and circumcision are two Priestly signs that have minimal roles in the sectarian texts from Qumran. The purpose of this paper is to explore the general significance of these images in order to understand their relative absence in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This analysis suggests that the sign of the rainbow, with its inherent symbolism of sexuality and fertility, was of no value to men in the יחדד (*yaḥad*) community, who were otherwise intent on enforcing increased levels of ritual purity and encouraging greater sexual restraint.<sup>1</sup> By identifying themselves as “the elect, remnant of Israel,” neither the covenant of the rainbow, nor the sign of circumcision,<sup>2</sup> served to enhance their self-defined elitism.<sup>3</sup> While circumcision was attested on a widespread basis in Judea and Egypt in the Persian period, it attracted harsh condemnation in Graeco-Roman society. Accordingly, its practical application was of no significant doctrinal value to the writers of the scrolls.

The Hebrew קשת *qešet*, or bow, denotes either the concrete image of an instrument for hunting or a rainbow and was used also “figura-

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<sup>1</sup> See H.K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; London: T&T Clark, 2004) and E. Regev, “Moral Impurity and the Temple in Early Christianity in Light of Ancient Greek Practise and Qumranic Ideology,” *HTR* 97 (2004): 383–411.

<sup>2</sup> As practised also by the descendants of Ishmael and Esau, among others.

<sup>3</sup> Particularly since the sectarian texts were not concerned with the welfare of humanity in general, unlike the account of the covenant of the rainbow, where the promise never to destroy the earth by means of a flood was would apply to Noah’s “offspring to come” (Gen 9:9), “to every living creature among all flesh” (Gen 9:15) and “to all flesh that is on earth” (Gen 9:17).

tively as a symbol of power, sovereignty, war.”<sup>4</sup> Its representation as an effective symbol of male sexuality and virility, however, was rooted in Neo-Assyrian political imagery,<sup>5</sup> where “the fully taut bow, the *qaštum malitum*, is a bow whose reed has been pulled back while it gathers the necessary energy for the shot.”<sup>6</sup> In both the biblical corpus and eighth-seventh century Assyrian Royal inscriptions, the concrete and symbolic meanings were, on occasions, used interchangeably.<sup>7</sup> The biblical image of the *קשת בענן* “the bow in the clouds” in Gen 9:13 appears immediately after the flood, when God states: “I have set my bow in the clouds and it shall serve as a sign of the Covenant between me and the earth.”<sup>8</sup> This “sign of the Covenant between me and the earth” is extended to “every living creature among all flesh” in Gen 9:15.<sup>9</sup> At Qumran, this sign appears only in 4QAdmonFlood (4Q370) I:7:

[ ] ויאש אל [אות ברית וא]ת קשתו נתן [בענן ל]מען יזכור ברית

his bow he set [in the clouds so] that he would remember the covenant<sup>10</sup>

It is also mentioned in 1QapGen ar XII:1: *והואת לי לאת בעננה* “and it was for me a sign in the cloud.” Thus Lawrence Schiffman concludes that these references to the rainbow were not part of the core sectarian traditions found at Qumran, but rather recalled earlier tradents:

These materials, we should note, are not part of the mainstream Qumranic sectarian compositions but indicate that the Qumran sectarians were heir to a pre-sectarian tradition regarding this venerable ancestor of Israel. The

<sup>4</sup> T. Kronholm and H.-J. Fabry, “קשת, *qešet*,” *TDOT* 12:202.

<sup>5</sup> S.M. Paul, “The Shared Legacy of Sexual Metaphors and Euphemisms in Mesopotamian and Biblical Literature,” in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001* (ed. S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting; 2 vols.; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002), 2:489–499.

<sup>6</sup> *qaštum malitum* היא קשת שיתרא משוך לאחור תוך שהוא צובר את נרגיא הדרושא לירייה (I. Eph'al, “Lexical Notes on Some Ancient Military Terms,” *ErIsr* 20 [1989]: 115–119 [117]).

<sup>7</sup> This is apparent in Neo-Assyrian treaty convention and also (for example) in Gen 49:22–24, which are discussed below.

<sup>8</sup> את קשתי נתתי בענן והיתה לאות ברית ביני ובין הארץ.

<sup>9</sup> Gen 9:15 states: “I will remember My covenant between me and you and every living creature among all flesh, so that the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh.” This is recalled in *Jub.* 6:15–16: “And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again be a flood on the earth. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth.”

<sup>10</sup> C. Newsom in *DJD* XIX (1995): 85–97, where the explicit parallels between 4Q370 and Gen 6:5; 7:11, 14, 22, 23; 9:11, 13, 15 are identified further (87–88).



brief allusion to this covenant in the *Zadokite Fragments* (CD III, 1–4) reflects this pre-sectarian tradition.<sup>11</sup>

What, then, did a bow in the clouds represent in the context of pre-sectarian Judean tradition? Harry Hoffner explains that masculinity was determined by two criteria: Firstly, a man's physical strength in battle and secondly, his ability to reproduce children, or biblically speaking, **בנים ללדת** to "beget" sons.<sup>12</sup> Both achievements were represented by the image of a bow and its arrows in ancient Hurrian, Hittite, Ugaritic and Mesopotamian traditions. In Neo-Assyrian convention the figurative use of the bow and arrow was evoked in written expressions and in engraved reliefs from the eighth-seventh century kings, as recently documented by Cynthia Chapman.<sup>13</sup> As such the expression to "break the bow," which conveyed the desire to cut off the reproductive powers of one's enemy and thereby extinguish his future dynastic succession, was frequently evoked in treaty curse formulations. Aššur-nerari V of Assyria's treaty with Mati'ilu of Arpad, for example, states:

May Mati'ilu's (sex) life be that of a mule, his wife extremely old; may Ištar, the goddess of men, the lady of women, take away their bow, bring them shame and make them bitterly weep: "Woe, we have sinned against the treaty of Aššur-nerari, King of Assyria."<sup>14</sup>

The interaction between the Assyrians and Judeans, particularly after Sennacherib's conquest of Lachish, is historically relevant to the cultural proliferation of this symbolism.<sup>15</sup> A relief from a panel located in the South West Palace of Sennacherib, excavated at Nebi Yunis (Nineveh), Northern Iraq, depicts soldiers active in the Assyrian Royal Guard.

<sup>11</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "The Concept of Covenant in the Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J.H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 257–278 (258).

<sup>12</sup> H. Hoffner, "Symbols of Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals," *JBL* 85 (1966): 326–334.

<sup>13</sup> C. Chapman, *The Gendered Language of Warfare in the Israelite-Assyrian Encounter* (HSM 62; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004). My thanks here particularly to Diana Lipton, who initially brought the symbolism of these sources to my attention.

<sup>14</sup> S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, eds., *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAAS 2; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988), 12.

<sup>15</sup> Irrespective of the fact that Sennacherib's claim, in the annals of his third campaign, of having taken 200,150 Judeans captive is considered to be an improbably high exaggeration: "200150 nišī šeher rabi zikar ū/u sinniš" (R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke* [3rd ed.; AnOr 54; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2006], 74). Cf. A. Faust "The Extent of Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah in 701 B.C.E.: A New Examination" (paper presented at the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society Lecture in the British Museum on 21 February 2008).

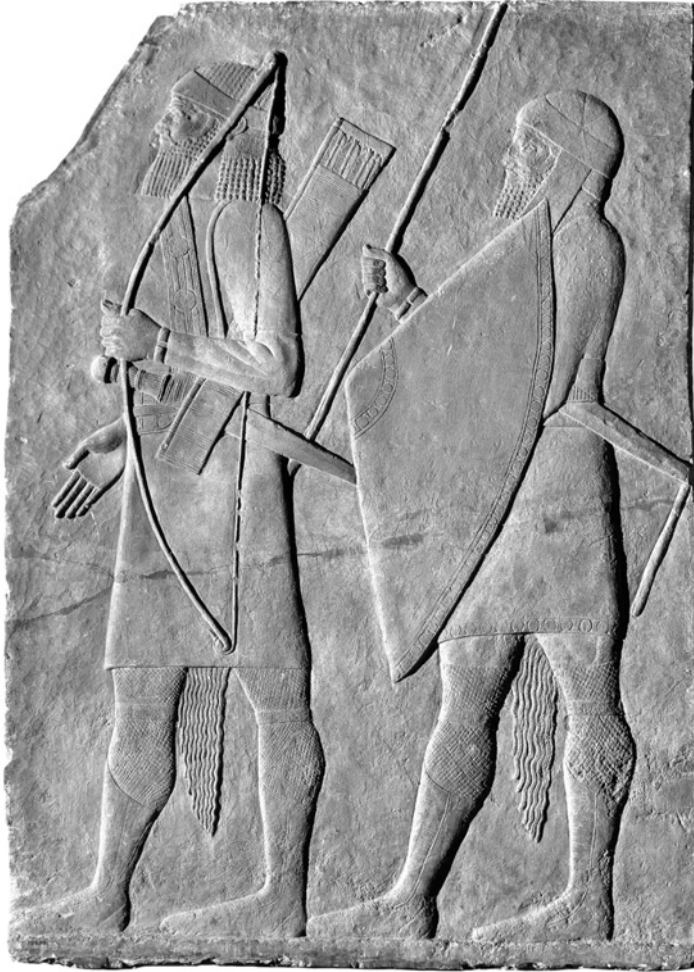


Fig. 1. Soldiers or Bodyguards During the Reign of Sennacherib<sup>16</sup>

In addition, the emasculation of men and their evocation as women was a recognised political and ideological “spin” in the language of ancient Near Eastern warfare. Chapman concludes that “the parallel usage of femininity as a simile for weakness in both biblical and Neo-Assyrian curses demonstrates the essential rather than the accidental nature of

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<sup>16</sup> Relief Number ME 124901 is reproduced with courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum. This panel was one of a group found between the palace of Sennacherib (reigned 704–681 B.C.E.) and the Temple of Ishtar, the principal goddess of Nineveh. The full scene

gendered language in military cursing.”<sup>17</sup> It is this “essential” nature of this symbolism that influenced the Priestly redaction of Gen 9:12–18, if not also the pre-sectarian interpretation of God’s covenant with Noah. As Joseph Blenkinsopp has observed “it is therefore not, as Wellhausen, Gunkel and many others have suggested, the equivalent of burying the hatchet, a signifying of the end of hostilities with God hanging his war bow in the clouds.”<sup>18</sup>

Nor is the association of the bow with reproductive sexuality found exclusively in ancient Near Eastern and Priestly representations. Ezekiel’s description of his vision of God also conveys this understanding of the symbolism:

From what appeared his loins up, I saw a gleam, as of amber—what looked like fire encased in a frame; and from what appeared his loins down, I saw what looked like fire. There was radiance all about him, like the appearance of the bow (כמראה הקשת) which shines in the cloud on a day of rain, such was the appearance of the surrounding radiance. (Ezek 1:26–28)

This bow was clearly no “instrument of hunting” nor a weapon of war and like the subsequent Second Temple literary traditions,<sup>19</sup> it recalled the reproductive continuity promised by the sign of that earlier bow in the clouds of Gen 9:16. Jacob’s death-bed blessing to Joseph in Gen 49:22–25 provides a good example of the interchangeable use of the concrete and figurative sense of this bow:

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shows the king and his entourage in formal court dress, where these two figures formed part of the royal bodyguard. The Museum’s accompanying description states further: “The archer on the left is one of the lightly-armed soldiers who were probably drawn from the Aramaic-speaking communities that had been conquered in and around the Assyrian heartland. The spear-man on the right wears a turban fastened by a headband with long ear-flaps, and a short kilt curving upwards above his knees. His clothing tells us that he comes from around the environs of either Judah or Israel. An almost identical uniform is worn by the men of Lachish, in the kingdom of Judah, as represented in panels showing Sennacherib’s siege of the city in 701 BC from another part of the palace.”

<sup>17</sup> Chapman, *Gendered Language*, 86.

<sup>18</sup> J. Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 86.

<sup>19</sup> Compare also Sir 26:10–12: “Keep strict watch over a headstrong daughter, or else, when she finds liberty, she will make use of it. Be on guard against her impudent eye and do not be surprised if she sins against you. As a thirsty traveller opens his mouth and drinks from any water near him, so she will sit in front of every tent peg and open her quiver to the arrow.” Also as in *b. Hag.* 15a: *האמר שמואל: כל שכבת זרע שאינו יורח כחץ אינו מורעת*, “Samuel said: A spermatoc emission that does not shoot forth like an arrow cannot germinate.”

Joseph is a wild ass, a wild ass by a spring;<sup>20</sup> wild colts on a hillside.  
 Archers bitterly assailed him, they shot at him and harried him, yet his  
 bow stayed taut<sup>21</sup>  
 and his arms were made firm by the hands of the mighty ones of Jacob—  
 There, the Shepherd, The Rock of Israel—The God of your father who  
 helps you  
 and Shaddai who blesses you, with blessings of heaven above, blessings of  
 the deep that couch below, blessings of the breast and of the womb.

Nowhere in the biblical corpus is Joseph associated with either military activity or success on the battle-front. Suggestively, the attraction of Potiphar's wife provides the more appropriate interpretative key for this blessing, so that *וְתִשָּׁב בְּאֵיתָן קֶשְׁתּוֹ* "his bow stayed taut" indicates rather that Joseph's sexual capacity remained potent.<sup>22</sup> Naturally "the blessings of the breast and of the womb" are also more relevant to this figurative interpretation of Joseph's bow as his reproductive powers, rather than as a weapon of war. It is justified therefore to conclude that this symbolism of the bow as a symbol of male virility and sexuality was familiar to pre-sectarian Judean scribes even if its explicit association was absent in the scrolls preserved at Qumran.<sup>23</sup>

Such symbolism would have been essentially avoided by men whose focus on sexual restraint and reified notions of purity was crucial to their idealized (if not, normative) ritual agenda. Any emphasis upon the universal nature of the sign of the rainbow would have been detrimental to the recognition of their community as "the elect, remnant of Israel,"

<sup>20</sup> This recalls the imagery evoked in the considerably earlier genre of Sumerian potency incantations: "Incantation: Wild ass who has had an erection for mating, who has dampened your ardour? Violent stallion whose sexual excitement is a devastating flood, [W]ho has bound your limbs? Who has slacked your muscles?" R.D. Biggs, *ŠA. ZI. GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations* (TCS 2; Locust Valley: Augustin, 1967), 17, incantation no. 1, lines 12–14.

<sup>21</sup> Compare also 4QCommGen C (4Q254) 7: <sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>2</sup> [...] (Gen 49:24–25) And his] bow [remain]ed steady (*וְתִשָּׁב בְּאֵיתָן קֶשְׁתּוֹ*) [...] <sup>3</sup> [...] the Shepherd]d, the stone of Israel. [...] <sup>4</sup> [...] blessings of the heaven] from ab[ov]e, [...] <sup>5</sup> [...].

<sup>22</sup> Certainly this is the interpretation in *b. Soṭah* 36b, commenting on Gen 49:24, where Rabbi Yoḥanan states in the name of R. Meir, that "his bow (i.e. penis) subsided," while in *y. Hor.* 2.46d Rabbi Shmuel states, "his bow (*קֶשְׁתּוֹ*) stretched forth and retracted."

<sup>23</sup> However Herodotus' (*Hist.* 11.141) account of the Assyrian retreat in Egypt, which he explained was due to swarms of field-mice devouring the bow-strings of their soldiers, is unlikely to have been known to Judean scribes and is also considered to be "a muddled and fanciful tradition." See K.A. Kitchen, "Egypt, the Levant and Assyria in 701 BC," in *Fontes atque Pontes: FS H. Brunner* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 243–253 (245). I am indebted to Russ Arnold for kindly reminding me of this, after I had delivered the paper.

who were “caused to sprout from Israel and from Aaron, a shoot of the planting.”<sup>24</sup> The importance of this self-designation is particularly highlighted by the various plant metaphors that denote exclusively the **צמח צדיק**, the “righteous branch” of the Davidic dynasty.

This “narrowing down of the metaphor to refer only to the community of the elect, the true remnant of Israel,” is highly characteristic of Qumran literature,<sup>25</sup> yet has its origins in earlier biblical tradition. This convention was summarized recently by Nicholas Wyatt who succinctly outlined this typology, or “reiterated threefold pattern,” in which the elements of blessing and covenant, sin and renewal are recalled:<sup>26</sup>

#### The Universal Covenant of Noah

- Gen 1:1–2:24    The “primordial covenant” with Adam.  
 Gen 6–8        The account of the flood and the destruction of mankind.  
 Gen 9:1–17     The covenant with Noah, symbolized by the rainbow.

#### The Covenants of Abram/Abraham

- Gen 15:1–21    The initial covenant with Abram.  
 Gen 16         Hagar’s expulsion and the birth of Ishmael.  
 Gen 17:1–21    The Covenant of Circumcision with Abraham.

#### The Covenants of Israel at Sinai

- Exod 19–24    The initial Mosaic Covenant Code to the Israelites.  
 Exod 32        The apostasy of the golden calf.  
 Exod 34:1–33   The second set of tablets issued to Moses.

In this sequence the universal covenant symbolized by the rainbow was first issued to **בשר בכל בשר** “every living creature among all flesh”

<sup>24</sup> CD 1:5–7 par. 4QD<sup>a</sup> [4Q 266] 2 i 9–12).

<sup>25</sup> H. Ulfgard, “The Branch in the Last Days: Observations on the New Covenant Before and After the Messiah,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 233–247 (235). The differentials between the **איש טהר** (the pure man) and the **טהר יתר** (the more scrupulous, pure man), are further discussed in Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 75–76.

<sup>26</sup> N. Wyatt, “Circumcision and Circumstance: Male Genital ‘Mutilation’ in Ancient Ugarit” (paper presented in the series “Mary Douglas Seminars on Anthropology and the Bible” organized by the Institute of Jewish Studies at University College, London, 6 February 2008). This outline was provided by Professor Wyatt on the accompanying hand-out to this lecture, and is reproduced here with his permission. It has since been published as: “Circumcision and Circumstance: Male Genital Mutilation in Ancient Israel and Ugarit,” *JSOT* 33 (2009): 405–431.

(Gen 9:15), i.e., all mankind. It was then limited to Abraham and his entire household. In the Priestly narrative, this later specified Abraham's descendants from Isaac and then Jacob with the exclusion of Ishmael, the sons of Keturah and Esau. By Exodus the covenant is addressed only to the Israelites. This developing pattern of covenant, sin and renewal is endemic also in the writings of the scrolls, as Craig Evans notes, "Israel's ancient covenant, and here it is primarily the Sinai covenant that is in view, and its renewal constitute the Qumran community's very *raison d'être*."<sup>27</sup> Evans concludes that,

simply put, the distinctive feature of the understanding of Covenant at Qumran is the reduction of the number of the elect. There is now a chosen people drawn out from the people of Israel: a chosen from the chosen, as it were. Those who adhere to the law according to the terms spelled out in the sectarian writings are the elect who stand in the Covenant.<sup>28</sup>

Given that in the primeval and patriarchal biblical traditions, both fertility and circumcision were crucial elements in the narrative, how can we understand their relative absence as defining signs of the covenant in the Dead Sea Scrolls? Lawrence Schiffman explains:

the Abrahamic covenant has one further ingredient, the practise of circumcision. This fact, which we encounter so extensively in rabbinic literature, is attested rarely in the scrolls. However, CD XII uses the phrase "covenant of Abraham" as a direct reference to circumcision,<sup>29</sup> so closely associated with Abraham in Genesis 17:10–15, 23–27.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed physical circumcision is explicit only in the *Damascus Document* (CD 16:4–6) as follows:

<sup>27</sup> C.A. Evans, "Covenant in the Qumran Literature," in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. S.E. Porter and J.C.R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55–80 (55).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>29</sup> As, for example in *m. 'Abot* 3:15, where בריתו של אברהם "the covenant of Abraham," likewise, denotes circumcision: "R. Eliezer of Modin has said: He who profanes the sacred, despises the festivals, shames his neighbour in public, removes the covenant of our father Abraham and reveals interpretations of Torah which are not in keeping with the *halakhah*, even if he possesses knowledge of Torah and good deeds, he has no portion in the world to come." See R. Hall's discussion of this Mishnah and its similarity to the statements in Philo (*Migr.* 89–93) and in *b. Yoma* 85b, in "Epispasm and the Dating of Ancient Jewish Writings," *JSP* 2 (1988): 71–86 (81–82).

<sup>30</sup> Schiffman "Concept of Covenant," 260, where he adds: "This covenant may be mentioned in 4Q378 (4QapocrJosh) 22 I 4, (restoring *habberjit*), or this may only be a general allusion to the covenant with Abraham."

4 ... וביום אשר יקים האיש על נפשו לשוב  
 5 אל תורת משה יסוד מלאך המסטמה מאחרריו אם יקים את דבריו  
 6 על כן נימול [ב]אברהם ביום דעתו *vacat*

- 4 ... And on the day on which one has imposed upon himself to return  
 5 to the law of Moses, the angel Mastema will turn aside from following him,  
 should he keep his word.  
 6 This is why Abraham circumcised himself on the day of his knowledge  
*vacat*

Otherwise, circumcision appears only as a metaphor in the scrolls. This includes 1QS, the סרך היחד, or *Rule of the Community*, which states as follows:

Justice and uprightness, compassionate love and seemly behaviour in all paths. No one should walk in the stubbornness of his heart in order to go astray following his heart and his eyes and the musings of his inclination instead he should circumcise in the Community the foreskin of his tendency (למול ביחד עורלת יצר) and of his stiff-neck in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Community of the eternal covenant. (1QS V:4–6)<sup>31</sup>

It is in this context that Martin Abegg concludes that

this matter does not attain to the stature of later rabbinic—where the word covenant itself (ברית) is understood as circumcision—or New Testament discussions is demonstrated by the metaphorical use of the word for “foreskin” in all of its occurrences in Qumran literature in reference to the spiritual condition of the heart.<sup>32</sup>

This preoccupation with “the spiritual condition of the heart,” not forgetting הצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם “seemly behaviour in all paths,” further highlights the lack of interest of the covenant of circumcision in the rewritten biblical traditions found at Qumran.

What were the reasons for this distinct shift? Circumcision is commonly explained in the following terms:

the very first covenantal promise had also been accompanied by a visible proof, the rainbow, described as *ot haberit* (Gen. 9.12). Similarly, [circumcision was] a visible sign ... to distinguish those descendants of Abraham

<sup>31</sup> Also compare גזור עורלת בשרכון “circumcise your fleshy foreskin” in the *Aramaic Levi Document* (1:3), which is discussed in relation to Gen 34:15, Ezek 44:6–9, and 1QpHab XI:12–13 by J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 113–116.

<sup>32</sup> These are 1QS V:5, 26; 1QpHab XI:13; 4Q177 II:16; 4Q266 6 ii 6; 4Q434 1 i 4; 4Q504 4 11, cited by M.G. Abegg, “The Covenant of the Qumran Sectarians,” in *The Concept of Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, 81–97 (82).

who are the hereditary beneficiaries of the promise from those who are not.<sup>33</sup>

As such Josephus states, with reference to the birth of Isaac to Abraham: “Furthermore, to the intent that his posterity should be kept from mixing with others, God charged him to have then circumcised and to perform the rite on the eighth day after birth” (*Ant.* 1.191–192 [Thackeray, LCL]).<sup>34</sup> Yet, in practical terms, this cannot have been the case. Hence Michael Fox argues that at its earliest implementation, differentiating between the descendants of Isaac and Ishmael (if not also Abraham’s other sons) could not have provided either the impetus, or rationale, for this rite:

It is not an identity sign designated belonging to the covenanted people, for first of all, no one would see it. (There is no point referring the custom to a time when people went naked, for that custom was certainly not relevant for P and even in the earliest times Israelites did not go naked). Anyway it would not be of much use in distinguishing the Israelites from their neighbours, because many of them were also circumcised. And Ishmael, who as P takes pains to emphasize is not part of the covenant, is also circumcised. For practical purposes circumcision could at most distinguish the Israelites from the Philistines, who are not an issue for P.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> B.S. Jackson, *Studies in the Semiotics of Biblical Law* (JSOTSup 314; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 239. This view is expressed earliest by Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5.2: “They [i.e. the Jews] adopted circumcision to distinguish themselves from other peoples by this difference.” Translated in L. Feldman and M. Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Thought among the Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 380.

<sup>34</sup> Here Louis Feldman observes: “Josephus was evidently well aware that this might lead to a charge of misanthropy, however, so he immediately adds that elsewhere he will explain the reason—that is, presumably, the rational or symbolic meaning of this practice. The announced work has not come down to us, but in it Josephus might well have pointed to the separation of the reputedly wise Egyptians, who, he says, themselves practise circumcision (*Ag. Ap.* 1.164–170 and 2.141–142). In any case, it is significant that whereas Josephus elsewhere draws upon the *Book of Jubilees*, he omits the strong statement in *Jubilees* (15:26), presumably directed against the Hellenizers of the period” (L.H. Feldman, *Josephus’s Interpretation of the Bible* [Hellenistic Culture and Society 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998], 245–246). Here *Jub.* 15:26–27 states: “Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the people (meant for) destruction. Moreover, there is no sign on him that he belongs to the Lord, but (he is meant) for destruction, for being destroyed from the earth, and for being uprooted from the earth because he has violated the covenant of the Lord our God.” Translation of J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–511; Scriptores Aethiopiici 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 2:92.

<sup>35</sup> M.V. Fox, “The Sign of the Covenant: Circumcision in the Light of the Priestly *’ôt* Etiologies,” *RB* 81 (1974): 557–596 (595). Likewise, William Propp concludes that “because circumcision set Jews apart in the later Greco-Roman and Christian worlds, most people assume that the original intent, the ‘covenant sign’ of Genesis 17 was to



Fox's argument is supported by the evidence that male circumcision is attested in both in Egypt and in the Levant as either an initiation or pre-puberty rite, although references to circumcision in Egypt are exceptional in the earlier dynastic periods. By the fifth century, however, Herodotus writes that:

but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision.<sup>36</sup> The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learned the custom from the Egyptians; and the Syrians of the valleys of Thermodon and Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, say they learned it lately from the Colchians.<sup>37</sup> (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.104)

Among the circumcised Philo includes Jews, Egyptians, the Arabians, the Ethiopians and “nearly all the nations that dwell in the southern parts of the world” (*QG* 3.47–48). Of particular significance is the tradition recorded in Jeremiah, which further confirms the widespread origins of the rite.

Lo, the days are coming—declares the Lord—when I will take note of everyone circumcised in the foreskin: of Egypt, Judah, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab and all the desert dwellers who have the hair of their temples clipped. For all these nations are uncircumcised, but all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart.<sup>38</sup> (Jer 9:24–25)

Such admonitions characterize, if not typify, the metaphorical allusions to circumcision as a means to achieving both physical and mental restraint in pre-Qumranic thought.

Yet it was only after the Greek conquest of the Persian province of Judea that circumcision then did “effect a heightening of tribal consciousness and can be used, as in Hellenistic and Roman times, to identify a member of the people.”<sup>39</sup> This came about when “physical demarcation was especially acute in a society in which public nudity during work and at play was prevalent and in which the perfection of the unaltered male

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distinguish Jew from Gentile, or Israelite from foreigner. But this is wrong” (W.H. Propp, “Circumcision: The Private Sign of The Covenant,” *BRev* 20/4, [2006]: 22–29 [23]).

<sup>36</sup> Colchis was east of the Black Sea and south of the Caucasus Mountains: “Though this area is far from Egypt, it seems that Egypt received immigrants from this district at the close of the Old Kingdom” (Feldman and Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Thought*, 378 n. 73).

<sup>37</sup> Translation *ibid.*, 378. This view is reported also by Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 1.168–172).

<sup>38</sup> Where the emphasis upon: *כי כל-הגוים ערלים וכל-בית ישראל ערלי לב* “For all these nations are uncircumcised, but all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart” is significant.

<sup>39</sup> Fox, “Sign of the Covenant,” 595.

physique was prized,<sup>40</sup> and would have been noticeable particularly in the Roman bath house and gymnasium.<sup>41</sup> The response of a number of Jewish men to these social pressures is evident from the accounts of epispasm: surgery undertaken to reverse the appearance of their circumcision<sup>42</sup> in order to disguise what was otherwise considered as a physical deformity.<sup>43</sup> In addition to the repugnance for circumcision and the intense social stigma that this rite conveyed, Robert Hall explains that the two drachma tax levied in the aftermath of the Jewish wars (68–72 C.E.) for any circumcised man, provided a further incentive to undergo epispasm.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, in Alexandria, citizenship additionally required the removal of circumcision, as was evident in 3 Macc 2:30–31; 3:21; 7:10–15.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, once “circumcision is likewise singled out in Hellenistic Jewish, pagan and Christian literature as the premier mark of the Jew, and specifically of the convert to Judaism,”<sup>46</sup> does it constitute what Shaye Cohen has termed a “tribal mark or ethnic habit.”<sup>47</sup> This negative perception of circumcision (reinforced also by Paul and in the transmission of the gospels)<sup>48</sup> would have done little to enhance its appeal in Judean society.

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<sup>40</sup> R. Abusch, “Circumcision and Castration under Roman Law in the Early Empire,” in *The Covenant of Circumcision: New Perspectives on an Ancient Jewish Rite* (ed. E. Wyner Mark; Brandeis Series on Jewish Women; Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 2003), 75–86 (75). See also Feldman and Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Thought*, 377–380.

<sup>41</sup> See R. Hall, “Epispasm: Circumcision in Reverse,” *BRev* 8/4 (1992): 52–57 (52).

<sup>42</sup> As in 1 Macc 1:11–15; 2 Macc 4:12; *T. Mos.* 8:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.241; 1 Cor 7:18; *t. Šabb.* 15:9; *b. Yebam.* 72a.

<sup>43</sup> As understood, for example, by Petronius, *Satyricon* 68:8: “He [a slave] has only two faults, and if he were rid of them he would be simply perfect. He is circumcised and he snores.” Translated in Feldman and Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Thought*, 379.

<sup>44</sup> Hall, “Epispasm and the Dating of Ancient Jewish Writings,” 76–78. This is also evident from the tradition recounted by Suetonius, *Dom.* 12:2: “Besides other taxes, that on the Jews were levied with utmost rigour, and those were prosecuted who without publically acknowledging that faith yet lived as Jews, as well as those that concealed their origin and did not pay the tribute levied on their people. I recall being present in my youth when the person of a man ninety years old was examined before the procurator and a very crowded court, to see whether he was circumcised.” Translated in A.M. Rabello, “The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of Bar Kokhba’s Rebellion,” *Israel Law Review* 29 (1995): 176–214 (181).

<sup>45</sup> Hall, “Epispasm and the Dating of Ancient Jewish Writings,” 77.

<sup>46</sup> P. Friedriksen, “The Circumcision of Gentiles and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2,” *JTS* 42 (1991): 532–564 (536).

<sup>47</sup> S.J.D. Cohen, *Why Aren’t Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 15.

<sup>48</sup> Both Gal 6:14–15 and Acts 15:19–29 indicate that circumcision was, firstly, recog-

Given the self-identification of the community represented at Qumran as “the elect remnant of Israel,” it is understandable that a rite that was as prevalent in the surrounding, pagan society such as circumcision (and one which was not originally the unique the mark of the Jew) was of little use in the promotion of their sectarian ideals. Moreover, the fact that circumcision was perceived as a physical deformity additionally explains the need to develop its role primarily (if not exclusively) in metaphorical terms thus avoiding explicit mention of its actual application.

In pragmatic terms it therefore seems unlikely that the requirement for circumcision was absent in the סֵרֶךְ הַיְחָד, the *Community Rule*, because it was simply taken for granted, as a normative Judean rite assumed by the sectarian scribes.<sup>49</sup> This is, even though, as Russell Arnold and Daniel Stoekl Ben Ezra pointed out when this paper was delivered in Vienna, the more general life-cycle rituals (birth, initiation, marriage, death, etc.) are largely absent in the scrolls, with exception to the initiation rite and covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS VI:13–15 and I:18–II:18 respectively. These factors do not preclude the reality that male circumcision was never exclusively an Israelite tradition but was common in Second Temple Judean society and its surrounds and that, furthermore, by the Graeco-Roman period was publically vilified and considered a disfiguring social stigma. This historical context explains why the covenant of circumcision assumed significance only as a metaphor and was not valued in and of itself as a requirement for the future redemption of Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Like the covenant of the rainbow, addressed initially to all mankind, both signs were clearly irrelevant, if not detrimental to, the particular elitism advanced by the men of Qumran.

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nised as a Jewish characteristic, and secondly that it was not required for converts to the Christian faith.

<sup>49</sup> In accordance with Mosaic law suggested in Gen 17:10–14; Exod 4:24–26; etc.



PROPHECY AFTER “THE PROPHETS”:  
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE  
HISTORY OF PROPHECY IN JUDAISM

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INTRODUCTION

Recent scholarship on ancient Judaism has witnessed a renewed interest in the question of ongoing prophetic activity in Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism. Perhaps the most representative examples of this trend are the two articles by Frederick Greenspahn and Benjamin Sommer that appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* in 1989 and 1996, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Greenspahn’s contribution sought to build upon earlier treatments by Ephraim Urbach, Thomas Overholt, and David Aune in reconsidering what had long been deemed a closed discussion: did prophecy indeed cease in the early post-exilic period as everyone from the rabbis to Wellhausen and beyond had imagined?<sup>2</sup>

Greenspahn’s examination covers two sets of data: (1) explicit evidence attesting to ongoing prophetic activity or the belief in its continued existence well beyond the exile and (2) reexamination of several passages from Second Temple and rabbinic literature that seem to claim the opposite. Considering the second group, Greenspahn correctly observes that what one group thinks should be the case is not evidence for the actual social reality in other segments of society.<sup>3</sup> Several years later, Sommer

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<sup>1</sup> F.E. Greenspahn, “Why Prophecy Ceased,” *JBL* 108 (1989): 37–49; B.D. Sommer, “Did Prophecy Cease? Reevaluating a Reevaluation,” *JBL* 115 (1995): 31–47.

<sup>2</sup> E.E. Urbach, “מתי פסקה הנבואה?” *Tarbiz* 17 (1945–1946): 1–11; D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 103–106; T. Overholt, “The End of Prophecy: No Players without a Program,” in *The Place Is too Small for Us: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (ed. R.P. Gordon; SBTs 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 527–538. For full bibliography, see A.P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 11–19; idem, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Community,” *AJSR* 32 (2008): 299–334.

<sup>3</sup> Greenspahn, “Prophecy,” 40 (so also Aune, *Prophecy*, 103).

argued that Greenspahn and his predecessors got it all wrong. While offering a corrective to Greenspahn's over-reading of some texts, Sommer asserts that the evidence from ancient Judaism does not present a portrait of uninterrupted prophetic activity. Rather, he argues, "new ways to ascertain or proclaim YHWH's will arose, but these methods display an even more acute sense of distance from full-fledged prophecy."<sup>4</sup>

Both Greenspahn and Sommer draw upon a wide range of biblical, Second Temple, and rabbinic sources in their inquiries. What is conspicuously absent from both articles, however, is a serious consideration of the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>5</sup> To be sure, Greenspahn's article appeared before the full availability of the scrolls, and Sommer's was likely written before the full impact of the availability of the scrolls was felt outside of Qumran studies. Yet, there is virtually no engagement even with the scrolls that were widely available, a situation found elsewhere in the scholarly literature on this subject.<sup>6</sup> The Dead Sea Scrolls have rightly been understood to have revolutionized so many fields of inquiry in the study of the Bible, and ancient Judaism and Christianity. Yet, they have failed to enter fully into the discussion of prophecy in ancient Judaism. What do the Dead Sea Scrolls teach us about prophecy and how can this help us understand the larger context of Second Temple Judaism?

#### INTEGRATING THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Discussions of prophecy in the scrolls generally focus on the reception of ancient prophecy in the community—as in peshet literature, for example—or to a lesser extent in prophecy at the end of days.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> Sommer, "Prophecy," 43.

<sup>5</sup> Greenspahn cites 1QS VIII:16 as evidence for the equation of prophecy and the holy spirit ("Prophecy," 37 n. 4) and notes the existence of "lying prophets" in the *Hodayot* (*ibid.*, 41). Sommer briefly notes the importance of inspired exegesis at Qumran as a new (non-prophetic) way to access the divine will ("Prophecy," 43–44).

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., G. Stemmer, "Propheten und Prophetie in der Tradition des nachbiblischen Judentums," in *Prophetie und Charisma* (ed. W.H. Schmidt and E. Dassmann; Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie 14; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1999), 145–174. In discussing Qumran (145–149), he focuses almost entirely on the issue of the eschatological prophet and false prophecy, thereby limiting the potential contribution of the Qumran evidence to his larger study.

<sup>7</sup> For full discussion and bibliography on the study of prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 3–4. To this earlier discussion should be added M. Nissinen, "Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on the Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea*

dearth of scholarship on ongoing prophetic activity has in large part been driven by the nature of the evidence provided by the scrolls. References to contemporary prophecy employing explicit prophetic terminology (e.g., *חזיה, גביא*) are rare. Such terminology is primarily employed to refer to biblical prophecy.<sup>8</sup> Thus, there is seemingly no (or little) evidence to consider.

Any attempt to discuss prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and its larger contribution to the study of Second Temple Judaism must begin by overcoming this terminological pitfall. Just because the Qumran community restricts its use of explicit prophetic terminology to ancient prophets does not mean that it does not regard prophecy as a live institution.<sup>9</sup> Moving beyond the terminological constraints, we must inquire as to how the community envisions continued modes of human-divine communication. At the same time, however, this discussion should include only those forms of human-divine communication that the community deems to be commensurate with the activity of the ancient prophets. The abundance of material in the Qumran corpus that reconceptualizes ancient prophets and prophetic activity provides a critical starting point for charting the community's own conceptualization of prophecy.<sup>10</sup>

My suggestion, therefore, is to move away from the terminological constraints and emphasize (1) prophetic-revelatory phenomena and (2) new modes of transformed prophetic activity. The evidence provided by the scrolls, some of which I will examine here, indicates that the Qumran community recognizes a distinction between ancient prophecy and the

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*Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voiteda and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 513–533; K. de Troyer, A. Lange, and L.L. Schulte, eds. *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> See Jassen, *Mediating*, 25–131, for treatment of the uses of explicit biblical terminology in the scrolls (*איש האלהים, משיח, חזיה, גביא*, and *עברד*).

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., H. Barstad, “Prophecy at Qumran?” in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppsen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 104–120, who restricts his study to explicit biblical terminology. Barstad's conclusion that prophecy was not a live phenomenon at Qumran is therefore based on a limited set of evidence and ignores the much wider and variegated world of prophecy at Qumran.

<sup>10</sup> For fuller exposition of this methodology, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 4–11, idem, “Prophets and Prophecy.” See the similar approach in G.J. Brooke, “Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards,” in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M.H. Floyd and R.D. Haak; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 427; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 151–165. On the issue of terminology, see also Nissinen, “Transmitting,” esp. 515–517.

contemporary related phenomenon. At the same time, the community views itself and its activity as commensurate with ancient prophetic practice. In this sense, I agree with Sommer's assertion that Jews in the Second Temple period developed alternative ways to mediate the divine word and will. Unlike Sommer, however, I am proposing that the Qumran corpus indicates that these alternative models were in fact regarded as prophecy.

In this article, I examine several texts from among the Dead Sea Scrolls that provide insight into the Qumran community's view regarding ongoing prophetic activity and the nature of its application. I then offer some suggestions regarding how these insights can be employed to understand better related phenomena in wider segments of Second Temple Judaism.<sup>11</sup>

READING FOR PROPHECY WITHOUT PROPHEPIC  
TERMINOLOGY: THE CASE OF THE *HODAYOT*  
(*THANKSGIVING HYMNS*) AND JOSEPHUS

Let me now discuss one particular text that I think illustrates well many of the suggestions that I am making. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:5–29 (Sukenik: col. IV) describes a bitter conflict between a leader of the Qumran community (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness) and the community's enemies.<sup>12</sup> The main thrust of the hymn is to condemn the opponents for their illegitimate attempt to change the law and, as we so often find in sectarian polemics, for just being all-around bad people. This invective, however, is couched in a much larger assessment of the competing claims to divine access by the hymnist (and by extension the sect) and the opponents. As we would expect, the hymnist claims to have direct access to the divine, while the opponents are condemned as illegitimate and misguided in their relationship with the divine.

<sup>11</sup> One important area not addressed here is scriptural interpretation as prophecy. On this, see Jassen, *Mediating*, passim; idem, "Prophecy and Prophets."

<sup>12</sup> Some parallel Cave 4 content is preserved, though no significant variants exist (4Q430 1–7 par. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:13–19; 4Q432 8 1 par. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:10). This hymnic unit is generally understood as half of a larger hymn that continues in XII:29–XIII:4 by describing the failings of humans (see J.A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* [STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 103–104). Fuller treatment of this hymn can be found in Jassen, *Mediating*, 280–290; idem, "Prophecy and Prophets." Translations follow M. Wise et al. in *Poetic and Liturgical Texts* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov; The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 5; Leiden: Brill, 2005).



What is interesting here, however, is that it is the enemies who are described with explicit prophetic terminology (lines 10, 20: חווי רמיה, “seers of deceit” and חווי תעות, “seers of error”; line 16: נביאי כזב, “lying prophets”).<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the hymnist never identifies himself as a prophet. Rather, he continually maintains that only he has access to God and only he has been the recipient of true revelation. The hymnist’s claims are asserted at the very beginning (lines 5–6):

I give thanks to you, O Lord, for you have made my face to shine by your covenant, and [ ] I seek you, and as an enduring dawning, as [perfe]ct light (לאור [תו]ם), you have revealed yourself (הופעתה) to me.

Two circuitous terms are employed here to describe the hymnist’s intimate relationship with the divine. First, the peculiar locution לאור [תו]ם is often understood as the singular form of the Urim and Thummim— oracular devices employed to access the divine will—and thus attests to the hymnist’s claims of divine access.<sup>14</sup> Second, the experience of divine revelation is expressed with the seldom used verb יפע.<sup>15</sup> This twofold circumscribed language underscores the hymnist’s claim of revelation at the same time as it identifies it as entirely unique.

The rest of the hymn serves to emphasize this point further while simultaneously rejecting the alternative claims of the opponents. Thus, lines 6–7 assert that the enemies are led by “mediators of deceit,” while in line 8 the hymnist reaffirms his closeness to God by identifying himself as a conduit for divine strength—“You displayed your might through me.” The following lines present the core element of the conflict and provide further contrast between the competing revelatory claims. The enemies are condemned again as “mediators of a lie” (מליצי כזב) and also “seers of deceit” (וחווי רמיה), the latter term using the explicit prophetic epithet חזה. The long invective against the enemies’ attempt to seek divine sanction for alteration of the law continues in line 16 with the claim that they incorrectly sought the intervention of “lying prophets” (נביאי כזב).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See also the use of מליץ, “mediator” (lines 7, 9), which may have a prophetic nuance (S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* [ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960], 161 n. 29; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 107; Nissinen, “Transmitting,” 531).

<sup>14</sup> First suggested by E.L. Sukenik, יהודה: שגמצאה במדבר יהודה: סקירה שניה (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1950), 43. On the restoration, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 370 n. 30.

<sup>15</sup> For its revelatory use, see Deut 33:2; Pss 50:2; 80:2; 94:1 (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVII:31; XXIII:5–7). See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 80–81; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 106.

<sup>16</sup> Most scholars view the “lying prophets” as identical with the general opponents

In lines 22–23, the hymnist once again states that the enemies reject him notwithstanding his status as a recipient of divine revelation:

For they esteem [me] not [thou]gh you display your might through me, and reveal yourself (ותופע) to me in your strength as a perfect light (לאורתום) ...

The entire expression parallels the earlier revelatory claims in lines 5–6 and 8 and therefore forms a “revelatory” *inclusio* for the intervening hymnic unit:

Table 1. The *Inclusio* Formed by 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:5–6, 8 and 22–23

1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:5–6, 8	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:22–23
<p>אודכה אדוני כי האירותה פני לבריתכה ומי] ] אדורשכה וכשחר נכון לאור] תו]ם הופעתה לי</p> <p>(5) <i>vacat</i> I give thanks to you, O Lord, for you have made my face shine by your covenant, and [ ] (6) [ ] I seek you, and as an enduring dawning, as [perfe]ct light, you have revealed yourself to me.</p> <p><u>ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי</u></p> <p>(8) <u>Neither did they esteem me; even when you displayed your might through me.</u></p>	<p>כיא לא יחשבוני ע]ד הגבירכה בי ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתום</p> <p>For (23) <u>they esteem [me] not [thou]gh you display your might through me, and reveal yourself to me in your strength as a perfect light.</u></p>

The implication of this literary presentation is clear. The hymnist alone has received true revelation. The oppositional language employed through the intervening portions of the hymn frames the entire passage as the hymnist’s explicit claim of revelation and a rejection of the competing claims of his would-be prophetic opponents.

The theme of illumination (אור) found at the beginning of the hymn (line 5) appears once more in the remainder of the hymn and generates another “revelatory” *inclusio* with material from the opening portion of the hymn:

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throughout the hymn. It is clear, however, that the prophets are a separate group who are sought out by the opponents (see Jassen, *Mediating*, 286–287).

Table 2. The *Inclusio* Formed by 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:5 and 27

1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:5	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII:27
אודכה אדוני כִּי־ האירותה פני לבריתכה	ובי האירותה פני רבים
I give thanks to you, O Lord, for you have made my face shine by your covenant	But by me you have illumined the face of many (or the general membership)

This second *inclusio* transforms the hymnist from an individual recipient of revelation to a prophetic messenger. In line 5, the hymnist exclaims that God has made *his* face shine. As made clear by the ensuing content, the hymnist refers here to his receipt of revelation. In line 27, the same language and imagery is employed. Instead of the face of the hymnist being illumined, however, it is the face of the “many.”<sup>17</sup> The preposition בִּי (“by me”) identifies the hymnist as the agent of this divine illumination. The hymnist can only serve in this mediating capacity on account of his personal illumination as recounted in line 5. This entire revelatory *inclusio* (lines 5 and 27) encloses the earlier *inclusio* discussed above (lines 5–6 and 22–23). The latter identifies the individual revelation of the hymnist, while the former marks the transformation of this revelation from personal to public. In doing so, the hymnist is not merely one who has unmediated access to God; he is now entrusted with the responsibility to mediate the divine word and will to a larger audience.<sup>18</sup>

This hymn contains many elements that prove helpful in considering larger attitudes toward prophecy in the Qumran community and related segments of Second Temple Judaism. Foremost, this hymn demonstrates the importance of sensitivity to the use and non-use of prophetic terminology. The hymnist deliberately avoids referring to himself with a prophetic designation or more common revelatory language. Yet, there can be little doubt that he viewed his activity as recounted in this hymn as true revelation and as part of a larger institution of prophecy. This

<sup>17</sup> The term רבים here may merely designate a larger audience. Alternatively, it may be understood in its narrowly sectarian sense as the “members of the community” (1QS VI:7–21). See the similar expression וְלְהַאִיר פְּנֵי רַבִּים, “to illuminate the face of the many” in 1QSb IV:27.

<sup>18</sup> On the importance of the element of transmission in identifying prophetic activity, see Nissinen, “Transmitting,” esp. 515–517; and idem, “Preface,” in *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical and Arabian Perspectives* (ed. idem; SBLSymS 13; Atlanta: SBL, 2000), vii.

terminological peculiarity can be explained in two ways. By “quietly” asserting his close relationship to God at the same time as he employs prophetic titles for his clearly unprophetic opponents, he simultaneously affirms his own status as a true prophet while warning others to be wary of individuals who claim such status. The interest in false prophecy here corresponds with related concerns in other Qumran and Second Temple literature.<sup>19</sup> The second explanation for the avoidance of prophetic titles is the community’s recognition that prophecy, while very much a live phenomenon, differs from its ancient Israelite heritage.

The features described here are especially helpful in considering the importance of prophecy in another central body of Second Temple period writings—Josephus.<sup>20</sup> As in the Dead Sea Scrolls, if one were to restrict the discussion of prophecy in Josephus to classical prophetic terminology, only the biblical prophets would be in view. It is well known that Josephus employs a different set of titles for biblical prophets (προφήτης) and contemporary ones (μάντις).<sup>21</sup> At the same time, he is consistent in using the latter terminology for phenomena that he (and presumably others) regards as commensurate with the ancient prophetic institution. For example, when Josephus recounts Judah the Essene’s prediction of the murder of Antigonos (*J.W.* 1.78–80), he identifies Judah with the latter terminology. Moreover, Judah’s predictions are identified as προσηγοριώντων (“predictions”) and μάντευμα (“oracles”), but never with the terminological designation “prophecies.” At the same time, the activity of Judah the Essene comports with Josephus’ more general understanding of the predictive role of prophets and prophecy.<sup>22</sup> While Judah’s actions are prophetic, Josephus carefully refrains from identifying him as a prophet.

<sup>19</sup> Three texts from Qumran display concern with false and illegitimate prophecy: 4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339), 4QapocrMoses<sup>a</sup> (4Q375), 11QT<sup>a</sup> (11Q19) LIV:8–18 (see Jassen, *Mediating*, 299–306). On more general trends in Second Temple Judaism, see Aune, *Prophecy*, 127–128, 137–138; Stemberger, “Propheten,” 147–149.

<sup>20</sup> Scholars have devoted considerable attention to prophecy in Josephus: J. Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus,” *JJS* 25 (1974): 239–262; L.H. Feldman, “Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus,” in *Prophets* (ed. Floyd and Haak), 210–239; R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Stemberger, “Propheten,” 149–152.

<sup>21</sup> See J. Reiling, “The Use of ΠΡΕΥΔΟΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ in the Septuagint, Philo and Josephus,” *NovT* 13 (1971): 146–156, 156; Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy,” 240, 262; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 23–26. Exceptions are treated in D.E. Aune, “The Use of ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ in Josephus,” *JBL* 101 (1982): 419–421; Sommer, “Prophecy,” 40 n. 36.

<sup>22</sup> On the predictive character of prophecy in Josephus, see Blenkinsopp, “Prophecy,” 242–246; Feldman, “Prophets,” 227–230; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 30–34.

Josephus provides us with an explanation for his use of distinct terminology. In *Ag. Ap.* 1.41, we find the well-known statement that the "exact succession of prophets" ended in the time of Artaxerxes. Contrary to some scholars who read this as a claim that prophecy ended, it merely serves to mark a distinction in prophetic status.<sup>23</sup> While prophecy does not cease, it is transformed to such an extent that later prophetic writings are unfit for inclusion into the sacred history.<sup>24</sup> Prophecy as it was performed and perceived in the pre-exilic period had come to an end at some point in the early post-exilic period. At the same time, new prophetic models emerged that performed similar mediating functions. The critical point is to be able to identify these modified forms of prophecy without the convenient terminological designators.

RELOCATING PROPHECY IN SECOND TEMPLE  
JUDAISM I: PROPHECY AND LAW IN THE *RULE*  
OF THE COMMUNITY AND 1 MACCABEES

The hymn discussed above provides additional information regarding transformed modes of prophetic activity at Qumran. In this hymn, the opponents are condemned for soliciting the aid of prophets in their attempt to gain divine approval for modification of the law (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:10–11, 15–16). Throughout the sectarian polemic, the enemies are never censured for turning to prophets and contemporary revelation in judicial matters. Indeed, the Qumran community based its entire legal system on the progressive revelation of law. For the community, God revealed the law originally to Moses on Sinai and continued to reveal the interpretation and amplification of the Torah to special individuals throughout each generation—the community representing the most recent stage of this progressive revelation.<sup>25</sup> In the case of the enemies' similar claim,

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<sup>23</sup> On the former understanding of this passage, see, for example, H.S.J. Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian* (New York: Ktav, 1968), 79; R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and its Background in Early Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1985), 371–372.

<sup>24</sup> See S.Z. Leiman, "Josephus and the Canon of the Bible," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. L.H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 56. A similar argument is advanced in Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy," 241; Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 23–26.

<sup>25</sup> See N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962), 67–70; L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 23–32.

the very action of appealing to God for guidance on the application of the Torah is conceptualized as a prophetic experience (lines 15–16: **ויבאו** לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב מפותי תעות, “they come to seek you through the words of lying prophets corrupted by error”). The larger question, however, is did the community also conceive of its own revelatory legislative activity as prophecy and its inspired legislators as prophets?<sup>26</sup>

As a way to think about this question, I would like to compare the primary statement regarding the community’s attitude toward the role of the classical prophets in the progressive revelation of law as articulated in column VIII of the *Rule of the Community* and the community’s own self-identity as recipients of progressive revelation as articulated in columns V and IX.<sup>27</sup> 1QS VIII:15–16<sup>28</sup> identifies two means by which the law as originally transmitted by Moses continues to be applied and amplified post-Sinai. This passage begins with the citation of Isa 40:3 that the community viewed as programmatic for its own retreat to the desert and study of the Torah. The Torah is then further explained as something that was commanded “to do” (לעשות)—that is, to observe.<sup>29</sup> The Torah of Moses, according to the *Rule of the Community*, is not self-sustaining in the sense that it can be observed in full without recourse to any external explication and amplification. The employment of “to do” introduces a two-fold model for how the Torah transmitted by Moses can be “applied” in full by the sectarian community, a model presumably demanded for the rest of Israel as well.<sup>30</sup>

First, the community is exhorted to observe the law “according to everything which has been revealed (הנגלה) (from) time to time” (line 15). This expression articulates the sectarian belief that the proper understanding of the Torah is apprehended through a system of periodic leg-

<sup>26</sup> For a much fuller exploration of this question, see A.P. Jassen, “The Presentation of the Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran,” *JBL* 127 (2008): 307–337.

<sup>27</sup> Translations of 1QS follow E. Qimron and J.H. Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community (1QS; cf. 4QS MSS A–J, 5Q11),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 1–107.

<sup>28</sup> Note that 4QS<sup>e</sup> (4Q259) 1 iii 5–6 lacks text corresponding to 1QS VIII:15b–IX:12. Space does not allow a full exploration of the implications of this different recension (see Jassen, “Presentation,” 320 n. 40, 332–333).

<sup>29</sup> On the understanding of the Torah as the antecedent of “to do” (rather than “study of the Torah”), see P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 129 and further discussion in Jassen, “Presentation,” 320–321.

<sup>30</sup> Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 78. Compare 1QS I:1–3, which employs the identical language of “observing” (לעשות) the law of Moses.

islative revelations. This passage, however, seems to speak only in generalities, merely introducing the sectarian belief in progressive revelation as a mechanism for comprehending the Torah and its post-biblical application.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, wedged between Moses and the prophets, these periodic revelations seem to lack a recognized time-frame and easily identifiable audience.

This general statement regarding the centrality of progressive revelation is followed by a description of the first post-Sinai stage—the prophets: “and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his holy spirit” (line 16). The prophets are here conceptualized as possessing the proper understanding of the Torah of Moses and empowered to share this knowledge with Israel. This juridical knowledge is intimately connected with their prophetic status. Following a general statement on the sect’s theory of progressive revelation, the prophets are described as the initial historical link in the succession of these periodic revelations.

When we compare this passage to two separate statements regarding the community’s role in the progressive revelation, an interesting feature emerges. The textual correspondences are outlined in table three:

Table 3. 1QS VIII:15–16 Compared to 1QS V:8–9 and IX:13

1QS VIII:15–16	1QS V:8–9	1QS IX:13
התורה ... ביד מושה	תורת מושה	לעשות את <sup>23</sup> רצון אל
The Torah ... through Moses	The Torah of Moses	To do God’s will
א[ש]ר צוה	ככול אשר צוה	
Wh[ic]h he commanded	According to all that he commanded	
לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת	לשוב אל ... בכול לב ובכול נפש לכול הנגלה ממנה	ככול הנגלה לעת בעת
To do according to everything that has been revealed (from) time to time	To return ... with all heart and with all soul, according to everything that has been revealed from it	According to everything which has been revealed from time to time

<sup>31</sup> Wieder, *Judean Scrolls*, 78; Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 26.

<sup>32</sup> 4QS<sup>c</sup> (4Q259) lacks this word.

1QS VIII:15–16	1QS V:8–9	1QS IX:13
<p>וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו</p>	<p>(לכול הנגלה ממנה) לבני צדוק</p>	<p>ולמוד את כול השכל הנמצא ...</p>
<p>And (to do) as the prophets revealed through his holy spirit.</p>	<p>(according to everything that has been revealed from it) to the Sons of Zadok (4QS<sup>b, d</sup>: to [the multitude of] the council of the men of the Community)</p>	<p>He [the <i>maskil</i>] shall learn all the understanding which has been found ...</p>

In both 1QS V and IX, a similar situation is described regarding the Torah and its need for interpretation as is found in 1QS VIII. Once again, the community's general principle of progressive revelation is first introduced as a way to facilitate full observance (1QS VIII:15, IX:13: לעשות; 1QS V:8: לשוב) of the Torah. In 1QS V and IX, however, the next stage is not identified as the prophets. Rather, the community takes the place of the prophets following the general description of the idea of progressive revelation. In 1QS V, the full application of the law is revealed to the Sons of Zadok, or, according to 4QS<sup>b, d</sup> (4Q256, 258), “[the multitude of] the council of the men of the Community.”<sup>33</sup> In 1QS IX:13 (par. 4QS<sup>e</sup> [4Q259] 1 iii 8–10), the ability to do God's will is based on the *maskil's* ability to “learn all the understanding which has been found ...,” a reference to sectarian exegetical activity.<sup>34</sup> This fits well with the sect's own understanding of inspired exegesis as the way that the sectarian leaders gain access to the progressive revelation of law. Their revelatory activity, like the prophets before them, represents the realization of the progressive revelation of law through periodic revelations.

The identification of lawgiving as a prophetic task is not commonly found in ancient Judaism. Other contemporaneous and later traditions—such as the authors of the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees*, and the rabbis—conceive of a one-time revelation at Sinai in which the entirety of the law and its future amplification are made known.<sup>35</sup> The recognition that the

<sup>33</sup> See 4QS<sup>b</sup> (4Q256) 4 7–8; 4QS<sup>d</sup> (4Q258) 1 6–7. The restoration (לרוב) follows Qimron and Charlesworth (cf. P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes in *DJD* XXVI [1998]: 94, 97, who restore על פי, “in accordance with”).

<sup>34</sup> On the understanding of this expression as a reference to the sectarian exegetical process, see Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 33–36.

<sup>35</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law in the Second



Qumran community regarded its own legislative-revelatory encounter as somehow prophetic compels us to inquire as to further echoes of this attitude in Second Temple Judaism.

Let me briefly discuss one relevant example. In 1 Macc 4:42–46, we are told about the legal dilemma presented to Judah and the Hasmonean army upon regaining control of the temple and encountering the defiled altar. According to Deut 12:2–3, all altars in Israel that had been used for idolatry must be destroyed. They presumably understood Deut 12:4 (לא תעשו כן ליהוה אלהיכם, “do not do as such to the Lord your God”)—as the rabbis later would—as a prohibition against destroying the altar of the Lord, whereby תעשו כן (“do as such”) refers back to the act of destruction in vv. 2–3.<sup>36</sup> They therefore attempt to apply legal-exegetical reasoning: because the altar has been used for idolatry it must be razed in accordance with Deut 12:2–3. Deuteronomy 12:4, however, says that the altar of the Lord cannot be treated in the same way. Thus, instead of razing the altar, they merely remove its stones and store them away.<sup>37</sup>

At the same time, they recognize that their solution is incomplete and the final status of the stone—and therefore the correct application of Deut 12:2–4—will ultimately need to be resolved. The final legal resolution is placed in the hands of a future prophet, most likely one who will emerge in eschatological times. Rather than apply further exegesis, juridical reasoning, or appeal to tradition—as found in a late rabbinic discussion of this event (see *b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 52b)—Judah identifies the prophet as the final arbiter of the precise harmonization and application of Deut 12:2–4 is this particular context. The assignment of juridical functions to a prophet—particularly in the determination of the precise meaning of two biblical passages—should be situated in the same world as the Qumran community’s own prophetic-legislative activity.<sup>38</sup>

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Temple Period,” in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. G.J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 239–255.

<sup>36</sup> The straightforward reading of v. 4 condemns the de-centralized worship in vv. 2–3 (thus NJPS: “Do not worship the Lord your God in like manner”). For the rabbinic interpretation, see *Sipre Deut* 61; *t. Mak* 5(4):8.

<sup>37</sup> See J.A. Goldstein, *IMaccabees* (AB 41; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 285.

<sup>38</sup> Later rabbinic tradition would associate such a role specifically with the eschatological Elijah (e.g., *m. Šeqal.* 2:5; *m. B. Mešī’a* 1:8; 2:8; 3:4–5; *b. Menah* 63a).

RELOCATING PROPHECY IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM II:  
PROPHECY AND WISDOM IN THE PSALMS SCROLL AND BEN SIRA

The same hymn discussed above provides insight into an additional modified mode of revelation. As I have repeatedly emphasized, this hymn is about the contrasting prophetic-revelatory claims of the hymnist and his opponents. In addition to the broad strokes in which this debate is framed, we are provided with some more specific details regarding the sapiential framework of the prophetic-revelatory communication. Following the wider polemical tone of the hymn, this too is expressed in oppositional language. Thus, the enemies “hold back the drink of knowledge” in line 11 and reject the “vision of knowledge” in line 18. In contrast, toward the end of the hymn, the hymnist provides details regarding the medium of his revelation: “For you have given me understanding of the mysteries of your wonder, and in your wondrous council you have confirmed me” (lines 27–28). His revelation is experienced neither through visions or dreams; rather, for the hymnist the cultivation of divinely revealed wisdom characterizes his revelatory encounter.<sup>39</sup>

The receipt of divinely revealed wisdom as a prophetic-revelatory encounter is found in two additional sapiential contexts that testify to the worldview of the Qumran community and related segments of Second Temple Judaism—the description of David’s literary production in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXVII:2–11) and Ben Sira. Both of these texts explicitly identify the receipt of divinely revealed wisdom as a prophetic experience.

Column XXVII of the Psalms Scroll identifies David’s literary output and highlights its divine origins.<sup>40</sup> The beginning of the passage underscores David’s intellectual achievements and identifies God as the source of his wisdom (lines 2–3). David is thus able to compose 4,050 psalms (lines 4–10). The conclusion of the passage contains a second explanation for David’s literary oeuvre—he was granted prophecy from God (line 11). This entire passage reinforces the belief in David’s prophetic status and that all the Psalms were written under divine inspiration.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> On sapiential revelation and the *Hodayot*, see further Jassen, *Mediating*, 366–371.

<sup>40</sup> J.A. Sanders in *DJD IV* (1965): 91–93.

<sup>41</sup> On the view of David as a prophet, see Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166; Acts 1:16; 2:25–31; Heb 11:32. See discussion in J.A. Fitzmyer, “David, ‘Being Therefore a Prophet . . .’ (Acts 2:30),” *CBQ* 34 (1972): 332–339; P.W. Flint, “The Prophet David at Qumran,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158–167; Nissinen, “Transmitting,” 514–515.

This passage curiously blends sapiential and prophetic language, though seemingly with little explanation. A closer examination of the passage’s literary frame (lines 2–4 and 11), however, reveals the significance of this feature. In the first half of the literary frame, David is described as wise (חכם), “a light like the light of the sun” (ואור כאור השמש), “literate/scribe” (סופר), “discerning” (נבון) (lines 2–3). Moreover, he has received an “enlightened and discerning spirit” (רוח נבונה ואורה) from God (lines 3–4).<sup>42</sup> Were we to stop here, we would think that David’s literary output was the direct result of his sapiential acumen.

The concluding portion of the passage, however, provides further details about the prophetic character of David’s sagacity. David wrote the psalms under prophetic inspiration bestowed upon him by God (כול אלה) כול אלה—“all these he spoke through prophecy which was given to him from before the Most High,” line 11). The literary frame merges the sapiential and the prophetic with a “revelatory” *inclusio*. The *inclusio* is reinforced by two paronomastic elements: The discernment (נבונה) that God gave (ויתן) David in the first half is mirrored in the second half by the prophecy (נבואה) given (נתן) to David by God. David’s prophetic capabilities as identified in line 11 are the direct result of the sapiential revelation granted to him in line 3.

Let me now discuss briefly another example of the merging of the sage and prophet in our most well-known sage in Second Temple Judaism—Ben Sira.<sup>43</sup> In Sir 39:1–11, Ben Sira outlines the path traveled by a prospective sage, which unfolds in three successive stages.<sup>44</sup> The first stage involves education in both scriptural and sapiential content together with prayer and prudent obedience to God (vv. 1–5). Notwithstanding the sapiential nature of the curriculum, the point of enlightenment in this process is not a purely intellectual one. Rather, in v. 6, we are told that the fully realized sage is “filled with the spirit of understanding (πνεύματι συνέσεως)” from God. As commentators have noted, Ben Sira draws upon language and imagery similar to the receipt of the divine spirit that marks the onset of prophetic inspiration.<sup>45</sup> The ensuing lines provide a three-fold model for how the sage becomes a conduit through which this knowledge is transmitted to the larger community

<sup>42</sup> Note the prominence of the theme of illumination (אור), a feature likewise found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII.

<sup>43</sup> For fuller treatment, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 310–314.

<sup>44</sup> See B.L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira’s Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (CSJH; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 93–101.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 98–99.

(39:7–11).<sup>46</sup> As the ancient prophets, the sage receives the divine word after a preparatory process and then proceeds to transmit the revealed world to others. Unlike the ancient prophet, however, revelation for the sage is a thoroughly sapiential experience.

The revelatory character of wisdom is further reinforced in Ben Sira's autobiographical note in 24:31–33. As one who has successfully followed the path of the ideal sage, Ben Sira comments on the final stage of this process—sapiential instruction. For Ben Sira, he is not merely a purveyor of wisdom. Rather, his transmittal of divinely revealed knowledge is conceptualized as pouring out knowledge “like prophecy” (ὡς προφητείαν) (24:33).<sup>47</sup> Ben Sira indicates the close proximity of his sapiential activity and ancient prophecy. In doing so, Ben Sira conceives of himself here as analogous to the ancient prophets and therefore in continuity with the prophetic tradition. At the same time, neither Ben Sira nor David in the Psalms Scroll is explicitly identified as a prophet. Rather, their activity is regarded as prophetic. This phenomenon corresponds with the same set of terminological distinctions found earlier in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus.

## CONCLUSION

I began this inquiry by revisiting the question of whether or not prophecy ceased in the Second Temple period. It is equally true that prophecy continues and that prophecy ceases. For some individuals or communities, little distinguishes their own activity from that of the ancient prophets. For others, their models of divine-human communication are radically different than ancient prophecy and are clearly understood as such. The Qumran community provides another way to think about prophecy that can open up additional areas of inquiry elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism. As we have seen, no explicit prophetic terminology is applied to the activity of communal leaders. If we move beyond these terminological limitations, however, and examine prophetic phenomena as conceptualized by the community, a rich world of human-divine communica-

<sup>46</sup> See P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 452.

<sup>47</sup> The Syriac has “in prophecy” (the Hebrew is not extant). For full discussion of the implications of this variant reading and the range of meanings for the Greek formulation, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 312–313.

tion exists at Qumran. In particular, new models emerge that are either absent or underrepresented in biblical prophecy. Most importantly, these modes of human-divine communication are regarded by the community not merely in continuity with the ancient prophets, but as equivalent to prophetic activity. My brief discussion of prophecy in non-sectarian texts suggests that this approach can inform and be informed by wider currents in Second Temple Judaism and thereby construct a more integrated and nuanced portrait of prophecy in ancient Judaism.



THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND  
JEWISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE OF THE  
RABBINIC AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS





## SECOND TEMPLE LITERATURE AND RABBINIC JUDAISM

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One of the central issues of the history of Judaism is the periodization of its early history. Behind this issue lurks a much more central question: to what extent may we trace continuity between the various bodies of Jewish literature and religious ideas that they embody? When we study the development of Judaism from the late books of the Hebrew Bible, through the texts of the Second Temple period, into rabbinic literature, to what extent do we observe continuity and to what extent do we see change? This question is made more complex by the variegated nature of Second Temple Judaism, so much so that some would prefer to use the designation “Judaisms.”<sup>1</sup> So we deal not only with the vertical axis of historical change, but also with the horizontal axis of competing approaches to Judaism at various times—a phenomenon best documented and understood for the Hasmonean period but no doubt also present at other times as well. Within this complex framework, we seek to ask how the Judaism of the various Second Temple period sects, Apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, Josephus and Dead Sea Scrolls, relates to the Judaism of the Mishnah, Talmud and midrash—the rabbinic or Talmudic tradition. What has been continued, and what has been changed; what is old and what is new?<sup>2</sup>

To a great extent this question is complicated by a related issue. In the transition from the period of the Hebrew Scriptures into Second Temple times, the earlier period bequeathed a massive literary legacy to the subsequent history of Judaism—the Hebrew Bible. This religious, literary and historical legacy remains a permanent, indeed formative ingredient in all subsequent Jewish development. Yet although Second

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<sup>1</sup> J. Neusner popularized this term. See his “Preface,” in *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. J. Neusner, W.S. Green, and E. Frerichs; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), i–x. This term has been discussed and critiqued by M. Satlow, “Defining Judaisms: Accounting for ‘Religions’ in the Study of Religion,” *JAAR* 74 (2006): 837–860.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L.H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1991), 1–15.

Temple Judaism passed the Bible on to the rabbinic tradition, it did not pass on its own literary productions. We can speak of only one text from the Second Temple period as being in the hands of the Talmudic rabbis in its entirety, Ben Sira.<sup>3</sup> Beyond that, they did not have, or perhaps did not want to read, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, nor the works of Philo and Josephus. This hiatus in culture, indeed an abyss from a literary point of view, remains unexplained. It appears on the surface to be a radically different development from the passing on of the corpus of Scripture to Second Temple times. However, the difference is not total. In fact, some twenty-two or so books are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible that did not survive into later periods.<sup>4</sup> The reason may be that these books were not accepted into the canon, which would have insured their preservation. Nevertheless, virtually nothing passed from Second Temple times to the Talmudic era, in stark contrast with the large body of biblical literature that was transmitted into Second Temple Judaism.

If there was no direct literary influence, as seems to be the case, we will have to content ourselves with seeking common ideas and approaches that were passed down as part of a general religious ambience. This is also the case because the halakhic and theological forebears of the rabbis were the Pharisees,<sup>5</sup> and so we have to expect that rabbinic literature and rabbinic Judaism are dependent primarily on the Pharisaic teachings. However, evidence points to no existing written texts, except for written notebooks of halakhic and aggadic literature.<sup>6</sup>

This situation is most probably the result of the penchant for oral tradition associated in the Dead Sea Scrolls,<sup>7</sup> Josephus<sup>8</sup> and later rabbinic literature with the approach of the Pharisees, even if the ideological notion

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<sup>3</sup> M.Z. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1971–1972), 12–13, 37–42.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C.F. Craft, “Books Referred to,” *IDB* 1:453–454; J.S. Rogers, “Books Referred to in the Bible,” *NIDB* 1:489–491.

<sup>5</sup> Schiffman, *Text to Tradition*, 177–179.

<sup>6</sup> S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962) 87, 204–205; H.L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. M. Bockmuehl; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 41–42, 48–49.

<sup>7</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 245–255; idem, “Pharisees and Sadducees in *Pesher Nahum*,” in *Minḥah le-Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of his 70th Birthday* (ed. M. Bretter and M. Fishbane; JSOTSup 154; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 272–290.

<sup>8</sup> J.M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 13–35.

of oral revelation and transmission is actually stated only in the Tannaitic period.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, we can never rule out the possibility of the loss of putative Pharisaic texts whose popularity waned as oral tradition dominated Pharisaic Judaism.<sup>10</sup> Further, such texts would not have been preserved in the Qumran sectarian collection, especially as the sect was so anti-Pharisaic. But in any case, the Pharisees bequeathed no literary materials, only apparently extensive oral traditions, to the Talmudic enterprise. It is possible that as Pharisaic Judaism emerged as the only real survivor of the Second Temple period, books from that period were ignored or suppressed, under the category of ספרים היצוניים, “outside (apocryphal) books.”<sup>11</sup>

More should be said about explicit references to apocryphal works in rabbinic literature. In fact, rabbinic texts only mention two such works, one being Ben Sira, that the rabbis apparently knew and that is quoted.<sup>12</sup> Another is a certain book called “Sefer ben La‘ana,”<sup>13</sup> the contents of which we have absolutely no idea. The rabbis explicitly prohibit the reading of such books.<sup>14</sup> There is something of an exegetical controversy regarding the meaning of this prohibition. On the one hand, it might be a blanket prohibition forbidding the reading of these texts under any circumstances. The assumption would be that it is forbidden to write down any books other than those of Scripture and, therefore, to read them. The other interpretation holds that what was prohibited was the public reading of these books as part of the lectionary. In this case, it would be permitted to read such books privately. Such an approach would explain the quotation of Ben Sira by the rabbis.<sup>15</sup>

An interesting parallel that will serve as an example of this phenomenon is the fundamental agreement of the theme of *Jubilees*, namely that the patriarchs observed all the laws later to be given at Sinai, with some rabbinic statements<sup>16</sup> and a variety of aggadot. Apparently, this also was part of the common heritage of Second Temple Judaism and was echoed by some rabbis.

<sup>9</sup> Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 36–40.

<sup>10</sup> M.S. Jaffee, “Writing and Rabbinic Oral Tradition: On Mishnaic Narrative, Lists and Mnemonics,” *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 4 (1994):123–146.

<sup>11</sup> *M. Sanh.* 10:1; *y. Sanh.* 10:1 (28b); *b. Sanh.* 100b.

<sup>12</sup> Above, n. 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Y. Sanh.* 10 (28a); cf. *Qoh. Rab.* to 12:12 that substitutes “Sifre ben Tigla.”

<sup>14</sup> *M. Sanh.* 10:1. Cf. *b. Sanh.* 100b (*baraita*).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. I. Lipschutz, *Tiferet Yisra’el to m. Sanh.* 10:1 (in *Mishnah*, ed. Vilna) who permits occasional reading of heretical books or those of other religions.

<sup>16</sup> An addition to the end of the tractate in *m. Qidd.* 4:14; *b. Yoma* 28b.

Numerous sectarian groups are in fact mentioned in rabbinic literature.<sup>17</sup> These groups, however, while apparently practicing modes of piety similar to those that we might expect based on what we now know from the Dead Sea Scrolls, seem in no way to be identifiable with the specific literary works that we have from the Second Temple period. Rather, it appears that the later rabbis were aware of the general nature of Judaism in the pre-70 C.E. period. Indeed, they blamed the phenomenon of sectarianism for the disunity that led to the destruction.<sup>18</sup> However, none of the reports that they preserve can be directly associated with the textual materials from Second Temple times. We can only assume, again, that they did not or would not read these materials.

It is necessary to stress that the sect of the Essenes is not mentioned by name in rabbinic literature unless one of the minor sects mentioned is identical to them, but this is not likely.<sup>19</sup> Attempts to claim that the Boethusians, *baytosim*, are in fact none other than the Essenes<sup>20</sup> have failed to garner significant support because of the philological difficulties involved.<sup>21</sup> While it is possible that some practices of the Essene sect might be described somewhere in rabbinic literature, we see as more fruitful an understanding that the Essenes, as described by Philo,<sup>22</sup> Josephus,<sup>23</sup> and Pliny the Elder,<sup>24</sup> most likely shared the Sadducean-type halakhic tradition that is indeed polemicized against in rabbinic texts.<sup>25</sup>

One area in which rabbinic literature provides fruitful parallels to sectarian organization is that of the system of entry into the sect and the close link between purity law and sectarian membership. Further,

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<sup>17</sup> K. Kohler, "Essenes," *JE* 5:224–227; M. Mansoor, "Sects," *EncJud* (1972) 14:1097–1089; C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Scripta Judaica 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 38–52.

<sup>18</sup> *Y. Sanh.* 10:6 (29c).

<sup>19</sup> Kohler, "Essenes," 224–227.

<sup>20</sup> J.M. Grintz, "'Anshe 'ha-Yahad'—'Issiyim—Bet (Es)sene," *Sinai* 32 (1952/1953): 11–43 (Hebrew).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. R. Harari "Boethusians," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:100–102.

<sup>22</sup> *Good Person* 75–87.

<sup>23</sup> *Ant.* 18.18–22; *J.W.* 2.119–161.

<sup>24</sup> *Nat.* 5.15.

<sup>25</sup> M.R. Lehmann, "The Temple Scroll as a Source of Sectarian Halakhah," *RevQ* 9 (1978): 579–588; Y. Sussmann, "The History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Observations on *Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1989/1990): 11–76 (Hebrew); idem, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observations on *Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," in *DJD* X (1994): 179–200.

a similar system was in effect for the *ḥavurah*, a term designating a small group of those who practiced strict purity laws, extending temple regulations into private life even for non-priests. Scholarly literature has tended to associate this group with the Pharisees,<sup>26</sup> most probably correctly, but the textual evidence seems to separate these terms. In any case, the detailed regulations pertaining to entering the *ḥavurah* are more closely parallel to the initiation rites of the Qumran sect than they are to the descriptions of the Essenes in Josephus with which they also share fundamental principles.<sup>27</sup>

Some practices of the Qumran sect are indeed mentioned in rabbinic polemics against heterodoxy, termed *derekh aḥeret* (literally, “another way”).<sup>28</sup> But these practices are too few to indicate any kind of real knowledge of the Qumran sect or its practices or of other sectarian groups as a whole.

One interesting area is that of calendar disputes. For us, it is a commonplace that alongside the calendar of lunar months and solar years used by the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition, others, including the Dead Sea sectarians and the authors of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, called for use of a calendar of solar months and solar years.<sup>29</sup> While we are aware of the fact that numerous problems still beset attainment of a full understanding of the calendrical situation of Second Temple Judaism,<sup>30</sup> some part of it was clearly known to the rabbis. Rabbinic sources report that certain sectarians, Sadducees and Boethusians, practiced such a calendar, insisting that the holiday of *Shavuot* fall on a Sunday and, hence, that the start of the bringing of the *omer* barley offering commence on a Saturday night.<sup>31</sup> If indeed these rabbinic references are due to the calendar controversy of which we are aware from the scrolls and pseudepigraphal literature, then

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<sup>26</sup> A. Oppenheimer, *The 'Am ha-Aretz: A Study in the Social History of the Jewish People in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (trans. I.H. Levine; ALGHJ 8; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 118–156.

<sup>27</sup> Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, 1–21.

<sup>28</sup> S. Lieberman, “Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources,” *PAAJR* 20 (1951): 395–404; repr. in *Texts and Studies* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 190–199.

<sup>29</sup> J.C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge, 1998), 43–90.

<sup>30</sup> See the full-length studies of J. Ben Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008) and S. Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar: Second Century BCE–Tenth Century CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>31</sup> *M. Menah.* 10:3; *b. Menah.* 65a–b; *Megillat Ta'anit* to 8 Nisan (ed. V. Noam, *Megillat Ta'anit: Versions, Interpretation, History: With a Critical Edition* [Between Bible and Mishnah; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003], 174–179 [Hebrew]).

it seems that the rabbis' knowledge was quite fragmentary or that they chose to pass on only a small part of the picture. From rabbinic sources one would never have gathered that this sectarian calendar was based on solar months and that it represented an entirely alternative system. All we would have known is that there was a disagreement regarding the date of *Shavuot*.

The bottom line of this discussion is that Second Temple literature was not transmitted to the rabbis in any direct way, with the possible exception of Ben Sira, and no Pharisaic teachings in a literary form survive for us from the Pharisees before 70 C.E. except in traditions embedded in later rabbinic texts.

From what we have said so far, one would assume that there simply is no relationship between Second Temple literature and the rabbinic corpus. After all, virtually nothing of Second Temple literature and certainly nothing of the Dead Sea Scrolls sectarian texts appear to have been known to the rabbis. But here is a great irony: when we examine the Judaism of the Dead Sea Scrolls sect as well as much of the literature that they gathered, we find both similarity and interaction with views discussed in rabbinic texts. Further, fundamental ideas expressed in the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha find their way into the rabbinic tradition. Still to be appropriately explained is the fact that rabbinic literature includes a variety of reflections of historical data preserved for us by Josephus, either in his words or those of his sources, which are somehow reflected in the rather occasional historiographic comments of the sages. In what follows, we will concentrate on examples illustrated by materials preserved in the Qumran corpus, including some that stem from books otherwise included in the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha.

#### JEWISH LAW

Sectarian law was characterized by a distinction between what was termed the "revealed law," that is, the written Torah, and the "hidden law," derived by sectarian exegesis and known only by the sectarians.<sup>32</sup> This concept is clearly different from the rabbinic concept of a dual Torah,

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<sup>32</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 22–32; S. Tzoref (Berrin), "The 'Hidden' and the 'Revealed': Progressive Revelation of Law and Esoterica," *Meghillot* 7 (2009): 157–190 (Hebrew).

comprising a written law and an oral law. Further, the sectarian view makes no attempt to trace its second Torah to divine revelation at Sinai, seeing it, rather, as something that emerged from the life of the sect and its leadership. At the same time, it is hard to avoid the fact that the sectarian system and the Pharisaic-rabbinic dual Torah approach both provide for a supplement to the fundamental written Torah, solving in slightly different ways the difficult problem of applying the written Torah to the life of the community. Further, both groups share the notion that the second Torah was divinely inspired. It is true that the *Temple Scroll* seems to be based on a very different approach, assuming instead that only one Torah was revealed at Sinai, containing the author's interpretations and enshrining them in his law.<sup>33</sup> While this one-Torah system is at serious variance with that of the rabbis, what we might call the usual revealed/hidden approach of Qumran texts seems to share some of their fundamental concepts.<sup>34</sup>

It is well-known that Tannaitic literature provides two kinds of texts: those that are collections of apodictic laws arranged by subject matter, a form we term *mishnah*, and those that are biblically based, in which the work is organized according to Scripture, termed *midrash*. We have argued at length that the form of Qumran legal materials displays both of these options in what we might term proto-rabbinic mode. Laws, such as the Sabbath laws or laws of courts and testimony, or laws of forbidden sexual unions often appear as a series of apodictic laws organized by subject and titled accordingly. These parallel in form the Mishnaic tractates and even have similar titles. Further, texts like the *Temple Scroll* and some of the legal fragments that survive indicate that some authors chose to express their legal views in the order of Scripture.<sup>35</sup> There is one essential difference. Whereas in rabbinic literature, midrash exegesis must maintain a strict distinction between the words of the Bible and the words of the rabbinic explanations, the *Temple Scroll* felt free to rewrite the text in accord with sectarian assumptions about the Bible and its text.<sup>36</sup> Such an

<sup>33</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. F. García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 24–25.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. B.Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 30–32.

<sup>35</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "Legal Texts and Codification in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Discussing Cultural Influences: Text, Context, and Non-Text in Rabbinic Judaism* (ed. R. Ulmer; Studies in Judaism; Lanham: University Press of America, 2007), 21–31.

<sup>36</sup> Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:71–88; L.H. Schiffman, "The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 15 (1991–1992): 543–568.

approach would, of course, have been an anathema to the rabbis. A further difference involves the very apodictic statements preserved in Qumran texts. Whereas in rabbinic literature such statements are composed in Mishnaic Hebrew, and therefore are linguistically distanced from the biblical texts upon which they might depend, many Qumran apodictic laws make use of the language of the Bible and even allow us to determine from their phraseology their biblical midrashic basis.

When we come to the actual subject matter of the laws, the situation is also complex. Some laws seem to be virtually the same, as, for example, the statement that the Sabbath begins on Friday at sunset and its derivation from Scripture.<sup>37</sup> While some of the laws are very similar, such as the requirements to wear clean clothes on the Sabbath,<sup>38</sup> some however, differ more extensively, such as the establishment of two separate Sabbath limits<sup>39</sup> or the setting up of courts of ten for judging issues of Jewish civil law.<sup>40</sup> In looking at such examples of legal difference, it is usually the case that they almost always derive from differing interpretation of Scripture from that which is found in the rabbinic corpus. This is certainly the case with the *Temple Scroll*, where large numbers of differences can be seen from rabbinic law and interpretation.

However, most interestingly, these differences often constitute a link between the Second Temple texts and the rabbinic corpus. In many cases only the opportunity to see the alternative interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls allows us to understand the religious/intellectual world within which the Talmudic views were being put forth. Much research remains to be done in this area. I will mention just one topic that I hope to study in detail at some point. It is clear that rabbinic laws pertaining to ritual purity and prayer are closely linked to Temple purity laws preserved in the *Temple Scroll* and other Qumran documents. There is simply no other way to understand these laws, even as presented in the Babylonian Talmud.

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<sup>37</sup> CD 10:14–17 par. 4QD<sup>c</sup> (4Q270) 6 v 1–3 (J.M. Baumgarten in *DJD XVIII* [1996]: 160; Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 84–87).

<sup>38</sup> CD 11:3–4 par. 4QD<sup>f</sup> (4Q271) 5 i 1 (Baumgarten in *DJD XVIII* [1996]: 180); Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 106–109.

<sup>39</sup> CD 10:21; 11:5–7; 4QD<sup>b</sup> (4Q267) 9 ii; Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 91–98, 111–113.

<sup>40</sup> CD 11:4–6; 4Q266 8 iii 4–5; 4Q270 6 iv 15–16; L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 24–26.



It seems now to be fairly well accepted that ancient Judaism knew two separate approaches to Jewish law, that of the Sadducees/Zadokites and that of the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition. The former priestly approach, as has been repeatedly shown, typified the codes of the Qumran sect and such works as *Jubilees* and, to some extent, the *Aramaic Levi Document*.<sup>41</sup> These trends were opposed by the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition that is preserved for us in Talmudic literature. Due to the strictures of the Pharisees against writing down their traditions or other vicissitudes of preservation we do not have earlier exemplars of Pharisaic-rabbinic material except as represented in the later corpus of the Talmudic rabbis. Nonetheless, careful research methodology allows us to reconstruct the early layers of that material and in so doing often to reconstruct the Pharisaic views that were opposed, explicitly or implicitly, by the scrolls authors. Essentially, therefore, scrolls research has allowed us to uncover an earlier layer of history in which the approach later ensconced in rabbinic works competed with the priestly approach for dominance of the halakhic market. The importance of this perspective in understanding rabbinic literature cannot be underestimated.

This is especially the case when rabbinic literature itself preserves the evidence for the content of the priestly, Sadducean tradition. After the removal of those references to Sadducees (*Ṣeduqim*) that actually constitute intentional alterations by self-censoring Jewish scribes or by Christian censors in the age of printing, we can collect a series of passages that seem to describe this alternative halakhic tradition and which seem to be in general agreement with the information available to us from the scrolls and other Second Temple texts about this approach.<sup>42</sup> In this manner, some sense of the general authenticity of rabbinic materials

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<sup>41</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "Sacrificial Halakhah in the Fragments of the *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran, the Cairo Genizah, and Mt. Athos Monastery" in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15-17 January, 2002* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 177-202; M. Himmelfarb, "Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Incense: The Law of the Priesthood in *Aramaic Levi* and *Jubilees*," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (ed. R.S. Boustán and A.Y. Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 103-122.

<sup>42</sup> E. Regev, *The Sadducees and their Halakhah: Religion and Society in the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2005), 59-202 (Hebrew), but he reaches a different conclusion than we do regarding the affinity of the Qumran texts and Sadducean law (212).

that report on the Second Temple period has been gained and scholars have begun to discard more skeptical approaches of the last generation. This is exemplified, perhaps exceptionally, by the collection of Pharisee-Sadducee disputes in *Mishnah Yadayim*<sup>43</sup> and the parallel collection in *MMT*.<sup>44</sup> What is astounding here is the presence of a group of traditions in both places, of course stated from the opposite perspective. In general terms, what becomes clear here is that rabbinic literature and Second Temple texts may often represent opposite sides of the same coin, that is, two separate approaches to the same set of problems. Without the use of Second Temple materials we would never have known this.

#### PHYLACTERIES, *MEZUZOT* AND BIBLES

A distinct area of halakhah is that of scribal practice. Here it seems clear that much of the scribal art transcended sectarian religious affiliation. This would explain why scribal law in rabbinic texts and indeed in later Jewish tradition is so close to that found when we investigate the actual artifacts—the Dead Sea Scrolls and other biblical texts from the Judean desert.<sup>45</sup> Without going into details here, rabbinic Judaism received a scribal tradition from the earlier Jewish community and, for the most part, simply passed it down, following virtually the same mechanics for the production of hides, their preparation, writing, and the storage of scrolls. Further, if we investigate the *mezuzot*<sup>46</sup> and phylacteries,<sup>47</sup> we can see the intersection of the common scribal arts with the varying interpretations regarding the contents. Apparently, the sectarians were willing to include passages from before and after those required by the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition, which did not allow any additional material.<sup>48</sup> But the

<sup>43</sup> *M. Yad.* 4:6–8.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. E. Qimron in *DJD X* (1994): 147–175.

<sup>45</sup> E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 258.

<sup>46</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD VI* (1977): 80–89.

<sup>47</sup> Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran (X Q Phyl 1–4)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1969); Milik in *DJD VI* (1977): 34–79; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 256–258. See the full list *ibid.*, 256 n. 314.

<sup>48</sup> D. Nakman, “The Contents and Order of the Biblical Sections in the *Tefillin* from Qumran and Rabbinic *Halakhah*: Similarity, Difference, and Some Historical

commonality in the preparation and construction of phylacteries, for example, and in the practice of *mezuzah*, shows clearly that these were elements inherited from the common Judaism of Second Temple times. This is the case despite the fact that rabbinic traditions connect these religious objects closely to oral law,<sup>49</sup> an approach eschewed by the Qumran sectarians and other Sadducees/Zadokites.

The variegated textual character of Second Temple biblical materials contrasts greatly with rabbinic statements on the subject and with what seems to be the evidence of Pharisaic influence at Masada and in the Bar Kokhba caves. Rabbinic texts assume a much greater standardization of the biblical text than what is in evidence in the Qumran materials and in the secondary use of biblical material in the scrolls. Further, the Septuagint and the use of biblical materials in the Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha often support the looser construction of biblical texts known to us from Qumran, where a variety of texts and text types coexisted.<sup>50</sup> While clearly this is in contrast to what we have observed in rabbinic texts, despite some textual variants in biblical materials preserved there, we cannot be totally certain that Pharisaic Jews in Second Temple times would have had Bibles as standard as those assumed by the Mishnah and Talmud. Josephus does write as though this is the case,<sup>51</sup> in the last part of the first century C.E., but it is not possible for us to be certain about the Pharisees of the early period.

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Conclusions," *Cathedra* 112 (2004): 19–44 (Hebrew); idem, "Tefillin and Mezuzot at Qumran," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* (ed. M. Kister; 2 vols.; Between Bible and Mishnah; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 1:143–155 (Hebrew).

<sup>49</sup> Many of the details of their construction are termed *halakhah le-Mosheh mi-Sinai*, "a law (communicated) to Moses from Sinai."

<sup>50</sup> E. Tov, "Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 85–102; idem, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 5–37; E. Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:23–41.

<sup>51</sup> *Ag. Ap.* 1.28–29; 42–43. A. Kasher, *Josephus Flavius, Against Apion: A New Hebrew Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar, 1996), 1:60–62, 72 (Hebrew).

## HERITAGE OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

Certainly prominent and basic to the continuity between Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism is the area of biblical exegesis. After all, biblical interpretation stands as the basis for Judaism throughout its history and all its manifestations. But even here, as we will see, the issues are complex.

One area of almost complete continuity is that of translation of the Bible. Here we deal with two versions, the Greek translation (LXX) and the Aramaic Targumim.

Regarding the Greek, one might gather from the Tannaitic parallel<sup>52</sup> to the account of the seventy-two elders in the *Letter of Aristeas* that the rabbis, on the one hand, saw the translation as a tragic step in the Hellenization of the Jews, but at the same time approved of the actual translation, at least of the modifications supposedly made by the elders for polemical reasons. On the other hand, scholarly investigation of these variants shows that the account reflects no actual familiarity with the Septuagint<sup>53</sup> which, like the other Greek Jewish literature, was apparently lost to the rabbinic Jewish community by this time. This is despite the fact that after the Septuagint, additional Jewish translations were created or adapted to bring the Greek closer to the Masoretic Text that was now the standard for Jews.<sup>54</sup> Clearly, the Greek Bible simply became identified with Christianity, despite the use of the Septuagint by Josephus and/or his assistants.

Regarding Aramaic the situation is more complex. Although the small fragment of *Targum Leviticus* found at Qumran<sup>55</sup> has exegetical parallels with the later Leviticus Targumim and rabbinic exegesis,<sup>56</sup> the actual Targum text from Qumran was not taken up by the rabbis. This is more apparent from examination of the *Job Targum*, the other Targum text preserved (very substantially) at Qumran.<sup>57</sup> Here we see that, like the *Targum Job* preserved by the rabbinic community, this is a very literal trans-

<sup>52</sup> *B. Meg.* 9a–b.

<sup>53</sup> E. Tov, “The Rabbinic Traditions concerning the ‘Changes’ Inserted in the Septuagint Translation of the Pentateuch and the Question of the Original Text of that Translation,” in *I.L. Seeligmann Volume: Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World* (ed. A. Rofé and Y. Zakovitch; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Rubinstein, 1983), 2:371–393 (Hebrew).

<sup>54</sup> E. Tov in *DJD* VIII (1995): 102–158.

<sup>55</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD* VI (1977): 86–89.

<sup>56</sup> M. Kasher in *DJD* VI (1977): 92–93.

<sup>57</sup> J.P.M. van der Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude with the collaboration of B. Jongeling, eds. and trans., *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

lation.<sup>58</sup> Tannaitic tradition mentions that both Rabban Gamliel I and II buried Job Targums<sup>59</sup> because of the belief that translation was part of the oral law that was forbidden to be written. No mention of sectarian provenance appears, and in any case there is nothing at all sectarian about the Qumran *Job Targum*. Yet there is no literary relationship between these two Job Targums. The Second Temple version apparently fell into disuse and was replaced by a later one. All in all, then, rabbinic tradition continued the pattern of translation, but initially rejected it in the form of a written text. All pre-70 C.E. Targumim were lost and later texts, composed or at least recorded after the rabbis loosened up their prohibition of writing the oral law, replaced the old, lost ones.<sup>60</sup>

Another area to look at is in the vast library of Second Temple books containing non-literal exegesis of the Bible of the type usually termed rewritten Bible or expansions on the biblical text. In some of the exegetical presumptions of these texts, they seem similar to rabbinic aggadah. Here we need to distinguish form from content. Whereas the Second Temple texts of the pseudepigrapha and numerous Dead Sea Scrolls allow the authors to invade the actual biblical texts, as is done in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees* and for halakhah in the *Temple Scroll*, it seems that the barrier between written and oral texts for the rabbis meant that such books were totally forbidden.

The rabbis seem to maintain this distinction strictly, even with the gradual abeyance of the prohibition of writing the oral law, so that not a single literary contact can be traced between these texts and rabbinic literature.<sup>61</sup> However, where we also see parallels is in the examination of the specific units of interpretation and sometimes in the actual content. In general terms, we can see specific passages that use exegetical

<sup>58</sup> M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1974), 6–8.

<sup>59</sup> *T. Šabb.* 13:2 (S. Lieberman, ed., *Tosefta Seder Mo'ed* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962], 57); S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshuṭah* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1955), 3:203–204.

<sup>60</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “Translation as Commentary: Targum, Midrash and Talmud,” in *La Bibbia nelle Culture dei Popoli: Ermeneutica e Comunicazione: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Pontificia Università Urbanica, 10–11 maggio 2007* (ed. A. Gieniusz and A. Spreafico; Vatican City, Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2008), 32–45.

<sup>61</sup> Apparently some textual materials reached the medieval Jewish community. See L.H. Schiffman, “Second Temple Literature and the Cairo Genizah,” *PAAJR* 63 (1997–2001): 139–161; M. Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of *Jubilees* in Medieval Hebrew Literature,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.C. Reeves; SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 115–141.

techniques similar to those of the rabbis later on. What is striking, however, is that often in these examples the interpretations of the rabbis are different. At times, there are common interpretations and these were no doubt part of the traditions inherited by the rabbis from Second Temple times. Often, however, rabbinic tradition directly contradicts such interpretations found in earlier books.

One type of scrolls exegesis with no real resonance in rabbinic literature is the *peshet*. This form of contemporizing exegesis argues for a two-step process of prophecy and assumes that the earlier prophets did not really speak to their own times but to Second Temple historical circumstances.<sup>62</sup> Despite some homiletical flourishes here or there, this form of exegesis and most of its content has little relevance in rabbinic literature.

#### SECTARIAN VERSUS RABBINIC THEOLOGY

Both Second Temple texts and rabbinic literature were heir to the complex and often contradictory theological views of the various biblical books. However, it goes without saying that such basic theological ideas of Judaism as God as the creator, revelation of the Torah, or hope in a coming redemption are shared by both corpora. The more important question is whether ideas that are unique to Second Temple period texts and that represent substantive development from or differences with common biblical notions are continued in rabbinic Judaism. Does Tannaïtic Judaism in its theology inherit Second Temple literature or does it trace its continuity with the last days of the Hebrew Bible through some other pathway?

An interesting example of this issue is that of the extreme predestination and dualism taught in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>63</sup> This set of beliefs assumes that God has preplanned the entire course of the cosmos and certainly of humans who are divided into two lots, as are the heavenly beings, who struggle eternally against one another. A person's actions, for good or evil, seem in this system to be beyond his own power, and yet he is punished for transgressing God's law, even including prescriptions that are not known beyond the sect. There is no basis for such ideas in the Hebrew Scriptures, and it is widely assumed that these concepts are

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<sup>62</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 223–241.

<sup>63</sup> J. Duhaime, "Determinism," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:194–198; idem, "Dualism," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:215–220.

somehow influenced by Persian dualism. When we arrive at the rabbinic corpus we find that predestination is not accepted, although human free will can be countermanded by God.<sup>64</sup> There is no cosmic dualism, but rather we find an inner spiritual dualism of the good and evil inclination (יִצְרָה) in each person.<sup>65</sup>

Later, this concept would merge with Hellenistic notions and the two inclinations would be closely identified with the spiritual and physical aspects of humanity.<sup>66</sup> But free will is the basis of God's judgment of people and all are fully informed of their obligations.

Another example of a notion found in the scrolls, also in Second Temple texts, is the notion that prophetic or revelatory phenomena did not end with the story line of Scripture circa 400 B.C.E. but rather continued beyond, into Greco-Roman times.<sup>67</sup> This point of view seems to underlie a lot of material from the period. Yet it is virtually absent from rabbinic literature. The only remnant, the *בת קול*, some kind of echo of a divine voice, is explicitly declared to be null and void.<sup>68</sup> Clearly the system of oral Torah and its internal development obviated notions of direct divine inspiration, even if weak. Perhaps most importantly, the rise of Christianity seems to have emphasized for the rabbis their notion that the end of the biblical period meant the end of prophecy and the end of writing of scriptural books.

A few words, however, need to be said about eschatology and messianism. Both of these themes are very important in rabbinic literature, with extensive materials devoted to them.<sup>69</sup> This is not to speak of the apocalyptic-type messianic materials that appear in post-Talmudic writings and that in large part resemble such texts as the Qumran *War Scroll*.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> E.E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (trans. I. Abrahams; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987), 1:255–285.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:471–483.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 1:214–254.

<sup>67</sup> A.P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 279–288.

<sup>68</sup> For sources and bibliography see A. Rothkoff (Rakefet), “Bat Kol,” *EncJud* (1972) 4:324–325.

<sup>69</sup> Urbach, *Sages*, 1:49–90; J. Neusner, *Messiah in Context: Israel's History and Destiny in Formative Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); L.H. Schiffman, “Messianism and Apocalypticism in Rabbinic Texts,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 4: *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. S.T. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1053–1072.

<sup>70</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “War in Jewish Apocalyptic Thought,” in *War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition* (ed. idem and J.B. Wolowelsky; Orthodox Forum Series; New York: Yeshiva University Press, 2007), 477–495.

Here we must distinguish two separate issues, the question of the nature of the messianic figure or figures, on the one hand, and that of the nature of the messianic expectations, on the other. Put simply, we need to ask first how many and what kinds of messiahs are expected and, second, what kind of events are supposed to lead up to the messianic era, and, third, what its nature will be.

Second Temple texts contain three different views of the messianic figure.<sup>71</sup> Some texts present what I would term non-messianic messianism, in which the eschatological future is assumed to come into being but no leader is specifically mentioned. We cannot be certain that in these instances no such leader is expected; it is simply that no messianic figure occurs in the texts. A second variety, perhaps the most common, is that in which it is assumed that there will be one messiah of Davidic extraction. The third approach, known to us from certain of the Qumran sectarian texts as well as from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, is the notion of two messiahs, one of Aaron and one of Israel. I emphasize the words “of Israel” because many books simply assume that the Israel messiah is Davidic, a notion with which I have disagreed based, I hope, on a thorough study of the evidence. In any case, Talmudic Judaism assumes that there must be a messianic figure, even though some rabbis argued that the messiah had already come.<sup>72</sup> The dominant point of view is that of one messiah, a scion of David, expected to bring about the messianic era. No serious parallel at all can be quoted for the notion of a priestly messiah from rabbinic literature. Talmudic tradition does, however, speak of a second messiah, a messiah son of Joseph.<sup>73</sup> No amount of searching will reveal the prehistory of this Josephite messiah (referred to in some later apocalyptic texts as a son of Ephraim) in any Second Temple text.<sup>74</sup> The upshot of this is that the dominant notion in Second Temple times, carried over into rabbinic tradition, was the expectation of one Davidic messiah who would bring about the redemption and rule over Israel as the messianic king. While this approach has extensive rabbinic parallels, other competing approaches seem to

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<sup>71</sup> L.H. Schiffman, “Messianic Figures and Ideas in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 116–129; idem, “The Concept of the Messiah in Second Temple and Rabbinic Literature,” *RevExp* 84 (1987): 235–246.

<sup>72</sup> *B. Sanh.* 98b.

<sup>73</sup> *B. Sukkah* 52a.

<sup>74</sup> Contra I. Knohl, “‘By Three Days, Live’: Messiahs, Resurrection, and Ascent to Heaven in *Hazon Gabriel*,” *JR* 88 (2008): 147–158.



have become extinct and not to have crossed the literary abyss that we spoke of before, between Second Temple texts and the rabbinic tradition.

On the other hand, a significant difference of opinion among Second Temple texts regarding the onset of the messianic era itself is carried over into rabbinic texts. Two trends have always been observable in Jewish messianism:<sup>75</sup> the first trend, the restorative or naturalistic trend, assumed that the messianic era would usher in a return to the great glories of the ancient Jewish past. A second trend, the catastrophic or utopian, assumed that the messianic era would usher in an era of total perfection, one that never had existed before, in which all evil and suffering would be eradicated. While the naturalistic messianic approach assumed that the messianic era could be created by the gradual improvement of the world, the catastrophic or utopian assumed that a great war, often termed the Day of the Lord, would lead to the total destruction of the wicked and the onset of the eschaton. Both of these views existed in Second Temple texts, but Dead Sea Scrolls materials particularly emphasized the catastrophic and apocalyptic—the assumption that the great war of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, in which all but the sectarians would be destroyed, would bring on the messianic era.

This very dispute is reflected in rabbinic texts where we find Talmudic sources supporting the onset of the messianic era under either peaceful or violent means. Further, some texts speak of a naturally improving world, where others speak of perfection attained through miracles that bring on the messianic era. Both trends visible in Second Temple literature appear in the rabbinic corpus. In this case, it is simple to account for this situation. This dispute regarding the messianic era was part of the common Judaism of the Greco-Roman period and accordingly passed, with no literary framework necessary, into the thought of the rabbis. We may observe here that rabbinic thought in the aftermath of the Great Revolt and the Bar Kokhba Revolt tended to the more quietistic approaches to messianism. With time, however, the apocalyptic militant notions resurfaced in Amoraic times.

There was also a debate during Second Temple times about the significance of the messianic era and its nature. Clearly, to those who advocated

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<sup>75</sup> G.G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971). Cf. S. Talmon, "Types of Messianic Expectation at the Turn of the Era," in *King, Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 202–224.

the Davidic messiah, he was to accomplish the restoration of Jewish military power and national independence, and to rebuild the Temple, which was the goal of the messianic era. On the other hand, it was expected by others, who emphasized the two-messiah concept in which the messiah of Aaron was most prominent, that the true purpose and perfection of the eschaton would be the restoration of the Temple to the standards of holiness and sanctity which it deserved. (We must remember that the Second Temple texts were composed while the Temple still stood.) In the aftermath of two Jewish apocalyptic revolts and the destruction of the land twice at the hands of the Romans, the rabbis sought a restoration of the Davidic glories of old, of a political entity secure and independent. Apparently, in their view this would insure the proper rebuilding of the Temple. Yet they did not see the Temple as the central act in the messianic drama, rather as a part of the process. For this reason, the Aaronide messiah has no parallel in rabbinic literature. This is the case despite the fact that Eleazar the Priest appeared with Bar Kokhba on coins,<sup>76</sup> conjuring up the messianic pair of the *nasi* and *kohen*.

#### HISTORY OF LITURGY AND POETRY

From First Temple times it is apparent that prayer was a significant part of the individual piety of a fair number of Israelites. Individual prayer was accompanied apparently by poems written for the collective people of Israel.<sup>77</sup> Such prayers seem definitely to have attained a place in the psalmody of the Temple by the Second Temple period. In various Second Temple texts there are individual and collective prayers, and toward the end of the Second Temple period, prayer was becoming institutionalized increasingly, at least as appears from the Tannaitic evidence. From the set liturgical texts preserved at Qumran,<sup>78</sup> it seems that daily statutory ritual

<sup>76</sup> Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (New York: Random House, 1971), 24–25.

<sup>77</sup> M. Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer as a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>78</sup> D.K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998); B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chapman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994); E.G. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:244–270; eadem, "Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994): 265–284.

had become part of the life of the sectarians who had separated from the sanctuary that they regarded as impure and improperly conducted. These texts appear not to be of sectarian content and may typify wider trends in the Jewish community. Further, the scrolls give evidence of the twice daily recital of the Shema<sup>79</sup> and the use of *mezuzot* and phylacteries, some of which were prepared very much in the same way as the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition requires.

Additional parallel details indicate the possibility that some Tannaitic practices derived from those in evidence in Qumran liturgical texts. Both corpora require that a benediction of lights be part of the service each morning and afternoon-evening. This seems to be the only required benediction in the preserved Qumran daily prayer texts. However, it seems to be equivalent to one of the two blessings before Shema required by the rabbis.<sup>80</sup>

Qumran liturgical texts include also supplication texts similar to later rabbinic propitiatory prayers, and festival prayers seem to share similar motifs. But we must emphasize that not a single prayer preserved in the scrolls is part of the rabbinic liturgy, and no text of rabbinic prayer was found in the sectarian collection. Again, the parallels in practice seem to derive from the common Judaism of Second Temple times, not from any literary or otherwise direct connection.

The literature of the Second Temple period seems to have played a major role in the development of *piyyut*, Hebrew liturgical poetry from the Byzantine period. Previous to the Dead Sea Scrolls, the evidence for Hebrew poetry in the post-biblical period was given scant attention. Hence, the significance of the poems in 1 Maccabees, for example, and even in the New Testament, not to mention early Jewish liturgy preserved in rabbinic texts or reconstructed from the later prayer texts, was ignored. It was assumed that biblical psalmody was a dead-end tradition to be succeeded later by a *de novo* form of Hebrew liturgical poetry that developed virtually *ex nihilo*. When the first scrolls were discussed, the *Hodayot* were taken to be a bad version of Psalms poetry,<sup>81</sup> following the age-old anti-Jewish trope of the decline of Hebrew literature after the "Old

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<sup>79</sup> In the poem at the end of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS X:10). Cf. Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 293.

<sup>80</sup> L.H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. L.I. Levine; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1987), 33–48.

<sup>81</sup> See B.P. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (SBLDS 50; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), 6, 14–20.

Testament.” No one seemed to realize that we were dealing with the next stage in the dynamic history of Hebrew poetry. Indeed, elements of what are now known as Qumran religious poetry point in various directions toward the style—not content—of the later *piyyut*. This is clear now especially as regards the reuse of biblical material to form post-Hebrew Bible poems and the tendency to create grammatical forms not previously known. But *piyyut*, as a corpus related closely to rabbinic literature, takes the rabbinic liturgical character and its content as a starting point and is suffused with rabbinic midrashim and legal rulings, even if some of them are at variance with those taken as normative in the rabbinic legal texts.

### CONCLUSIONS

How can we explain the contradictory observations that we are making in this presentation? On the one hand, we have emphasized the lack of a literary pipeline from Second Temple times into rabbinic texts, beyond that of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. On the other hand, we have pointed to rich parallels and apparent intellectual interaction between those who left us Second Temple texts and those who were apparently the spiritual ancestors of the Tannaim, namely the Pharisees. It would seem that here it is the existence of a “common Judaism”<sup>82</sup> that provides the answer.

First, however, we must return to the vertical and horizontal axes of which we spoke earlier. From the point of view of the historical, or vertical axis, the Second Temple materials are of course earlier texts, and, as we have indicated, they were not read by the rabbis. Hence, we cannot expect them to have had great direct influence. From the point of view of the horizontal axis, we deal with the various approaches to Judaism, and, as we noted over and over, Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism was at odds with the sectarian and apocalyptic trends, both in Second Temple times and after the destruction. Therefore, what we really seek is not dependence, but dialogue and disputation, and sometimes polemic. We lack adequate documentation of the Pharisaic side to do more than to retroject from

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<sup>82</sup> The term is taken from E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 45–47. Cf. S.S. Miller, *Sages and Commoners in Late Antique 'Erez Israel: A Philological Inquiry into Local Traditions in Talmud Yerushalmi* (TSAJ) 111; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 12 n. 41 and 21–28.

rabbinic literature. However, the license to perform such a reconstruction is inherent in the anti-Pharisaic polemics of the Second Temple texts, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls. We therefore suggest a rigorous debate replete with polemics back-and-forth, of which our texts constitute a small sample. This polemic must have been quieted greatly in the aftermath of the destruction when the Pharisaic-rabbinic approach emerged as the consensus. From this point on, in an atmosphere of rabbinic debate, various aspects of the common Judaism of Second Temple times were preserved in the rabbinic movement and its literature. In this way all kinds of ideas crossed the literary abyss we discussed, even without the rabbis' having read Second Temple texts. It is these ideas that constitute the heritage of Second Temple literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls. For the rabbis, however, these texts were vastly outnumbered and overpowered by the Pharisaic heritage, transmitted as an unwritten tradition, that served as the real basis of rabbinic Judaism.



MISHNAH AND DEAD SEA SCROLLS:  
ARE THERE MEANINGFUL PARALLELS AND  
CONTINUITIES?

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A central problem in our understanding of Palestinian Judaism in antiquity is the amount of continuity between the time before the destruction of the Temple and the rabbinic period. The assumption or negation of such continuity influences our interpretation of the Mishnah and other early rabbinic texts. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and, above all, the legal texts among them very little was known about the halakhah in the Second Temple period. Texts like the book of *Jubilees*, Josephus or the Gospels were among the few sources dating from the period; their reliability, especially with regard to the actual practice, was much discussed. Mishnah and Tosefta were considered by many as the main sources even for the time when the Temple still stood, based on the widely accepted hypothesis that the anonymous halakhah in the early rabbinic texts has very ancient roots and continues the halakhic tradition of the Pharisees. There was little possibility of controlling this hypothesis. The situation has radically changed with the discovery of the Scrolls. They offer much material that can be interpreted in favour of such continuity; thus, they have been used in order to attribute high antiquity to certain Mishnaic halakhot and, by generalisation, to claim Second Temple, more specifically Pharisaic, origins for much of the Mishnaic system.

Ever since the discovery of the *Damascus Document* in the Cairo Genizah, the halakhic parallels in the Mishnah have been discussed. In 1922, Louis Ginzberg drew on rabbinic materials to identify the author of the *Damascus Document* as a Pharisee.<sup>1</sup> This position has long since

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<sup>1</sup> L. Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (1922; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1972); posthumously published in a revised and updated English version: *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1970); C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Scripta Judaica 2; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), considered the authors of the text as Proto-Pharisees.

been abandoned, but it remains an “eloquent testimony to the common elements between Qumran and Pharisaic law.”<sup>2</sup> After the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, their halakhic aspects have long been rather neglected in comparison with the doctrinal and organizational elements of the people behind them. Early pioneers of research into the halakhah in the Qumran texts were Joseph Baumgarten and Lawrence Schiffman, whose work concentrated on the Qumran Sabbath Code.<sup>3</sup> Both authors have continued their research into Qumran halakhah over the decades and everyone interested in the field stands in their debt. Among talmudic scholars not specialized in Qumran, we must of course mention the pioneering work of Yaakov Sussmann on the halakhic context of *Miqṣat Ma’āseh ha-Torah*, first published in Hebrew and then in an abridged English version in the official edition of 4QMMT.<sup>4</sup> Israeli scholars have ever since contributed substantial studies in practically all halakhic aspects of the Scrolls.

Some might consider it problematic to speak of halakhah at Qumran, since the term never occurs in the Scrolls. That the designation “seekers of smooth things” (דורשי חלקות) is a pun on the halakhot of their opponents, commonly considered as Pharisees or Proto-Pharisees, has some probability, but cannot be proven. But the term remains most convenient for speaking of the halakhic rules in Qumran texts and its use is justified as long as it does not presuppose a closed halakhic system as that of the rabbis and allows for different halakhic approaches within the texts.

### 1. A COMMON HALAKHIC BASIS

As is to be expected, the groups behind the Scrolls shared many, if not most of their halakhot with other Jewish groups of their time. As Schiffman noted long ago:

<sup>2</sup> J.M. Baumgarten in *DJD XVIII* (1996): 18.

<sup>3</sup> J.M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill: 1977; a collection of earlier papers); L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> J. Sussmann, “The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observations on *Miqṣat Ma’āseh ha-Torah* (4QMMT),” in *DJD X* (1994): 179–200 (Hebrew version with extensive annotation: *Tarbiz* 59 [1989–1990]: 11–76, with an English abstract on pp. I–II).



Because the tannaim also used exegesis as a method for the derivation of law, the sectarian and Rabbinic traditions often share the same *midrash halakhah*. Also parallels to the sectarian *halakhah* can be found in minority views or old *halakhot* mentioned by the tannaim.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the Sabbath laws studied by Schiffman are very close to what is known from the Mishnah.<sup>6</sup> The same holds true for most other fields of halakhah. The importance of the Scrolls in this regard lies in the confirmation of the antiquity of these laws which cannot be regarded as post-70 rabbinic developments.

It would be uncritical to suppose such halakhic continuity wherever not clearly contradicted by the texts. Many halakhot look similar, but may have quite different intentions. To give just one example: In *y. Šabb.* 1:4, 3d, we read in the name of R. Jeremiah: “Yose ben Yoezer of Seridah and Yose ben Yohanan of Jerusalem decreed that the territory of the gentiles should be unclean, and likewise that that is the case for glass utensils.”<sup>7</sup> We find the same tradition quoted in *b. Šabb.* 15a and with the following commentary on it:

Lo, it was the rabbis of the eighty years before who made that decree ... Eighty years prior to the destruction of the Temple the decree was made that the lands of the gentiles and utensils made out of glass were subject to uncleanness.

This has been paralleled with the passage from the *Damascus Document* 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266) 5 ii 4–6, 8–9:

4 [...] his brethren, the priests, in the service, but he shall n[ot ... Anyone]  
5 of the Sons of Aaron who was in captivity among the gentiles [...]  
6 to profane him with their uncleanness. He may not approach the [holy]  
7 service [...]  
8 Anyone of the Sons of Aaron who migrates to se[rve the gentiles, ...]  
9 <to teach> his people the foundation of the nation, and also to betray (?)  
[...]

Joseph Baumgarten understands this passage of “priests who were in captivity among gentiles or who emigrated into foreign lands where they were subject to gentile powers”; they “are disqualified for the Temple service and as guides ‘for the foundation of the nation.’” But since their

<sup>5</sup> Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 135.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. Doering, *Schabbat: Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (TSAJ 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Translations of rabbinic texts follow those of J. Neusner; they are slightly adapted wherever the context necessitates a more literal translation.

interpretation of the Law actually originated in Damascus, Baumgarten concluded

that two distinctions might have limited the application of the law. One is the special status of Syria which ... was regarded like the land of Israel in some religious matters. The second is the likelihood that the law was intended for priests living among gentiles, not those living in Jewish communities in gentile lands.<sup>8</sup>

Baumgarten does not refer to the talmudic passage, but Eyal Regev does so and sees a halakhic parallel between these two texts.<sup>9</sup> He concludes that the halakhic tradition attributed to Yose ben Yoezer is historically reliable (as are three halakhic traditions connected with him in *m. 'Ed. 8:4*) and go back to the second century B.C.E.; “the halakhic divergence between the Pharisees and the Qumran sectarians had begun in the days of Yose ben Yoezer.”<sup>10</sup> He even considers identifying Yose ben Yoezer with the “Man of Lies” mentioned in the *Damascus Document* and in the *pesharim*.<sup>11</sup> Such historical conclusions certainly go much too far; but I even doubt the comparability of the halakhah: The Qumran text does not speak of foreign lands as such, which disqualify for priestly service, but of priests in captivity among the Gentiles or even willingly migrating to serve them. Not the country of the Gentiles, but the close contact with Gentiles disqualifies the priests. This is far from the general statement attributed to Yose about the impurity of Gentile countries as such.

There are many other halakhot in Mishnah and Qumran which have much in common but still have to be differentiated. Thus, for example, Aharon Shemesh sees important parallels between some halakhot in the field of agriculture in Qumran and in rabbinic texts.<sup>12</sup> In this particular case I doubt that the Mishnah can be used to such an extent as Shemesh does to fill the lacunae of the Qumran texts.

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<sup>8</sup> Baumgarten in *DJD XVIII* (1996): 9–10. I have quoted his translation (*ibid.*, 50).

<sup>9</sup> E. Regev, “Yose ben Yoezer and the Qumran Sectarians on Purity Laws: Agreement and Controversy,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–107.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>12</sup> A. Shemesh, “The History of the Creation of Measurements: Between Qumran and the Mishnah,” in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January, 2003* (ed. S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 147–173.

## 2. PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES BEHIND THE LAWS MENTIONED IN THE SCROLLS

Before the discovery of the Scrolls, it was well-nigh impossible to control the reliability of rabbinic texts regarding disputes between the Perushim, or the sages, and the Sadducees, or Boethusians. The Dead Sea Scrolls have changed the situation considerably, most dramatically since the publication of 4QMMT, where several halakhic positions attributed to the Sadducees, or Boethusians, in rabbinic texts seem to be defended by the we-group of this text so crucial for the early history of Qumran. Yaakov Sussman, in his already mentioned highly influential article, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," stated that

comparison of the DS Scroll's halakhic rulings with the halakhic traditions preserved in rabbinic literature reveals that the halakha of 4QMMT is clearly *anti-Pharisaic* and most probably *Sadducean*. This Halakha, in contrast to Pharisaic Halakha, is stringent, uncompromising and harshly formalistic.

He suggests that

the Essenes (who may well be *Bet Sin* [Boethusians] mentioned in rabbinic literature) followed a Sadducean halakhic tradition. This sect was thus engaged in a dual struggle: an ethical, social and theological conflict with the Sadducees ("Manasse" in their writings), and a halakhic and theological conflict with the Pharisees ("Ephraim").<sup>13</sup>

This equation of the Qumran halakhah with that of the Sadducees and the identification of their halakhic opponents with the Pharisees was accepted with some nuances by many scholars. The Scrolls thus seemed to offer incontrovertible evidence for the direct continuity between early Pharisaic and rabbinic halakhah in essential points. But soon doubts were voiced against a too-straight identification of the halakhic issues involved. I shall briefly summarize the main issues.

### a. *Streams of Liquid*

The most hotly debated problem is the equation of the Qumranic *muṣa-qot* with the rabbinic *niṣṣoq*. In *m. Yad. 4:7* we read: "The Sadducees say, We cry out against you, O ye Pharisees, for ye declare clean an unbroken

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<sup>13</sup> Sussmann, abstract of the article in *Tarbiz*, II.

stream of liquid (*ha-nišṣoq*)” *M. Yad.* 4:7 seems to correspond to *MMT* B 55–58:

[ו]אף על המוצקות אנחנו אומר[ים] שהם שאין בהם [ט]הרה ואף המוצקות אינם מבדילות בין הטמא [ל]טהור כי לחת המוצקות והמקבל מהמה כהם לחה אחת

And concerning the streams [of a liquid poured from a clean vessel into an unclean vessel]: we say that in them there is no [p]urity. And (concerning) the streams: they do not separate between the impure and the pure. For the liquid of the streams and that which receives them (are) alike, a single liquid.

The equation of *nišṣoq* and *mušaqot* was most thoroughly discussed by Yaakov Elman.<sup>14</sup> As Elman states

that single equation of *nišṣoq* = *mušaqot*, when viewed systemically, yields contradictory consequences in both the rabbinic/Pharisaic and Qumranic systems of purities ... When we look beyond the mesmerizing lexical equation of *mušaqot* and *nišṣoq*, there appears in its place a wealth of possibilities, of varying degrees of likelihood; some, I think, are more probable than the one currently accepted.<sup>15</sup>

John Strugnell and Elisha Qimron, the editors of 4QMMT, suggest:

Since the word *אף* is repeated in this passage, we must distinguish two separate rulings concerning streams. 1. Streams poured into an unclean vessel are unclean. 2. These streams are to be considered as connecting a pure liquid and an impure liquid (so that if the receptacle contains an impure liquid, then the liquid in the upper vessel is also rendered unclean).<sup>16</sup>

If we compare this text with *m. Yad.* 4:7, quoted above, 4QMMT contests the Pharisaic position that a *nišṣoq* does *not* connect the impure vessel below with the pure vessel above. But even in the opinion of the rabbis (and perhaps already of the Pharisees), at least in some cases *nišṣoq* *does* cause impurity, i.e. where a *nišṣoq* is made up of a viscous liquid, such as honey: “Any unbroken streak (*nišṣoq*) is clean, except for the thick honey and porridge. The House of Shammai say, Also: one of porridge made from grits or beans, because it shrinks backwards” (*m. Makš.* 5:9).

<sup>14</sup> Y. Elman, “Some Remarks on 4QMMT and the Rabbinic Tradition, Or, When Is a Parallel Not a Parallel?” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M.J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 99–128.

<sup>15</sup> Elman, “Some Remarks,” 105.

<sup>16</sup> J. Strugnell and E. Qimron in *DJD* X (1994): 162.

In such cases at least some of the honey or other viscous liquid which was already outside the upper vessel, returns into it once it is put again into an upright position; thus, the liquid confers impurity to the contents of the upper vessel. Elman rightly sees here a problem and doubts the equation of rabbinic *niššoq* with Qumranic *mušaqot*.

The second part of *m. Yad. 4:7* “The Pharisees say, We cry out against you, O ye Sadducees, for ye declare clean a channel of water (*‘ammat ha-mayim*) that flows from a burial ground” is frequently read in the light of *m. Ṭehar. 8:9*: “A jet of liquid (*ha-niššoq*), [water on] an incline, and dripping moisture, do not serve as a connective (*hibbur*) for uncleanness and for cleanness; but a pool of water serves as a connective for uncleanness and for cleanness.”

The connection of these two texts with the second part of the statement of 4QMMT that a *niššoq* does not serve as a connective for uncleanness and for cleanness is even more problematic. It is irrelevant for the continuation in *m. Ṭehar. 8:9*: “but a pool of water serves as a connective for uncleanness and for cleanness.” The question of two connected pools or ritual baths where the drawn water of the lower one is rendered ritually valid by the pure water of the other is hardly on the mind of the author of 4QMMT in this passage, unless *mušaqot* includes not only free-falling streams of liquid, but encompasses all streams of liquid including water in pipes and channels, something the rabbis would never consider as *niššoq*. Elman therefore proposes to abandon the tempting *niššoq-mušaq* equation and offers a range of interpretive options without reaching a final conclusion. But his whole discussion makes it abundantly clear how problematic a neat connection of Qumranic concepts with those of the rabbis can be.<sup>17</sup>

#### b. *Animal Bones*

*M. Yad. 4:6* quotes in the same context of the controversies between Pharisees and Sadducees Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai speaking to the Sadducees:

Have we naught against the Pharisees save this!—for lo, they say, The bones of an ass are clean, and the bones of Johanan the High Priest are unclean. They said to him, As is our love for them so is their uncleanness—that no man make spoons of the bones of his father or mother.

<sup>17</sup> Elman, “Some Remarks,” 107–127.

This may be paralleled with *MMT* B 21–23: “And concerning the hide[s] and bones of the impure animal: one must not make [from their bones] and from the h[i]de[s] handles of a v[essel]” (cf. 11QT<sup>a</sup> L:4–6); the bones of unclean animals impart impurity. It is not quite clear who the speakers in the Mishnah passage (“they say”) are; thus the use of this passage in the comparison between Qumran and the Mishnah is not as clear as might be wished.

### c. *Ṭevul Yom/Red Heifer*

Another well known controversy between the Ṣadduqim and the sages (Pharisees?) concerns the degree of purity required of the priest who was to burn the Red Heifer. According to rabbinic teaching the person became pure for rituals outside the temple (but not for eating *terumah*) immediately after the ritual bath, without waiting for sunset—what the rabbis call *ṭevul yom*. *M. Parah* 3:7 presents this as a controversial decision which had to be enforced against the convictions of the Sadducees:

The elders of Israel used to go forth before them (the priests and their assistants) on foot to the Mount of Olives. There was a place of immersion there (*bet ṭevilah*), and they had [first] rendered unclean the priest that should burn the Heifer, because of the Sadducees: that they should not be able to say, It must be performed only by them on whom the sun has set (*bim'orave shemesh*).

Priestly tradition required of a person who had taken a ritual bath to wait until sundown before being considered pure (Lev 11:29–38; Num 19:9). This also seems to be the teaching of *MMT* B 13–17 on the Red Heifer:

- 13 And concerning the purity of the bull of the purification offering:
- 14 he who slaughters it and he who burns it and he who gathers its ashes and he who sprinkles the [water of]
- 15 the purification offering; all these at the set[ting] of the sun (*le-ha'arivut ha-shemesh*) become pure.
- 16 so that he who is pure might sprinkle upon the (one who is) impure.

Lester Grabbe accepts that

the concept of the *ṭevul yôm*, if it existed, would indeed have been rejected by both the Ṣadduqim and the authors of *MMT* and the Temple Scroll. Nevertheless, neither of the two passages in *MMT* mentions the *ṭevul yôm* concept explicitly.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> L.L. Grabbe, “4QMMT and Second Temple Jewish Society,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran*

Both the Mishnah and *MMT* refer to the purity of the one who slays the Red Heifer, a point not in the biblical text. More essential is the understanding of להעריי [בר]ת השמש:

this reading requires a partial textual reconstruction. Although the reconstruction is not unreasonable, it is less than certain. It seems premature to leap to the conclusion that the author must be attacking the rabbinic idea of the *ṭevul yôm*.<sup>19</sup>

It is certainly still highly probable to read *m. Parah* 3 in the context of 4QMMT, but this is far from certain.<sup>20</sup>

#### d. Calendar—Shavuot

In *m. Menah.* 10 it is discussed whether the details of reaping and offering of the Omer, the first sheaf of barley from which the fifty days until Shavuot are counted, differ depending on the day when it occurs, a Sabbath or a weekday. R. Ishmael is for differentiation, but the sages say that there was no difference whether it was a Sabbath or a weekday. When reaping the sheaf on an evening which is the beginning of the Sabbath, the person who is going to reap the sheaf explicitly asks the bystanders:

“On this Sabbath?” They say, “Yes.” “On this Sabbath?” They say, “Yes.” “Shall I reap?” They say, “Reap!” “Shall I reap?” They say, “Reap!”—three times for each and every matter. And they say to him, “Yes, yes, yes.” All of this for what purpose? Because of the Boethuseans, for they maintain: “The reaping of the [barley for] the offering of the first sheaf of barley is not [done] at the conclusion of the festival.” (*m. Menah.* 10:3)

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*Studies, Cambridge, 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill 1997), 89–108, 91.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>20</sup> J. Neusner has even argued that the concept of the *ṭevul yom* (or at least most halakhic rules connected with this concept) was developed in the period of Usha, ca. 140–170 C.E.: *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities*, part 22: *The Mishnaic System of Uncleaness* (SJLA 6.22; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 148–149, 176–177, 212–213. Against Neusner’s position see J.M. Baumgarten, “The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts,” *JJS* 31 (1980): 157–170, 169–170. See also H. Birenboim, “*Tevul Yom* and the Red Heifer: Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakah,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 254–273, who argues that the Pharisees wanted to enable the common people in the preparation of the ashes by not considering the red heifer as a sacrifice; they therefore required a minor degree of purity of the priest officiating in the rite than the Sadducees or the Qumran sectarians would have done.

As is well known, the explicit reason for the difference is the interpretation of Sabbath in Lev 23:15 (*mi-moḥarat ha-shabbat*). Does one offer the first sheaf after the weekly Sabbath or after the first holy day of Nisan? Does one count “Sabbaths” or “weeks”? Lester Grabbe has rightly observed:

no suggestion is made in this or any other context that the differences between the groups arose from using a different calendar. If this were the case, not only would *Šavu‘ot* be on a different day, but so would all the other festivals (cf. 1QpHab 11:4–7). Indeed, if they were supposed to be using a different calendar, one would expect many other calendrical disputes to have arisen and to be mentioned. Yet only Pentecost seems to be in question.<sup>21</sup>

Not the calendar is the point of dispute between the Boethusians and those people who defend the common procedure, but the question whether the correct understanding of Lev 23:15 warrants doing work (“reaping”) on the Sabbath or not. The Qumran calendar is a radical solution of the problem—it is simply impossible that the day when the Omer is to be reaped, ever falls on a Sabbath. The Boethusians, as depicted in the Mishnah, seem to advocate a less radical procedure, namely, to postpone the reaping of the barley in this case to the next day. The Dead Sea Scrolls in this case point to the same problem, but offer a different solution.

### 3. SOME CONCLUSIONS

Let us return to the question in the title of my article. The Dead Sea Scrolls have certainly provided us with a wealth of material for the study of the prehistory of Mishnaic law. Qumran texts which polemically oppose laws identical with or very close to what we find in the Mishnah, sometimes confirm the information we have from Mishnaic or other rabbinic texts on halakhic controversies between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. It is common to use such cases in order to confirm the direct continuity between Pharisaic and rabbinic halakhah. But we should beware: Not everything opposed by the people of Qumran and accepted by the Pharisees is *eo ipso* a specifically Pharisaic law. It may represent a wider consensus opposed only by some priestly groups.

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<sup>21</sup> Grabbe, “4QMMT,” 97–98.



More important are the many undisputed halakhot attested to in Qumran texts that turn up again in rabbinic tradition. Here we do have substantial evidence for a continuity of halakhic traditions from the time before 70 to the rabbis, most of them not specifically Pharisaic, but more representative of a “common” Judaism (although not necessarily observed by everybody). At the same time we have to be careful in the evaluation of this parallel material to put it into the right context of halakhic systems; we certainly cannot indiscriminately fill in gaps in one corpus of texts with information from the other: Further research will have to evaluate as much the differences within seemingly parallel halakhot as their common aspects. There are meaningful parallels and continuities between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Mishnah; but they certainly cannot be used as an excuse to return to an a-historical conception of the halakhah. We have to look for continuity *and* change; the gap between the Second Temple and the time afterwards has become much smaller, but it remains.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> For a more general discussion of the problems dealt with in this paper see A. Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis* (The Taubman Lectures in Jewish Studies 6; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); idem, “Halakhah Between the Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 595–616 (the article is based on the aforementioned book).



RABBINIC MIDRASHEI HALAKHAH,  
MIDRASHEI AGGADAH IN QUMRAN LITERATURE?

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INTRODUCTION

In response to Steven Fraade's articles about exegesis in rabbinic and Qumran literature, this paper will attempt to demonstrate that Fraade's use of the term "midrash" is not appropriate for describing Qumran's mode of interpreting both legal and narrative topics.<sup>1</sup>

THE ETYMOLOGICAL MEANING OF THE TERMS דרש  
AND מדרש IN SCRIPTURE, RABBINIC, AND QUMRAN CORPORA

The term דרש has many meanings in Scripture and is thus difficult to define. In rabbinic literature, too, the term can have multiple meanings, although it is most often used to refer to the complex rabbinic exegesis, in many instances really *eisegesis*, of Scripture, for both halakhic and narrative issues. Similarly, in Qumran literature the term דרש has a variety of meanings, and is generally defined according to the particular context.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Steven D. Fraade, "Looking for Legal Midrash at Qumran," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 59–79 and idem, "Looking for Narrative Midrash at Qumran," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January, 2003* (ed. idem, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 43–68.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in 1QS VI:24 the phrase *ושפטו במדרש יחד* is translated by F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scroll Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 1:85 as: "they shall judge in an examination of the Community" and by G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane/Penguin,

The term *מדרש* appears only once in Scripture, in 2 Chr 24:27, bordering the period of our inquiry. The term may have been coined to refer to something added to the original text, and would correspond to the rabbinic concept of *מדרש*, which refers to an interpretive method that, according to Brewer, attempts “to find a hidden meaning, which may completely ignore the plain meaning of the text.”<sup>3</sup> Thus, *מדרש* is the antithesis of the simple meaning of the text,<sup>4</sup> as we observe from its use in rabbinic literature,<sup>5</sup> and in Rashi’s writings.<sup>6</sup>

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1997), 107: “the Court of Inquiry.” This is not merely translation but an interpretation that corresponds to the translator’s particular understanding of the text.

<sup>3</sup> D. Instone Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (TSAJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 16.

<sup>4</sup> Rabbi Ishmael’s and his school’s rejection of the Akiban complex exegesis does not imply that he uses only simple sense interpretation. Rather, he, too, uses midrashic modes of interpretation, albeit of a different sort. Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiba, along with their respective schools, differ in their midrashic methods only in some instances. In principle, both employ hermeneutic systems that are not evident from the text, and that are, at times, blatantly opposed to it. We do not encounter any suggestion that Rabbi Ishmael does not accept the Sabbath rules, and it would be absurd to assume this about Rabbi Ishmael, although *m. Hag. 1:8* declares that “The halakhot of the Sabbath, the offerings of the holidays and the unlawful use of sacred property are like mountains suspended by a hair, since there are many halakhot supported by a limited scriptural texts.” The thirteen middot (methods) of interpretation, which form the basis of the rabbinic exegetical system, are attributed to Rabbi Ishmael, and some of them are definitely used in ways incompatible with a simple sense interpretation. See a deliberation about the method of *gzerah shavah* (one of the thirteen middot) on p. 642 n. 39 below. See also n. 48 a complex midrashic interpretation attributed to Rabbi Ishmael. Unless indicated otherwise, translations of the Hebrew Bible are from the NIV and translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are from E. Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Translations of rabbinic literature are mine.

<sup>5</sup> For example, it is written in *m. Šeqal. 6:6*: *עולות הבשר לשם והעורות לכהנים זה מדרש דרש* יהוידע כהן גדול [the halakhah that] the meat of the holocaust offerings is dedicated to God [burnt on the altar] and their skins belong to the priests originates from a Midrash by the High Priest Jehoiada.” It is then explained that in Lev 5:19 the term *אשם* is written three times *אשם הוא אשם לה*, once with the extension *לה* meaning “to God,” an apparent contradiction, since the denomination *אשם* implies an offering consumed by the priests, and the term with the suffix “to God,” implies that it should be burnt for God upon the altar. Jehoiada, the High Priest resolved this contradiction, as is written in 2 Kgs 12:17: *כסף אשם וכסף חטאות לא יובא בית ה' לכהנים יהיו* “the money from the guilt offerings and the sin offerings was not brought into the Temple of the Lord; it belongs to the priests.” Through an additional convoluted conjecture, these rituals were applied to the skins of the holocaust offerings, despite the fact that all the cited verses refer to guilt and sin offerings.

<sup>6</sup> Rashi employs two literary styles to distinguish between the two systems of interpretation. For example, in his comments on Gen 15:5: Rashi states: *וירצא אתו החוצה לפי פשוטו* הוציאו מאהלו לחוץ לראות הכוכבים ולפי מדרשו אמר לו צא מאצטגוניות שלך שראית במזלות שאיך עתיד להעמיד בן [It is written]: ‘He took him outside’ according to its simple-sense meaning [it says]: he took him outside his tent to see the stars, and according to its Midrash [it

The usual rabbinic interpretative literary style proceeds, according to Brooke, in a manner “in which the extract of scripture is explicitly cited and then given interpretation.”<sup>7</sup> The thirteen techniques of exegesis, the middot, are introduced with the term *דרש*, demonstrating that *מדרש* is an interpretation founded on these techniques, and is distinct from *מקרא*, the simple, literal interpretation of the Torah. The meaning of *מדרש* in Qumran literature is entirely distinct from the terms *מדרשי* *הלכה* and *מדרשי* *אגדה* used in rabbinic literature. It is important to keep in mind that contemporary uses of the term midrash is shaped by the rabbinic perspective. For this reason, it is not appropriate to apply this term to discussions of the style, structure, aim and outcome of Qumran’s exegesis. It is important to maintain an awareness of such distinctions when comparing the two systems of interpretation.

#### PHILOSOPHICAL/THEOLOGICAL DISTINCTIONS IN THE APPROACH TO SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION OF LEGAL ISSUES

Biblical texts include many lacunae, inconsistencies and indeterminate ordinances. The challenge of interpreting these texts fell to Qumran, as it did to the Rabbis, and later to the Karaites. The core of my thesis is that there is a fundamental distinction between the rabbinic and Qumranic applied methods of interpretation, notwithstanding several similarities in the exegesis of the two corpora, which have been pointed to by Fraade and others. The Tannaim, and plausibly the Pharisees too, considered pragmatic issues in their halakhic decisions. Only at a later stage did they attempt to find exegetical justifications for their decisions. Often, these were far-fetched and removed from the simple meaning of the text. At times, the justifications even contradicted the plain

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says]: He [God] said to him [Abraham] get out from (ignore) your astrological divination that you will not have a son.” This explanation provides first a simple interpretation followed by a midrashic interpretation. But in his comments on the verse fragment: *כי באפם הרגו איש* “they have killed a man [in singular mode] in their anger” (Gen 49:6), Rashi begins with the midrashic interpretation, as follows: *אלו חמור ואנשי שכם ואינם חשובין כולם*: “This is Hamor and the people of Shechem, [and Scripture uses the single mode, because] they are all worth like one person; this is its midrashic interpretation, but its simple meaning is: he calls many people in singular, each on his own, [intending to say] they killed each person of whom they were furious.”

<sup>7</sup> G.J. Brooke, “4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 385–401 at 389.

meaning of the text. The *lex talionis* serves as a good example of this practice, and demonstrates the meaning of the rabbinic concept of “midrash,” which can be completely at odds with Scripture.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, Qumran scholars adhered, as much as possible, to the simple interpretation of the biblical rules, without any consideration of the practical difficulty posed by the law.<sup>9</sup> Qumran could not envisage that God would allow an interpretation of the Torah that overturns its plain meaning. Thus, for example, Qumran did not accept that one is permitted to desecrate the Sabbath in order to save a life or to defend oneself at war.<sup>10</sup>

Each school of thought saw its own approach as true to the divine intentions. The Qumranites believed that by interpreting the biblical commands literally (or in a manner that seemed to them literal, at any rate),<sup>11</sup> they were adhering most closely to the divine commandments, and that their opponents had falsified the divine intentions through contorted interpretations. The instances in which Qumranic halakhot do not seem to be closely aligned with a simple reading of the text (as in the case, for example, of the additional first fruits holidays

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<sup>8</sup> Scripture (Lev 24:19) decrees that the punishment for causing bodily harm to another is an “eye for an eye,” and goes on to explain: כַּאֲשֶׁר יִתֵּן מִיָּד בְּאֵדוֹ כֵּן יִתֵּן לוֹ “as he has injured the other, so he has to be injured” (Lev 24:20). Nevertheless, the rabbis (*m. B. Qam.* 8:1 and *b. B. Qam.* 83b) declare: הַחֹבֵל בְּחֵבֶרֶת עַל־יָדוֹ מְשֹׁם חֲמִשָּׁה דְּבָרִים “If one injures his neighbour he is liable to pay five types of compensation: damage, pain, healing, loss of working capability and shame.” See P. Heger, *Cult as the Catalyst for Division: Cult Disputes as the Motive for Schism in the Pre-70 Pluralistic Environment* (STDJ 65; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 69 n. 96, for the method of the rabbinic interpretation of this rule.

<sup>9</sup> L. Doering, “Parallels without Parallelomania: Methodological Reflections on Comparative Analysis of Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Rabbinic Perspectives*, 13–42 at 16, quotes K. Müller, “Anmerkungen zum Verhältniss von Tora und Halacha im Frühjudentum,” in *Die Tora als Kanon für Juden und Christen* (ed. E. Zenger; Herders biblische Studien 10; Freiburg: Herder, 1996), 257–291, who deliberates about the impact of the exigencies of life on halakhah. I fully agree that this concept was a primary, if not a dominant factor in many rabbinic halakhic decisions, whereas its influence on Qumran halakhah was marginal; such considerations were a factor in the creation of the particular rules for the Yahad community.

<sup>10</sup> In *b. Yoma* 85a it is asked: מִיָּיִן לִפְקוּחַ נַפְשׁ שְׂדוּחָה אֵת הַשַּׁבָּת “How do we know that saving a life overrides the Sabbath [rules]?” The seven weak answers offered by the rabbis demonstrate a clear lack of biblical support for this ruling. See Heger, *Cult*, 240 nn. 197–198 and 253 n. 46 for details about this deliberation.

<sup>11</sup> M.J. Bernstein, “4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 1–27 at 19–20, writes in a similar circumstance: “The author of 4Q252 is of the opinion that the *sensus literalis* of a prophetic blessing like that of Jacob is by definition eschatological.”

or the form and content of the phylacteries),<sup>12</sup> may denote earlier customs that were practiced by the entire community and were thus outside the realm of debate.<sup>13</sup>

### RABBINIC PHILOSOPHY

The rabbinic interpretations were based on the rabbis' understanding of the texts and of the general principle of the Torah, the *Grundnorm*,<sup>14</sup> as well as an awareness of the necessity of adapting the traditional rules and customs to actual circumstances. The rabbis believed that God had granted them authority to interpret the Torah according to their understanding. In the renowned Akhnai narrative,<sup>15</sup> God endorses the rabbis' authority to interpret Scripture even when it conflicts with the actual divine intention.<sup>16</sup> To support their halakhic rulings, the sages alleged that their exegesis of the biblical commands was in accordance with the

<sup>12</sup> See Heger, *Cult*, 384 n. 139 for an extended deliberation about this issue.

<sup>13</sup> See *ibid.*, 136–137 n. 371 about the probability that a host of Sabbath rules, lacking any scriptural support, were ingrained in ancient traditions. For example, there is no biblical support for the prohibition against carrying anything outside one's house, nor against carrying inside (CD 9:7–8). See the relevant text of *m. Hag.* 1:8 in n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> In modern language we would say that the "Law" consists of universally accepted principles, which are applied by the judge in each case. The sages perceived themselves as having the same liberty of decision with respect to the norms of the universal divine "Law." J. Roth, *The Halakhic Process: A Systemic Analysis* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1986), 9, calls this divine law the *Grundnorm* (a term used by the positivist Hans Kelsen), stating that the sages considered themselves to be its sole legitimate interpreters.

<sup>15</sup> The story in *b. B. Meši'a* 59b recounts a miraculous divine intervention that sided with Rabbi Eliezer's opinion, which conflicted with that of the majority of sages. Rabbi Joshua, in the name of the sages, stood up [in defiance] and declared: "[The Torah] is no longer in heaven [cf. Deut 30:12] . . . it was already given [to the people of Israel] on Mount Sinai; we are not [obligated to listen to the voice from heaven, since you wrote already in the Torah [given at] Sinai: 'accept [the decision of] the majority' (the rabbis interpreted this most ambiguous biblical verse to serve their objective in this occurrence; they interpreted it differently in other instances), [which decided against Rabbi Eliezer's opinion, and we have now the authority to decide the correct halakhah]." The story reaches its climax when Elijah tells a Rabbi that God smiled at that juncture and declared: "My children were victorious over me," acknowledging the rabbi's exclusive authority to interpret Scripture.

<sup>16</sup> D. Weiss Halivni, *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 50, in comparing Talmud with another mode of study, writes that the interpretations of Talmud exegesis "frequently alter the substantive meaning of the text."

middot, the statutory rules of interpretation. Thus, they were able to present their halakhot as preserving the Scriptural commands and not transgressing the law in Deut 13:1 that states: “do not add to it [the Torah] or take away from it.”

The rabbinic halakhot were founded mainly on the rabbis’ reflections, and the hermeneutics were used as a means of justification.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the rabbis saw the midrash functioning not as a “creative interpretation מדרש ויצר,” but as an “integrative interpretation מדרש מקיים” that supports the *a priori* ideological decision.<sup>18</sup> The rabbinic maxim (*b. Ber.* 4b) “And both [sages, who dispute a halakhah] attained their [contended opinion] by interpreting [differently] the identical biblical verse,” suggests that the rabbis were not relying on the literal meaning of the texts,<sup>19</sup> and instead allowed for the legitimacy of more than one possible interpretation, hence the axiom: “Both [conflicting halakhic utterances] are the words of the living God” (*b. Git.* 6b); the forsaken opinion was appreciated and preserved, despite the adversities generated by the prohibition to record them in writing.

<sup>17</sup> D. Weiss Halivni, *Midrash, Mishnah and Gemara: The Jewish Predilection for Justified Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 68, perceives the Mishnah as “apodictic, unjustified law” and the Gemara, which attempted to reveal biblical support, as “justificatory law.”

<sup>18</sup> This is the translation appearing in M. Elon, *Jewish Law: History, Sources, Principles* (trans. B. Auerbach and M.J. Sykes; 4 vols.; Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 1:283. A. Yadin, “Resistance to Midrash? Midrash and *Halakhah* in the Halakhic Midrashim,” in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash* (ed. C. Bakhos; JSJSup 106; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 35–58, uses alternative terminology to address this issue, stating that the midrash has priority over halakhot or vice-versa.

<sup>19</sup> The source of the quoted citation is a *baraita* in *b. Šabb.* 117b: כמה סעודות חייב אדם לאכול בשבת שלש רבי חידקא אומר ארבע אמר רבי יוחנן ושניהם מקרא אחד דרשו ויאמר משה אכלהו היום כי שבת היום לה' היום לא תמצאוהו בשדה רבי חידקא סבר הני תלתא היום לבר מאורתא ורבנן סברי בהדי דאורתא “How many meals must a person eat on Sabbath? [A.] Three. Rabbi Hidka says: four. Said Rabbi Johanan: and both deduced it by the interpretation of the identical [biblical] verse; [it is written in Exod 16:25] ‘Eat it today, Moses said, because today is a Sabbath to the Lord. You will not find any on the ground today.’ Rabbi Hidka thinks that since it is written three times ‘today’ it intends to say that one must eat three meals during the day and one during the evening, and the Rabbis think that the three meals include the one at the evening.” The Amora Rabbi Johanan speculates on the motives of the Tannaim, which are not divulged; we may assume that their opinions were not founded on the exegesis of the biblical verse, but rather on actual fact, that is, on how many meals were seen to represent an appropriate celebration of the Sabbath. *Mek. de Rabbi Shim'on b. Yohai* 20 interprets Deut 5:11 (v. 12 in KJV): “Observe the Sabbath day by keeping it holy,” that one fulfills this command by eating on Sabbath festive food of better quality and distinct from the food consumed on weekdays, among other similar symbolic acts, like wearing clean clothes, etc. See a similar rule in CD 11:3 regarding clean clothes.



## QUMRAN PHILOSOPHY

Qumran scholars were antagonistic to this “midrashic” method,<sup>20</sup> calling those who practiced it דורשי חלקות “seeking flattery” and/or accusing them of רמיה “deceit.” They were aware of the system, and found it to be misleading and wrong. Instead, they adhered, as much as possible, to the simple and straightforward meaning of the biblical rules, without any consideration of practical consequences. When the vagueness or lacuna of the scriptural text required some compounded form of exegesis, they relied on simple, logical considerations, very different from the rabbinic complex exegetical method. For example, regarding the prohibition against marrying one’s niece, the author demonstrates first that Scripture equates man and woman with respect to incest prohibitions,<sup>21</sup> and then presents the consequence: “[Though] the law of prohibited marriages is written for males, it applies equally to females” (CD A 5:9–10). The prohibition against polygamy is explained in a similar manner,<sup>22</sup> as is the qumranic prohibition against intermarriage between priests and lay Israelites.<sup>23</sup> In contrast to the rabbi’s multi-layered system of interpretation, founded on Scripture’s multi-vocal character,

<sup>20</sup> Cf. G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4Q Florilegium in its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 2.

<sup>21</sup> We read in CD A 5:8: ומשה אמר אל אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא: “But Moses said: Do not approach your mother’s sister, she is a blood relation to your mother.” It refers to the interconnected verses Lev 18:12 and 13: אחות אמך לא תגלה שאר אביך היא: “Do not have sexual relations with your father’s sister; she is your father’s close relative” and “Do not have sexual relations with your mother’s sister, because she is your mother’s close relative.” This simple and logical extension of a rule is comparable to the rabbinic maxim דבר הכתוב בהיה “The Torah cited what is the most common,” a rational, legitimate rule, not included in the midrashic middot system. See *Mek. Mishpatim* 20 regarding the extension of the biblical prohibition against cooking a kid in its mother’s milk, to apply to all animals.

<sup>22</sup> CD A 4:21–5:1 refers first to the cosmological reality, as recorded in Scripture: יסוד ונקבה זכר הבריאה “the principle of creation is one man and one woman,” and confirmed again by the divine instruction to save one male and one female of each species in Gen 7:9: שנים שנים באו אל התבה זכר ונקבה “two by two went into the ark male and female.”

<sup>23</sup> Qumran scholars claimed first by logical comparison that the biblical prohibitions of כלאים “mixing wool and flax in garments, mating different species of animals, and sowing different plant species together: [ועל בהמה: כשכתוב קודש [ישראל] [טהו] רה כתוב של [וא] להרביע [ה] כלאים ועל לבושים שלוא יהיה] שעטנו ושל [וא] לזרוע] [שדו וכרמו ב[ג]לל [מה] קדושים ובני אהרן]” relates equally to all types of mixed unions, including those between humans of distinct genealogies: קדושי קדושים “But they [i.e. the Israelites] are holy, and the sons of Aaron are the holiest of the holy.”

Qumran believed in a single correct interpretation, and saw all others as illegitimate and false. Indeed, we do not encounter internal halakhic disputes in Qumran literature.

#### RABBINIC AND QUMRAN STYLES OF JUSTIFYING HALAKHOT

In rabbinic literature, the explanation/justification is always associated with the citation of the biblical text. Qumran literature does not typically quote a biblical support for its halakhot, even when it uses the words כְּתוּב or אָמַר, to refer to the text.

Fraade finds this odd, but I see this as a logical consequence of Qumran's interpretive method. Since Qumran adhered to the simple meaning of familiar texts, which seemed evident to the authors and the intended readership<sup>24</sup> (and which they probably assumed was similarly clear to their contenders),<sup>25</sup> citation was seen as superfluous, even in their polemic 4QMMT writing.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, when the halakhah is not evident from the biblical text, the phrases אָנוּ חוֹשְׁבִים/אוֹמְרִים “we think/say” are used to indicate that the halakhah is, in their opinion, what Scripture intends. What some scholars assume to be an incorrect biblical citation in Qumran is actually just an element of their halakhic writing style, which

<sup>24</sup> Fraade, “Looking for Narrative Midrash,” 64 suggests that the different forms of Qumran and rabbinic writings may be due to the differences between the intended audiences. R.A. Kugler, “Hearing 4Q225: A Case Study in Reconstructing the Religious Imagination of the Qumran Community,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 81–103 at 82 and 84, writes that we can determine the community's response to the “Parabiblical scrolls,” “because they were built from literature the group knew better than any other . . . , the Jewish Scriptures.” This affirmation is equally valid for the subject of our assertion, as he states: “even when echoes of Scripture are barely whispered, the full scope of a story's testimony is evoked as well in the recipient's imagination.” As said above, I challenge the pertinence of the label “Parabiblical Scrolls.”

<sup>25</sup> M. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 29–51 at 43, writes: “The author of MMT believes that the correct interpretation of the biblical text” corresponds to their halakhah regarding the rules of the leper in *MMT*, in which the expression כְּתוּב appears.

<sup>26</sup> M. Bernstein, “Pentateuchal Interpretation at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:128–159 at 143, writes regarding some rules in *MMT*: “it is clear that these laws are based on Lev 19:23 and 27:32 respectively.” Bernstein perceives, as do I, that Qumran does not see it as necessary to offer a citation when the source of a law is obvious. However, unlike me, Bernstein does not see this approach as generally true of Qumran.

incorporated “biblicized” vocabulary and phrasing that became part of the spoken language of the community.<sup>27</sup>

The Gemara never asks how we know that one must not work on Sabbath or that one is obligated to dwell in a booth on Sukkoth. The relevant biblical verses for these principles are well known and do not require citation. However, the specific types of work prohibited on the Sabbath and the detailed rules regarding the building of the booths, warrant the disclosure of a biblical source and an appropriate interpretation. Both the Tannaim and the Qumranites had complete confidence in their understanding of the Torah’s ultimate intention, and therefore did not consider it essential to divulge justifications for their decisions.<sup>28</sup> The absence of these verses from Qumran literature suggests that they were assumed to be well-known. That is, the connection between the biblical verse and its interpretation seemed evident to them. Only in those instances in which their halakhah does not seem perfectly clear from the biblical text, do they add an explanation, or an explicit exegesis, as G. Brooke points out.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the rabbinic midrashic system, with its complex rules and methods of interpretation, must be explicitly associated with the biblical verses, since without this one would be unable to connect the halakhah with the relevant verses.

<sup>27</sup> T.H. Lim, “The Chronology of the Flood Story in a Qumran Text (4Q252),” *JJS* 43 (1992): 288–298 at 289 writes: “There is no straightforward way of distinguishing between a quotation and a rewriting of the biblical verse.” M. Bernstein, “4Q252 i 2 לא ידור רווחי 2 בְּאֵרִים לְעוֹלָם: Biblical Text or Biblical Interpretation?” *RevQ* 16 (1993–1995): 421–427 at 421, defines the question differently: “when is the reflection of a biblical text which does not conform to MT, and which appears in a ‘non-textual’ source, to be viewed as a variant text, and when may treat it as a paraphrastic interpretation of an underlying text which may have resembled MT?” See also n. 24 above.

<sup>28</sup> J. Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities*, part 21: *The Redaction and Formulation of the Order of Purities in Mishnah and Tosefta* (SJLA 6.21; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 312, writes: “Our order [i.e. of the Mishna] is remarkably uninterested in Scriptural proofs for its propositions.” He asserts that the mishnaic writings were used for “the transmission of teachings on behalf of which is claimed divine revelation” (*ibid.*, 313). I perceive them rather as reflecting the sages’ understanding of the Torah’s ultimate intention, and not as the transmission of a particular revelation.

<sup>29</sup> Brooke, “4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary,” 389, perceives implicit and explicit exegesis in Qumran literature. He explains these differences in application by saying that the implicit exegesis “is likely to have been intended or to reflect what may have been more widely acceptable or accepted than the more particularist explicit exegesis” (398). In fact, this is quite similar to my own hypothesis in this respect, since he, too, distinguishes between what was more acceptable and what was less so. I disagree with Brooke, however, regarding his notion of a shift from implicit to explicit exegesis. I perceive both methods as co-existent, with each applied according to functional suitability.

THE PARTICULAR *PESHER* STYLE

Only the *peshet* writings, the esoteric *nistar*, transmitted through revelation and impossible to deduce from the simple understanding of the text, consistently cites the relevant biblical text.<sup>30</sup> *Peshet* is not concerned with the literary, etymological or halakhic interpretation of the text.<sup>31</sup> Instead, it is concerned with the particulars of the period, event, circumstances or personality referred to by the text. Thus, it is an entirely distinct genre as suggested by many scholars.<sup>32</sup>

*Peshet Habakkuk*, the model *peshet*, actualizes the entire book of Habakkuk,<sup>33</sup> thus rendering it pertinent to their period.<sup>34</sup> *Peshet* is an

<sup>30</sup> Lim, "Chronology," 297: "Inferential exegesis of the kind that is described above [regarding the chronology of the Flood in 4Q252] is not paralleled in either the continuous or thematic *peshet*," and he indicates the difference: "prophecies are revelatory whereas the flood story is conducive to chronological enumeration."

<sup>31</sup> Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible," 3, writes about the *pesharim*: "their exegesis does not strive at all to achieve a contextual and literal understanding of the biblical text, but rather its historical or eschatological actualization."

<sup>32</sup> S.D. Fraade, "Rewritten Bible and Rabbinic Midrash as Commentary," in *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, 59–78 at 60, states that the midrash and the Dead Sea Scrolls have in common the practice of a boundary line between received scripture and its interpretive retelling by a dialogical shuttle between them. According to my understanding, he refers in this instance to the *peshet* writings in his expression "Dead Sea Scrolls," since in his study "Looking for Narrative Midrash," 61–62 he perceives a minor engagement with Scripture in Qumran writings. For example, referring to a parallel interpretation of a midrash and Qumran writing, he observes the midrash's engagement with the words of the Torah, distinguishing this approach from Qumran's rule, according to which "the dialogical engagement with the scriptural text of Exodus 19 does not appear to have occupied the same performative place as it did among the early rabbinic sages." He also writes specifically at 52 that such Qumran texts as the *Community Rule*, *MMT*, the *Temple Scroll* and the *War Scroll* "never directly and exegetically engage the texts of Scripture." There seems to be an inconsistency between his two statements, unless we assume that in his assertions regarding the common character of the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic midrash, with respect to the engagement with Scripture, he indeed refers to the *peshet* genre. He does not consider, however, that this class of writing is *sui generis*, and is not a conventional interpretation. Thus, one cannot draw conclusions about other types of writings from this text, which Fraade attempts to do.

<sup>33</sup> The question of whether the author of the *Peshet Habakkuk* believed that the prophecy refers exclusively to his period, as L.H. Schiffman states in "Contemporizing Halakhic Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 35–41 at 35 or, as J. Jokiranta writes in "Pesharim: A Mirror of Self Understanding," in *ibid.*, 23–34, that the prophet Habakkuk was referring to his period, but that his universal prophecy remained relevant is open to debate. Jokiranta's perception of the "actualization" of the *pesharim* seems to me more reasonable, since it does not limit the applicability of Scripture to a particular period, and preserves the idea of Scripture's eternal significance.



deliberating about the precise measure of distance that is considered far from Jerusalem, as implied in Scripture,<sup>37</sup> the rabbis, driven by a pragmatic consideration, sought to define the range in terms of that which is not close, which they determine refers to anything outside the Temple's precinct. The same pragmatic approach underlies the rabbinic interpretation of the biblical dictum of an eye for an eye, which imposes pecuniary compensation for the injuries despite Scripture's explicit instruction.<sup>38</sup>

A rule often used by the rabbis is *gzerah shavah*, one of the thirteen middot, which derives the meaning of a word or term based on the use of the same or a similar word or term in a different, unrelated text.<sup>39</sup> Qumranic interpretations, such as the prohibition against marrying one's niece are logical and self evident, founded on the same reasoning as the rabbinic maxim (not included in the middot) which states that "The Torah cited what is the most common."<sup>40</sup> In some instances, Qumran may have utilized more elaborate exegesis, but we have no indication of their character. Thus, our assumptions must be based on Qumran's general adherence to the simple meaning of the text, which represents the antithesis of the rabbinic midrashic system. The name "midrash" is, therefore, inappropriate for describing Qumran's halakhic interpretation.

#### DISCUSSION OF FRAADE'S EXAMPLES

Fraade cites the rule of reproof as evidence for his theory of legal midrash in Qumran literature.<sup>41</sup> The example cited by Fraade correlates, in my opinion, to the Qumranic mode of interpretation. The two relevant biblical verses are difficult to interpret,<sup>42</sup> and the traditional commentators

<sup>37</sup> A three days walk is a typical distance unit as we encounter in Exod 5:3; 15:22, Num 10:33; 33:8, Josh 9:16; Jonah 3:3.

<sup>38</sup> See the relevant biblical text above in n. 8.

<sup>39</sup> In a complex deliberation in *b. Ber.* 35a about the meaning of the undefined term *תבואה* in Lev 19:25 regarding the use of the fruits of a tree on the fifth year, a *gzerah shavah* is used: *נאמר כאן להוסיף לכם תבואתו ונאמר להלן ותבואת הכרם מה להלן כרם אף כאן כרם* "It is written here, at the fruit of the fifth year (Lev 19:25) "your harvest will be increased" and it is written there, at the prohibition to plant two kinds of seed (Deut 22:9) "the fruit of the vineyard," like there it refers to a vineyard, so it is here too." Though the two verses relate to two distinct, unrelated topics, a *gzerah shavah* is applied.

<sup>40</sup> See the explanation of this concept above in n. 21.

<sup>41</sup> Fraade, "Legal Midrash," 69.

<sup>42</sup> We read in Lev 19:17–18: *ולא תשא את אחיך בלבבך הוכח תוכיח את עמיתך ולא תשא עליו חטא* "Do not hate your brother in your heart; Rebuke your neighbour frankly so

and the Talmud offer a great variety of interpretations.<sup>43</sup> The *Damascus Document* elegantly integrated the two verses into one law, to be interpreted as follows: “do not hate your brother in your heart [when you see him sinning, as you should hate a sinner], but rebuke him so that you should not incur in the sin” (Lev 19:17) [of having failed to rebuke him] “and of seeking revenge or bearing a grudge” (Lev 19:18, paraphrased).<sup>44</sup>

The second example cited by Fraade refers to the time addition to the Sabbath. CD 10:14–17 quotes the rule,<sup>45</sup> and justifies it with the scriptural dictum: “כי הוא אשר אמר שמור את יום השבת לקדשו” “because this is what is meant by the passage, ‘Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy’” (Deut 5:12). However, the *Damascus Document* does not discuss the hermeneutics of how this conclusion was derived from the text. This example offers a simple, logical interpretation of the biblical verse:

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you will not share in his guilt”; and “לא תקם ולא תטר את בני עמך ואהבת לרעך כמוך” “Do not seek revenge or bear a grudge against one of your people, but love your neighbor as yourself.” The command “do not hate your brother in your heart,” seems to have no logical connection to the succeeding decree “Rebuke your neighbour frankly so you will not share in his guilt,” which, it would seem, should have followed v. 18: “Love your neighbour as yourself.” The association of rebuking with avoiding sin is equally perplexing. The sin’s essence is not defined, nor is the identity of the sinner. Both the rabbis and Qumran may have been uncomfortable with the contradiction posed by the juxtaposition of this verse with the obligation to hate the sinners, as is stated in Ps 139:21: “Do I not hate those who hate you, O Lord, and abhor those who rise against you?”

<sup>43</sup> For example, Ibn Ezra understands the text in a similar way to the *Damascus Document*: You should rebuke your neighbour, and thus give him the possibility of denying his sin, because to make a wrongful accusation is also a sin. For Ramban the sin consists of not preventing the future sinning of your neighbour; he might have improved his ways, if you had rebuked him, and therefore you are partly responsible for his sin. Ramban offers an additional explanation: if you do not reprove your friend, thereby giving him a chance to remedy his offense against you and reconcile with him, you will continue to hate him, and thus transgress the law that forbids one to “hate your brother in your heart” (Lev 19:17). Modern scholars have also recognized the nebulous nature of this phrase.

<sup>44</sup> We read in CD 9:6–8: “אם החריש לו מיום ליום ובהרן אפו בו דבר בו דבר מות ענה בו יען” “If he kept silent day by day and then in anger against his fellow spoke against him in a capital case, this testifies against him that he did not fulfill the commandment of God which says to him, ‘You shall reprove your fellow and not bear the sin yourself.’”

<sup>45</sup> על הש[ב]ת לשמרה כמשפטה אל יעש איש ביום {מל} השישי מלאכה מן העת אשר יהיה גלגל השמש לקדשו רחוק מן השער מלואו כי הוא אשר אמר שמור את יום השבת לקדשו “About the Sa[bb]ath, how to keep it properly. vac A man may not work on the { } sixth day from the time that the solar orb is above the horizon by its diameter, because this is what is meant by the passage ...”

the term שמור implies to “guard” something precious, and one must be similarly careful in guarding against the desecration of the Sabbath. Qumran’s role model,<sup>46</sup> the returnees from Babylon, introduced a spirit of awe to the fulfillment of the divine commands.<sup>47</sup> Qumran incorporated a similar attitude of awe and fear in its approach to ritual observance, and the time added to the Sabbath derived from this attitude, meant as an extra caution against potential transgressions. This approach is similar to the one adapted by the rabbis in their method of creating “a hedge for the Torah” (*m. ’Abot* 1:1).

In contrast to Qumran’s simple understanding of the scriptural term שמור, the corresponding rabbinic midrashic method cited by Fraade is construed on an extremely complex system.<sup>48</sup> The rule can be deduced from different biblical verses, and different rules can be derived from the same verse. The midrashic interpretation is not inherent to the biblical command; it is an *eisegesis* rather than an *exegesis*; one can understand Qumran’s opposition to halakhot reached by such methods.

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<sup>46</sup> See S. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 40–43. He writes, for example: “this compilation (i.e. CD IV:2–6) was in fact a Qumran parallel of the biblical reports to the returned exiles” (40). He denotes the Covenanters’ “conceptual proclivity to identify with and present themselves as biblical Israel” (41). And states that the term יחד “serves as a socioreligious term that defines solely the community of the erstwhile exiles” (43).

<sup>47</sup> We read in Ezra 10:3: יעשה במצות אלהינו וכתורה יעשה “those who fear the commands of our God. Let it be done according to the Law.” See an extensive deliberation about the meaning of the concept חרד in the context in Heger, *Cult*, 82 and n. 140.

<sup>48</sup> We read in *Mek.*, Jethro 7: “[It is written in Exod 20:8]: זכור “Remember [the Sabbath]” and in Deut 5:12]: שמור “Guard [the Sabbath]”; remember it before it comes and guard it after it is gone; from that we deduce that one adds from the profane to the holy,” without any logical explanation for this deduction. Other midrashim add to this one, but have no clear connection to the extension of the Sabbath’s duration. *B. Roš. Haš.* 9a quotes another convoluted midrash that attempts justifying the same rule. We read there: “Wherefrom does Rabbi Ishmael deduce the rule to add from the profane to the holy? [A.] he deduces it from Lev 23:32: ‘you shall afflict your souls in the ninth day of the month.’ Could it be that it applies to the ninth [day of the month [since it is written in v. 27 that the holiday is on the tenth day?]] No, it is written in the evening. If on the evening, could it intend after dark? No. It is written on the ninth day [and after dark, it is already the tenth]. How do you reconcile it? He starts to deny himself [from food/fast] on the early evening, when it still day, and from this we learn that one adds from the profane to the holy. From that we know that one has to add at its start, but how do we know that you have to add also at its end? We deduce it from the phrase ‘from evening to evening.’ From that we know that the rule refers to the Day of Atonement (the subject of Lev 23:32), but how do we know that it is valid equally for the Sabbaths? Because it is written ‘abstain from work.’ How do we know that it is valid equally for the holidays? Because it is written your Sabbath. What does it mean? Whenever there is an abstention from work, one must add from the profane to the holy.”



Fraade's third example, Qumran's prohibition, according to his interpretation, to offer on Sabbath other than the particular Sabbath offerings,<sup>49</sup> includes the specific holiday offerings. I have written an extended study in which I discuss this complex issue. I argue there that Qumran's rule is based on a simple logical interpretation of Num 28:9–10, whereas the rabbinic concept of מוסף, the key for the rabbinic interpretation of this biblical verse, conflicting with Qumran's rule, does not exist in Scripture.<sup>50</sup>

#### STYLE AND STRUCTURE OF NARRATIVES IN QUMRAN AND RABBINIC LITERATURES

The structural and stylistic distinctions between rabbinic and Qumran narrative writings are reflective of the differences in the legal/halakhic lemmas of the two. A comparison of Qumran narratives with the rabbinic midrashic parallels substantiates this hypothesis.<sup>51</sup> In 4QpsJub<sup>a</sup> (4Q225),<sup>52</sup> there is no connection to a biblical verse, and no specific information regarding what Mastema said to God. *Jubilees* offers a more elaborate narrative,<sup>53</sup> again without a connection to a biblical verse or a biblical support. The identical tale appears in *b. Sanh.* 89b,<sup>54</sup> this time as part of a

<sup>49</sup> We read in CD A 11:17–18: אֵל יֵעַל אִישׁ לְמוֹזְבַח בְּשַׁבַּת כִּי אִם עוֹלַת הַשַּׁבַּת כִּי כֵן כָּתוּב מַלְבַּד “No one should offer any sacrifice on the Sabbath except the Sabbath whole-burnt-offering, for so it is written, ‘besides your Sabbaths’ (Lev 23:28).” In fact, Scripture reads: מַלְבַּד שַׁבַּת ה’ probably to avoid writing the divine name.

<sup>50</sup> “Sabbath Offerings According to the Damascus Document-Scholarly Opinions and a New Hypothesis,” *ZAW* 118 (2006): 62–81.

<sup>51</sup> It seems to me that the reservations regarding comparisons, advanced by L. Doering, “Parallels,” 28–29 on the congruence of rabbinic and Qumran writings and by Y. Elman, “Some Remarks on 4QMMT and Rabbinic Tradition: Or, When is a Parallel not a Parallel?” in *Reading 4QMMT*, 99–128, do not affect our particular narrative.

<sup>52</sup> We read in 4Q225 2 i 9–10: וַיְבֹא שֵׁר הַמַּשְׁטֵמָה אֶל אֱלֹהִים וַיִּשְׁטִים אֶת אַבְרָהָם בִּישְׁחָק “and the Prince of Mastema (Animosity) came to God and accused Abraham with regard to Isaac.”

<sup>53</sup> We read in *Jub.* 17:16: “And the prince Mastema came and said before God, ‘Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him.’”

<sup>54</sup> We read in *b. Sanh.* 89b: “[It is written in Gen 22:1] And it came to pass after these things (In Hebrew the term דָּבָר means both word and thing). [Q] After which things? Said Rabbi Johanan in the name of Rabbi Jose ben Zimra: After the words of Satan, as it is written (Gen 21:8) and the child grew and was weaned etc., Satan charged before the



of the midrash with the biblical verses and the clear distinction between the biblical text and the exegesis, all of which is in contrast to the uninterrupted flow of Qumran's narrative structure.

Qumran does not attempt to reveal illusory biblical support for the supplementary details, because such support cannot be deduced through simple interpretation<sup>61</sup> or logical considerations.<sup>62</sup> Qumran vehemently opposed this method with regard to halakhic issues, seeing this mode of interpretation as a falsification of the divine command. However, Qumran does accept this approach, albeit unenthusiastically, with regards to the innocuous haggadot. The scarce number of such narratives and the almost exclusive use of Aramaic language<sup>63</sup> (the vernacular of the masses)

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<sup>61</sup> Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible," 13, writes regarding Qumran's simple exegesis that "the author of 4Q252 is willing to explain the [biblical] text straightforwardly on the principle that events in the Torah are not always narrated chronologically."

<sup>62</sup> I do not agree with Bernstein, "Pentateuchal Interpretation," 135, who perceives *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* as "works which interpret substantial segments of the Pentateuch." These writings do not interpret or explain the text; they add details that are outside of the text. On the other hand, for example, the addition of the days of the week in 4Q252, can be deduced through logical considerations regarding their calendar, and may be perceived as interpretation or commentary. See Lim's similar assertion in n. 31 ("Chronology," 297). In "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible," 2, Bernstein seems to be more cautious in this regard; he writes that "works as *Jubilees* or the *Genesis Apocryphon* often present inferential simple sense interpretation to their reader." I agree with Bernstein that this statement concurs with the character of these writings in some instances, but in others they present details that must be considered as *eisegesis* that have no integral association with the relevant biblical texts.

<sup>63</sup> Most scholars agree that *1 Enoch* was originally written in Aramaic, in contrast to Qumran's philosophic/theological writings, which were written exclusively in Hebrew. D. Dimant, "4Q127: An Unknown Jewish Apocryphal Work?" in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 805–813 at 805–806, writes that the Qumran writings in Aramaic "contain mostly narratives and pseudepigraphic visions, lacking the specific features attributable to the literature of the community," and concludes: "these facts strongly emphasize the importance of Hebrew as a vehicle of religious expression at Qumran." In a more recent article, "The Qumran Aramaic Texts and the Qumran Community," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 197–205, she writes: "the Aramaic texts contain nothing of the specifically sectarian terminology or ideology" (199), that no Aramaic texts deals with issues after the flood and the patriarchs (203) and that one should "consider these (Aramaic) texts [found at Qumran] as a specific group" (205). P.E. Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church: The Foundations of Jewish-Christian Dialogue* (trans. E.F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 1, writes: "In the days of Jesus the common language of most Palestinian Jews was Aramaic . . . But Hebrew remained the language of worship, of the Bible, and of religious discourse; in a word, it remained the sacred language well into the period of the early church."

for this type of literature, in contrast with the exclusive use of Hebrew for Qumran's literature, may explain the atypically neutral attitude toward the haggadic writings.

#### DISCUSSION OF FRAADE'S EXAMPLES OF NARRATIVE MIDRASH

##### *Example 1: Blessings and Curses Renewed*

I am doubtful of whether the Qumranic custom of blessings and curses in 1QS I:16–II:19 is at all related to or derived from the scriptural lemma in Deut 28,<sup>64</sup> regarding blessings and curses. The Qumran custom was devised for a specific, limited period, as explicitly stated in the concluding verse II:19, "They shall do as follows annually, all the days of Belial's dominion: the priests shall pass in review." The substance of the curses is distinct from that of those listed in Deuteronomy (the blessings are not mentioned at all in Deuteronomy). The assumption that the ordinance regarding the recitation of the blessings by priests, and that of curses the Levites, is derived from a biblical command is possible, but the source is not necessarily Deuteronomy. Indeed, many duties listed in Qumran literature are meant to be carried out by the priests and Levites, who are given priority status over the Israelites, in conformity with the biblical rules. Even according to Fraade's assumption that there is an association with the Deuteronomic command, the addition of the priests for the blessings, absent in Scripture, can easily be explained according to a simple logical consideration: "if the Levites recite the curses, the priests must recite the blessings," as Fraade himself suggests, again, in compliance with the biblical order of things. Qumran followed the model of Chronicles, which added details missing in Kings.

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<sup>64</sup> Fraade mentions both chapters. However, the public ceremony on the Gerizim and Ebal mountains does not cite the list of the blessings, nor does it mention who recites these (although verse 12 does indicate which tribes stand on Mount Gerizim for the blessings.) The blessings and curses in chap. 28 do not relate to a ceremonial event and certainly have no connection the annual Qumran ceremony.

*Example 2: Revelation Retold:  
Three Days Abstention from Sexual Intercourse*

Qumran's argumentations: אמר, כתוב, אומרים/חושבים present a direct exegetical engagement with biblical passages, contrary to Fraade's assertion. However, this is done in a manner different to that of the rabbis. Expressions cited above, and שתבין בספר מושה, ואף כתוב בספר מושה and the accusation בחוקוהי לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו בחוקוהי affirm that interpretation, not revelation, was the foundation of their halakhot.<sup>65</sup> The required period of three days abstention from sexual intercourse before entering the Temple demonstrates the straightforward logical approach of Qumran versus the rabbinic midrashic complex method. Leviticus 15:16–18 does not indicate the degree of purity one attains the day after intercourse. Deuteronomy 23:11–12 allows entering the undefined camp (מחנה) the next day.<sup>66</sup> Because the Temple is considered the most holy camp,<sup>67</sup> however, it is logical to assume that more than one day's abstention is required prior to entering this holy space. Rabbinic literature reveals inconsistencies in scriptural texts and offers complex solutions.<sup>68</sup> Of course, these speculations regarding Qumran's exegesis are not absolute, and one cannot rule out the fact that Qumran may have understood these biblical commands differently.

<sup>65</sup> See P. Heger, "The Development of Qumran Law—*Nistarot*, *Niglot* and the Issue of 'Contemporization,'" *RevQ* 23 (2007–2008): 167–206 at 178–186.

<sup>66</sup> We read in Lev 15:16: במים את כל בשרו וטמא עד הערב: "When a man has an emission of semen, he must bathe his whole body with water, and he will be unclean till evening." And in Deut 23:12: והיה לפנות ערב ירחץ במים וכבא השמש: "But as evening approaches he is to wash himself, and at sunset he may return to the camp."

<sup>67</sup> We read in 4QMMT<sup>a</sup> (4Q394) 3–7 ii 16–17: שהמקדש משכן אוהל מועד הוא וירושלים הוא: "The Temple is the place of the Tent of Meeting, and Jerusalem is the camp; and outside the camp is outside Jerusalem."

<sup>68</sup> In fact, we read in Exod 19:10–11: "And the Lord said to Moses, Go to the people and consecrate them today and tomorrow. Have them wash their clothes and be ready by the third day, because on that day the Lord will come down on Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people." In v. 15, however, we read: "Then he [i.e. Moses] said to the people, 'Prepare yourselves for the third day. Abstain from sexual relations.'" *Mek.*, Jethro 3 poses the question: "We have not heard that God said to abstain from sexual relations," a question, which the *Mek.* resolves through the use of a *gzerah shavah*: the phrase היו נכונים "be ready" appears in Exod 20:11, at the divine utterance to Moses and in v. 15 at Moses' command to the Israelites. Since there it refers to abstention from intercourse, one may assume a similar meaning here. The weakness of this argument is clear; the abstention appears at Moses' command and is not part of the divine command. There are additional, unconvincing attempts at resolving this issue as well.

## CONCLUSION

Fraade's classification of Qumran writings is based on his familiarity with the rabbinic midrashic interpretive system which he perceives as normative. Thus, he sees the Qumranic style as divergent, and requiring explanation/justification. In analyzing Qumran literature and ideology, however, it is important to remove oneself from any predisposition, and to judge Qumran writings on their own merit.

I eliminated the problematic designation "Rewritten or Paraphrased Bible" through my proposition that we perceive these writings as composed in a "biblicized" language or as mnemonic drafts, prepared by individuals, where the biblical verses became elements of the composition.<sup>69</sup>

*Pesher* writings, originating from the same period, are composed in a style similar to that of the rabbis. But these do not constitute midrash. Instead, these writings are *sui generis* and exclude the speculation of progression, as proposed by Fraade.<sup>70</sup>

As opposed to Fraade's conjecture that the relationship between author and audience is a possible crucial motive for the differences between rabbinic and Qumranic literary style,<sup>71</sup> my proposition perceives the relationship between the interpretation and the original biblical text as the essence of the distinction.

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<sup>69</sup> See Heger, *Cult*, 104–121.

<sup>70</sup> Fraade, "Looking for Narrative Midrash," 63.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON*  
AND THE ARAMAIC *TARGUMIM* REVISITED:  
A VIEW FROM BOTH PERSPECTIVES<sup>1</sup>

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I. INTRODUCTION

Some of the questions that arise from any attempt to juxtapose the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Aramaic versions of the Pentateuch are fairly obvious, and many of those have been discussed since the first publication of the *Apocryphon* in 1956. Others, however, could only be asked after the *Apocryphon* and works related or similar to it from the Second Temple era had been studied, as they have been now, for many years. I shall take the opportunity offered by this presentation to address both types of questions.

When the *Apocryphon* was first presented to the scholarly world by Avigad and Yadin, it appeared to be a very peculiar text: an Aramaic pre- and non-rabbinic document which retold stories from Genesis in a fashion at times similar to the way in which later rabbinic literature would in the genres usually labeled as targum and midrash. Those initial editors of the *Apocryphon*, however, in their introduction to the text and its translation did not focus on its relationship with the later rabbinic targumim. They appropriately, if not always accurately, saw fit to contextualize it within the Second Temple literature to which we are now certain that it belongs, describing it “as a sort of apocryphal version of stories from *Genesis*, faithful, for the most part, to the order of the chapters in Scripture. . . . The work is evidently a literary unit in style and structure, though . . . it may be perhaps be divisible into books—a Book of Lamech, a Book

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to participants in the Vienna conference who responded to the original presentation of this paper and impelled me to rethink and reformulate certain of its details and to Professor Edward M. Cook, Dr. Aaron Koller, and Dr. Shani Tzoref who were kind enough to read and comment on the penultimate draft.

of Enoch, a Book of Noah, a Book of Abraham.”<sup>2</sup> The fact, however, that it was a Bible-oriented work written in Aramaic drew other scholars to search for points of contact with the later targumim, and several articles, beginning at the earliest stages of *Apocryphon* scholarship, have addressed the possible relationship between it and the targumim.<sup>3</sup> To begin this discussion I should like to review some of those early forays into the comparative analysis of the targumim and *Apocryphon* and to show how some of the paths which were followed were not only ultimately unproductive, but also misleading to our proper understanding of this Second Temple era work.

## II. THE EARLY YEARS

The observations that were made of the *Apocryphon* vis-à-vis the later targumim were usually superficial, ranging from the unsurprising fact that certain portions of the *Apocryphon* were closer to the Hebrew text than others, and therefore were more similar in those places to the Aramaic versions, to similarities or differences in the ways that each of them translated the underlying biblical Hebrew text. Thus in what was probably the first article to approach this issue in the very first year

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<sup>2</sup> N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX–XXII* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956), 38.

<sup>3</sup> M.R. Lehmann, “1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim,” *RevQ* 1 (1958–1959): 249–263; G.J. Kuiper, “A Study of the Relationship between ‘A Genesis Apocryphon’ and the Pentateuchal Targumim in Genesis 14<sub>1–12</sub>,” in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; BZAW 103; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968), 149–161; P. Grelot, “De l’Apocryphe de la Genèse’ aux ‘Targoums’: sur Genèse 14,18–20,” in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Cracow: Enigma Press, 1992), 77–90. I have discussed some of the treatments of the assignment of the *Apocryphon* to the targumic genre in “The Genre(s) of the Genesis Apocryphon,” at the International Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran, Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l’Homme, Aix-en-Provence, France, June 30–July 2, 2008. That essay, together with responses to it, has been published in the proceedings of the conference, *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008* (ed. K. Berthelot and D. Stökl Ben Ezra; STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 317–343. Some of my formulations in the early portion of this paper will resemble my remarks in that one. At the same conference, I was the respondent to Thierry Legrand’s paper “Exégèses targumiques et techniques de réécriture dans l’*Apocryphe de la Genèse* (1QapGen ar),” and his paper and my response to it have also appeared in that volume (225–252). In my view, much of Legrand’s discussion can be said to belong to the area of midrash as much as of targum, and this is the focal point of the divergence in our analyses.



of *Revue de Qumran*, Manfred Lehmann observed that even outside of cols. XXI:23–XXII:26, which “are easily recognized for keeping fairly close to the Massoretic text [*sic*] . . . we find shorter or longer passages of literal translations of the Biblical text interwoven in the midrashic portions.”<sup>4</sup> This is doubtless true, and Lehmann’s observation that at times the Aramaic phraseology differs from the Hebrew only by virtue of its having been shifted from the third person biblical narrative to the first person version in the *Apocryphon* was certainly correct. Note, on the other hand, the instinctive dichotomizing of the *Apocryphon* into “targumic” and “midrashic” segments; the generic sophistication and hyper-sophistication which we have developed in discussing the Qumran scrolls and other Second Temple literature over the last half century is of course lacking, so the convenient reference points of those two rabbinic genres, targum and midrash, are taken as the touchstones.<sup>5</sup>

Lehmann, like others after him, moves from this assertion about literal translations in the *Apocryphon* to a claim that the *Genesis Apocryphon* was somehow an ancestor of the later targumim, particularly the Palestinian ones, which are not as strictly limited to rendering the biblical text as is *Onqelos* and which intersperse their translations of the text with midrashic material. A half century ago, in the very childhood of Qumran scholarship, some analogies were too strong to resist and some of the flaws in this analysis may not have been as obvious as they appear to be to us today.

Shortly after Lehmann’s article appeared, Matthew Black explicitly questioned Avigad and Yadin’s characterization, wondering “whether, in fact, this is an adequate or even correct description of the character of this old Aramaic text,” and suggesting that “too much stress on the apocryphal

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<sup>4</sup> Lehmann, “1Q Genesis Apocryphon,” 252.

<sup>5</sup> This view was not limited to the literature in scholarly journals. André Dupont-Sommer, in one of the standard early translations of the Scrolls, in the edition that appeared after the *Apocryphon* had been published (and after Lehmann’s article), remarks on the material in the *Apocryphon* parallel to Gen 14 (*The Essene Writings from Qumran* [trans. G. Vermes; Oxford: Blackwell, 1961], 291 n. 2):

[T]he story in the *Genesis Apocryphon* is even told in the third person as in the Bible, and no longer in the first person singular as in the preceding sections. *In fact the additions and modifications are so relatively insignificant that it may almost be regarded as a simple paraphrase of the biblical text in the targumic manner* [my emphasis, M.J.B.]. Chapter xiv of Genesis is generally thought to be an interpolation of fairly recent date and already midrashic in style; the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* saw no need to add new midrashic development to this ancient midrash.

character of the scroll may have the effect of obscuring or even misrepresenting its essential nature.”<sup>6</sup> Black suggests that this Aramaic document might be “an early specimen of a written Aramaic Pentateuch Targum from Palestine, perhaps a prototype and forerunner of the old Palestinian Targum . . . and of the so-called Fragment Targum.”<sup>7</sup> But within a few pages, the tentative hypothesis becomes an assertion that “like any other Targum text, the Aramaic translation is simply following the sections of Scripture in their canonical order.”<sup>8</sup> Black’s surprising (to us) conclusion is “The new scroll is almost certainly our oldest written Palestinian Pentateuch Targum.”<sup>9</sup>

The next decade did not bring major progress in this area, as not only were the views expressed by Lehmann not corrected, but they were taken even further and sometimes with a greater sense of certitude. Gerald Kuiper, in his “A study of the relationship between ‘A Genesis Apocryphon’ and the Pentateuchal Targumim in Genesis 14<sub>1-12</sub>,” sets out to test Black’s conclusion.<sup>10</sup> After comparing the targumim of the first portion of Gen 14 with each other, and establishing some “working hypotheses” regarding their interrelationships (hypotheses, incidentally, which would probably not be acceptable in current targumic scholarship either), he turns to the *Apocryphon* and writes,

In G[enesis] A[pocryphon], as in the tgg, the Aram. paraphrase follows the Hebr. verse by verse, though this is most marked in columns XXI and XXII, and contains verses-proper and free midrashic additions. . . . In the verses-proper there is agreement in GA with all the Pal. tgg as well as with the Hebrew text. The agreement with one tg is particularly marked with N[eofiti], but is also found with P[seudo-][Jonathan].<sup>11</sup>

These so-called “agreements” are, on the whole, extremely superficial and are of the sort that might be expected among any group of translations or

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<sup>6</sup> M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 193.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, attributing this idea to Paul Kahle.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. We should note that the evidence for the targumic nature of the scroll derives almost entirely from the Abram material, especially col. XXII, which is much closer to the biblical text than the material in col. II, the only other one published at that time.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 198. Some years later, Black changed his mind about the generic identification, writing of the *Apocryphon*, “The new Aramaic document is a kind of *midrash* on Gen. xii and xiv” (*An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* [3rd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1966], 40).

<sup>10</sup> Kuiper, 149. On p. 155, he quotes Black as calling attention to the agreement of the *Apocryphon* “with the pre-Onkelos Palestinian Pentateuchal Targum.”

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

paraphrases of the same Hebrew material into Aramaic. Kuiper's remark, "As is the case in all tgg, GA occasionally follows literally the Hebrew text. Thus there is every indication of accord between GA and the Pal. tgg in the verses-proper,"<sup>12</sup> demonstrates quite overtly his presumption that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is a targum. The same observation, however, regarding such accord between the *Apocryphon* and the later Aramaic versions may enable us to understand how the *Apocryphon* is operating if we make the opposite assumption, namely that it is *not* a targum. The unique readings in the *Apocryphon* that do not coincide with any of the known Aramaic versions of Genesis are explained by Kuiper as being "characteristic of independently and freely developing tgg."<sup>13</sup> In other words, the identical passages indicate the *Apocryphon's* dependence on earlier versions, or at least traditions, while the divergent ones are also a feature of targumic composition. Somehow this just does not seem right.

Kuiper describes the *Genesis Apocryphon* further, once again in terms that highlight its asserted identification as a targum in non-specific generalities:

In GA, as in the Pal. tgg, we find midrashic additions. Among the shorter additions some agree with the tgg, and others have affinities to Palestinian traditions as has been noted in the discussion of the unique renderings. GA also includes unique, longer additions, another characteristic of the Pal. tgg. In the presentation of midrashic additions, some of which coincide with those in the Pal. tgg, while others are unique and often reflect likeness to Palestinian traditions, the nature of GA is revealed as the same as that of the Pal. Pent. Tg tradition.<sup>14</sup>

In this characterization, the attempt to encompass all of the *Genesis Apocryphon* under the rubric of "targum" requires that the very lengthy, non-biblical narratives that it contains be forcibly squeezed into the same category as the occasionally substantial, but never very lengthy, midrashic pluses which are found in the Palestinian targumim. They are simply not of the same order of magnitude.

It is perhaps unfair to reach back forty and fifty years to set up a straw man just to knock it down. I am doing it, however, not to denigrate the scholarship of that era, but rather to establish a framework for my ensuing analysis. And I therefore conclude this opening portion of my paper with Kuiper's conclusion, one which is far from proven in my view:

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 155–156.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 156–157.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

It is clear that GA is a targumic text. Following the Hebr. text, the Aram. translation inserts midrashic material. It parallels the free translation of the Pal. tgg and is unlike the literal translation of O[nqelos]. . . . Our conclusion is the tentative thesis that GA is a unique recension of the Pal. Pent. Tg tradition, to be placed next to those of PJ, N, C[airo] G[eniza], Pa[ris], and Vat[ican]-L[e]ips[ig]-Nor[emberg]-Bom[berg]; that this recension is related to N; and that it, as well as the other Pal. Pent. tgg, lies behind the authoritative translation of O.<sup>15</sup>

We are now told that the *Apocryphon* is actually a recension, a witness to the targumic translation and interpretive traditions which should be juxtaposed to those of the later surviving targumim, and, even beyond that, that it is related to *Targum Neofiti*, whose manuscript, we should recall, dates to the early sixteenth century! We observe that the flaws in the methodologies of both Lehmann and Kuiper have to do not just with their inaccurate preconceptions of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but probably their misevaluations of the Aramaic versions as well. In the 1950s and 1960s there were many prevalent theories regarding the history and interrelationships of the targumim that we have had to unlearn since then as well.

### III. THE CURRENT STATE OF THE QUESTION

Suffice it to say that these early exaggerated conclusions regarding the *Genesis Apocryphon* and its potential connection to the Aramaic versions have, on the whole, fallen by the wayside. But the ways in which we think about that theoretical link have not. If we examine, for example, the currently regnant edition of the *Apocryphon*, the third edition of the outstanding commentary by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, there are two features which attempt to present the data relevant to studying that connection. First, Fitzmyer presents a far more sober discussion of “The Genesis Apocryphon and the Classical Targums” in the introduction to the edition,<sup>16</sup> and second, in his translation he italicizes all text which he deems to be Aramaic translation of the biblical Hebrew text of Genesis. Although these techniques are both fundamentally mechanical in nature, and the second is occasionally debatable, they present the student of the *Apocryphon* with raw data for analysis.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 160–161.

<sup>16</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd ed.; BibOr 18/B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 38–45.

Fitzmyer presents a detailed list of passages “where one finds what may be regarded as an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew text of Genesis, or at least parts of it,”<sup>17</sup> being careful to distinguish between translation and what he calls “allusion.” In any retelling of the biblical story, language is likely to be used that can be seen as “alluding to” or reflecting the biblical version. He then follows with an even more elaborate comparative chart of the language of all the Aramaic versions and the *Apocryphon* in those passages.<sup>18</sup> Fitzmyer moves directly from this chart to his conclusion:

When one surveys the above data, it is evident that the *Genesis Apocryphon*, though a literal translation of the Hebrew text in places or in isolated phrases, is more frequently a paraphrase of the biblical text. The phrases that are literally translated are incorporated into its own expanded account. Therefore it cannot be regarded simply as a targum. In its use of Genesis, it is farthest removed from the literal character of *Tg. Onqelos*, and its paraphrase resembles some of the midrashic insertions in *Tg.Ps.-Jonathan*. . . . [S]ome of the translations and interpretations of the Genesis text found in it are at the root of interpretations given in the later targums. Nevertheless, there is no way to prove this, since no direct literal dependence of the targums on the *Genesis Apocryphon* can be shown.<sup>19</sup>

Although in his care and unwillingness to go beyond where the data take him, Fitzmyer is light-years beyond the somewhat careless methodology of Lehmann and Kuiper, we may ask whether on a certain level his technique and the questions that he is asking of the text in this area have progressed very far beyond those of the earlier generation.<sup>20</sup> We are still lining up Aramaic words against Aramaic words and trying to discern whether there are any patterns of replication or imitation which could lead us to the conclusions that were asserted, although unproven, by scholars such as Lehmann and Kuiper. We are asking the questions and giving the answers from the perspective of the Aramaic targumim, and not from the perspective of the *Apocryphon*. For example, “its paraphrase resembles some of the midrashic insertions in *Tg.Ps.-Jonathan*.” Why not

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 40–43.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>20</sup> To be sure, Fitzmyer (*ibid.*, 43–45) follows his above-cited remarks with brief observations meant to show that the *Apocryphon* belongs to an earlier stage of translation style than do the rabbinic targumim, noting such features in the *Apocryphon* as greater literality in certain instances; the absence of ית to render Hebrew אֵת; the use of construct chains rather than -ך; and the absence of “buffer” terms like מִימְרָא when referring to God. But all of these are comparatively unsurprising and do not advance our understanding of the fundamental ways in which the *Apocryphon* and the targumim are, or are not, alike.

“some of the midrashic insertions in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* resemble those in the *Apocryphon*”?

And it should be noted that, despite the work of Fitzmyer and others in clarifying the nature of the *Apocryphon*'s genre as non-targumic, Grelot could still write in 1992, admittedly far more cautiously than Lehmann and Kuiper, “On pourrait donc soutenir qu'à partir de cet endroit, l'auteur final a collecté de véritables passages targumiques, du moins pendant un certain temps (on a le début de Gen 15).”<sup>21</sup> His notion of a “final author” for the *Apocryphon* is one with which, as will be seen, I am in agreement. But I am less certain about the collection of targumic passages. He concludes, having focused in his discussion on a few verses from Genesis whose version is found in col. XXII of the *Apocryphon*:

Dans les versets examinés ici, l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse* se présente comme un véritable *Targoum*: il ne transpose pas les récits en faisant d'eux des documents autobiographiques. Mais on remarque au passage que les variants introduites dans le texte primitif et les minimes additions qu'on y relève ne dépassent pas [88] la manière d'agir du T[argoum] J[onathan], dans toutes ses variantes. On peut en induire que la pratique du *Targoum*, en marge de la lecture synagogale de l'Écriture, existait déjà au temps où le texte araméen de Gen 14–15 a été collationné pour prendre place dans l'ensemble du livre.<sup>22</sup>

Although arguing more subtly than his predecessors, Grelot fundamentally asserts on the basis of the presence of the translation of the Hebrew verses into the Aramaic of the *Apocryphon* that there were already targumim in existence when the *Apocryphon* was put into its final form.<sup>23</sup> Why need the presence of Hebrew verses rendered into Aramaic demonstrate the existence of whole targumim?<sup>24</sup> Why should we not rather allow for

<sup>21</sup> Grelot, “De l'‘Apocryphe de la Genèse’ aux ‘Targoums,’” 77.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 87–88.

<sup>23</sup> J.E. Miller, “The Redaction of Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon,” *JSP* 8 (1991): 53–61 (56), makes a similar claim, asserting, “The only non-pseudepigraphic section on [sic] the scroll is the later part of the Abram section, which may be thought of as targum, and probably derived from a targum available to the redactor” [emphasis mine, M.J.B.]. He observes further, *ibid.* n. 6, that only Dupont-Sommer (above n. 5) “recognizes the third person narrative as targumic.”

<sup>24</sup> I am not asserting that there were no complete or partial targumim of the Pentateuch in circulation prior to the period when the *Apocryphon* was written, only that the contents of the *Apocryphon* cannot prove their existence or non-existence one way or the other. The overall evidence of the Qumran corpus for the existence of such targumim is also negligible in my view, despite the substantial remains of 11QtgJob. Furthermore, while it is quite reasonable to presume that oral traditions of interpretation and translation

the possibility that the author of the *Apocryphon* translated Hebrew into Aramaic wherever he chose to employ the language of the biblical text in his Aramaic narrative?

#### IV. REFORMULATING THE ISSUE IN LIGHT OF RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

I think that if we accept Fitzmyer's broad conclusions, as I believe we should, any meaningful discussion of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Aramaic targumim must begin with a different set of questions and operate from a very different vantage point from the one taken in the past if we are going to be able to learn anything new. In the remainder of this paper, I shall lay out some methodological reflections, preliminary observations, and suggestions for further investigation. The first one is that we should begin with the *Apocryphon*; I believe that one of the initial flaws in Lehmann's original study is manifest in the title—"The Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim"—rather than targumim and midrashim in light of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. The historical sequence must be a significant factor in our analysis.

It is also clear that when we examine the *Apocryphon* for passages that translate, rather than paraphrase or summarize, the text of the Hebrew Bible, we find far more in the second, Abram segment (Part II), cols. XIX–XXII, than we do in the Lamech-Noah segment, cols. 0–XVII (what I shall refer to as Part I).<sup>25</sup> Even if we include passages where the biblical narrative has been changed from third person to first in keeping with the narrative style of most of the *Apocryphon*, there are far fewer examples of *translated biblical text* in Part I of the *Apocryphon* than in Part II. This is one of several ways in which Part I and Part II differ, and which demonstrate, in my view, that they derive from different sources, a position that I have addressed in a recent article.<sup>26</sup> They are probably also

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in Aramaic existed in this era, to think of them as "targumim" would probably be an historically misleading methodological error.

<sup>25</sup> The rather unusual designation col. 0 is employed for the fragments of the first extant column of the *Apocryphon* based on the arrangement of the pieces of 1Q20 which extend to the right of what had been referred to as col. I since the initial publication. The term, which has been adopted by all current students of the *Apocryphon*, was suggested by Michael Wise and Bruce Zuckerman when they presented this data at the 1991 SBL Annual Meeting in Kansas City.

<sup>26</sup> "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *JBL* 128

of somewhat different genres, a fact that raises further generic questions about the *Apocryphon* as a whole which I dealt with at the conference on Aramaic texts from Qumran at Aix-en-Provence in July 2008.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, Part I of the *Apocryphon* can be characterized, on the whole, as very loosely attached to the biblical text, beyond the presence or absence of literally translated stories. If we align the biblical narrative with that of the *Apocryphon*, there is very little in the surviving, very fragmentary material of cols. 0–XVII that can be matched closely with the biblical text: virtually none of cols. 0–V, for example, where the story, as far as we can tell, involves the Watchers, the birth of Noah, and predictions of the future destruction of the earth that are made to Enoch and, through him, to Methuselah and Lamech, can be said to match the biblical text.<sup>28</sup> It is thus not very “targumic.” There are a few passing points of contact with the biblical text in Noah’s self-introduction in col. VI, but nothing really recognizable as translation other than perhaps VI:23 וַיֹּאמֶר [ואש] כַּחַת אֲנִי נֹחַ חֵן רַבּוֹ וְקוֹשֵׁט וַיֹּאמֶר ה' מִצָּא חֵן בְּעֵינֵי ה' transformed into first person speech.<sup>29</sup> Only after the story of the flood are there a few close parallels to what we might call targumic versions of the Hebrew.<sup>30</sup> The absence of the systematic employment of translated biblical material makes it less likely that what seems at first glance to be biblical text should be treated as such.

Part II of the *Apocryphon* is, as a narrative, more tightly bound to the biblical text than Part I, and this is true even for Abram’s first person narrative, cols. XIX–XXI:23, before the story begins to be told in the third person. It is very clear that Part II is not of the same nature as Part I in this regard and that it is the fact that Part II is closer to the

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(2009): 291–310. I endeavor to show there that the two parts of the *Apocryphon* refer to God by two almost completely discrete sets of epithets, a feature that I believe points in the same direction as the observations about closeness to the biblical text and translations of biblical passages.

<sup>27</sup> “The Genre(s) of the Genesis Apocryphon,” (above, n. 3).

<sup>28</sup> My own preferred terminology is to refer to this type of material as “parabiblical,” and not to use the overworked term “rewritten Bible” for it. Some of the remarks that I made in “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?” *Text 22* (2005): 169–196 regarding “rewritten Bible,” as well as on the *Genesis Apocryphon* as belonging to that category, will have to be reworked in light of my recent work on the *Apocryphon*, including the paper on its genre(s) referred to in n. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 149, calls this a “reflection,” while the echoes of Gen 6:9 in VI:6 he refers to as an “allusion.”

<sup>30</sup> Language in that segment of Part I of the *Apocryphon* that clearly reflects the underlying biblical text is virtually limited to the following: X:12 (Gen 8:4), XI:17 (Gen 9:2–4), XII:1 (Gen 9:13), XII:10–12 (Gen 10:22, 6, 2).



biblical text than Part I that gives the impression that there is something “targumic” about it. Since I am in agreement with Fitzmyer that there is no evidence for formal Aramaic translations prior to the *Apocryphon*, I should like to offer an hypothesis to explain the targum-like features of Part II without resorting to the presumptions that the author or composer of that material had targumim in front of him, in oral or written form, from which he drew the “translations” in the text.

I believe that the answer to the questions posed by this “pseudo-targumic” material lies indirectly in the issue of the genre of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Vermes included in his narrow definition of “rewritten Bible,” one with which I happen to be in strong sympathy, works in which “the midrashist inserts haggadic development into the biblical narrative—an exegetical process which is probably as ancient as scriptural interpretation itself.” His list includes “the Palestinian Targum and Jewish Antiquities, Ps.-Philo and Jubilees, and the . . . Genesis Apocryphon.”<sup>31</sup> Putting aside the ones for which we do not have any Semitic original extant, we are left with the Palestinian targumim, *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon*. Generically, it must be admitted that the Palestinian targumim differ radically from *Jubilees* and the *Apocryphon*, to the degree that I believe virtually all scholars in subsequent discussions of “rewritten Bible” omit those Aramaic versions from the list, because of the radical divergence between the formal shape of the targumim from that of all other works which are called “rewritten Bible.”<sup>32</sup>

The targumim, like the other ancient versions, are translations of the Hebrew text, in almost all circumstances bound to the shape and language of the Hebrew text regardless of whatever other material they may add to it. That is why it is clear to me that the *Genesis Apocryphon* cannot be a targum. And if we did not have the Aramaic targumim as a later model with which to confuse the translation material found in the *Apocryphon*, we should have understood the role of those “translation passages” in it much more readily because we might then have compared it to the other “rewritten Bible” of which we have some Hebrew remains, *Jubilees*. And we might have succeeded in doing so even without the

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<sup>31</sup> G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2nd ed.; StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 95.

<sup>32</sup> The one exception of which I am aware (although there may be others) is G.J. Brooke, who, in the last sentence of the entry “Rewritten Bible” in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:777–781 (780b), writes “Once both the form and the content of the biblical books were fixed in Hebrew, ‘rewritten Bible’ continued only in the Targums.”

Hebrew fragments of *Jubilees*. I suggest that as an experiment you go through your text of *Jubilees*, in whatever language you prefer to read it, and mark off the passages that are more or less the equivalents of biblical verses.<sup>33</sup> I do not believe that it matters whether they are precise citations or close paraphrases. Their presence is indubitable. You will see that one of the techniques of the author of *Jubilees* is to use texts from the Hebrew Bible as part of his narrative and often to expand them or interrupt them with non-biblical material.

In a similar fashion, the introduction of biblical texts into a rewritten Bible like the *Apocryphon* probably has nothing to do with its being written in Aramaic or with the targumim, but is likely to be a consequence of the way the authors of rewritten Bible composed. If the *Genesis Apocryphon* had been composed in Hebrew, I suspect, we should not have been surprised by the presence in its retelling of Part II (which, incidentally, shares more of certain features with *Jubilees* than does Part I) of biblical texts which have been integrated into the narrative. When we read the *Apocryphon* in Aramaic and come across biblical verses, we need to concentrate on the fact that they are *biblical verses* and not be misled by the fact that they are *biblical verses in Aramaic* into thinking that we are reading an Aramaic translation of the Bible, a targum.<sup>34</sup>

#### V. THE EMPLOYMENT OF BIBLICAL TEXTS IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE *APOCRYPHON*

There is one further issue about the use of biblical texts in the *Apocryphon* that I should like to address, and that is the compositional use of biblical material that does not derive from the immediate context of the narrative,

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<sup>33</sup> The same kind of experiment can also be done with the Latin text of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* in which biblical texts are occasionally employed as part of the narrative. To the best of my knowledge, no one has suggested that it ought to be characterized as a "targum." And in fact, H. Jacobson, the editor of the most recent comprehensive text and commentary of pseudo-Philo, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: With Latin Text and English Translation* (2 vols.; AGAJU 31; Leiden: Brill, 1996) approached the issue "biblical quotations" in the work in just such a fashion in "Biblical Quotation and Editorial Function in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *JSP* 5 (1989): 47-64.

<sup>34</sup> See "Appendix: Further Reflections Beyond Vienna," at the end of this essay for further ramifications of this point.

but material that we might describe as “targumic” nonetheless.<sup>35</sup> How has the style or idiom of the author been affected by his knowledge of the Hebrew Bible? I should like to make it clear that I am not the discoverer of this phenomenon, but I do not believe that there has been any previous significant discussion of it. Fitzmyer alludes to some of the passages that I shall mention in his commentary, but does not italicize them in his translation because they do not derive from the Genesis material that is the fundamental framework of the *Apocryphon*. I am not certain that broad conclusions can be drawn from them, but preliminary observations should be made.

In Noah’s description of the offerings which he made before leaving the ark in 1QapGen X, the language of line 15 “I poured their blood on the base of the altar” reflects the language of Lev 4:7 and elsewhere (although it pertains in Leviticus to sin-offerings and Noah’s sacrifices here are completely immolated). His words “I placed on it *fine wheat flour mixed with oil* together with incense for a meal-offering” are a close echo of Lev 14:21. Either the author is consciously resorting to the legal language of Leviticus to describe Noah’s actions or, permeated with knowledge of the Bible, he is citing those texts unconsciously. Likewise, at XI:16–17 where God permits Noah to eat flesh as well as the produce of the earth, the *Apocryphon* “renders” Gen 9:3 כל רמש אשר הוא חי לכם יהיה לאכלה הא אנה [י]הב לך ולבניך כולא למאכל בירקא, with כירק עשב נתתי לכם את כל אך 9:4 ועשב די ארעא.<sup>36</sup> But then instead of proceeding to translate Gen 9:4 בשר בנפשו דמו לא תאכלו (“You must not eat flesh with its life-blood in it”), it appears to introduce instead the Aramaic equivalent of Lev 3:17 וכל דם לא תאכלו, “You may not eat any blood,” since the *Apocryphon*’s formulation has the word “all” but no reference to flesh or life. It is not clear what might have impelled him to draw material from a legislative passage in Leviticus rather than a virtually identical one immediately at hand.

In 1QapGen XI:11, Noah declares that he went out (presumably from the ark) and “walked upon the earth, by its length and by its breadth,” perhaps in response to a divine command for him to do so that does not

<sup>35</sup> Jacobson, “Biblical Quotation and Editorial Function,” discusses the same phenomenon in Pseudo-Philo.

<sup>36</sup> Because of the biblical language underlying the Aramaic, I should strongly prefer the reading כירקא, rather than בירקא that is usually read, but Daniel Machiela, who reviewed the photographs carefully in response to my query, has insisted that בירקא must be read. I still find the sentence difficult to translate with that reading.

survive in the remains of the manuscript. A few lines later, in XI:15, God appears to Noah and says *אל תדחל יא נוה עמך אנה ועם בניך די להון כואתך* (“Do not fear, O Noah, I am with you and with your sons who will be like you forever”). Both of these passages are virtual replications of material referring to Abram later in Genesis, 13:17 “Arise and walk through the land by its length and by its breadth”<sup>37</sup> and 15:1 “Do not fear, O Abram; I am your shield.” The latter passage, indeed, actually appears, with an expansion that we might label as targumic, in the Aramaic of the *Apocryphon* at XXII:30–31 *אל תדחל אנה עמך*, “Do not fear; I am with you and I shall be for you support and strength, and I am a shield over you and your buckler against anyone stronger than you.” As I have suggested elsewhere, in both of these cases, the employment of the language of the Abram material in a Noah context is part of an effort to include Noah as another “patriarch” in the chain of tradition.<sup>38</sup>

These first examples derive from Part I of the *Apocryphon* which is less closely linked to the biblical text than is Part II. But in Part II as well, for all its closeness to the Hebrew Bible of Gen 12–15, the narrator employs biblical language borrowed from other passages in the Pentateuch. Where the Hebrew of Gen 12:10 *ויהי רעב בארץ* has no definite article on the word for “famine,” and lacks the word “all,” the *Apocryphon* at XIX:10 *והוה כפנא בארעא דא כולא* has “the famine was in this whole land,” and is likely to be based on Gen 41:57 *כי חזק הרעב בכל הארץ*, “for the famine was severe in the whole land,” which has both of those features. The fact that the continuation of that line in the *Apocryphon* employs the idiom of the Joseph narrative, Gen 42:2 *הנה שמעתי כי יש שבר במצרים*, in its rewriting, *ושמעתי דעבורא הוא במצריין*, “I heard that there was grain in Egypt,” makes the first association a bit more plausible. These could very well be the sorts of “unconscious harmonization” of which I have written

<sup>37</sup> In the Noah passage, *ארעא* probably means “earth,” while in the Abram one it means “land.”

<sup>38</sup> “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39–63 (60–61). For other allusions to Noah in patriarchal contexts, cf. my “Noah and the Flood at Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 199–231 (220–221).

elsewhere rather than conscious efforts at analogizing the sections, but, whatever we call them, they occur because the author of the *Apocryphon* knew his Hebrew Bible very well.<sup>39</sup>

The scene between Sarai and Pharaoh contains several instances of language deriving from other pentateuchal passages. When the *Apocryphon*, XX:17, adds to Gen 12 the very significant remark *וְלֹא יָכַל לְמַקְרֹב בָּהּ* (“[Pharaoh] was unable to touch her”), it is using the language of Gen 20:4 *וְאֲבִימֶלֶךְ לֹא קָרַב אֵלֶיהָ* (“Abimelech did not approach her,”<sup>40</sup> whereas the words *וְאֵף לֹא יָדָעָהּ* (“and he knew her not”) are just the sort of supplement that we should have called targumic if we were looking at the *Apocryphon* from the vantage point of the targumim. The purpose of its introduction is very likely to fill the gap in the biblical narrative which does not furnish the information, crucial to the later Jewish reader, that Sarai remained untouched by Pharaoh, and the language perhaps underscores a connection between the two stories of her abduction. The author of the *Apocryphon* likewise creates a further point of contact between those stories when Lot’s command to Hirqanosh to tell the king to send Sarai back to her husband, “and he will pray for him and he will live” (XX:23) is modeled on the Abimelech narrative, Gen 20:7 “and let him pray for you and live.”

Pharaoh’s summons to his various wise men and magicians to cure him (XX:18–19) has “he sent and called all the Egyptian wise men and all the magicians with all the doctors of Egypt” and is thus probably not modeled only on Exod 7:11 “Pharaoh called the wise men and magicians,” but on Gen 41:8 as well, “He sent and called all the magicians of Egypt and all its wise men.” And the inability of those practitioners to help is formulated in language that is very close to that of Exod 9:11 *וְלֹא יָכְלוּ הַחֲרָטְמִים לְעִמּוּד לְפָנֵי מֹשֶׁה מִפְּנֵי הַשַּׁחִין כִּי הָיָה הַשַּׁחִין בַּחֲרָטְמִים וּבְכָל מִצְרַיִם* (“The magicians were unable to stand before Moses because of the boils, for the boils were upon the magicians and all Egypt”). The *Apocryphon* writes, XX:20 “The doctors and magicians and all the wise men were unable to stand to cure him because the spirit was plaguing all of them and they fled.” Here I suspect a more conscious modeling or

<sup>39</sup> “Re-Arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57.

<sup>40</sup> Professor Cook pointed out correctly that *קָרַב בּ* in Aramaic must be translated “touch,” rather than “approach.” It is thus very interesting that the *Apocryphon* has successfully “conflated” in its rewriting both Gen 20:4 *וְאֲבִימֶלֶךְ לֹא קָרַב אֵלֶיהָ* and Gen 20:6 *וְאֵף לֹא יָדָעָהּ*, the former in root, and the latter in meaning.



Let me begin with a description of *Pseudo-Jonathan* by one of its foremost students, Avigdor Shinan. In the conclusion of his 1992 book on that targum, he suggests that “its base is undoubtedly a targumic text, but in its present form it is already a different composition.”<sup>42</sup> Denying that *Pseudo-Jonathan* should be classified as a midrash, he sees *Pseudo-Jonathan* as resembling, in its literary form, *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer*, and would assign both of them to the initial stages of the revival of the genre “rewritten Bible” after the decline of classical haggadah.<sup>43</sup> He classifies *Pseudo-Jonathan* as “a former targum that is striving to become an Aramaic composition of ‘rewritten Bible’”; whose author made “a pioneering and incomplete attempt at writing” such a composition “based on a text of a targum.”<sup>44</sup> The movement, according to Shinan, is therefore from a targumic text to something more akin to “rewritten Bible.” In this historical scenario, we should not realistically think of a connection between the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Palestinian targumim since the movement of the latter toward the rewritten Bible genre takes place long after the *Apocryphon* and similar works from the Second Temple era are gone and forgotten.

My own suggestion, offered somewhat hesitantly, is that we should think about the possible relationship between a targum like *Pseudo-Jonathan* and the rewritten Bible form of the Second Temple period in an almost inverted fashion. Might the appearance of rewritten Bible in targumic form be explained, in part, by a connection between some Second Temple rewritten Bible texts and the Aramaic versions at an early stage of the Palestinian targumim? Might not the authors of some of the Palestinian targumim in the formative stages of their development, have modified the approach of the rewritten Bibles and adapted and shaped them to the targumic form, bound more tightly to the biblical verse than any of the earlier representatives of the rewritten Bible genre were? Rather than including the Palestinian targumim, especially the late *Pseudo-Jonathan*, among the other examples of rewritten Bible as Vermes did,<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> A. Shinan, *The Embroidered Targum: The Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 199 (Hebrew).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 200–201. Shinan thinks that both of these works are struggling to become full-fledged “rewritten Bible,” with *Pirque R. El.* still maintaining midrashic style somewhat, while *Tg. Ps.-J.* obviously has the constraints of the targumic form.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>45</sup> For the dating of *Tg. Ps.-J.*, cf. any of the standard accounts, e.g., P.S. Alexander, “Targum, Targumim,” *ABD* 6:320–331 (322–323); idem, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Scripture,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in*

or suggesting that *Pseudo-Jonathan* marks an effort to return to the “rewritten Bible” form, as Shinan did, can we consider them, rather, as descendants of those Second Temple texts, albeit modified by the constraints of the targumic form, the shape of the biblical verse? This hypothetical construct would demand that the *Pseudo-Jonathan* or one of its ancestors had some now lost antecedent that was itself linked somehow to the Second Temple era. In suggesting such an approach, I have thus, ironically, returned to a position asserted by Lehmann regarding a genetic relationship between the *Apocryphon* and the targumim, but one that resembles his only in a formal sense. As indicated above, I offer this suggestion to scholars of both Second Temple literature and targum for further consideration with a good deal of hesitation.

## VII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, then, what have we shown in this discussion of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Aramaic targumim?

1. We have suggested that the way in which questions have been formulated regarding the potential relationship of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the targumim has not been the most productive;
2. confirming Fitzmyer’s verdict that the *Apocryphon* is certainly not a targum, we have suggested an alternative way of approaching the question of why there are biblical verses in Aramaic in the *Apocryphon*;
3. we have shown that the narrative technique of the composer(s) of the *Apocryphon* involved the employment of citations or paraphrases of biblical texts not deriving from his immediate context, and that sometimes the employment of those texts may be considered merely stylistic, while at other times they function to draw attention to the analogous circumstances of the various biblical stories;
4. we have suggested, very tentatively, that if we examine the material in historical perspective, the *Apocryphon* (or other Second Temple works of the same genre) might be said to have served as a model for certain features of the Palestinian Aramaic targumim.



## VIII. APPENDIX: FURTHER REFLECTIONS BEYOND VIENNA

During the more than a year and a half since the presentation of the oral version of this paper, my ongoing research into the *Apocryphon* has taken me in a direction that I believe has ramifications, perhaps supplementary and perhaps contradictory, for some of the conclusions that I reached in this paper when I delivered it in Vienna. I have suggested that in addition to the ways that the *Genesis Apocryphon* has been approached in the past, it is also productive to analyze it as a literary entity (almost) independent of its relationship to the Hebrew Bible. Although my work along those lines is still in its incipient stages,<sup>46</sup> I should like to sketch some of the implications that such an approach to the *Apocryphon* might have for the questions discussed above regarding its possible relationship to Aramaic targumim.

Two things have become clear to me in the course of this analysis: first, our predisposition to the assignments of generic rubrics is intimately tied up with the goals of our study in any particular case; and second, and perhaps more paradoxical, we may be able to assign the same works productively to different genres without violating literary and academic canons. Thus my earlier work on the *Genesis Apocryphon*, including the body of this essay, always studied it from the perspective of its connection to the Hebrew Bible, engaging such issues as whether the more appropriate term to employ in discussing its genre is “rewritten Bible” or “parabiblical,” and discovering that the attempt to assign a definitive generic designation to it could be stymied, as I was in my Aix-en-Provence paper.<sup>47</sup> My studies of its interpretive techniques and the ways in which the *Apocryphon* responds to exegetical stimuli in the biblical text likewise grew from treating the *Apocryphon* as one of Vermes’s paradigmatic examples of “rewritten Bible.” There is little doubt in my mind that this approach to the *Apocryphon* is both valid and valuable, and to ignore it is to turn a blind eye to some of the most prominent aspects, and perhaps even goals, of the text. It should furthermore also be clear that those somewhat primitive early generic discussions of “is the *Apocryphon* targum or

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<sup>46</sup> I made my initial foray in a paper entitled “Narrator and Narrative in the Genesis Apocryphon” at the Fifteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, Israel in August 2009, and continued with “Genre Just Gets in the Way Anyway: Reading the Genesis Apocryphon Multigenetically,” at the SBL Annual Meeting, Atlanta, 20–23 November 2010, and “The Narrative of the *Genesis Apocryphon*: Between Exegesis and Story,” at the Association for Jewish Studies Annual Conference, Boston, 19–21 December 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Above, n. 3.

midrash?,” although they have been less productive than the search for the exegetical methodology of the *Apocryphon*, belong to the same basic way of thinking about the text as well, emphasizing the ways in which its relationship to the Hebrew Bible resembles one or the other of the two later rabbinic genres of biblical interpretation.

If, however, we adopt a generic analysis that views the *Apocryphon* as an independent work that happens to stand on a biblical foundation, but without focusing on how close its connection is to the Bible, then the question of the snippets of “biblical text” employed by the author cannot have the same impact on our discussion that they have had when we read the *Apocryphon* as “rewritten Bible,” and our analysis must be more judicious as a result. From the standpoint of the storyteller, sometimes the employment of “biblical” language may be important to the way he tells the story, but at other times there may be much less significance in the fact that he borrows the language of the Bible in telling his tale. In the latter instances it is the writer’s intimate knowledge of the biblical text that enables him to employ it in the presentation of the narrative without any particular goal in mind. In such instances, the scriptural language is thus not necessarily privileged in any way by the narrator; its scriptural nature is often a coincidental, rather than a meaning-laden, phenomenon. Such a perspective on the *Apocryphon* moves it even further away from being considered as something related to the Aramaic targumim. And we can now make this assertion not only for texts which derive from other locations in the Pentateuch, as I suggested earlier, but even for the biblical text that underlies the story that the *Apocryphon* tells.

From this perspective, focusing on the story rather than its biblical connection, we have to be careful in the way that we characterize the seeming intertextualities created by the language used by the author of the *Apocryphon*, because they derive their significance primarily from the relationship of the *Apocryphon* to the Hebrew Bible. I am not suggesting that if the *Apocryphon* is an “independent” literary work then it cannot contain any significant intertextualities, but that we have to be wary of claiming that all of the echoes of biblical language must be intentional and significant. If one of the primary goals of the final author was to present a narrative that edified, engaged, or entertained, then even some of the apparent exegesis reflected in the *Apocryphon* may be coincidental. On the other hand, since the *Apocryphon* is clearly composed of sources, it is possible, and even likely, that some of the intertextualities that we notice may be the responsibility of the authors of those sources and not of the final hand of the work. And finally, it also appears that the original

composers of different parts of the work may have had different attitudes to their presentation in terms of modeling on the biblical text (and, hence, employing biblical language), complicating our analysis in yet another fashion. In the final result, then, the way in which we respond to the presence or absence of a relationship of some sort between the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the Aramaic versions of the Bible may depend on the generic presuppositions with which we begin our analysis.



THE GENIZAH AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS:  
HOW IMPORTANT AND DIRECT IS THE CONNECTION?

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INTRODUCTION

In the course of the past thirty-five years I have given literally hundreds of lectures about the Genizah (henceforth: G) manuscripts, not only to fellow scholars around the world but also to many thousands of non-specialists with interests in the history of Jewish religion and culture.<sup>1</sup> Especially among the latter kind of audience, as well as when I have dealt with the media, the question has often been raised about the relative importance of the G vis-à-vis the Dead Sea Scrolls (henceforth: DSS). How do they compare and is there any connection between them? Which is the more impressive collection and why? Has each had a revolutionary impact on broad areas of Hebrew and Jewish studies? I have at times answered somewhat flippantly and pointed out that the G texts are far more important not only because I was devoting virtually my whole career to curating and studying them but also because they were less theologically obsessed and therefore less dull. I have also made the point that the DSS have attracted wider attention because they are so closely linked in location and chronology with the world of Jesus and the emergence of early Christianity. But while making such comments, I have often had the thought that I really ought to apply myself more seriously to the topic and try to compare the two collections in an academically sound and historically balanced manner. I therefore greatly welcome the opportunity of undertaking precisely such a task in the current context and hope that the results may prove to be of some value for DSS as well as G scholars.

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<sup>1</sup> As is well known, almost three-quarters of all Genizah material is today to be found at Cambridge University Library and such material is fully discussed in S.C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000).

Is such a comparison of any real value or is it an entirely artificial exercise? In explaining why the prayer marking the end of the Sabbath and the beginning of the new week is inserted in the benediction for knowledge that follows the first three standard benedictions of the daily Amidah recited on Saturday evening, an early talmudic passage deriving from the land of Israel records the categorical but insightful statement *אם אין דיעה הבדלה מנין* “without the intelligence here being requested of God the human being has no capacity for making distinctions” (*y. Ber. 5.2 [9b]*). All comparisons sharpen our minds about the items being compared and provide us with a clearer idea of their content and meaning. It therefore seems to me that a close examination of both collections and their relationship might assist our scholarly efforts in one manner or another, if not in a variety of ways. I could of course begin by delineating their similarities and differences with regard to Hebrew Bible texts and their literal and more fanciful interpretations, halakhah and liturgy. The truth is, however, that I briefly, and others in the context of broader studies, have already dealt seriously with such topics.<sup>2</sup> What I consequently prefer to do is something a little more unusual. I intend to concentrate here on other topics more related to the special nature of the two collections *qua* collections in order to see what lessons, if any, and of which sort, may be derived from such an analysis. I intend to pay particular attention to some inter-testamental items that are common to both collections. My treatment will be subsumed under the headings of disposal; survival; palaeography and codicology; contents and dating; languages and function; discovery, accessibility and location; description and exploitation; special finds; conclusions.

#### DISPOSAL

How did these two collections come to be collected and stored? The contents of the G in Cairo had been stored for many centuries within one or more of the synagogues, usually in a room beside the special cabinet containing the Torah scrolls. They were apparently deposited there

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<sup>2</sup> S.C. Reif, “Cairo Genizah,” and the bibliography attached to it, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 1:105–108.

without much concern for order or survival. On the contrary, the whole purpose was for them to rot away with the possible intention that they might then be removed to a cemetery for more permanent interment. Such a historical reconstruction matches archaeological finds that testify to a small room beside the synagogue that may well have been used for such a purpose. Originally scrolls appear to have been kept outside the main room of the synagogue and fetched from storage when needed and that same storage room perhaps also functioned as a *bet genizah*.<sup>3</sup> The whole historical issue is complicated by a failure to move the material to a cemetery, by its removal (on more than one occasion) during rebuilding works, and the interchange of material between synagogues of different rites and ideologies.

With regard to the DSS, some caves contain evidence of storage facilities, thus indicating an organized system for housing the scrolls, while in other cases there would seem to have been an emergency that required swift consignment to a special and possibly temporary home.<sup>4</sup> The scrolls from the Judean Desert were actually located not only in the areas around Khirbet Qumran but also in Wadi Daliyeh (15 kilometres north of Jericho), Masada, Wadi Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever, Wadi Seiyal, with some other items found in Naḥal Mishmar and Khirbet Mird. Here the complicating factors include the question of where they came from beforehand, whether they are one sect's library or a corpus of texts from variant sources, or whether they did at any stage constitute a *genizah* of some sort.<sup>5</sup>

In neither case was there any obvious order, any clear evidence of prior context, or any indication of future plans. We should not therefore think in terms of a systematic archive but of a somewhat haphazard collection and disposal.

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<sup>3</sup> M. Bar-Ilan, "The Ark of the Scrolls in Ancient Synagogues," in *Libraries and Book Collections* (ed. M. Sluhovsky and Y. Kaplan; Jerusalem: Shazar, 2006), 49–64 (Hebrew), and I. Hamitovsky "From Chest to Ark: The Evolving Character of the Ark of the Scrolls in the Periods of the Mishnah and the Talmud," in *Kenishta: Studies of the Synagogue World*, vol. 3 (ed. J. Tabory; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2007), 99–128 (Hebrew).

<sup>4</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), xxi.

<sup>5</sup> F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1994), xxxii–xxxv.

## SURVIVAL

Obviously there is a distinct element of serendipity about what survives from among any collection of writings in the ancient or medieval world. It is therefore a questionable exercise to assume that what have become available to scholars are the most important collections of what once existed, since what is lost may well have presented a different picture. We can, however, reconstruct history and literature on the basis of a comparative study of the various pieces of evidence that we have, including, on the one hand, those works that were consistently transmitted through the ages, and, on the other, those that were for some time lost but have through archaeological and epigraphical discoveries been restored to us. While doing so, we must always acknowledge that the picture may be more complicated than can be painted at present. Interestingly, with regard to both the G and the DSS the climatic factor has played a major role. Both in Cairo and in the Dead Sea area the lack of rain and the low humidity have conspired to preserve items that would undoubtedly have perished in damper conditions. What is more, in both cases it would appear that those who abandoned their literary treasures were deliberately doing so, or were forced to do so, without any immediate prospect of their retrieval in any form or context. At the same time, the poor condition in which they have survived presents a major challenge to conservators, as well as to scholars attempting to reconstruct original sets of manuscripts and discrete works.<sup>6</sup>

In both cases, then, what has survived has done so by historical accident and may not be wholly representative of the total situation in which it originated. On the other hand, the two collections are so extensive, compared to what was known before their discovery, that they may justifiably be used to paint a more nuanced picture of the two respective backgrounds.

## PALAEOGRAPHY AND CODICOLOGY

Now that we have had the G for 110 years and the DSS for six decades we tend to forget the degree to which they filled enormous lacunae that existed in the history of Hebrew and Jewish manuscripts before

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<sup>6</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, xx–xxi; Reif, *Jewish Archive*, 11–14.



their respective discoveries and exploitation. With regard to the Jewish world of the post-exilic period and talmudic periods—a total of about a thousand years—there was virtually nothing other than inscriptions to attest to the writing used for texts.<sup>7</sup> The Nash Papyrus stood in almost splendid isolation, accompanied by only a very few other texts.<sup>8</sup> As A. Cowley put it in an article published in 1903 that dealt with what he regarded as a papyrus that lacked “any great interest”: “Hebrew papyri are so few that perhaps no apology is needed for printing them.”<sup>9</sup> The many texts found in the Dead Sea area revolutionized the historical study of Hebrew writing and, indeed, the Nash Papyrus came to be dated a century or two earlier than had been customary. Such texts were of course written mostly in scroll format on animal skin, with only some papyrus material, and the famous *Copper Scroll* as a singular rarity.<sup>10</sup>

As far as the Middle Ages are concerned, the pre-G situation was that the vast majority of the manuscripts that provided the primary sources on which Jewish history—particularly Jewish literary history—was being built were dated no earlier than the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The G material brought major innovations with regard to the earlier form of Hebrew texts, whether on animal skin, cloth or papyrus, but also in the matter of the emergence of the Hebrew codex and the adoption of the new medium of paper. It has even been suggested that such material testifies to a revolution in Jewish literacy in and around the Jewish communities of the Eastern Mediterranean in about the tenth century.<sup>11</sup> Is one perhaps entitled to say something similar about the situation in Judea in the first pre-Christian century?

Both collections demonstrate a considerable degree of literacy among the communities that produced them, provide data for periods that were previously very ill-served by primary sources, and make major contributions to the history of Hebrew script and the physical transmission of what was written.

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<sup>7</sup> B. Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts: A Treasured Legacy* (Cleveland: Ofeq Institute, 1990), 14–19; C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (trans. N. de Lange; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 26–34.

<sup>8</sup> S.C. Reif, *Hebrew Manuscripts at Cambridge University Library: A Description and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 65.

<sup>9</sup> A. Cowley, “Hebrew and Aramaic Papyri,” *JQR* 16 (1903): 1–8, with the quotation on the first page.

<sup>10</sup> García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, xlvi–xlvi.

<sup>11</sup> R. Brody, “The Cairo Genizah,” in Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, 111–133; S.C. Reif, *Problems with Prayers: Studies in the Textual History of Early Rabbinic Liturgy* (SJ 37; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 181–206.

## CONTENT AND DATING

The contents of the DSS may be divided into the three topics of biblical texts, apocryphal literature, and what, for want of a more accurate term, might be called “sectarian” books. The biblical books (all represented with the exception of Esther) match the later Masoretic texts, or the Septuagint or Samaritan versions, or the local Hebrew dialect presumably used by the Qumran sect. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphical items are the earliest testimony to the works later preserved primarily by the Church but with some occurrence in rabbinic literature. They do however include many items not previously known. The so-called “sectarian” items refer to the special interests of the group or groups that apparently preserved these manuscripts. They cover theology, communal behaviour, halakhah, eschatology, notions of the temple (purity, sacrifice, dimensions and defence), biblical interpretation, liturgy, poetry and calendar. If we move beyond the area near Khirbet Qumran, the finds in other caves contain, in addition, legal documents, letters and personal archival material. Dating of all DSS texts gives a wide range of about the fourth century B.C.E. to the eighth century C.E. but that is to include those fewer items at the furthest points of the chronological graph. Most of the manuscripts date from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E.<sup>12</sup>

The contents of the G touch on almost every area of activity on which writing might have impinged within the Jewish communities of the Eastern Mediterranean of the “high” Middle Ages. They cover, on the literary side, Hebrew Bible, masoretic and grammatical treatises, synagogal lectionaries and biblical interpretation, as well as talmudic, midrashic, halakhic, liturgical and poetic texts. Most importantly for our purposes here, there are also “sectarian,” apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works. Karaism as well as Rabbanism is well represented. The more documentary material relates to historical events and to mundane matters and daily activities. Dating of the G manuscripts gives a wide range of about the sixth century C.E. to the nineteenth century C.E. but that is to include those fewer items at the furthest points of the chronological graph. The great majority of items are to be dated from the early tenth to the late thirteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, xxxii–xxxv and xlix–li; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 31–35.

<sup>13</sup> Reif, *Jewish Archive*, 98–207; Brody, “Cairo Genizah,” 124–126.

Somewhat remarkably, the active period in both cases is about 400 years and the broader spectrum about eight or nine centuries in excess of that period. The common subject content is wholly as expected but the mundane matters of life are much more extensively covered in the G than in the DSS.

#### LANGUAGES AND FUNCTION

Almost 80% of the DSS texts are in Hebrew, whether that used in the Hebrew Bible or that which may be called the post-biblical style that straddles the period between the latest biblical books and the earliest rabbinic formulations. Most of the remaining items are in the Aramaic that again represents the transitional period between biblical and late forms of the language, with both western (Palestinian) and eastern elements represented. The DSS record unique dialectical characteristics of importance for better understanding of the historical evolution of both languages, as well as a few Greek and Latin items. Since the DSS were found in different locations and were obviously not all part of the literary detritus of the same group at an identical period, their functions are varied. There are the religious texts relating to the life, practice, study and thought of Jews, or groups of Jews, of the Second Temple period, as well as documents relating to more mundane matters.<sup>14</sup>

The primary languages of the G texts are Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. The first two are represented in their biblical and post-biblical forms, with Aramaic texts in both Eastern and Western forms, while the Arabic language does occur in its classical form and script but is much more commonly represented in what has come to be known as Judeo-Arabic. Although Hebrew accounts for a large majority of the G fragments, Judeo-Arabic may be represented (sometimes only briefly) in anything between 40% and 50% of them and is the primary language in at least 30% of them. More fascinatingly, the G material contains substantial evidence of those other special Jewish vernaculars that used Hebrew vocabulary and script to Judaize their own versions of another language, such as Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Persian and Judeo-German, and even some French glosses written in Hebrew script. The G texts relate to the whole way of life of the Jewish communities of the medieval Islamic

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<sup>14</sup> García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, xxxii–xxxv; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 32–33.

world and also contribute significantly to scholarly understanding of their relationships with the Muslims and Christians of the time.<sup>15</sup>

While Hebrew and Aramaic remain at the centre of Jewish literary activity, the Greek and Latin of the Classical empire have effectively given way to the Arabic of the Islamic world. Dialectal variation within Hebrew and Aramaic are represented in the DSS but this has been extended into Jewish vernaculars in the G communities.

#### DISCOVERY, ACCESSIBILITY AND LOCATION

The period of some sixty years since the first discoveries of what are now known as the DSS has seen the involvement of Bedu tribesmen, dealers in antiquities, clergymen, scholars, journalists, museums, learned societies and governments in a process that was originally motivated as much by greed, sensation and conceit as it was by academic research and the pursuit of knowledge. The searches for the material in the areas around the Dead Sea went on from 1946 or 1947 until the early 1960s and, because of the break-up of Jerusalem and the area from there down to the Dead Sea into two political entities, belonging to Israel and Jordan, the material came to be located in two separate and virtually watertight compartments. The political situation dictated that access to the manuscripts was limited, especially to Jewish and Israeli scholars. After the Six-Day War of 1967, most of the manuscripts were relocated to the Shrine of the Book attached to the Israel Museum in the west part of Jerusalem. In response to widespread frustration with the failure to publish and make accessible all the manuscripts, new arrangements had been made by the Israel Antiquities Authority to rectify this situation and were already under way in 1991. Two American institutions, the Biblical Archaeological Society and the Huntington Library, pre-empted such plans by publishing photographs of all the material and effectively ensured that all the discoveries, amounting to approximately 900 items and many thousands of folios (the number depending on the system of counting), were quickly made available to all with an interest.<sup>16</sup>

On the matter of the Cairo G, Adolf Neubauer reported in 1876 to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford on the (second) Firkovich

<sup>15</sup> Reif, *Jewish Archive*, 214–224, with full bibliography on pp. 230–231.

<sup>16</sup> García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, xxvi–xliv; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 3–31.

Collection in St Petersburg and argued its special value for geonic history, the evolution of Hebrew grammatical study, and the biblical exegesis of Karaites and Rabbanites. He concluded with a remarkably prescient piece of advice for manuscript explorers and researchers. "May I be allowed," he asked, "to draw the attention of the University to the treasures which Rabbanite synagogues might offer from their numerous 'Genizoth' in the East? While searching for such MSS. a competent person might also reap a rich harvest of Mohametan and Syriac manuscripts."<sup>17</sup> From that statement alone it would appear that moves were already then afoot to acquire individual items for interested parties and, in the course of the subsequent decades until the end of the nineteenth century, a host of synagogue officials, communal personalities, dealers in antiquities, travellers, archaeologists, rabbis and scholars all played their parts in ensuring that such moves were successfully completed. The result was that some 70% of the contents of the Cairo G made its way to Cambridge (including the Mosseri and Westminster College collections), major collections found homes at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the Russian National Library in St Petersburg, the British Library in London, the John Rylands University Library at the University of Manchester, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris, and smaller collections were housed in Budapest, the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Jerusalem, Cincinnati, Vienna, Washington D.C., Geneva, Strasbourg, Birmingham (U.K.), Kiev, and Frankfurt/Main. Initial efforts were made early in the twentieth century to conserve (in the contemporary fashion) and make available such material but this process then slowed down considerably until after the Second World War and the establishment of the State of Israel. The work of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, the researches of S.D. Goitein, the establishment of the Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library, as well as the foundation of the Friedberg Genizah Project, then led to comprehensive projects, now reaching completion, to make available all the collections, which total over 200,000 items.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> A. Neubauer, "Report on Hebrew-Arabic Manuscripts at St. Petersburg," *Oxford University Gazette* 7, no. 237 (1876): 7.

<sup>18</sup> B. Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Science and Humanities, 1994), 61–64; Reif, *Jewish Archive*, 234–260; idem, "A Fresh Set of Genizah Texts," *SBL Forum*, n.p. [cited 26 February 2008]. Online: <http://www.sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleId=582>; and the website of the Friedberg Genizah Project, to be found at <http://www.genizah-project.org>.

The building of manuscript collections is not exclusively motivated by purely scholarly considerations but may also be subject to political developments and theological concerns. Libraries and museums with many important such sources may have to be inspired by special circumstances or determined personalities in order to devote their attention, staff and funding to some rather than to others.

#### DESCRIPTION AND EXPLOITATION

Many of the more major and lengthier items were published within the first few years of their discovery as a result of scholarly efforts on both sides of the armistice lines. "By June 1961," in the words of Larry Schiffman, "511 manuscripts of Cave 4 had been identified, arranged on 620 museum plates; 25 plates of material remained unidentified."<sup>19</sup> The work on the Israeli side had been virtually completed by 1956 but the team appointed in Jordanian East Jerusalem was making only slow progress by the time that the Six-Day War of 1967 overtook events. Some of the exclusively Christian team that had been working on the scrolls had to a degree tended to see the corpus in the light of Christian theological history rather than Jewish literary development. This situation did, however, change with the appointment by the Israel Antiquities Authority of a whole new international team led by Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The pace of research heated up considerably and the changing nature of the findings led to important new conclusions about Jewish religious history at the end of the Second Temple period. Fresh knowledge about the newly available material was applied to a growing sphere of topics and was incorporated into overall descriptions of Jewish life, language and ideology as they had evolved from early post-Exilic times until after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. To date, some 900 manuscripts have been listed.<sup>20</sup>

The initial explosion of G research matched the availability of the early discoveries and the interest found in them and therefore covered the period from the 1890s until the First World War. Work on individual items then continued in a less intensive fashion until the research of Goitein and his students began to make its published appearance in the

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<sup>19</sup> Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, xxvi–xliv; Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 3–31.

1950s and 1960s.<sup>21</sup> Even then, the vast majority of the G fragments, wherever they were located, remained unpublished, and what was published rarely appeared as a fully transcribed, translated and annotated item. For the reasons already explained in connection with conservation and availability, there then occurred the massive increase in publication of G texts that marked the three decades until the present. The statistics that apply to Cambridge are perhaps best illustrative of the situation. The bibliography of published items in the Cambridge Genizah Collections relating to the years 1896 to 1980 contains 34,211 entries, an average of just over 400 per year. The next volume of bibliography, relating to the years 1980 to 1997, contains 25,117 entries, this time averaging almost 1,400 annually, an increase of a thousand items per year.<sup>22</sup> Topics that were literary and historical (such as commentaries and chronicles) had given way to those that were more documentary (for instance, letters) while conventional literature had to a considerable extent moved over in favour of the more eccentric areas of, say, medicine and magic.<sup>23</sup>

In planning and conducting their research, scholars may often be guilty of forgetting that, as Voltaire put it so well some 235 years ago, “le mieux est l’ennemi du bien.”<sup>24</sup> In the history of these two collections, progress for the good of the majority, in the form of briefer but more numerous descriptions, was often hindered by the selfish concerns of the individual who concentrated on detailed and fewer treatments. They were also adversely affected by political and theological considerations.

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<sup>21</sup> S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (5 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1988); S. Shaked, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents Prepared under the Direction of D.H. Baneth and S.D. Goitein* (Paris: Mouton, 1964); “Genizah, Cairo,” *EncJud* 16:1333–1342.

<sup>22</sup> S.C. Reif, ed., *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography, 1896–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); R.J.W. Jefferson and E.C.D. Hunter, eds., *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography, 1980–1997* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> On medicine, see especially H.D. Isaacs, *Medical and Para-Medical Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and the ongoing work of E. Lev, as exemplified in his recent publication, with Z. Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean According to the Cairo Genizah* (Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series 7; Leiden: Brill, 2008). In the field of magic, the pioneering work of S. Shaked is now being completed by G. Bohak; see also L.H. Schiffman and M.D. Swartz, eds., *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (Semitic Texts and Studies 1; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1992).

<sup>24</sup> *La Bégueule: Conte moral* (1772).

Another important lesson is that what we today consider of marginal significance to current scholarship may come to be regarded by our successors as of indispensable centrality to their academic analysis.

#### SPECIAL FINDS

Having made these general comparisons concerning the DSS and the G, we now come to the what are often regarded as the most remarkable connections between the two collections. When, in 1897, Solomon Schechter discovered among the Cambridge G texts two manuscripts (of the tenth and twelfth centuries) emanating from a sect that was clearly not pharisaic or rabbinic, he thought at first that they were Samaritan, then made a link with the Karaites, and only about a decade later finally opted for a view that identified them as “Zadokites,” with origins among the Sadducees. He subsequently published them, thirteen years later, as *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*.<sup>25</sup> The degree to which other scholars differed demonstrates how difficult it was, and indeed is, to identify with any precision the nature of Jewish sects and their ideologies from Second Temple period times until, and including, the development of Karaism. Ginzberg saw the writers of Schechter’s fragments as proto-Pharisees; Kohler as non-pharisaic Jews whose ideas had been transmitted by Dositheans; Büchler as proto-Karaites in Damascus in the seventh or eighth century; and George Margoliouth as “Sadducean Christians.”<sup>26</sup> For his part, D.S. Margoliouth regarded them, as indeed he viewed all the G material, as valueless, no more than “the contents of a huge waste-paper basket.”<sup>27</sup> With the discovery, almost exactly a century later, of the same work among the DSS, represented in a number of manuscripts that complement and expand the G versions in numerous ways (doubling the size of the work now available to researchers), it has become clear that the

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<sup>25</sup> S. Schechter, ed., *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. 1: *Fragments of a Zadokite Work Edited from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the Possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and Provided with an English Translation, Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910).

<sup>26</sup> S.C. Reif, “The Damascus Document from the Cairo Genizah: Its Discovery, Early Study and Historical Significance,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 109–131.

<sup>27</sup> D.S. Margoliouth, “The Zadokites,” *The Expositor* 6 (1913): 157–164, esp. 157, 159 and 164.



*Damascus Document*, as it came later to be called, was a popular religious tract in Second Temple times with Samaritan, Sadducean, Zadokite and apocryphal connections, which in many respects matched the religious ideas and practices reflected in many of the other Qumran texts. An authentic version then re-appears in tenth-century Cairo.<sup>28</sup>

The second example of the remarkable connections to which reference was just made concerns the apocryphal book of Ben Sira in its Hebrew version and, once again, the name of D.S. Margoliouth figures in the personal and scholastic aspects of the tale. Schechter in Cambridge and Margoliouth in Oxford had for a number of years disputed the value to be assigned to the rabbinic quotations of passages from Ben Sira. Margoliouth regarded them as no more than part of the “whole Rabbinic far-rago”<sup>29</sup> while Schechter thought them part of an authentic transmission but, to his great chagrin, without, as yet, the kind of early medieval evidence that might substantiate his hypothesis. Any scholar with even the vaguest interest in Ben Sira is now wholly familiar with the story of the find made by Mrs Margaret Gibson and Mrs Agnes Lewis, Schechter’s excited identification of it as Ben Sira, and his discovery, and publication with Charles Taylor, Master of St John’s College and eminent Christian hebraist, of a number of folios of three discrete manuscripts in the haul that he brought from Cairo in 1897.<sup>30</sup> Other fragments, also emanating from the Cairo G, were located in various collections around the world, including those in Oxford, London and Paris, and it proved possible, on the basis of these nine early medieval manuscripts from Cairo, to reconstruct most of the Hebrew of a work that had been written some 1,200 years earlier in Hellenistic Judea.<sup>31</sup> If Bacher’s rejection of D.S. Margoliouth’s persistently negative theories (“which rose, like a soap bubble,

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<sup>28</sup> M. Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992); H. Stegemann, “Towards Physical Reconstructions of the Qumran Damascus Document Scrolls,” in *The Damascus Document* (ed. Baumgarten, Chazon, and Pinnick), 177–200.

<sup>29</sup> D.S. Margoliouth, *An Essay on the Place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1890), esp. 21.

<sup>30</sup> S.C. Reif, “The Discovery of the Cambridge Genizah Fragments of Ben Sira: Scholars and Texts,” in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28–31 July 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. P.C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 1–22.

<sup>31</sup> M.H. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira Ha-Shalem* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1958), 47–69 and 375–378; P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

from the Sirach enquiry, only to burst after a short brilliancy")<sup>32</sup> was not enough to establish the authenticity of the Cairo G fragments of Ben Sira, then Yadin's discovery during the excavation of Masada in 1963–1964 of a version that matched most closely MS B from Cairo put paid to any serious negation of the reasons for Schechter's great excitement.<sup>33</sup> With regard to the transmission between the Second Temple period and the Middle Ages, P.C. Beentjes has offered the important assessment that the "Hebrew text of Ben Sira was sometimes treated as reasonably authoritative, so that a reasonable text was preserved throughout the ages."<sup>34</sup>

The *Aramaic Levi* is a third work that is represented both in G and DSS. Again, there is a Cambridge-Oxford connection since G texts were located in both Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library and published in 1900 and 1907 respectively.<sup>35</sup> It was Hermann Leonard Pass who was employed by Schechter, soon after the G's arrival in Cambridge, to describe the biblical items, and who then went on to sort, identify and describe the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical items, including the *Aramaic Levi*.<sup>36</sup> Pass had been an Orthodox Jew who studied at Jews' College in London and then converted to Anglican Christianity. Perhaps his personal religious predilections gave him a special interest in the inter-testamental period and in books such as the *Aramaic Levi*. Dating from the third or second century B.C.E., the *Aramaic Levi* takes a different attitude to priesthood from that of Ben Sira by linking Noah to Levi via Abraham and provides an image of the perfect ruler and priest. It was later used later as a source by *Jubilees* and the Greek *Testament of Levi*. Seven copies were found among the DSS, and a number of these reveal a textual overlap with the G fragments. The first of these DSS versions was published by J.T. Milik in 1955.<sup>37</sup> It is particularly important for the purposes of this study that the content of *Aramaic Levi* is not typical of many of the other Qumranic works but appears to be earlier and

<sup>32</sup> W. Bacher, "An Hypothesis about the Hebrew Fragments of Sirach," *JQR* 12 (1900): 92–108, 106, publishing a communication sent from Budapest in June 1899.

<sup>33</sup> Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada: With Introduction, Emendations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965).

<sup>34</sup> Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 6.

<sup>35</sup> H.L. Pass and J. Arendzen, "Fragment of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi," *JQR* 12 (1900): 651–661 on T-S 16.94; R.H. Charles and A. Cowley, "An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs," *JQR* 19 (1907): 566–583.

<sup>36</sup> *Cambridge University Reporter* no. 1360 (12 June 1901): 1088 and 1107–1108; Reif, *Jewish Archive*, 66.

<sup>37</sup> J.T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406, 398–399.

to have circulated more broadly, perhaps even to have been regarded as more authoritative. As Michael Stone succinctly puts it, “[Aramaic Levi] should be attributed to a third-century wing of Judaism from which the Qumran sectarians are but one group of descendants.”<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, it has only been fairly recently that two thorough studies and complete text editions have been published, one of them by Israeli scholars, Jonas Greenfield, Michael Stone and Esther Eshel, and the other by Henryk Drawnel, who teaches at the Catholic University of Lublin.<sup>39</sup> The textual overlaps between the Qumran and G fragments appear to point to some form of continuous transmission.

When Pass was sorting the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical items in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, ultimately to be placed in box (now binder) T-S A45, he also identified three Hebrew fragments of the book of Tobit. Between 1900 and 1978, no further scholarly note was taken of these, other than in brief mentions made in articles by Alexander Scheiber.<sup>40</sup> In 1978, Simon Hopkins, then a research assistant in the Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University Library, included brief descriptions and photographs in his published hand-list of T-S A45.<sup>41</sup> On the Qumranic side, Tobit was found in Cave 4, in four Aramaic texts and in a Hebrew version. About a fifth of the book is represented and the fragments have been dated between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E.<sup>42</sup> Unlike what has been described above with regard to the other three works stored in Cairo and at Qumran, the textual situation in the case of Tobit does not permit us to conclude that there was a direct recensional link between the two sets of fragments. There are three Cambridge G texts. The first of them (T-S A45.26) is written on vellum in

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<sup>38</sup> M.E. Stone, “Levi, Aramaic,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:486–488. See also Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 167.

<sup>39</sup> J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004); H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>40</sup> A. Scheiber, “Materialien zur Wirksamkeit des Joseph b. Jakob Habavli als Schriftsteller und Kopist aus der Kaufmann-Genisa,” *AcOr* 23 (1970): 115–130, 117 and 120; repr. in his collected essays *Geniza Studies* (Collectanea 17; Hildesheim: Olms, 1981), 326–341, 328 and 331; idem, “Qeṭa mi-Nusaḥ ʿIvri shel Sefer Ṭuviyah mi-Ginzey Kaufmann,” *Sinai* 87 (1980): 97–99, 97.

<sup>41</sup> S. Hopkins, *A Miscellany of Literary Pieces from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Catalogue and Selection of Texts in the Taylor-Schechter Collection, Old Series, Box A45* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1978), 96–101 and 106–107.

<sup>42</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–675; idem in *DJD* XIX (1995): 1–76.

a semi-cursive Sephardi hand no later than the fourteenth century and has been identified by Hopkins as following the same recension as the printed editions of Constantinople 1516, republished in Basle 1542 by S. Münster. Most specialists trace these to an earlier manuscript tradition, that may go back to a period between the fourth and seventh centuries and have been translated into Aramaic from the Hebrew or the Greek.<sup>43</sup> The second fragment (T-S A45.29) may confidently be dated about 1200 since the semi-cursive handwriting on paper is well known in the G texts as that of Joseph ben Jacob Ha-Bavli. The third (T-S A45.25)—the latest—is also on paper and written in a cursive Sephardi hand of the fifteenth century and both these latter texts follow the same recension as that published by P. Fagius in Isny, 1542, and based on that of Constantinople, 1519. That recension is characterized by F. Zimmermann as a medieval recasting, in the biblical idiom, for popular story-telling and it has been suggested by L. Stuckenbruck that it may have originated in the shorter Greek version of Codex Vaticanus.<sup>44</sup> According to J.A. Fitzmyer, none of these medieval versions have any direct links with the Qumranic forms<sup>45</sup> but Stuckenbruck has wisely added the assessment that “none are simply direct translations of the texts known to us in Latin and Greek.”<sup>46</sup> We may therefore conclude that they were copied from later versions or from original forms that are no longer preserved. Either way, there appears to have been an ongoing, or recurring, tradition to transmit and utilize the book of Tobit in Jewish circles.

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<sup>43</sup> F. Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit: An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Harper, 1958), 133–136; R.A. Spencer, “The Book of Tobit in Recent Research,” *CurBS* 7 (1999): 168–173; S. Weeks, S. Gathercole, and L. Stuckenbruck, eds., *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions: With Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac* (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 32.

<sup>44</sup> Zimmermann, *Tobit*, 137–138; Weeks, Gathercole and Stuckenbruck, *Tobit*, 56; and L.T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Fagius’ Hebrew Version of Tobit: An English Translation Based on the Constantinople Text of 1519,” in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology: Papers of the First International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 20–21 May, 2004* (ed. G.G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 98; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 189–194. It will be noted that, having now closely examined the manuscript handwriting, I prefer slightly later dates for T-S A45.26 and T-S A45.25 than those suggested by Stuckenbruck.

<sup>45</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, “Tobit, Book of,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:948–950, 949.

<sup>46</sup> L.T. Stuckenbruck and S. Weeks, “The Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Texts of Tobit,” in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander di Lella* (ed. J. Corley and V. Skemp; CBQMS 38; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 71–86, esp. 86.

## CONCLUSIONS

In assessing the evidence provided by these two collections, it must be borne in mind that they constitute what they do merely by the accident of history and they have been housed and researched in great centres of learning by virtue of the special interests of those who have made decisions about what to preserve and what to study. It should be recalled that one Cambridge librarian expressed the view in 1927 that a substantial part of the G collection should long before have been committed to the flames, if it had not been for the inherent conservatism of the scholar in charge of the University Library.<sup>47</sup> All this raises the question of how representative the two collections may be. In response to such caution, one should recall that all the literary material that we have inherited through standard, more continuous channels has survived because it suited the motivations of particular religious traditions to preserve it. In addition, the uniquely extensive nature, and lengthy period of coverage, of both collections supports the supposition that they do represent at least an important part of the Jewish and related literature of their day. They also testify to a considerable degree of literacy, usually in at least two languages, and a tendency to create Jewish linguistic dialects. It is perhaps fair to say that there is a gap in the DSS with regard to the many mundane areas so well represented by the G. On the other hand, the G does not testify to such a powerful rejection of establishment figures, notions and practices as that which is recorded at Qumran. What is more, what is today considered fascinating may be dull fare to tomorrow's specialist. This should also alert us to the fact that we can interpret only as well as current sources and academic fashions permit and that there is no shame in admitting that the situation may change drastically within a decade or two.

On the basis of all these considerations, it is tempting to conclude that the four so-called "sectarian" items that are found in both collections indicate that such literature was familiar, maybe even well-known, to the Jews of both periods and performed some sort of literary and religious function for them. It may not have been valued by the Pharisees and proto-Rabbis of the earlier period or by the talmudic authorities of the later one—it may indeed have been suppressed by them—but it did nevertheless attract some if not many groups of Jews. The languages in which it was preserved may have been altered in accordance with changing

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<sup>47</sup> Reif, *Jewish Archive*, 242 and 257.

environments and there is every likelihood that what has been found represents only the tip of the iceberg. What we have to ask is whether there was a continuous stream of such non-establishment literature and whether it ever existed within a broader Jewish framework or only within groups who stood outside it. Some have argued that it was only when Karaism discovered sectarian scrolls in caves of the Judean desert, as reported by Timotheus, the Nestorian Catholicos of Baghdad, in 815, that they took over such earlier writings and their ideas, and that the Karaite over-arching desire to trace an historical link with the Jewish sects of the past was what motivated them. They contend that such links have not been convincingly established and the reports in the Muslim sources are confused, inconsistent and unreliable.<sup>48</sup>

In response to such objections, it may be countered that the recognized Jewish obsession with tradition, among Karaites no less, perhaps even more, than among Rabbanites, makes it unlikely that any group could simply pick up some manuscripts and adopt their contents forthwith. Furthermore, it seems that there were so many Jewish, Christian and Muslim sects that were not approved by those religious traditions that did ultimately become dominant in each of the three monotheistic faiths, that there is every chance that ideas that had been recorded in and around Qumran had the opportunity of finding friendly surroundings in which to hibernate, or perhaps simply to exist in low key, before being incorporated into the powerful Karaite movement between the ninth and twelfth centuries. There are so many laws relating to Sabbath, calendar, diet and priesthood, so much content with parallels in apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature, and such a welter of ideas and terminology that Karaism shares with earlier groups that the argument for some sort of continuity seems a powerful one. My late, revered teacher, Naphtali Wieder, was indeed a pioneer in demonstrating the massive debt that Karaism owed to the literature preserved at Qumran. In addition, in the pre-Karaite period and in the early days of Karaism there was not always a clear demarcation between rabbinic and non-rabbinic ideas and practice and Karaism itself did not emerge suddenly as the creation of one individual or a few rebels as its enemies liked to claim.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> A useful summary may be found in H. Ben-Shammai, "Some Methodological Notes concerning the Relationship between the Karaites and Ancient Jewish Sects," *Cathedra* 42 (1987): 69–84 (Hebrew).

<sup>49</sup> An equally useful summary is provided by Y. Erder, "When did the Karaites first Encounter Apocryphic [*sic*] Literature akin to the Dead Sea Scrolls?" *Cathedra* 42 (1987): 54–68 and 85–86 (Hebrew). This is expanded in his monograph *The Karaite Mourners of*

F. Astren has described its emergence in a clear and convincing fashion:

The new Karaite movement emerged at the end of the ninth and tenth centuries as a nonhybrid alternative to both Islam and rabbinic Judaism. As a revitalization movement within Judaism it offered meaning in a world fractured by the political dissolution of the caliphate, by the economic decline of Iraq and the East, and by the demographic decline of Jewry as a consequence of Islamicization. By locating itself in opposition to rabbinic institutionalization and halakhic particularity, Karaism was able to attract remnants from Jewish and other sectarian movements as well as Judeo-Muslim hybrids who were unwilling to make the final commitment to Islam.<sup>50</sup>

If that is a correct historical assessment, it follows that the overall picture is what is important for our purposes and not whether this or that source has got its facts slightly tangled or its theological connections partly awry. Many non-establishment groups existed and they may well have preserved such literature as the four items under discussion. Some medieval manuscripts of those items have recensional parallels in Qumran while others have no recensional link, suggesting that they derive from alternative, live manuscript traditions. Whether, once they had fulfilled their purpose and been absorbed into the Karaite religious conglomerate, such pieces of literature were to be found only in that context is another matter. Perhaps they were, or is there not also a likelihood that rabbinic Judaism had, from time to time, its more ecumenical periods, as well as its bursts of increased literacy, and was able on occasion to encourage, or at least not to discourage too strongly, the reading and writing of such items in its midst or on its edges? Is it not equally plausible that there were other times within the history of a rabbinic community when such literature was angrily assessed as heretical and, as such, rapidly consigned to a *bet genizah*?

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*Zion and the Qumran Scrolls: On the History of an Alternative to Rabbinic Judaism* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2004) (Hebrew). Wieder's outstanding study of the similarities between Qumran and Karaite sources—*The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962)—appeared much earlier and has recently been reprinted, with the author's additions and corrections (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2005).

<sup>50</sup> F. Astren, *Karaite Judaism and Historical Understanding* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 39–40.





## NON-CANONICAL PSALMS FROM THE GENIZAH

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The aim of this paper is to discuss a text comprised of non-canonical psalms that was published as early as 1902. Some 80 years later the text was “rediscovered” and a connection to Qumran posited, but subsequent scholarly debate and the speculative nature of the discussions make it clear that the historical circumstances and contexts of the entire issue from its very beginnings require further clarification. The main objective of this paper is to describe the document in relation to the background history of the Jews in Antiquity, as well as to discuss its relationship to Qumran and various liturgical and theological elements of Judaism.

### A. STATE OF THE ART

Archimandrite Antonin (1817–1894) was the head of the Russian mission in the Holy Land during 1865–1894 and he was a collector of real-estate as well as manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> After Antonin’s death, his collection went to the Oriental Institute at the University of St Petersburg. The Antonin collection contains about 1200 Hebrew manuscripts. It has been established that this collection is derived from the Cairo Genizah, though it also contains documents that Antonin collected from other sources.<sup>2</sup> This paper focuses on the analysis of a small text found in the Antonin collection at the Library in St Petersburg, Russia, that is assumed to have come from the Genizah, tentatively dated between the tenth to twelfth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Carmel, “Russian Activity in Palestine in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Vision and Conflict in the Holy Land* (ed. R.I. Cohen: Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1985), 45–77.

<sup>2</sup> A.I. Katsh, *The Antonin Genizah in the Saltykov-Schedrin Public Library in Leningrad* (New York: Institute of Hebrew Studies, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> In the Antonin collection the siglum is B 798. At the Institute of Hebrew Manuscripts in Jerusalem the old siglum is 32269 while the modern one is Antonin B 68735 (and Photostat 4598). My thanks are due to Mr. B. Richler who helped me to trace these sigla.

Before analyzing this “new” text it is important to be aware of the conclusions of former studies, albeit of necessity presented here only briefly. The document was first discovered by Abraham Eliyahu Harkavy (1835–1919), who published it in 1902.<sup>4</sup> His main contribution was to draw initial attention to the text, but his very short introduction, which includes only minimal commentary, reveals his inability to trace its historical and cultural contexts. Harkavy, who was an expert in his own field, gaonic literature written in Arabic, did not have the academic background or knowledge to research this text comprehensively, and so his paper reads more like a puzzle than a piece of scholarship. Few have subsequently read or studied *HaGoren*, in which it was published, and it is no wonder that the text soon was forgotten.

After several decades, in 1982 David Flusser and Shmuel Safrai “rediscovered” the document (having been informed of its existence by others), and wrote a substantial study of it.<sup>5</sup> Once again, the primary text itself was published with few corrections made with regard to the original publication; photocopies of the original were provided, but with no accompanying sigla. Though the breadth of knowledge and professional reputation of these scholars cannot be refuted, nor the value of their contributions to their fields, the academic rigor of this specific study may indeed be questioned.

As is evident from the title of their paper, Flusser and Safrai asserted premature conclusions that were deduced on the basis of assumptions concerning the authority and the provenance of the text. Instead of posing an objective investigative query, they presented their conjecture as fact at the outset of their paper. These researchers were ready to link theories together in a manner confusing to an experienced scholar, not sufficiently differentiating between fact and hypothesis. It appears that had they had written their paper prior to the discovery of Qumran, like Harkavy, they would not have been able to make any significant statements about the text.

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<sup>4</sup> A.E. Harkavy, “A Prayer by an Anonymous Writer in the Style of the Psalms,” *HaGoren* 3 (1902): 82–85 (Hebrew).

<sup>5</sup> D. Flusser and S. Safrai, “A Fragment of the Songs of David and Qumran,” *Bible Studies: Y.M. Grintz in Memoriam* (ed. B. Uffenheimer; *Te’uda* 2; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1982), 83–105 (Hebrew; English abstract: p. XV); repr. in D. Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2002), 220–239; English translation in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1: *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (trans. A. Yadin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 258–282.

Though the text appeared many centuries after (disappearance of) Qumran and its provenance is unknown (except for the fact that it is Egyptian), these scholars discuss its affinities with Qumranic, rabbinic, and Christian sources in a parallel fashion. While they state that the text refers to David as a messiah, the reader is not explicitly informed that the word “messiah” does not, in fact, appear in the text.

Flusser and Safrai’s paper regrettably relays no systematic study of the text itself, though it contains many insights and is replete with “intuitive” thinking. Not only does the paper reveal a lack of rigorous preparation, but a number of significant aspects of the text upon which it is based were ignored. One must therefore approach this research with caution.

None other than the late Ezra Fleischer censured this study, adding his own comments and assessments to the existing critique.<sup>6</sup> Though Fleischer applauds Flusser and Safrai openly for their discovery, he criticizes almost every aspect of their scholarship, and in a long footnote condemns them for making a priori assumptions. Fleischer provides evidence that his colleagues copied the text inaccurately, and consequently some of their hypotheses are built on an erroneous reading. As one of the most renowned scholars of his day, Fleischer’s work and achievements compel us to read his arguments with respect; indeed, it is not easy to refute him. While acknowledging that Fleischer was more aware of the linguistic aspects of this text than were earlier scholars, however, it is difficult to determine whether or not Fleischer was predisposed to date the text from the Middle Ages primarily because he specialized in that period. In any event, Flusser wrote a partial response to Fleischer,<sup>7</sup> although one must admit that most of Fleischer’s claims remain unrefuted. This scholarly debate can be summarized as follows: Flusser and Safrai were of the opinion that the text under discussion is to some extent Qumranite, while Fleischer alleges that the text “definitely” originated during a later period, after the Arab conquest of the Land of Israel—that is, from the seventh century onward.

An additional scholar, Menahem Haran, has written about this text,<sup>8</sup> but the contributions of his research are minor, and his confidence in the

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<sup>6</sup> E. Fleischer, “Medieval Hebrew Poems in Biblical Style,” *Te’uda* 7 (1991): 200–248 (esp. 207–224) (Hebrew).

<sup>7</sup> Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism*, 240–243 (Hebrew).

<sup>8</sup> M. Haran, *The Biblical Collection: Its Consolidation to the End of the Second Temple Times and Changes of Form to the End of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996), 154–169 (Hebrew).

assumed “Karaite” origin of the text seems speculative in a manner analogous to the insufficiently substantiated claims of his predecessors. Surprisingly enough, Haran, whose specialty is closely related to the biblical *Quellen* theory, discussed a number of texts from different manuscripts in the same study without differentiating between the unique history of each of the documents; one of them is the text from the Genizah that is the subject of this paper.

Summing up the present state of scholarship concerning this text is not easy, but the bottom line is that there is no agreement either on the provenance or the date of this text from the Genizah. The affiliation of the document with Qumran is debatable, and it is encircled by a cloud of hypotheses. In order to clarify the significance of this text, the entire subject must be reconsidered from the very beginning by examining the concrete textual evidence and determining what assumptions and conclusions can be made after the primary text itself is critically analyzed. Hereafter, therefore, follows a concise systematic examination of the text that will draw attention to its implications on the study of Qumran and of Judaism in Antiquity.

## B. FEATURES OF THE TEXT

### 1. *Technical: General*

The manuscript in hand is a complete document in itself, but it is clear from its structure, which lacks a beginning and an end, that it is a remnant of a longer piece. It consists of two pages, with writing on both sides of each page, resulting in a total of four pages of text. On each page there are two columns, or stanzas, in a layout that may be seen as typical of biblical psalms as they are written in modern typography. This way of writing is not typical of ancient documents, however, and there are additional characteristics of the text that make it unique in several aspects.

#### a. *Length*

The text is divided into four chapters according to the four first days of the month of Iyar, but as mentioned, the beginning and the end of the manuscript are missing. The entire text that we possess is 998 words in length.

b. *The Name of the Lord*

The scribe wrote the name of the Lord as if this were a biblical text, not in an abbreviation such as יי, but rather יהוה. This way of writing the name of the Lord is very unusual in the rabbinic tradition, though there are a few parallels.<sup>9</sup>

2. *Liturgy: Four Hymns or Psalms*

When the text's structure is examined, it is clearly identifiable that portions of the manuscript were cut at the beginning as well as at its end. The intermediate selections are complete; they contain two full liturgies, so it can be reasonably surmised that the original text was composed of four liturgies (at least). At first glance the text appears to be a biblical psalm, but after only one line it becomes palpable that the author had neither the intention nor the skill to compose a biblical psalm. The author, rather, wrote poetry in his own personal style, idiosyncratic and unusual, and not biblical in any aspect.

The text is a liturgical piece, hence it should be analyzed according to its adherence to the accepted structure of liturgy as well as in relation to its content.

a. *A Different Prayer for Every Day*

In the heading of three liturgies, the date when the text should be recited is mentioned, as it is in Ps 91. In these selections the dates are sequential, however, so it is clear that the psalm recorded before those dated the fourth, third, and second of Iyar must have had the missing heading denoting it as intended for the first day in the month of Iyar.

The literary style of the liturgy for the first day of the month is slightly more elaborate and elevated than the other liturgies, as is evident from the prayer's alphabetic structure. This is unlike the other psalms, which indicates that this literary piece received special treatment and intellectual investment. Considering the enhanced ritual status of the first of the month in comparison to the other days in the month, it is apparent why the former is accorded special treatment; this phenomenon is demonstrated in the prayer-book, where on *Rosh-ḥodesh* the liturgy is much

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 161 n. 32.

more complex. This state of affairs makes the singularity of the liturgy of the first day of Iyar easy to explain. However, when we come to discuss the designation of a different prayer for each day, this is a different subject that requires further critical attention.

The assignment of a special prayer for each and every day is a non-rabbinic feature of liturgy. Though it is possible to claim that this practice is derived from the Mishnah (*Ber.* 4:4), it is known that this idea did not spread among the rabbis. In rabbinic liturgy, as is evidenced in the daily prayer service, each and every weekday has the same liturgy (excluding the readings from the Torah), while only the psalm, *Shir shel Yom*, is different for each day of the week. This liturgy, though derived from temple rituals like the *Ma'amadot*,<sup>10</sup> was actually established in a post-Talmudic era. Another instance of this tradition is the *Hosha'anot*, where one is instructed to recite a different *Hosha'ana* poem every day during Sukkot. As far as can be determined, this custom comes from the days of the Gaonim (seventh to tenth centuries). It seems, in turn, that the practice of reciting a different *Hosha'ana* each day has its origin in the different sacrifices that were offered in the Temple each day during Sukkot. In any event, this provides further evidence that the idea of having a different liturgy for each day is non-rabbinic.

On the other hand, the practice of having a different liturgy for each day of the month is typical of the Qumran tradition. The most important text demonstrating this phenomenon is 4QpapPrQuot (4Q503), where it is stated: "and on the sixth of the mo[nth in the evening they shall bless and answer and s]ay, Ble[ssed be the God of] Israel" (III:18) etc.<sup>11</sup> In this fragmentary text we have evidence for a special prayer for the fifth, sixth, seventh, twelfth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth days of the month; this is not the sole text attesting to such a custom (another is 4QDibHam<sup>a</sup> [4Q504] 8 recto). It should be noted that this practice is augmented by the fact that for every Sabbath, or at least in a number of them, there was a special liturgy for that specific Sabbath,

<sup>10</sup> Y. Ta'an. 4:3, 68b; b. Ta'an. 27b; J. Tabory, "Ma'amadot: A Second-Temple Non-Temple Liturgy," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E.G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 235–261.

<sup>11</sup> B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Poetry* (Biblical Encyclopaedia Library 14; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996), 35–44 (Hebrew); J.R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 208–224.

as is revealed in 11QShirShabb (11Q17), 4QShirShabb<sup>a</sup> (4Q400), and 4QShirShabb<sup>d</sup> (4Q403); additional documents confirm the existence of the same custom.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, it is clear that the concept behind these non-canonical “new” psalms, as well as behind the liturgy of Qumran, is that of having a different prayer for every day; this idea is not found in the rabbinic tradition until a comparatively late period.

### b. *The Benedictions*

There are three benedictions, or doxologies, in the text. Each is at the end of a chapter. This feature is only absent from the fourth chapter, where the end of the manuscript is missing. Making a benediction the literary closure of a piece is already present in the book of Psalms, but only at a later period did it become standard in rabbinic liturgical pieces such as the *Shemoneh Esre*. This practice is also attested to in Hekhalot literature (ca. fourth to fifth centuries), though its presence is not systematic. The structure and content of each of the benedictions, however, is different from any formerly known benedictions.

The first psalm ends as follows: ברוך אתה יהוה אל לעבדו בכל עת קוראיו which is unusual, not only in its Hebrew format but because of the unique repetition of God’s name using different appellations. The second psalm ends with a doxology; there is no clear benediction, but the word ברוך is repeated not less than seven times. The third psalm ends with this benediction: ברוך אתה יהוה אל נא זוכר ברחמי את ברית עבדו לנצח; once again we note a previously unknown benediction that has no parallel and just as with the ending of the first psalm, the name of the Lord is repeated in different forms. In the Jewish liturgical heritage from Qumranic, rabbinic, and Karaite sources, there are altogether about 170 benedictions. However, the benedictions under discussion are an example of a unique style that is unparalleled elsewhere.<sup>13</sup>

### 3. *Content*

There are at least three themes that are expressed in different forms in these psalms. These themes reveal the essence of the text, and in doing so provide a unique “fingerprint” of the author, and of the text itself.

<sup>12</sup> Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Poetry*, 38, 207–237; Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 147.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *b. Ber.* 59b.

a. *Universalistic versus Nationalistic Liturgy*

Biblical as well as rabbinic liturgy may be divided into two different categories: a personal or a national liturgy on the one hand and a universalistic liturgy on the other. These two types of prayers can be discerned in many texts; it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide examples of both groups from biblical or rabbinic liturgies, though they abound. Suffice it to say that a text that discusses "Israel" falls into the category of those that are nationalistic in nature, while a text that discusses "all the nations" has a universalistic appeal.

At the very beginning of this manuscript the Lord is described as one "who knows the ways of all living," the one who separated light from darkness in the world. In the first psalm it is stated that the "shoot of Jesse," that is King David, is said to be the "king of all nations" the one who smote "all kings of Midian" and who was stronger than all "the heroes of Qedar." In the second psalm it is stated that "all nations will recount Your glory" and later "all the inhabitants of the world" will learn from me (the psalmist). In the third psalm it is stated: "for all will know the Lord, from their great to their smaller people, since the Lord judges the whole world."

However, the first psalm represents the nation of Israel as "Your people," while in the second psalm Israel is called "the sheep that was slaughtered." The third psalm mentions "daughters of Jerusalem" and "His Torah." These variations indicate that the themes of these psalms are interwoven in a very unusual way. When juxtaposed to the nationalism in the Shemoneh Esre, it becomes clear that the combination of themes in the text under discussion is unusual.

The fourth psalm (from which the end is missing), in contrast, bears the character of a personal prayer, resembling many personal prayers in the book of Psalms. For that reason even a non-Jew may recite the words of the fourth psalm with no hesitation. In summary, in terms of the standard categorization of psalms according to theme, from the nationalistic versus the universalistic point of view three psalms out of four do not fit the standard models; clearly this issue merits more study.

b. *Praising the Lord: His Might and Theodicy*

One aspect of any prayer, no doubt, is praising God, and one can see this feature in almost any prayer in the Jewish liturgy. This is true, of course, of the text in hand, where in many cases the prayer speaks to his God



recounting His deeds. Of special importance is the epithet שופט צדק that appears twice, in the first and the fourth psalms. In the fourth psalm this concept is even more pronounced: *כי אתה הוא שופט הצדק/ולא יצא מלפניך משפט שקר* (“since you are judge of justice and no false judgment will come out from you”); this statement can only be interpreted as theodicy. The fact that the second psalm begins with the tragedy of the slaughtered sheep followed by more prayers, petitions, and eulogy shows that the poet was thinking of the Deity in light of theodicy. The idea, of course, is not new, but weaving this theology into liturgical verses is a unique feature of this text.<sup>14</sup>

### *c. Praising David*

In Jewish liturgy King David plays a role, since he is mentioned several times a day in rabbinic prayer. In Jewish tradition King David has an important position, not as a hero to be praised, but rather because of the belief that his descendent will save the Jewish people. In the Bible, the role of King David is even more prominent and elevated; see Ps 89:21 (4QPs<sup>x</sup> [4Q98g]) or 132:11, where he is acclaimed.

In the text at hand, King David is praised much more extensively than in the Bible, and after reading a few verses it becomes evident that the author considered King David to be his hero. For example, in the second half of the first psalm twelve lines are devoted to praising King David in an unprecedented manner.

Before concluding the present discussion of the content of the prayers in this document, one should keep in mind that the majority of the liturgy of Qumran does not convey sectarian beliefs. That is to say, assuming fragments one may find are from a liturgical text, they do not necessarily reveal the text's theological background. A modern example of this phenomenon can be seen in present-day Jewish liturgies: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism alike do not present their uniqueness in each and every sentence of their literature of worship. This is especially true when one reads only one or two pages out of an entire book, and this principle applies to the matter under discussion in a similar manner.

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. *b. Ber.* 58b.

#### 4. *Idiosyncratic Hebrew*

Flusser, Safrai, Fleischer, and Haran did their best to point out that some of the phrases in the text are common to and characteristic of Qumran. Such phrases are: בחירי צדק, חפצי רצונך, גתיבי צדקך, and perhaps one or two additional expressions. The number of these parallel phrases is small, however, and one needs to be aware of the broader picture before attempting to determine the significance of one specific aspect of the language.

The present text is composed in a unique and idiosyncratic form of Hebrew that utilizes unusual syntax and vocabulary. No doubt, translating the text is not easy. Some of the phrases are not known elsewhere, such as מבטחות גדולות, תקומי הארץ, and more. Others are extremely rare, such as רוני תבל.<sup>15</sup>

Another uncommon linguistic practice in the Hebrew text is the affinity of the author for expressing a single concept in two words, a formula that leads to a plethora of double-phrases. One might imagine that this practice implies that he is using a genitive construction, though this is not the case. This type of language is known from Qumran as well as from “classic” *piyyutim* (ca. fifth to eighth centuries). It is not clear whether this language formation exists in rabbinic texts, but it has been claimed that this type of phrasing was already present in the Bible.<sup>16</sup>

All in all, the Hebrew employed in this manuscript is neither biblical nor rabbinic, neither Qumranite nor Karaite. The text was written in atypical Hebrew that is one of a kind. Had but a few words been missing from the text, less than one percent, modern scholars would have been highly skeptical about any connection between these psalms and Qumran. It is true that even in Qumran more than one type of Hebrew was used,<sup>17</sup> but the reader should nonetheless be cautious and keep the significance of parallel phraseology in proportion.

<sup>15</sup> The last expression is found in a song attributed to Joshua in the book of Yashar. See D. Goldschmidt, ed., *Sepher hajaschar: Das Heldenbuch: Sagen, Berichte und Erzählungen aus der israelitischen Urzeit* (Berlin: Harz, 1923), 290.

<sup>16</sup> N. Aloni, *Tiberian School of Hebrew Grammar* (Jerusalem: Mass, 1995), 74 (Hebrew); Haran, *Biblical Collection*, 1:159 n. 29.

<sup>17</sup> J.F. Elwolde, “Developments of Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University 11–14 December 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 17–55 (nn. 14, 38).

### 5. *Poor Poetry*

When the text is analyzed from a poetical perspective, as a manuscript that appears to be poetic in nature, one cannot but be surprised at the fact that the writer attempted to create poetry notwithstanding the deficiency of his skills in this art. If one thinks of a poet, certainly of a prophet, as a sage who is assumed to have a total command of his own language, then in this case one would be disappointed. It is true that Harkavy wrote as the title of his paper that the text is composed in the style of the book of Psalms. A closer look at the text, however, readily reveals that this characterization is an overstatement. The most that can be claimed is that the author of the document was familiar with the book of Psalms, which is not a particularly daring assumption. Moreover, when reading the psalms in the manuscript under discussion, one may wonder why an author with such limited ability would attempt the poetic genre in the first place.

### 6. *Prophecy*

The role of prophecy in these psalms deserves special treatment, both because of its unprecedented character and because close study may provide a clue as to its nature.

Although the first psalm lacks a heading, the other three psalms begin with a header, or a superscript, that reads as follows: "On that date in the month I saw in a (holy) vision and all prophecies, and I prayed before the Lord and said." In the first psalm, since the superscript is missing, one cannot be certain of the connection between the author and the prophecy, that is, to whom to attribute the ensuing prophecy. The author does mention prophecy as a spiritual experience of "Your servant," however, which leads the reader to assume that the speaker is the author himself. That is to say, the author implies that he himself is a prophet, which is a very unusual phenomenon.

The problem of prophecy in this text should be divided into two different issues: a) an author who is a prophet; and b) a prayer that was made in relation to a prophecy. The statement that implies the speaker himself was a prophet raises the immediate question: when did this prophet live, or until what historical era did the Jews believe they had prophets among them? The other question is striking as well, though more uncommon: do we know of any other liturgical composition—a prophetic prayer or a prayer by a prophet—that is said to have been composed under the

influence of a vision? Though there are many liturgical pieces in the Bible, it seems that the most relevant, if not the only parallel,<sup>18</sup> is Ps 89:20–38, in which a vision is related to a hymn and David is praised, as occurs in the first psalm in our text.<sup>19</sup>

In any event, the text under discussion is unique in terms of the prophetic tradition, especially when taking into consideration the fact that according to the rabbis of the first centuries, prophecy had disappeared a considerable time previously. In this text, on the contrary, the author speaks of prophecy as a living phenomenon, implying that he was not part of rabbinic tradition.

### 7. *The Author*

Harkavy was in doubt concerning the identity and chronology of the author of this text. In contrast to Harkavy's caution, Flusser and Safrai were confident that the text was composed by someone who attributed the psalms it contained to King David, and thus convinced that the text itself is pseudepigraphic. A close look at Flusser and Safrai's study reveals how much emphasis they put on this aspect of the manuscript. When reading the primary document without the aid of former studies, however, it becomes clear that the author does not explicitly clarify his identity at any point, nor does he imply that King David rather than he is the author of the psalms. On the contrary, the poet speaks of David in the third person. It is thus not surprising that Fleischer began his refutation of Flusser and Safrai's research exactly at this point. In other words, King David's authorship was attributed to the text without textual evidence.

The intellectual profile of the author is not easy to reconstruct and hence the following is but conjecture. The text itself indicates that the author had some knowledge of the Bible, especially the book of Psalms, though the Bible did not leave a noticeable imprint on his way of thinking or expression. His writing evidences knowledge of some of Qumranic literature as well as some of rabbinic liturgy, but to what extent cannot be determined. There is almost no indication that the author knew any rabbinic tract. Most of the text is not sectarian, a feature already noted in relation to Qumran. Non-rabbinic features of the text are the practice

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Jer 32:14–17.

<sup>19</sup> See P.W. Flint, "The Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 158–167.

of the scribe writing the biblical form of the name of the Lord and of recording a different prayer each day, but these features may be seen in rabbinic circles as well. The most notable difference between this author and the rabbis is his claim of seeing visions (and his unprecedented benedictions). Since the author was a prophet, he was thus not part of rabbinic society. It seems the author played a role in his congregation as the prayer leader, or perhaps as a religious leader in some other capacity.

### C. DATING THE TEXT

Some people consider the dating of any given text as the most important aspect in understanding its meaning, and this idea is increasingly valid the older the text is considered to be. Finding a “new” text that is not known through tradition is similar to an archeological discovery, and it is no wonder that scholars debate such matters, especially when an element that is sectarian, or in some way unusual, is involved. It seems that the goal of determining the date of the text in hand influenced the thinking of the scholars involved in analyzing its content, as they assumed that unless they ascertained when it was written, the publication would suffer a real lacuna. There is of course no problem in declaring the date of a text even before analyzing it, though some appear to think that first and foremost a conclusion as to the chronological context is required, and only afterwards can the text be properly analyzed. Needless to say, this type of scholarship is not the most optimal means of building knowledge.

Harkavy was of the opinion that the text was composed by “either David Alroi, or Abraham Abulafia or some other false prophet,” postulating that perhaps it was composed between the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Flusser and Safrai declared that the text was composed before the destruction of the Second Temple, which put its composition sometime between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. Fleischer stated that: “certainly (the author) worked after the Arab conquest of the Land of Israel,” implying an approximate date of between the seventh to ninth centuries. Haran was of the opinion that this text (along with another that is not studied here) was composed by a Karaite, without giving a specific date, though it may be surmised that his opinion was that the text was composed probably around the eighth to ninth centuries C.E. All this leaves the reader with the tentative conclusion, according to the span of time between these opinions, that the date of the text’s composition is anywhere within a timeframe of around 1300 years! Contemplating

this wide span may remind the reader of the analogous problem of *Hermes Trismegistus*, or else may lead one to consider the poor status of our knowledge of Hebrew textual historiography.

Attempting to solve the problem of dating seems formidable, especially when taking into account the aforementioned scholarship but, nevertheless, finding the *Sitz im Leben* is part of understanding a text and this leads us to discern unsatisfactory arguments in former studies. It seems that Fleischer puts excessive stress on the word Qedar, claiming that since Qedar was a common epithet for Arabs in the Middle Ages, this word suggests a Medieval date for the text. As Fleischer knew the origin of each and every Hebrew word, it appears that he was confident that his readers share this knowledge, and so he did not provide them with additional information about the term Qedar. Biblical Qedar is the name of one of the sons of Ishmael (Gen 25:13) and Isaiah made a prophecy against “heroes, children of Qedar” (Isa 21:16–17). In Ezek 27:21 Qedar is cited together with Arabia (and Sheba), and therefore it cannot be claimed that the mention of “heroes of Qedar” as enemies of King David in the first psalm can be taken as proof of its connection to Arabs, and thus denote a later date of composition. Thus, the fact that the presence of a particular biblical word is taken by Fleischer to suggest a late date looks as if it is based upon a self-convinced scholar’s assumption. Moreover, Fleischer is well aware of the cry against idolatry in the second psalm but he does not interpret this as an indication of pre-Arab times. He is undoubtedly cognizant of the similarity between this text and a liturgical piece named “*Aleinu*,” but for some reason he fails to declare that this piece of liturgy originated in the Hekhalot literature,<sup>20</sup> perhaps because he ignored it (along with more than thirty poems in this literature). Given this evidence, it must be admitted that Fleischer’s arguments are flawed, and consequently it is more legitimate to accept Flusser and Safrai’s claims for an earlier date of composition.

Going “backwards” in time does not necessarily lead us to agree with Flusser and Safrai that the text under consideration originated in Qumran, however. On the contrary, the affiliations with Qumran literature, valid as they are, are too few to convincingly validate the claim the text came from Qumran. That is to say, just as Fleischer overemphasized the word Qedar to denote lateness, Flusser and Safrai “sinned” in the other

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<sup>20</sup> M. Bar-Ilan, “The Source of ‘Aleinu le-Shabe’ah’ Prayer,” *Da’at* 43 (1999): 5–24 (Hebrew).

direction, claiming Qumran provenance on very meager grounds (as well as attributing pseudepigraphy and messianism to the text without sufficient basis).

It seems that a key point in determining the chronology of this text is the phrase “the sheep that was slaughtered,” words derived from Ps 44:23. Taking the usage of this phrase as denoting real history leads one to surmise that it reflects the aftermath of either the first or the second rebellion against the Romans (70 or 135 C.E.). As previously noted, there is no reason to assume that the author had any rabbinic training or that the way he expressed his thoughts reflects a world-view different than any other of his time and place. The author’s claim to prophecy leads one to speculate that he could not be one of the rabbis who believed that prophecy had left Israel centuries before the second destruction. On the other hand, we know for a fact that there were many Jews, not including rabbis, who in the first and second centuries believed in a living prophecy.<sup>21</sup> Jews in those times might have had connections or even access to the Qumran library, and hence using Qumranic phraseology does not necessarily or automatically lead to Qumran itself. The main “source” of the text is the Bible, the common heritage of all Jews in Antiquity. Using words assumed to be taken from Qumran, on the one hand, and using words assumed to be taken from rabbinic circles (as claimed by Fleischer), on the other, hint at the theory that what we have at hand is a non-rabbinic and non-Qumranic (and needless to say, not a Karaite) text. Rather, the text at hand reflects a form of Jewish thinking at the end of the first century or in the second century that later was considered to be sectarian, though those who prayed in this manner, with this piece of liturgy, would not have considered themselves as such during their own times.

R. Yohanan (d. 279 C.E.) stated that the Jews went into exile (when Jerusalem was destroyed) only after they were separated into twenty-four (that is, numerous) sects of heresies.<sup>22</sup> This well-known statement has been accepted by modern scholarship as a kind of proof for the division of the Jews into sects, though none have really asked how to validate testimony given some 200 years after the event. For that reason, it is assumed that the words of R. Yohanan, true as they are, also reflect his

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<sup>21</sup> D.E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983); R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> *Y. Sanh.* 10:5, 29c.

own times. In other words, though it seems that after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem only the rabbis were left to preserve the national spirit, so to speak, the truth was that a number of other types of Jews were living at the time, as some scholars have already argued.<sup>23</sup>

In all, the text in hand is a reflection of one of the many Jews who lived in Palestine a century or so after the destruction of the Second Temple. In Antiquity there were numerous groups of Jews, many more than attested to by our sources, and the text from the Genizah affords additional evidence of the diversity of Judaisms in Antiquity.<sup>24</sup>

#### D. SOME METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

Analyzing a text according to a pre-conceived opinion derived from prior scholarly expertise is nothing but an example of academic dogma, which is not far from fixed theological doctrine. Modern criticism should be free of such academic bias even when opinions of this nature are expressed by a respected scholar of great repute.

Although scholars are anxious to know the exact date of any text that comes from Antiquity, there are numerous additional questions that must be posed, such as: what data can be considered “proof” of the assumed date of a previously unknown text? Once again, we refer to a well-known methodological understanding: the fewer hypotheses the better in order to form solid conclusions, which need be established and backed up by a systematic analysis.

Former scholars have looked at the text under study here as a dichotomy: either it is from Qumran or it is a non-rabbinic text, assumed to be Karaite. Historical evidence allows more than only these two possibilities, however, and having two options does not exclude the option of a third. In other words, if the text is not rabbinic, that allows but does not of

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<sup>23</sup> M. Black, “The Patristic Accounts of Jewish Sectarianism,” *BJRL* 41 (1958–1959): 285–303; A.F.J. Klijn and G.J. Reinink, *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (NovT-Sup 36; Leiden: Brill 1973); M.D. Goodman, *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 67; Leiden: Brill 2007), 33–46.

<sup>24</sup> A.F. Segal, *The Other Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (BJS 127; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); G. Boccaccini, “Middle Judaism and its Contemporary Interpreters (1986–1992): Methodological Foundations for the Study of Judaisms, 300 BCE to 200 CE,” *Hen* 15 (1993): 207–233; J.J. Collins, “Varieties of Judaisms in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” *JR* 77 (1997): 605–611.



necessity entail the conclusion that it is a Karaite text, for one scholar, or a Qumranite text, for another.

The issue of authoritatively dating a text cannot depend upon a single phrase, nor on any one particular custom, since in Antiquity, like today, there were many diverse categories of Jews; it is not possible to determine exactly who belonged to what group. In order to understand ancient documents, therefore, instead of focusing solely on particular words, one should look for other phenomena, such as special liturgy, prophecy, and more.

This discussion concludes by drawing attention to a case analogous to the one under study, the critical history of a text whose discovery is similar in many aspects to the one being analyzed in this paper: *Die Weisheitsschrift*.<sup>25</sup> In both instances, texts from the Genizah led to ensuing critical debate over dating spanning centuries, where several hundred years stand between the contending opinions.

#### CONCLUSION

Though the text from the Genizah that is the subject of this study has already been published and analyzed, many of its aspects still need further clarification, and would benefit from additional, more thorough studies free of predetermined hypotheses.

The text under discussion is no more than a small fragment, but it does constitute testimony to a non-rabbinic Judaism, and as such its importance is unequivocal.

In conclusion, rather than discussing Judaisms in Antiquity on the scant existing evidence, one should look forward to collecting and analyzing additional texts in a mode free from pre-conceived characterizations; their number is larger than one would expect.

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<sup>25</sup> S.Z. Schechter, "Genizah Fragments," *JQR* 16 (1904): 425–452; K. Berger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza: Erstedition, Kommentar und Übersetzung* (Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 1; Tübingen: Francke, 1989); E. Fleischer, *The Proverbs of Sa'id ben Babshad* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1990), 241–263; G.W. Nebe, "Die wiederentdeckte Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza und ihre 'Nähe' zum Schrifttum von Qumran und zu Essenern," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*, Paris 1992 (ed. G.J. Brooke and F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 241–254; J.J. Collins, "Review of K. Berger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza*," *JBL* 110 (1991): 148–150.



APPENDIX 2  
TRANSCRIPTION OF THE HEBREW TEXT<sup>26</sup>

## שירי דוד החיצוניים

א	ולא תבקיש עליהם עידי אדם: יודיע בדרכי כל חי: ולא יתיצבו הוללים לנגד כבודך: ובין טמא לטהור ובין צדק לשקר: וטהרת צאנך מן חיה טמאה: כי מיבין בכלום כחפצי רצונך: ומשפט הרביתה בעולמים: אשר יאמינו בדברי עבדך: ופועלי טובתם אשר אהבו בלבבם: וישרתה כוחם בכל מעשי פלאך: ולנצח נצחים ירוממו את שמך: ומי ידמה לך על רב כל מעשיך: וכפרת באהבה על כל פשעינו: כי קרבתי קץ ועוד לא תאחר: ומשחת ברחמך את שורשי ישי: כי היכין שבחך עד אפסי ארץ: וגודר פרץ ובונה חורבות: ועלית לראש מעל כל האומים: והוד כל הגוים קראת את שמו: ושלום וברכות עד בלי מספר: כי ישמחו בא[רץ ח]מדה: ושירות עונך יספר כל היום: ומלך כל האומים נתתו לנצח: וטבעת במצולות כל שונאי נפשו: וחזקת ורועו על כל גיבורי קידר: ולא יכשל כוחו כי עזרתו באהבה: כי לעולם לעולם לא נכלמו פניו: ברוך אתה יהוה אל עונה לעבדו בכל עת קוראיו: ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד: ברוך יהוה אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם באמר כל העם אמן: והתפללתי לפני יהוה ואמרת:	א	גלוי לפניך צדיק ורשע דיין דורות ושופט בצדק חפצת בצדק ומאסת בעוול והבדלתה עולם בין חושך לאור 5 זריתה מעמך כל בני זרים חוכמת עונך נתתה לעבדך טעתה צדקות בארץ אמת ילמדו שיר כל עובדי שמך כנגד כל הארץ ירבו צדקתם 10 כוננת דרכם אל מצותך לעולם לעולם יעבדו את שמך מי כמעשיך ומי כפועליך מחלת וסלחת על כל חטאתינו ניבאת ברוחך על פי עבדך 15 נשבעת מראש לדויד עבדך סמכת זרועו בקדושתך עמוד עולם שמתה את שמו פינה ממואסה אשר מאסו הבונים פאר ועטרת הינחלתו ברינה 20 צדק ומשפט הרביתה בימיו צהלו לפניך כל בחירי צדק קדשת על פיו את שם הגדול רוב כל מלאכים עשית גדולתו שברת לפניו כל מלכי מדין 25 תמכת ימינו על הרבו לא ימוט רגלו כי בטח בשמך אשרי הגבר אשר יבטח בדברך ב
	ב	ב	ב
	5	5	5
	10	10	10

<sup>26</sup> The Hebrew text is based on former readings but compared to the Photostats (that do not show each and every word). In comparison with Flusser's text there are eight emendations but only in two cases (2:11; 3:13) are these changes significant. Few minor typographical changes were made to clarify the reading.

- ישמח צדיק כי יראה זאת  
ילמדו ממני כל יושבי תבל
- 15 ויקדמו פניך בתודה  
יגדלו כבודך בתוך מחנותם  
יבושו כל עובדי סמל  
לא יעבדו עוד את אלילים  
והאלילים כליל יחלופו
- 20 ותתגדל ותתקדש מפי כל מעשך  
כי עבדך יספר בנפלאותיך  
כי אין לי שמחת כל דבר  
אל תסתיר ממני ברחמך הרבים  
כי אהבתי מעון ביתך
- 25 טוב לי תורתך  
טוב לי קדוש דברך  
טוב לי מצוות רצונך מכל אבנים טובות
- ג אשרי שימצא כבוד בחפצי רצונך  
וזה חפצי על כל בקשותי  
ואהליך בצדקתך בלא עוון  
אל תמנע ממני את שאלתי
- 5 אעמוד בהם עד עולם  
ברוך אל עושה זאת  
ברוך אשר בחר בעבדו  
ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם:
- 10 ברוך יהוה אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד  
בשלושה בחדש אייר ראיתי במראה וכל נבואיו  
והתפללתי לפני יהוה ואמרתי:
- ומבורך משפיל ומרים:  
ומאשפות הירים אביון  
ויגביר כוחו על כל מושלים:  
וחיל גוים ואוצרות מלכים:  
ובנות ירושלם לתפארת מלכותו:  
ולפניו ישתחוו כל תקומי ארץ:  
ולא יטעו עוד בהבל ומשגה:  
מגדולי אדם ועד קטני אינוש:  
אחד משפיל ואחד מירים:  
ולאביוני אדם ירש נחלה:  
ורוח כל בשר אליו ישתחוו:  
שיחו כל נפלאותיו:  
כי לו נאה תפארת ועוז:  
ומיד כל מרעים רוח חסידו:  
ובדברי קדשו ובכל דרכי חיים:  
ולנצח נצחים נגיד גבורתו:  
וחובש את עצם דכים:  
חזיע ורתת למבטחות גדולות:  
תבל וכל יושבי בה:  
הוד והדר וכבוד מלכותו:  
ושלח הרופא ורפא בשרם:  
ומצות דברו על ידי נאמנו:  
ורב קדושתו עד בלי מספר:  
אשר לא שכח צעקת איביון:  
גבורות ועוז ממלחתו ותפארת עוז:
- ברוך מוריש ומעשיר  
מהקים מעפר דל  
ויגדל כסאו מעל כל השרים
- 15 ויתן לו כל חמדת מלכים  
בנות מלכים לכבודו  
אשריו יאמרו כל העולמים  
ויבטחו ביהוה כי הגדיל לעשות  
כי כולם ידעו את יהוה
- 20 כי יהוה שופט בכל העולם  
לאשר ירצה יתן  
כי בידו נפש כל חי  
שירו לו זמרו לו  
שירו לשמו בכל עת
- 25 אשר היציל מצרה את נפש אוהבו  
כי בטח בשמו ובכבוד מראה  
לעד נעבוד את שמו
- ד כי הוא רופא לנשברי לב  
והוא הפך דוויה לשמחה  
כי לו ארץ ומלוואה
- 5 כי מלפניו צוה על עבדו  
אשר חפץ בטוב עמו  
והכביד תורתו על פי עבדו  
הירבה בלבו חכמה ובינה  
מי דומה לו ומי כמותו  
והכריז ברחמי עמו ודל וגם אנכי כי זכרתי

ואברך את זכרו על כל מעשיו: תתקדש ותתפאר מושיל בכל מעשיו: שופט צדק ודיין אמת: את ברית עבדו לנצח: ברוך שם כבודו לעולם ועד: ברוך יהוה אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם ואמר כל העם אמן: בארבעה בחודש אייר ראיתי ברות במראה הקודש וכל נבואיו והתפללתי לפני יהוה ואמרתי: והעמיד קרן צדיקים: כי אתה הוא שופט הצדק: כי אם אמת ואמונה: וכפרי מעלליו תשיב לו: ואין כזב בכל דברך: ועול בל ימצא במעשך: וכורע מבורך הצמחתה צדקתך: יספר כבודך בכל יום: לאוכל לנצח לעמוד ברצונך אשרי שומרי פקודיך:	10 לילה ויום אעמוד לפניו תתברך ותתרומם אדון כל הדורות תתיחד מלכי מפי כל משרתך ברוך אתה יהוה אל נא זוכר ברחמיו ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד: 15 20 25 כי ת[מול ו]היום
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APPENDIX 3  
ENGLISH TRANSLATION<sup>27</sup>

- I. Revealed before you are the righteous and the evil;  
you want not for human witnesses:  
Judge of generations, your rulings are just,  
knowing in the ways of all living things:  
You desire justice and despise injustice;  
the boastful will not stand before your glory:  
You divided the world into darkness and light,  
into pure and impure, justice and lie:  
5 You cast off from your nation all aliens,  
purifying your flock of impure beasts:  
You bestow upon your servant your mighty wisdom;  
he understands all according to your desire:  
You have planted righteousness in the land of truth,  
multiplying justice throughout eternity:  
All who worship your name will teach a song,  
all those who believe the words of your servant:  
Their righteousness is increased in the sight of all the land  
and of those who do justice, whom they love in their hearts:  
10 You have set their path toward your commandments,  
extending their might through your wondrous deeds:

<sup>27</sup> The English translation was made by Azzan Yadin. © All rights reserved to William B. Eerdmans and Magnes publishing companies. The translation is highly acclaimed but a few corrections have been made.

- For all eternity they worship your name,  
 glorifying it forevermore:  
 Who is like you in deeds, who in exploits,  
 who is like you in your many great feats:  
 You have forgiven and absolved us all our sins,  
 loving exonerated all our transgressions:  
 Your spirit prophesies through your servant;  
 for you draw the end near, it will tarry no more:
- 15 You vowed of old to your servant David,  
 mercifully anointing the shoot of Jesse:  
 You sustained his authority in your sanctity  
 for he spread your praise to the ends of earth:  
 You set his name as an eternal pillar;  
 he repairs the breach and rebuilds the ruins:  
 A cornerstone despised by the builders  
 you have raised to the headstone above all nations:  
 Joyfully you crown him with glory,  
 calling him the splendor of all nations:
- 20 You multiplied justice and the righteousness in his day,  
 peace and blessings forever beyond counting:  
 All the elect of justice rejoiced before you  
 for they will glory in the beloved land:  
 You have sanctified through him the holy name,  
 and he recounts daily the songs of your might:  
 You made him greater than all the angels,  
 establishing him as king of all nations forever:  
 You broke before him all the kings of Midian,  
 drowning in the abyss all those who hate him:
- 25 You sustained his right arm, bearing the sword,  
 giving strength to his arm over all the warriors of Qedar:  
 His leg will not stumble for he trusts in your Name;  
 his power will not wane for you lovingly aided him:  
 Blessed is the man whose faith is in your teaching  
 for he shall not be shamed forevermore:
- II. My soul trusted in you, answer me in your grace.  
 Blessed are you, O Lord God, who answers his servant at the time  
 that he calls unto him:  
 Merciful God, have mercy upon us.  
 Blessed is the name of the glory of his kingdom forever:  
 Blessed are you, O Lord God of Israel, for all eternity.  
 And the entire people said: Amen.
- 5 On the second day of Iyar I beheld a vision and all his prophecies,  
 and I prayed before the Lord, saying:  
 May your mercy, O Lord our God, rest upon the flock doomed to  
 slaughter;  
 the shepherds have killed it without mercy:

- Mercifully bind the crushed bones;  
 heal lovingly the wounds of your lot:  
 For you have placed me before you for the sake of the world;  
 you have placed me in your might as a light to the nations:  
 All the nations will tell your glory,  
 for they will see your justice on your faithful.
- 10 Let the rulers gather, all the kings of earth,  
 the lords of the world and the rulers of man:  
 That they may see the might of your right hand  
 and understand your holy words till the end:  
 All will know your might,  
 for your hand, O Lord, has done all these:  
 Let the righteous man be gladdened when he sees this,  
 rejoicing before you with hymns and gratitude:  
 Let all the inhabitants of earth learn from me,  
 and return to your way and worship you in faith:
- 15 They will greet your presence with thanksgiving,  
 with hymns and songs and giving thanks:  
 Magnifying your glory within their encampment  
 let them know that you, O Lord, created them:  
 All who worship idols shall be shamed  
 for they will come to recognize their statues:  
 No longer will they worship idols  
 nor bow down to artifacts:  
 The idols will utterly pass away,  
 their delights lost forever:
- 20 All your creatures will glorify and sanctify you  
 from now and for all eternity:  
 Your servant will speak of your wondrous deeds  
 according to his strength and the spirit of his words:  
 For I take joy in nothing  
 save your teachings and the appearance of your glory:  
 For the sake of your great mercies, do not hide yourself from me;  
 do not cause me to die for their love:  
 For I have loved your residence  
 more than all the palaces of kings:
- 25 The teachings of yours are better for me  
 than a myriad of gold bullion:  
 Your sacred words are better for me  
 than any fine garment:  
 The commandments of your will are better for me  
 than the precious stones and pearls, the desire of kings:
- III. Blessed is he who finds glory in the wishes of your will;  
 for your sake I shall indeed request of you:  
 And this is my desire above all my wishes  
 that I reside in your presence forever:

- And to walk in your righteousness without sin  
 and pursue your truth every day, as is right in your eyes:  
 Do not deny me my request;  
 fulfill my wish as though it were the wish of your will:
- 5 I will set myself in them for all eternity,  
 knowing the paths of your righteousness:  
 Blessed be God who does this,  
 blessed the one who performs these feats:  
 Blessed be He who selected his servant  
 and who fulfills all the wishes of my heart:  
 Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom forever and ever,  
 blessed be the name of his glory forever:  
 Blessed is the Lord God of Israel for all eternity.  
 And the people respond: Amen.
- 10 On the third day of Iyar I beheld a vision and all his prophecies,  
 and I prayed before the Lord, saying:  
 Blessed be He who impoverishes and enriches,  
 blessed be He who lays low and raises on high:  
 For He had raised the lowly from the dust,  
 the poor man from the refuse heap:  
 He made his throne greater than all ministers,  
 his power mightier than all rulers:
- 15 He gave all that kings desire,  
 the might of nations and treasures of kings:  
 Kings' daughters for his glory,  
 daughters of Jerusalem for the glory of his kingdom:  
 His blessed ones speak for all eternity;  
 all the mighty of earth will bow before him:  
 They will put their trust in the Lord for He has done mighty deeds,  
 no longer going astray after vanity and error:  
 For all will know the Lord  
 from the mightiest man to the most humble:
- 20 For the Lord is judge over the entire world;  
 He sets one on high while laying the other low:  
 He gives to whom He will,  
 providing an inheritance for the poorest of men:  
 For the soul of every man is in his power,  
 and the spirit of all flesh will bow down to him:  
 Sing to him, raise your voices in song,  
 speak all his great deeds:  
 Sing to his name at all times  
 for splendor and might are befitting him:
- 25 He saved the soul of his beloved from the straits  
 and the spirit of his righteous ones from all harm:  
 For he trusts in his Name and in the glory of the vision  
 and in His holy words, in all the paths of life:



- Forever will we worship his Name,  
speaking his might for all eternity:
- IV. For He heals the brokenhearted,  
bandages the bones of the downtrodden:  
He turns sorrow to joy,  
fear and trembling to refuge:  
For his is the earth and all that is in it,  
the universe and all its inhabitants:  
He has commanded his servant before him,  
the splendor and brilliance and glory of his kingship:
- 5 He wills the good of his people,  
sending the healer to heal their flesh:  
He made weighty his teaching upon his servant,  
his commands by the agency of his trusted messenger:  
He magnified wisdom and understanding in his heart,  
great sanctity without measure:  
Who is like him? Who compares to him?  
For he has not forgotten the cry of the poor.  
He recalls in his abundant mercies the poor and the downtrodden;  
I too recalled the mighty deed and power of his kingship, the  
splendor of his power:
- 10 Night and day I stand before him,  
blessing his memory for all his creatures:  
May you be blessed and glorified, master of the generations,  
Sanctified and glorified, the governor of all creatures:  
May the mouths of all your servants speak your unity,  
righteous and true judge:  
Blessed are you, O Lord God,  
who kindly recalls his servant's covenant forever:  
Blessed is the name of the glory of his kinship forevermore,  
blessed is the name of his glory forever:
- 15 Blessed is the Lord God of Israel for all eternity.  
And the people said: Amen.  
On the fourth day of Iyar I beheld a vision and all his prophecies,  
and I prayed before the Lord, saying:  
Blessed is He for He has broken the wicked  
and raised up the horn of the righteous:  
His knowledge and wisdom are in my heart,  
for you are the righteous judge:
- 20 No false judgment will you proclaim  
but only truth and faithfulness:  
You give to all according their ways,  
according to the fruit of their doings:  
There is no deceit in your actions,  
no falsity in your words:

Your action is wholly pure,  
no injustice in your deeds:  
You have multiplied your judgment like a flowing river,  
growing your righteousness like a blessed seed:  
25 Blessed is he who receives your holiness;  
he will speak of your glory every day:  
My support lies in the presence of your glory  
for eternity to stand in your will:  
For yesterday and today  
blessed are they that keep your commandments:

## THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY



## PAUL THE JEW AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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The contemporary discussion of “Paul and Judaism” continues in ways that are for the most part vague, imprecise and misleading and the very use of the phrase “Paul and Judaism” implies that Paul is an outsider. The time has come for a renewed focus on Paul as a Jew and to determine what streams within the diversity of Second Temple Judaism helped to shape his patterns of thought. I will suggest that the Dead Sea Scrolls contribute significantly to this process.

### 1. THE INTERNAL DIVERSIFICATION OF SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

E.P. Sanders and the alleged “new perspective of Paul” have been a dominant force in the contemporary discussion of Paul and Judaism. Although Sanders understanding of Judaism is seriously flawed he has helped shift the discussion to matters Jewish.<sup>1</sup> In his 1977 publication, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*,<sup>2</sup> Sanders had many of the Dead Sea Scrolls available but made inadequate use of them. Today we have over 900 Qumran manuscripts at our disposal and these, together with their emerging interpretations, have transformed the “new perspective” into the “old perspective.”<sup>3</sup> Additionally, research and publications related to the Judaism of the late Second Temple period as well as the interactions among themselves, including the Jesus movement, are increasingly available.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the detailed criticism by J. Neusner, “Comparing Judaisms: Review of E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*,” *HR* 18 (1978): 177–191.

<sup>2</sup> E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

<sup>3</sup> See K.P. Donfried, “Justification and Last Judgment in Paul—Twenty-Five Years Later,” in idem, *Paul, Thessalonica and Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 279–292; S.J. Gathercole, *Where is Boasting? Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul’s Response to Romans 1–5* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); also, S. Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> See S. Talmon, “The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and

Sander's reconstruction of Judaism is unsound precisely because he presents a homogenized view that respects neither the internal diversification of Judaism nor the often harsh polemical tensions between the various Torah schools. A perspective shared by many is that Sanders constructed an illusionary and artificial pattern of so-called Palestinian Judaism.<sup>5</sup> To focus predominantly on rabbinic and talmudic traditions of the post-second century and then to retroject this pattern back into the first century is precisely what scholars have rejected with regard to the applicability of, for example, second and third century Gnosticism as a tool for understanding the background of such New Testament documents as 1 Corinthians.

Among the conventional captivities that must be broken in the study of Paul is the continued domination of such distorting descriptors as "Judaism" and "Christianity." Paul never uses the terminology "Christian/Christianity" and the New Testament only uses the terms "Christian/Christians" three times.<sup>6</sup> For contemporary scholars to use such non-New Testament language in discussing Pauline thought inserts characterizations from a much later period that are bound to lead to serious distortions. Paul refers to believers in Christ as "saints,"<sup>7</sup> i.e., holy ones, and he himself is part of a larger, broader Jewish Jesus movement that is never referred to as "Christianity" nor characterized by him in any such way. Along these same lines Ed Sanders gets it fundamentally wrong when he argues that this "is what Paul finds wrong with Judaism: it is not Christianity."<sup>8</sup> Such an assertion already carries with it the presupposition of a split between "Judaism" and "Christianity" in the first half of the first century that must be categorically rejected. It is necessary to recognize that Paul is not involved in an *extra-mural* battle between Christians and Jews but in an *intramural* set of disagreements that take place within the Judaisms of the late Second Temple period.

It is Paul the Jew and his intramural conflict with some of the Judaisms of his day that require sustained focus and concentration and it is

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Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 3–24.

<sup>5</sup> See Neusner, "Comparing Judaisms."

<sup>6</sup> Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, 1 Cor 1:2 and Rom 1:7.

<sup>8</sup> Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 552.

precisely at this point that the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls afford a new perspective for rethinking Paul by providing the detailed context of another Jewish community that overlapped with the Pauline communities both chronologically and theologically, i.e. the *yaḥad* at Qumran that self-identifies itself as the community of the new covenant.<sup>9</sup>

In this context Shemaryahu Talmon makes the crucial point that the Qumran community, the *yaḥad*, is a movement “prophetically inspired and inclined to apocalypticism” and that it “dissents from the emerging brand of Pharisaic Judaism at the turn of the era” which represents a rationalist stream that first surfaces in Ezra and Nehemiah. Both movements, the prophetic and the rational, generate further diversification and, by the turn of the era, this process culminated in the distinct nonuniformity and heterogeneity of Judaism.<sup>10</sup> Daniel Schwartz, deepening such observations, has argued that there is a fundamental dissimilarity between the Qumran sectarians and rabbinic Judaism with regard to the very *nature* of the law. The Qumran attitudes on the validity of contemporary divine revelation and on predestination as opposed to free will are all corollaries of what he argues is a fundamental contradiction between priestly realism and rabbinic nominalism. Priests did not, in fact, depend upon the law for their authority whereas the sages and the rabbis had their authority only through the law.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, several texts from Qumran accuse the Pharisees of following “false laws, finding ways around the requirements of the law, and pronouncing false verdicts in legal cases—practices leading to the virtual annulment of Jewish law in the view of the sect. Indeed, the very existence of such laws constitutes an annulment of the Torah, because it replaces Torah laws with the laws of the Pharisees.” For the Qumran community tradition could not be authoritative “since all Israel had gone astray. The true way had been rediscovered by the sect’s teacher,” the Teacher

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<sup>9</sup> CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33; 20:12.

<sup>10</sup> Talmon, “Community,” 22.

<sup>11</sup> D.R. Schwartz, “Law and Truth: On Qumran-Sadducean and Rabbinic Views of the Law,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 229–240. This perspective has been criticized by J.L. Rubenstein, “Nominalism and Realism in Qumranic and Rabbinic Law: A Reassessment,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 157–183. While suggesting modifications, Rubenstein concludes that “Schwartz’s categories may still contribute a great deal to our understanding of ancient Jewish law” (183).

of Righteousness.<sup>12</sup> One might already at this point invite the question whether this is not strikingly evocative of assertions posited by the Apostle Paul?

It is only when such dissimilar assumptions of the *yaḥad* and the rationalist stream are sorted out that one can begin to understand the nature of the dialogue—often polemical—that takes place between these two groups within the larger family of Second Temple Judaism. Both Talmon and Schwartz suggest that at key points Paul has perspectives that cohere remarkably well with that of the *yaḥad* over against the Pharisaic stream. While comparisons are important, our ultimate goal must be to assess whether a deeper penetration of the contextual reality of the Qumran community can allow us more profound access into the structure and logic of Pauline thought. The central question is this: can Paul be comprehended more accurately and effectively by careful study of such primary Qumran texts as the *Community Rule* (1QS), the *Damascus Document* (CD), the commentaries/pesharim and the *Thanksgiving Hymns/Hodayot* (1QH), all of which chronologically precede the Jesus movement and its Pauline actualization? Will meticulous readings of these and similar texts help identify and expose dimensions of Pauline thought that might otherwise have been inadequately recognized?

## 2. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: DISTINCTIVE PERSPECTIVES

### 2.1. ברית

In addition to the distinctive perspectives already alluded to, there is a significant variance in the use of ברית between the conceptual frameworks of the community of Qumran and that of the Pharisees, with the *yaḥad's* understanding of ברית virtually absent from the latter. According to Talmon the Rabbis “did not develop the notion that in their days, and with their community, God had renewed his covenant of old with the people of Israel. In contrast to the pointed *communal* thrust of the Covenanter’s concept of ברית and specifically ברית חדשה the noun ברית, *per se* and in diverse word combinations, connotes in the Rabbinic vocabulary exclusively the act of circumcision. On the strength of this rite, every male infant is *individually* accepted into ברית אברהם אבינו, God’s

<sup>12</sup> L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 254.



ancient covenant with all Israel.” This “specific technical connotation of ברית,” he continues, “is not documented in *yahad* literature. On the other hand, the *communal* dimension of ברית which attaches to the concept of ‘covenant renewal’ in the Covenanters’ theology, as reflected in the Foundation Documents, appears to be altogether absent from the Rabbinic world of thought.”<sup>13</sup>

Given this strikingly different usage between these two Torah schools, it is of considerable interest to note Paul’s evident affinity for the *yahad*’s use of ברית, particularly in the context of an ecclesial comparison of the καινῆς διαθήκης with that of the old covenant in 2 Cor 3:6 and 14. For Paul the communal character of the new covenant is primary. It is also remarkable that the only two communities that give evidence to and interpret Jeremiah’s ברית חדשה are the *yahad* and the early Jesus movement, especially as articulated in Paul.

## 2.2. Biblical Hermeneutics

Since, in contrast to the Rabbis, Qumran granted “normative importance to contemporary (since Sinai!) divine revelation”<sup>14</sup> it used the *peshet* method of biblical interpretation, a contemporizing form of interpretation in which the prophetic texts are understood as referring to present events in the life of the *yahad*. More specifically, in its use of biblical texts it divided the law into distinct categories, i.e., the revealed (*nigleh*) and hidden (*nistar*).

A further result of the *yahad*’s prophetic hermeneutic is sharp criticism of Pharisaic rationalist interpretation. They are referred to as *dôr-shê ḥalāqôt*, meaning literally “seekers after smooth things,” but more properly understood as “interpreters of false laws.” In CD 4:19–20 they are called “builders of the wall . . .,” a phrase remarkably similar to *m. ’Abot* 1:1 where it is taught that one should “Build a fence around the Torah.” Similarly, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:10–11 it is stated that “they planned evil [lit., “Belial”] against me to replace your Torah which You taught in my heart with smooth things [i.e. false laws] (which they taught) to Your people.”

Not only does Paul participate in implicitly analogous criticisms, he reveals an exegetical method remarkably similar to that of the *yahad*. Each cite biblical texts in ways not unrelated. Joseph Fitzmyer has made

<sup>13</sup> Talmon, “Community,” 14–15.

<sup>14</sup> Schwartz, “Law and Truth,” 238.

a careful comparison of the introductory formulas used by Paul to introduce the Old Testament with those used in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>15</sup> He also makes references to the study by B.M. Metzger in which a comparison is made between the formulas used to cite "Old Testament" quotations in the Mishnah and the New Testament.<sup>16</sup> Fitzmyer concludes his meticulous evaluation with the conclusion that Paul's introductory formulas are far closer to the *yaḥad's* method than to the Pharisaic-rabbinic approach of the Mishnah. He then raises two perceptive queries with regard to the mode of Pauline citation: "Can the mode have so radically changed from the pre-70 Palestinian custom to that of the Mishnaic in the course of some 150 years? Or is a different custom being followed?"<sup>17</sup>

In this connection one other comment is in order. In Otto Michel's important volume, *Paulus und seine Bibel*,<sup>18</sup> he concluded that no collections similar to Paul's *testimonia* lists or *florilegia* (e.g. Rom 3:10–18; 9:25–29; 15:9–12) could be found in the Jewish tradition.<sup>19</sup> The publication of 4QTest (4Q175) in 1956 raises in yet another way the intriguingly proximate relationship between Paul and the *yaḥad* of Qumran.

### 2.3. *The Language of Temple Purity and Sanctification*

As is unmistakably evident in the Qumran literature, the *yaḥad* understood itself as a replacement temple, a virtual temple, in view of the utter corruption of the Jerusalem Temple from which they had separated (CD 20:23; 1QS VIII:5). As a result there is a stringent application of purity within the *yaḥad* as is testified by the presence of multiple *Mikva'ot* at the community center. Noteworthy also is the Qumran community's refusal to distinguish between cultic and moral impurity. Magness states the matter well: "To the sectarians, purity and impurity were manifestations of the moral state of the individual."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, "Paul's Jewish Background and the Deeds of the Law," in *According to Paul: Studies in the Theology of the Apostle* (New York: Paulist, 1993), 18–35, here 29–31. See also J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960–1961): 297–333.

<sup>16</sup> B.M. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah," *JBL* 70 (1951): 297–307.

<sup>17</sup> Fitzmyer, "Paul's Jewish Background," 31.

<sup>18</sup> O. Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1929).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>20</sup> J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 137.

There is sufficient language in the Pauline letters to suggest that Paul also viewed his communities as being replacements for the temple and that he himself is deeply concerned with issues of purity. Most striking is the reference that “we are the temple of the living God” in the broader context of 2 Cor 6:14–7:1. Almost identical is the use of “temple” language in 1 Cor 3:16–17 and 6:19, particularly with the references to “you” in the plural pointing to the community rather than the individual. The former is especially instructive: “Do you not know that you are God’s temple and that God’s Spirit dwells in you? If anyone destroys God’s temple, God will destroy that person. For God’s temple is holy, and you are that temple” (NRSV). Application of such a manner of thinking can also be found in 1 Cor 5:1–13. The replacement temple community cannot tolerate immorality since the impurity of even one member will defile the entire church. Since “our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed,” the “festival,” presumably the sacred meal of the community, must be celebrated not with the old yeast of malice and evil but “with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.” To guard against such impurity Deut 17:7 is invoked: “Drive out the wicked person from among you.” The presence of God in this sacred community demands purity. Paul’s *serekh*, i.e. his “order” or “rule” in 1 Thess 4:1–9 contains similar themes, including a corresponding pattern of uncleanness/impurity being opposed by sanctification/holiness.<sup>21</sup>

This use of temple and purity language in the Pauline letters raises a not unrelated question: the correlation of Paul’s divine apostolic call and his priestly ministry. In Schwartz’s analysis of the difference between the realism of Qumran and the nominalism of the Rabbi’s he notes that “my basic thesis is that there is a symmetry between the respective natures of priests and rabbis themselves, on the one hand, and the natures of their respective attitudes toward law, on the other. Priests (in Judaism) are created by God, or by nature, if you will, and seem typically to have ascribed great authority to God or nature in the legal process. Rabbis, in contrast, created themselves, and even prided themselves on the lack of importance of pedigree among them; it is noteworthy that their approach to law leaves God and nature on the sidelines, objects of debate but not participants in it.”<sup>22</sup> Or put another way, priestly “authority did not,

<sup>21</sup> See further on this K.P. Donfried, “Paul and Qumran: The Possible Influence of כרך on 1 Thessalonians,” in idem, *Paul, Thessalonica and Early Christianity*, 221–232.

<sup>22</sup> Schwartz, “Law and Truth,” 240.

in fact, depend upon the law. . . . Sages and rabbis, on the other hand, had authority only through the law.”<sup>23</sup>

Paul emphasizes his priestly role in Rom 15:16:

Nevertheless on some points I have written to you rather boldly by way of reminder, because of the grace given me by God to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service (ἱερουρογοῦντα) of the gospel of God, so that the offering (ἡ προσφορά) of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit. (NRSV)

What exactly does Paul have in mind when he writes to the Romans about his “priestly service”?

In Phil 2:17 the term λειτουργία is used in a distinctly liturgical setting: “But even if I am being poured out as a libation over the sacrifice and the offering of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with all of you” (NRSV). It would therefore appear that Paul is describing himself as being involved in a distinctly liturgical act in Rom 15, viz., preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, and this coheres well with his formulation at the opening of Romans: “For God, whom I worship (λατρεύω) with my spirit in the proclamation of the gospel of his Son . . .” (1:9). Fitzmyer is to be followed when he concludes that in “his mission to the Gentiles Paul sees his function to be like that of a Jewish priest dedicated to the service of God in his Temple.” It is indeed likely that for Paul in this context ἱερουρογέω means “to function as a priest,” and that the “service of the priests in the Jerusalem Temple provides the background of Paul’s metaphorical language.”<sup>24</sup> In this act of worship, however, the priestly offering does not include animals but repentant Gentiles.

In his letter to the Philippians the Apostle described himself “as to the law a Pharisee” (3:5). That Paul would still hold to such a self-description at the time he is writing Romans is unimaginable since such a Pharisaic allegiance would have disallowed using the sacrificial language of the temple cult in such a metaphorical way. Is not a closer proximity to concepts situated within the *yahad* a more likely source of influence than that of the Pharisaic/rationalist stream, particularly since the Apostle to the Gentiles views his communities in Christ as replacements for the temple much as did the covenanters at Qumran?

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 237.

<sup>24</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 711.

#### 2.4. Righteousness of God/Justification in the Context of Election

The *yahad's* confidence in predestination within a context of dualism differentiates them from the other Judaisms of the day. Those predestined for righteousness have been given the knowledge of God as one reads in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX:11–13: “And I, through my understanding, have come to know You, my God, through the spirit which You placed within me. . . . In Your holy spirit You have [o]pened to me knowledge of the mystery of Your understanding.”<sup>25</sup> As a result of this knowledge and as a consequence of the gift of “the spirit of the counsel of the truth of God” (1QS III:6–9), the elect or chosen of God “can discern the correct path and follow the divine will.”<sup>26</sup>

Paul explicitly refers to the Thessalonians as *ἐκλογή* in 1 Thess 1:4 and in 4:9 that they have been “God taught” (*θεοδιδάκτος*). As with Qumran so for Paul the theme of election is foundational from his earliest letter, 1 Thessalonians, to Romans, his last. In Rom 8:30 one reads: “And those whom he predestined (*προώρισεν*) he also called (*ἐκάλεσεν*); and those whom he called he also justified (*ἐδικαίωσεν*); and those whom he justified he also glorified (*ἐδόξασεν*)” (NRSV). In this text it is election/predestination that precedes the reference to “justification” and it is the theme of election/predestination that provides the appropriate context for understanding the function of “justification” in Pauline thought.

In addition to this remarkable commonality of language it is likely that the community at Qumran also contributed a set of conceptual tools for Paul’s understanding of justification and the righteousness of God in light of the Christ event. I refer here especially to 1QS XI:9–15 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:36–40. One observes there that the theme of human sinfulness and wickedness, the assertion that “judgment shall be by the righteousness of God” and the emphasis on the mercy of a gracious God in whom human righteousness is rooted are remarkably analogous to Paul’s teaching about justification by grace. A closer examination of this terminology is revealing. The term *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, “the righteousness of God,” is used by Paul in Rom 1:17; 3:5, 21, 22; 10:3; and 2 Cor 5:21, often in close connection with his comments on justification. It is not insignificant that the exact phrase “the righteousness of God,” not found in the Old Testament, is used here as well as in 1QM IV:6 (*אל קדק*) and in

<sup>25</sup> The Translation is taken from Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 152.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

1QS X:25 and XI:12 (צדקת אל). This prior use of the concept by the *yahad* would support the observation that διουκαιουσύνη θεοῦ is not a Pauline creation. Further, at the beginning of the passage cited above, 1QS XI:9, there is a striking parallel to Paul's use of σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας ("sinful flesh"; Rom 8:3): בשר עול ("perverse flesh"). Also related to the use of σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας in Rom 8:5–8 is עוון בשר, "the sin of flesh" in 1QS XI:9 and 12.

By the weaving of these themes into a more coherent unity, Qumran places them in a context different from that found in the Tanak. It is indeed possible that the *yahad* provided Paul with these emphases that he subsequently reformulated as a result of his encounter with the Risen Christ (Gal 1:15–16). One should not, of course, fail to notice the obvious differences between Paul and the *yahad*, the most notable being the centrality of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Because the messiah has come, the righteousness of God has now already been revealed. For the *yahad*, who are still waiting for messiah(s), their radicalized obedience to Torah suggests that such a manifestation of the righteousness of God still remains a future expectation and goal. Thus Fitzmyer correctly recognizes that, from a Pauline perspective, this community's emphasis on the mercy and the righteousness of God "is transitional, because it is not yet the full-blown idea of Pauline justification by *grace through faith*."<sup>27</sup> For this reason one should also follow his lead in translating משפט as "judgment" and not as "justification."<sup>28</sup> "Judgment" allows Qumran to influence Paul's thinking without suggesting the broader connotation that "justification" implies.

### 2.5. *The Works of the Law*

The examples just cited have suggested a proximity between selected terminology found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and selected Pauline theological formulations. There is yet another phrase that Paul uses, ἔργα νόμου, ("works of the law"), that has been uncovered in the Qumran scrolls. Given the enormous controversy surrounding the meaning of this phrase, I wish in the context of this article, to make only two preliminary points:

<sup>27</sup> J.A. Fitzmyer, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:599–621, here 604 (italics in the original).

<sup>28</sup> Against, for example, S. Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus," *ZTK* 56 (1959): 155–185, and G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 115–116.

### 2.5.1 ἔργα νόμου

The phrase, ἔργα νόμου, has no parallel in the Tanak. However, the precise parallel phrase to Paul's ἔργα νόμου is found in the Qumran texts. In 4QMMT C 27 one reads מקצת מעשי התורה ("some works of the law"), in 4QMMT C 30–31 the emphasis falls on the correct practice of these deeds ("in your deed [בעשותך] you may be reckoned as righteous"). Particularly important here is that the phrase מקצת מעשי התורה is explicitly related to the pursuit of righteousness: the one who does "works of the law" is reckoned as righteous.

### 2.5.2 Torah in the Pauline Letters

Although Paul sharply and, at times, polemically criticizes the misuse of the Torah in his letters, I am unable to reach the conclusion that Paul has categorically rejected the Torah in light of the Christ event. One needs to recognize that Paul's polemic against the "works of the law" is frequently found within the context of a broader apologetic, as is the case in Rom 3:31 ("Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law" [NRSV]) and in Rom 7:12 ("So the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good" [NRSV]). In my judgment the critical text for understanding Paul's new understanding of the Torah is found in Rom 8:3–4:

For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, so that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us (ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῆ ἔν ἡμῖν), who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit. (NRSV)

Critical is the interpretation of "just requirement" and that "the law might be fulfilled." While the "works of the law" are not the basis of righteousness—only Christ is—that does not deny a positive function for the law, properly understood, for those who are "in Christ." In such an interpretative context the term τέλος in Rom 10:4 would mean that Christ is the goal or intention of the Torah, not unilaterally its termination or end.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For a full discussion of the options see Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 584–585.

### 2.6. *Repentance and Predestination*

Schwartz understands repentance as “a sinner’s decision to be perfect, no longer to sin.”<sup>30</sup> For Paul, as can be seen in Rom 7,

successful repentance is at least something of a fiction. As much as one tries, one really never really succeeds; the next day, or the next Day of Atonement, there is always a need to repent again. . . . Similarly, Qumran writers who continually demanded “perfection of way” were led to conclude that man cannot save himself; “Man’s way is not his own, and man shall not prepare his own steps, for the judgment is God’s and perfection of way is in His hands” (1QS 11:10–11), “I know that righteousness is not for man, and perfection of way is not for the son of man; unto the Most High are all works of righteousness, and the way of man cannot be established unless God creates for him a spirit to make perfect the way of the sons of man” (1QH 4:30–32).<sup>31</sup>

Schwartz continues that for the rabbis, in contrast,

what is important is not so much what really happens as the human decision to repent (just as human decisions of courts are granted supreme importance); if it doesn’t work out, in the end, then one should try again . . . And regarding the latter, human sin, God was considered to have allowed man an efficacious method of settling his account and starting anew—repentance.<sup>32</sup>

Paul’s lack of repentance language and his virtual omission of forgiveness rhetoric suggest commonalities with the *yaḥad*. A closer examination of these phenomena might indicate a coherent deep structure that underlies these connections. Relevant to a more detailed examination of such a possible coherent deep structure are both Paul’s analysis of sin in Rom 3 as echoed in 1QS XI:9–15 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII:36–40<sup>33</sup> and the fact that atonement at Qumran can only be viewed in light of the *yaḥad*’s doctrine of predestination. Here, again, with regard to atonement language, Paul is considerably closer to the views reflected in texts like 1 QS III:15–23 than to those of the Pharisaic tradition. Precisely the *yaḥad*’s confidence in predestination, within a context of dualism, differentiates them from the other Judaisms of the day.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Schwartz, “Law and Truth,” 239.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> See previous citation of these texts in main body of paper.

<sup>34</sup> See further J. Licht, “The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll,” *IEJ* 6 (1956): 1–13.



Paul is so confident that the Thessalonian Christians have been taught by God that he can assure them that despite the hindrances created by Satan they are his “crown of boasting” at the coming of Jesus; “yes, you are our glory and joy!” (1 Thess 2:18–20 NRSV). A comparison with 1QS IV:6–8 is instructive: “And as for the visitation of all who walk in this spirit, it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness, together with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory (כליל כבוד) and a garment of majesty in unending light.”<sup>35</sup> For communities such as these repentance and forgiveness language becomes largely superfluous.

### 3. SUMMARY

In Paul’s final letter, Romans, he writes: “I ask, then, has God rejected his people? By no means! I myself am an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, a member of the tribe of Benjamin. God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew” (Rom 11:1 NRSV). This religious biography is written in the present tense and not the past; he continues as a member of the people of Israel.

If Jerome is correct, Paul was born in Gischala in the Galilee and was subsequently exiled to Tarsus where he grew up in a Jewish household and educated in the Hellenistic traditions of that city.<sup>36</sup> Upon going to Jerusalem to study as a mature young man he undoubtedly came under the influence of the Pharisees during a period of religious intensity and it undoubtedly to this that he refers in his singular use of the term “Pharisee” in Phil 3:5: “as to the law, a Pharisee.” But before long he encountered a movement described by Talmon as “prophetically inspired and inclined to apocalypticism” that dissented “from the emerging brand of Pharisaic Judaism at the turn of the era.”<sup>37</sup> Not only did the *yahad* facilitate Paul’s break from the rationalist stream, it provided a context in which he was able to interpret and articulate his call by God to proclaim his son among the Gentiles (Gal 1:15).

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<sup>35</sup> Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 102.

<sup>36</sup> Jerome, *Comm. Phlm.* 23; *Vir. ill.* 5.

<sup>37</sup> Talmon, “Community,” 22.



“BECAUSE OF THE ANGELS”:  
READING 1 COR 11:2–16 IN LIGHT OF  
ANGELOLOGY IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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Many documents from the Dead Sea Scrolls display a great fascination in angels. Not only do the writers speculate about the appearance and function of angels in God’s heavenly temple, but also about their role as intermediaries between God and humans. In this paper I propose that the angelology in the Scrolls can throw some light on Paul’s arguments in 1 Cor 11:2–16 where he advises women to wear something on their heads as “authority,” ἐξουσία, “because of the angels,” διὰ τοῦς ἀγγέλους.<sup>1</sup>

With its multilayered, metaphorical language and play on words, the discourse of 1 Cor 11:2–16 offers well-known challenges to the interpreter. Paul argues that men should be unveiled and women veiled when praying or prophesying (11:5). As part of his argumentation he explains that the man, not the woman, is “the image and reflection of God” (11:7), that woman was made from man (11:8), and that she was created for the sake of man. “For this reason,” Paul writes, “a woman ought to have authority on her head, because of the angels” (11:10). His explanation, which must have been perfectly lucid to the original audience, poses a special problem. The exegesis can be divided into two main strands of understanding with various nuances: (1) women have to protect themselves against “bad angels” following the speculations around the “sons of God” in Gen 6:1–4 who took wives among the “daughters of men”;<sup>2</sup> (2)

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<sup>1</sup> Literally, “a woman ought to have authority on her head” (cf. NRSV “a woman ought to have a symbol of authority on her head”).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g., 1 En. 1–36, the *Book of the Watchers*. For the view that woman might evoke lust amongst the angels, see e.g., L.J. Lietart Peerbolte, “Man, Woman, and the Angels in 1 Cor 11:2–16,” in *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. G.P. Luttikhuisen; Themes in Biblical Narratives 3; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 76–92. This interpretation is highly unlikely. One reason is that the phrasing almost parallels that of three passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls that similarly refer to the presence of angels in an assembly (see below). In these cases, the meaning clearly is “out of reverence for the angels.” J.A. Fitzmyer (“A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11:10,” in *Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament*

since angels traditionally are guardians of the order of creation, women should cover their hair as this corresponds to the creative order in reverence to the angels. Alternative interpretations include the view that women should imitate the angels who covered their faces with their wings according to Isa 6:2 and the view that the angels here are evil angels. My proposal builds on two of these ideas: the association of angels with creation, and the idea of humans imitating angels—although not in the sense previously suggested. I hold that the interpretive key to the crux is to be found in the beliefs surrounding the impact of angels in worship, an important dimension in this text that has largely been overlooked. In this regard, the various beliefs concerning angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls are highly illuminating, particularly the concept of communion with angels and the theme of imitation of angels. In addition, this study draws on other Jewish sources from Second Temple Judaism and early rabbinic literature. We begin, however, by examining the belief in a union with angels in worship in literature from Qumran. Subsequently we consider Paul's expression, "because of the angels" (1 Cor 11:10), which is strongly reminiscent of three passages in the sectarian documents from Qumran, as well as his appeal to creation. Then, we investigate the link between angels and head coverings in Corinth by taking the greater socio-cultural context into consideration. In conclusion, I suggest that Paul is advising the female participants to cover their distinctive female attribute, their hair, in imitation of male angels.

#### COMMUNION WITH ANGELS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Angels appear frequently in hymns and liturgical material within the context of worship. The *Sabbath Songs* are evidently a rich source for the belief in communion with angels. Although a sectarian origin of the collection is debated, with nine copies discovered at Qumran it is clear that the *Songs* held an important place in the Qumran community.<sup>3</sup> In

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*Exegesis* [London: Chapman, 1968], 31–47, 44) correctly, I believe, argued "Though this evidence from Qumran has not solved the problem of *exousia*, it has, we believe, made the interpretation of *dia tous angelous* as 'fallen angels' far less plausible." For a list of the various interpretations, see H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (trans. J. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 188–190; L.T. Stuckenbruck, "Why Should Women Cover Their Heads Because of the Angels? (1 Corinthians 11:10)," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 4 (2001): 205–234.

<sup>3</sup> The sectarian composition *Berakot* (4Q286–290) exhibits influence from the *Sab-*

sublime, rhythmic language, using strange syntax,<sup>4</sup> the songs meditate on the angelic praise and the heavenly sanctuaries where carved images also praise God. The hymns bring the worshipers on a virtual journey through the seven levels of temples and into the inner most sanctuary where they, as it were, get to gaze on the heavenly chariot throne, and the angelic priesthood offering the Sabbath sacrifice. The precise function of these songs is contested: Carol Newsom suggests the purpose of the songs was to facilitate “communal mysticism.”<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Philip Alexander unequivocally states “the temple is not merely an object of intellectual speculation or literary curiosity: it constitutes a divine, transcendent realm that is seen as the goal of mystical aspiration.”<sup>6</sup> Highlighting the rhythmic language, Rachel Elior argues that it is designed “to express the invisible in poetic and musical terms and thus transplant him [the worshiper] to the supernatural worlds, to inspire in him a mystical ascent to the angelic world.”<sup>7</sup> The *Songs* were, then, a vehicle for the participants to transcend the human realm and join the angelic host in worship.

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*bath Songs*, thereby testifying to the importance of the *Songs*; see C.A. Newsom, “‘Secularly Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D.N. Freedman; Biblical and Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–187, 183–184; eadem, “Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–4Q407, 11Q17, Mas1k),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts With English Translations*, vol. 4B: *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Newsom; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 1–135, 4–5. We find in 4QBer<sup>a</sup> (4Q286) a similar numinous language as the *Sabbath Songs* with a focus on the heavenly temple and the angelic worship, though it is also concerned with God’s earthly creation that takes part in the praise (4Q286 5a–c).

<sup>4</sup> Unstructured syntax with long chains of nouns and frequent use of participles is characteristic also of later Hekhalot literature; see L. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 358. For a general comparison between the Dead Sea Scrolls and later Jewish mystical texts, see J.R. Davila, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Merkavah Mysticism,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 249–264.

<sup>5</sup> C.A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 19.

<sup>6</sup> P. Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (Library of Second Temple Studies 61; Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 7; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 10.

<sup>7</sup> The quote is from the context of Elior’s analysis of the seventh Sabbath song in which a divine covenant is renewed with both angels and humans; *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (trans. D. Louvish; Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 169.

We find the same notion of an angelic and human union in a range of texts from Qumran; a few examples will suffice. The concluding hymn in 1QS asserts that the angelic and human communities are united for ever (1QS XI:7–9):

God has given them [secret knowledge] to his chosen ones [= humans] as an everlasting possession, and has caused them to inherit the lot of the Holy Ones [= angels]. He has joined their assembly [= humans] to the Sons of Heaven to be a council of the community, a foundation of the building of holiness, and eternal plantation throughout all ages to come.<sup>8</sup>

We may note here the blurry boundaries between humans and angels; the congregation in some sense, spiritually, already in the present lives together with the angels.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the speaker in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:21–23 expresses the belief in the ability of humans to enter the angelic realm and praise with the angelic host:

The perverse spirit You have cleansed from great transgression, that he may stand with the host of the holy ones, and enter into community (*yaḥad*) with the congregation of the sons of heaven. And for man, You have allotted an eternal destiny with the spirits of knowledge, to praise Your name together with shouts of joy, and to recount Your wonders before all Your creatures.<sup>10</sup>

*Yaḥad* here denotes a togetherness that embraces both humans and angels; this unity is possible through God's grace in forgiving the transgressions, so the faithful, now cleansed, can join the angels.<sup>11</sup> A final

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<sup>8</sup> Translation by G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Allen Lane/Penguin, 1997), 115.

<sup>9</sup> The close union between angels and humans is sometimes expressed in language that makes it hard to distinguish between angels and humans. In the sectarian literature such as the *War Scroll* similar terminology is used for the earthly and heavenly warriors; they are grouped together into opposing camps, under all encompassing headings such as “the hordes of Belial” (1QM XI:8), “the lot of darkness” (XIII:5), “the army of Belial” (I:13), and the corresponding “lot of God” (XIII:5; XVII:7–8), or “lot of light” (XIII:9), and “our congregation” (XII:8–9). Furthermore, the common nature of the human and angelic participants is underscored in attributes common for both parties: both humans and angels are “the elect” (X:9; XII:1, 5); both are called “holy ones,” and 1QM I:8–9 presents humans with typical angelic attributes: “then [the Sons of Rig]hteousness shall shine to all ends of the world, continuing to shine forth until the end of the appointed seasons of darkness” (cf. that partly preserved line 16: “the holy ones shall shine,” which may refer to either humans or angels).

<sup>10</sup> All translations are from D.W. Parry and E. Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (6 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005), unless otherwise stated.

<sup>11</sup> Other passages from the Dead Sea Scrolls that point to a close communion between angels and humans include, for example, 11QSefer ha-Milḥamah (11Q14) 1 ii 11–15; 4QShir<sup>b</sup> (4Q511) 35 2–4; 1QSB IV:25–26; and 4QM<sup>a</sup> (4Q491) 11 i 12–16.

example is taken from the *Rule of the Blessings* (1QSb), which cloaks the traditional priestly blessing in Num 6:24–26 in an eschatological garb.<sup>12</sup> The blessing of the high priest in 1QSb IV:24–26 compares him to an Angel of Presence:<sup>13</sup>

May you be as an Angel of Presence in the Abode of Holiness to the glory of the God of [hosts]. May you attend upon the service in the Temple of the Kingdom and decree destiny in company with the Angels of the Presence, in common council [with the Holy Ones] for everlasting ages and time without end.

Whether or not these blessings should be understood as expressions of realized or future eschatology, they give further evidence of the close bond between humans and angels. It is worth noting that many of the passages that assert a communion between the community and angels appear in hymns and prayers. This circumstance indicates that it was particularly during worship that the Dead Sea sectarians, like the Corinthians, would experience the presence of angels.<sup>14</sup>

The close communion with angels put stringent obligations on the sectarians; they aspired to live a perfect life of purity, holiness, and obedience, like the angels. Devorah Dimant demonstrates how the sectarians “conceived their own existence as analogical to that of angels” on many levels. Dimant points out that many functions of the sectarians have a striking resemblance to that of angels.<sup>15</sup> The stringent purity rules of the sect and the practice of celibacy, for example, may well be explained from

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<sup>12</sup> As J.H. Charlesworth argues, since the sect believed it was living at the end times the blessings may have been recited in anticipation of the eschaton; see “Rule of the Community (1QS; cf. 4QS MSS A–J, 5Q11),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts With English Translations*, vol. 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. idem; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 1–51, 2 n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Translation by Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*. The official editor, J.T. Milik, presumed that the blessing was part of that for the Zadokite priests in the previous column. J.H. Charlesworth accepts this interpretation (“Blessings [1QSb],” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, 119–131, 120). For the view that the blessing concerns the high priest, see C. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 151–158.

<sup>14</sup> B. Frennsson, “*In a Common Rejoicing*”: *Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 14; Uppsala: University of Uppsala Press, 1999), 37–41. Frennsson provides a thorough analysis of all the liturgical Qumran texts related to angels; see also M. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 78–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 278.

<sup>15</sup> D. Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in *Religion*

their aim of living like angels. Also, as Elior demonstrates, the liturgy, rituals, and calendar of the Qumran community were designed to correspond to that of the heavenly cult.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the sectarians did not only strive to imitate the angels in their behaviour and liturgy, but also in their appearance as we will see below.

#### “BECAUSE OF THE ANGELS”

The *War Scroll* (1QM), the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa), and the *Damascus Document* (D) refer to the presence of angels as explanations for disqualifying the physically disabled and the impure, from participating in communal activities. While D and 1QSa prohibit various categories of disabled members from entering communal meetings, M bars them from participating in the final battle (CD 15:15–17 par. 4Q266 8 i 6–9 par. 4Q270 6 ii; 1QSa II:3–9; 1QM VII:4–6). In wording similar to Paul’s, they all refer to the presence of holy angels as the reason for the exclusion, as 1QSa II:3–9 reads:

And no-one who is afflicted in the flesh, crippled in the legs or the hands, lame or blind or deaf or dumb, or stricken with a visible blemish in the flesh visible to the eyes; or a (tottering) old man who cannot maintain himself within the congregation, may en[ter] to stand firm [wi]thin the Congregation of renown, for holy angels [(are) in] their [Counc]il.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, the *War Scroll* also bans women and youth from entering the war camp (1QM VII:3–4). Although the reason for the exclusion of women is primarily related to concerns about purity, the law may also express uneasiness about them being present when angels are near.

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*and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Berlin; Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture; Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 93–103.

<sup>16</sup> According to Elior (*Three Temples*, 173), there was a “collaboration of priests and angels” in the cult.

<sup>17</sup> Translation based on J.H. Charlesworth and L. Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation (1QSa),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts With English Translations*, vol. 1: *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, 108–117. The translation has been modified to make it gender-inclusive, which seems appropriate in a document that mentions women and children several times; see Eileen Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 115–131, 123.



It is commonly accepted that the lists of physical defects are based on Lev 21:17–23, which lists blemishes that render priests ineligible to serve in the temple. It is noteworthy that these lists not only include disabilities that would be physically disabling and hinder service, but also include blemishes that are aesthetically unattractive. While being similar to Lev 21, the Qumran lists go beyond these categories by adding new types of blemishes.<sup>18</sup> Taken together, these rules testify to the reality of angelic presence; this is not metaphorical, symbolic language; instead imperfect people were physically barred so that angels would not come in contact with them. This is the perspective we should bring with us when examining Paul’s message to the Corinthians about angels.

#### ECSTASY AND ANGELS AT CORINTH

Given the background of fellowship with angels as expressed in the Scrolls, we can begin to appreciate the significances of the perceived angelic presence at Corinth. Was the belief in the joint worship with angels grounded in mystical experiences<sup>19</sup> in which the worshipers transcended the human realm, as was likely the case at Qumran? The information we receive about the worship in Corinth certainly suggest that this indeed was the case. The Corinthian worship was clearly of ecstatic

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<sup>18</sup> For a detailed comparison of these lists and a discussion on various underlying causes, see C. Wassen, “What do Angels Have against the Blind and the Deaf? Rules of Exclusion in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism* (ed. W. McCready and A. Reinhartz; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 109–123.

<sup>19</sup> I am using the term mystical experiences in a wide sense with reference to personal experiences of transcendence and of perceived encounter with the divine that often take the form of visions or other forms of revelations. In modern terminology it involves an experience of an “altered state of consciousness” that is interpreted by the practitioner in religious terms. I accept April DeConick’s definition of mysticism: “a tradition within early Judaism and Christianity centered on the belief that a person directly, immediately, and before death can experience the divine, either as a rapture experience or as one solicited by a particular praxis.” She points out that the term mysticism is modern and that the ancients referred to these kinds of experiences as “apocalypse,” i.e., revelation; see A.D. DeConick, “What is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (ed. eadem; SBLSymS 11; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 1–24, 2. Whether or not all ecstatic phenomena listed by Paul should be defined as mystical by definition is impossible to know, since of course we do not have first-hand descriptions (except for Paul’s own in 2 Cor 12:1–5, in which case they fit the criteria). Certainly *glossolalia* and prophesying appear to be mystical experiences according to my description above. At any rate, for this study I cannot go into depth into this intriguing issue.

or mystical nature.<sup>20</sup> Paul speaks of persons empowered by the spirit speaking in tongues (“ecstatic utterances”), prophesying, and performing “deeds of power” and healings—spiritual activities that are clearly of charismatic and ecstatic nature.<sup>21</sup> In this setting the angels played a role. For Paul, speaking in tongues was speaking a different language; γλωσσα normally means a language in the NT (1 Cor 12:28).<sup>22</sup> In spite of his cautions about using *glossolalia* in worship (1 Cor 14:13–19), Paul has a positive overall view of the practice (2 Cor 14:5, 18), claiming to speak it more than his addressees (14:18). The basis of his appreciation of this “gift” lies in its nature as the language angels (1 Cor 13:1).<sup>23</sup> In fact, *glossolalia* expresses “mysteries in the Spirit” (14:2), that is, as James Dunn explains, “mysteries of which only the angels in heaven have knowledge.”<sup>24</sup> At the same time, this angelic language was hailed as a means not only of revelation, but also of prayer (1 Cor 14:2, 14–17).<sup>25</sup> Hence, through *glossolalia* the ecstatic worshipers perceived themselves being in the company with the angels, taking part in the angelic praise. Paul refers to such combined human and angelic worship in Phil 2:9–11, which poetically articulates

<sup>20</sup> For an examination of the charismatic nature of the experiences at Corinth (and elsewhere in the early Christian movement), see J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1975), 199–342.

<sup>21</sup> *Glossolalia* has been described as “the language of the unconscious” (G. Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* [trans. J.P. Calvin; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 267) since the speaker does not normally understand what he or she is saying (1 Cor 12:10; 14:2, 10–11). But, according to Paul the speaker may have the ability to understand the utterances, which is desirable (1 Cor 14:4, 13, 27–28). This, however, does not appear to be common since someone else may be given the ability to interpret the language (1 Cor 12:10; 14:27–28). The accusation of drunkenness in Acts 2:4–13 in connection to speaking in tongues gives further support to the ecstatic nature of the phenomenon. For a general discussion on the phenomenon, see Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, 267–341; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 242–248; J. Behm, “γλωσσα,” TDNT 1:722–724.

<sup>22</sup> Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 243–244.

<sup>23</sup> Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, 308.

<sup>24</sup> Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 244.

<sup>25</sup> It can be deduced from 1 Cor 14 that glossolalic utterances were interpreted as both messages and prayers. Theissen (*Psychological Aspects*, 322–323) argues that through gestures, posture, and other nonverbal means, it would be evident for others whether the *glossolalia* concerned prayer or messages. 1 Cor 12:2–3 (introduction to the section on spiritual gifts) shows that confession to Jesus was also part of the ecstatic utterances and that mispronunciations by ecstatic people or misapprehensions could be dangers in these cases; see arguments by Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, 308. Dunn (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 245) suggests that also Rom 8:26 refers to *glossolalia* as a way of communicating with God. Although *glossolalia* was understood to mediate heavenly messages, Paul still distinguishes between prophesying and speaking in tongues (1 Cor 14:1–5) based on the means by which the message is revealed (see below).

the cosmic nature of the confession to Jesus by the earthly and heavenly (as well as under-worldly) powers.<sup>26</sup>

Whereas praise or prayer could be expressed through speaking in tongues, prophecy appears to have taken the form of regular, intelligible language (1 Cor 14:1–4). Still, we do get hints about the means by which the revelations are received: Paul groups all these phenomena together under the umbrella terms “spiritual gifts,” πνευματικά (12:1; 14:1); “gifts,” χαρίσματα (12:4); “activities,” ἐνεργήματα (12:6); manifestation of the spirit (12:7), which suggests that prophecy was no less the result of ecstatic, or mystical practices, than speaking in tongues. Consequently, in his commentary on 1 Cor 12:10, C.K. Barrett argues that prophecy “was uttered in ordinary though probably excited, perhaps ecstatic, speech.”<sup>27</sup>

Although the specific term “angels,” ἄγγελοι, only appears in 1 Cor 11:10 in the letter, there are further hints that they were seen as actively involved in the worship. Paul refers to “spirits,” πνεύματα, in the plural a few times (1 Cor 12:10; 14:12; cf. Rev 22:6; Heb 1:7). Since πνεύματα in Hebrew, רוּחַ, is one of the most common designations for angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the simplest interpretation of the plurality of spirits is that it refers to angelic powers.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, according to Earle Ellis, the spiritual gifts, πνευματικά, which includes prophecy, should be understood as the powerful manifestations of the spirits, the πνεύματα / angels, behind them.<sup>29</sup> Prophecy is also particularly linked to communication with angels elsewhere in the Corinthian correspondence where Paul speaks of “the *spirits* of the prophets” (1 Cor 14:32; cf. Rev 22:6). There is therefore reason to understand the uttering of prophecies and prayers of women and men under discussion in 1 Cor 11:2–16 within the context of the ecstatic nature of the Corinthian worship in general, and as part of the activities that were linked to communion with angels.

Paul himself was a mystic, as Alan Segal, amongst others, has superbly demonstrated.<sup>30</sup> Paul’s mystical experience on the road to Damascus

<sup>26</sup> Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, 308.

<sup>27</sup> C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: Black, 1968), 286.

<sup>28</sup> There are references to a dualism of spirits (e.g., 1 Cor 2:12; 12:10; 2 Cor 11:4, 15) that include also the evil spirits (1 Thess 5:21), but the plurality of good spirits—1 Cor 14:12; 14:32—can only mean good angels; see E.E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays* (WUNT 18; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1978), 29–36.

<sup>29</sup> See *ibid.*, 30–36. Ellis highlights, for example, that Paul uses “spirits” and “spiritual gifts” interchangeably in 1 Cor 14:1, 12.

<sup>30</sup> A. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New

(according to Acts 9:3–8; 22:6–11; 26:12–18) was likely one of the many “visions and revelations” (2 Cor 12:1, 8; cf. Acts 22:17–18) Paul professes to have had. Paul has seen the Lord (1 Cor 9:1), received a revelation, *apokalypsis*, of Jesus (Gal 1:12), and spoken directly with him (2 Cor 12:9), which goes beyond mere prayers; clearly Paul speaks of mystical experiences.<sup>31</sup> In 2 Cor 12:1–9, Paul records one event that we may call an altered state of consciousness (ASC), or ecstasy. Though Paul takes a pseudonymous stance, writing in the third person, he is most likely writing about himself. He interprets his experience in light of the ascent traditions of Jewish apocalyptic, mystical traditions, claiming to ascend to “the third heaven,” which he also calls paradise. In line with these apocalyptic traditions that saw revelations of heavenly realities as secret, Paul shows restraint in his descriptions, only stating that he “heard things that are not to be told, that no mortal is permitted to repeat” (2 Cor 12:4; cf. 1 Cor 15:8; Gal 1:15–16).<sup>32</sup> Given that Paul refers to this experience in the context of boasting, as he says, one may safely conclude that some of the Corinthian addressees, particularly the “Spirit-people,” οἱ πνευματικοί (e.g., 1 Cor 3:1; 14:37), claimed spiritual supremacy also based on mystical experiences. Paul speaks frequently of being “in Christ,” and sometimes of Christ dwelling in the believers, which is not simply a metaphorical language but articulates a sense of intimacy and of a mystical bond between the believers and the divine.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, the reference to angels

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Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 34–71; idem, *Life and Death: A History of the Afterlife in Western Religion* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 399–440.

<sup>31</sup> Segal points out (*Paul the Convert*, 58–71) that ecstatic visions are often transformative experiences, which is evident also in the case of Paul’s so-called “conversion” (Gal 1:10–17; 2 Cor 3:18–4:6).

<sup>32</sup> Paul’s experience follows a long-standing tradition of prophets receiving visions and revelations through ASC experiences, according to hints in the Hebrew Bible; see R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); idem, “Prophecy and Ecstasy: A Reexamination” in *Community, Identity and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible* (ed. C.E. Carter and C.L. Meyers; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 6; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 404–422. Also many revelations recorded by apocalyptic writers are likely based on ASC experiences; see discussion by DeConick, “Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism,” 5–8; C. Rowland, with P. Gibbons and V. Dobroruka, “Visionary Experience in Ancient Judaism and Christianity,” in *Paradise Now*, 41–56. As Ellis (*Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 42–43) points out, the imagery of “the third heaven” and “Paradise” would naturally involve the presence of angels and of God (cf. Dan 7; 1 En. 20). Most scholars assume that Paul is speaking about himself (Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 36). See also analysis by Segal, *Life and Death*, 413–414.

<sup>33</sup> Paul uses the phrase “in Christ” 58 times (Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastorals excluded) with various connotations. Sometimes, the expression conveys the meaning

in 1 Cor 11:10 may primarily be an allusion to a communion—plausibly a mystical one—between humans and angels. Given the mystical, ecstatic framework and close relationship between angels and humans at Corinth that we will also find at Qumran, this raises the possibility that Paul is advising his community to imitate the angels just like the sectarians did. To consider this option we need to further consider the views on head coverings in antiquity.

### HEAD COVERING

It is a common misconception that women in Roman society in Antiquity would ordinarily be veiled in public.<sup>34</sup> The custom of wearing a veil appears, rather, to have belonged to the eastern fringes of the empire. Instead, both men and women usually appeared in public with bare heads.<sup>35</sup> In her in-depth study on the customs of head coverings in the Mediterranean antiquity, Linda Belleville demonstrates that decorum

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of believers being in Christ (or “in the Lord”) as for example, in Rom 6:11; 8:1; 12:5 (“we all are one body in Christ”); 1 Cor 1:2, 30; 15:18. A related expression is “in the Spirit” (Rom 8:9); also, believers are part of Christ’s body (1 Cor 12:12–13). Conversely, Christ (or “his son”) is present in Paul (Gal 1:16; 2:19–20) and in the believers (2 Cor 13:5; Rom 8:10). Related to this are the concepts of dying “united with him (Christ)” through baptism (Rom 6:1–11; cf. Rom 7:4; 8:17; 2 Cor 1:3–7; 4:10) and the transformation of believers who are becoming like Christ in his death (Phil 3:10; cf. Rom 12:2) and are being transformed into God’s image (2 Cor 3:18; see below). For a detailed discussion on the mystical dimension of Paul’s Christological expressions, see J.D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 390–412. See also, J.D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable: Paul’s Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic, and Early Christian Contexts* (Studies in Judaism; Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 42; Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 63–64.

<sup>34</sup> Stuckenbruck argues that the often quoted Plutarch’s statement about women covering their hair in public (*Quaest. rom.* 14) is speculative; “Why Should Women Cover Their Heads,” 211.

<sup>35</sup> See L.L. Belleville “ΚΕΦΑΛΗ and the Thorny Issue of Head Covering in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16,” in *Paul and the Corinthians: Studies on a Community in Conflict: Essays in Honour of Margaret Thrall* (ed. T.J. Burke and J.K. Elliott; NovTSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 315–331; C.S. Keener, *1–2 Corinthians* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 91. Consequently, the argument that women unveiled their heads in order to dress like men (W.A. Meeks, “The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity,” *HR* 13 [1974]: 199–200), or to manifest a transcendence of sexual differentiation, as M.Y. MacDonald (“Women Holy in Body and Spirit: The Social Setting of 1 Corinthians 7,” *NTS* 36 [1990]: 161–181, 166) argues, is not compelling. For the hair styles of Roman women, see R. Ling, “The Arts of Living,” in *The Oxford History of the Classical World* (ed. J. Boardman, J. Griffin, and O. Murray; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 718–747, 743–744.

even allowed women to participate in public with loose hair in certain religious rites as well as at weddings and funerals.

There is evidence of women taking part in religious rites with bare heads. For example, most of the women participants in the Dionysiac rites painted in the Villa of Mysteries by Pompeii have bare heads with their hair tied up.<sup>36</sup> Literary evidence also suggests that the maenads of the cults of Dionysos, Sibil, Cybele, and the Delphian Pythia had dishevelled hair.<sup>37</sup> When functioning in liturgical roles, however, such as offering sacrifices, both men and women commonly covered their heads.<sup>38</sup> There is plenty of both literary and statuary evidence for this practice, including images of both Emperor Augustus and Empress Livia.<sup>39</sup> Both male and female clergy covered their heads by pulling up their togas, such as in the case of a statue at Pompeii depicting Plyaena, priestess of Victory.<sup>40</sup> Paul's instruction to women to cover their heads relates particularly to when they pray or prophesy (1 Cor 11:5), i.e., when they perform an official function in the worship, and is therefore in line with liturgical customs of the day.<sup>41</sup> But his reasoning cannot be explained on the basis of social conventions alone, since Paul's command for men to pray and prophecy with bare heads appears to be contrary to the norms. This position is what makes up the most remarkable aspect of Paul's address—not that women should cover their heads—as both Belleville and Wire note.<sup>42</sup> Paul's insistence of marking gender distinctions in worship also differ from the social norms in general.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> A.C. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 183.

<sup>37</sup> See Stuckenbruck, "Why Should Women Cover their Heads," 211. E. Schüssler Fiorenza (*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroad, 1983], 227), states "such a sight of dishevelled hair would be quite common in the ecstatic worship of oriental divinities." This may explain the reason why women at Corinth chose to prophesy and pray with un-covered hair.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>39</sup> Belleville, "Thorny Issue of Head Covering," 220–221.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Belleville (*ibid.*, 224) points out that "it is when a woman prays to God that a head covering is called for."

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 222. A possible underlying reason for why men should have bare heads is the importance of the Exodus tradition (Exod 34:27–35) about Moses' unveiled face when he saw the glory of God (see 2 Cor 3:12–18).

<sup>43</sup> There are exceptions; in the Isis cult women veiled their heads while the men had shaven heads (Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.10); see Stuckenbruck, "Why Should Women Cover Their Heads," 210–212.

Since social customs alone do not easily explain the reasons behind Paul’s instructions it may be because they are mainly theologically motivated. Certainly his arguments are theological rather than practical; only at the very end does he bring up social customs in a last effort to persuade his readers (11:16). We should, therefore, closely consider his theological reasoning, which relates the issue of head covering to creation and to angels.

#### ADAM AND CREATION

Paul’s key argument is that man is the image and glory, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα, of God (1 Cor 11:7), while woman is the glory of man. Of course, Gen 1:27, to which Paul alludes, refers to the creation of *ādām* (earth-creature) in God’s image, specifying that it includes male and female. Paul, ignores the plain meaning of the text, however, and interprets *ādām* as only male. He then continues by referring to the second creation story, “neither was man created for woman, but the woman for the sake of man,” thus conflating the two creation stories.

Importantly, Paul adds “glory,” δόξα, of God compared to Gen 1:27 which only reads “image,” צַלֵּם. This phrase reflects developed speculations about the nature of Adam, known from other Jewish sources, according to which Adam was created in a perfect glorious state, even semi-divine or angelic, which humanity lost in the fall.<sup>44</sup> According to 2 *En.* 30:8–11 (first century C.E.)<sup>45</sup> and *T. Ab.* 11 (recension A) Adam was an angel. Thus 2 *En.* 30:10 reads,

From invisible and visible substances I created man. From both his natures come both death and life. And (as my) image he knows the word like (no)

<sup>44</sup> See e.g., *Apoc. Mos.* 20:1–2 in an expansion of Gen 3:7, “And at very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, ‘Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed?’” (translation by M.D. Johnson, “Life of Adam and Eve (First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:249–295).

<sup>45</sup> 2 *Enoch* is written originally in Greek, but preserved in Slavonic; see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “The Creation of Man and Woman in Early Jewish Literature,” in *The Creation of Man and Woman*, 34–62, 55. A first century date is also suggested by F.I. Andersen, who also emphasizes that the provenance is unknown; see “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Late First Century A.D.) A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 1:91–213, 95–97).

other creature. But even at his greatest he is small, and again at his smallest he is great. And on earth I assigned him to be a second angel, honored and great and glorious.<sup>46</sup>

According to the *Life of Adam and Eve* (first century C.E.),<sup>47</sup> God commanded the angels to worship “the image of God,” that is Adam, a tradition that is developed also in rabbinic literature.<sup>48</sup> Some rabbinic traditions speculate about Adam’s spectacular height, immortality, and superiority to angels.<sup>49</sup> Also Job 15:7–8 alludes to traditions concerning a semi-divine first human being, “the firstborn of the human race,” who listened to the council of God.<sup>50</sup> Philo describes the first man of Gen 1 as a “heavenly man” who was “stamped in the image of God” (referring to the mind of the human) whereas the forming of the man in Gen 2 represents the earthly man. Clearly Philo, like Paul, is developing pre-existing speculations about the glorious guise of Adam, or the first man.<sup>51</sup>

The angelic likeness of Adam may also be linked to the tradition that angels were present at the creation; thus Philo explains that when God says “let us make man (*ādām*) in our likeness” in Gen 1:27 God is speaking to the angels; this view is echoed in later rabbinic literature.<sup>52</sup> Earlier Jewish documents including *Jubilees* and some Qumran documents assume that angels were present at the creation, which at least allows for the possibility that God was assumed to be speaking to them when he says “in our likeness.”<sup>53</sup> Importantly, 4QInstruction (4Q417 1 i 16–17 and 4Q416 2 iii) presents God and angels as taking part in the creative process of humans, but humans are fashioned in the likeness of angels, not God. 4QInstruction<sup>b</sup> (4Q416) 2 iii 16–17 reads:

<sup>46</sup> Translation *ibid.*, 1:152.

<sup>47</sup> Johnson, “Life of Adam and Eve,” 2:252.

<sup>48</sup> *L.A.E. Vita* 13–14; *Apoc. Mos.* 10:3; see M.E. Stone, *A History of Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLEJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (4th ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 42.

<sup>49</sup> *B. Sanh.* 38b; 59b; *b. B. Bat.* 58a; *Gen. Rab.* 8:1; 17:5; 21:3; 24:2; *Lev. Rab.* 14:1; 18:2; *Pirqe R. El.* 11; *Pesiq. Rab.* 1b; 115a; see Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 44–46; DeConick, “Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism,” 19–20.

<sup>50</sup> See Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 45. Although any identification between this “first man” and Adam of Genesis in Job 15 is not certain, it is likely that later readers did not make such distinctions.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., *Leg.* 1.31.

<sup>52</sup> *Opif.* 75; *Fug.* 68; *Mut.* 29–31; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 1:26; see discussion by Stuckenbruck, “Why Should Women Cover their Heads,” 221–222.

<sup>53</sup> E.g., 4QBer<sup>a</sup> (4Q286) 3a–d presents the angels as being in charge of creation; so also 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX:10–20; 1QM X:11–14.



For as God is to a man, so is his own father and as angels (אֲדִינִים) are to a person so is his mother, for they are the oven of your origin. And just as he set them in authority over you and fashioned you according to the spirits so serve them.<sup>54</sup>

Traditions about the glorious nature of Adam are also evident in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In wording similar to Paul, the liturgical text *Words of the Luminaries* reads “You fashioned [Adam] our [fa]ther in the image of Your glory” (4Q504 I:4). The expression “the image of the glory” recalls Ezekiel’s visions of God’s glory, the visible manifestation of God (e.g., Ezek 1:28; 3:12; 10:4) and emphasises the glorious state of Adam. The expression “glory of Adam,” כְּבוֹד אָדָם, appears in several documents from Qumran as part of the eschatological reward for the faithful, e.g., 1QS IV:22–23 reads “for those God has chosen for an eternal covenant, and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs without deceit.” Here and elsewhere (CD 3:20; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:27) this eschatological gift is associated with immortality. In 1QS XI:9–22 the writer elaborates upon the human, sinful nature: “I (belong to) wicked Adam, to the assembly of deceitful flesh” (XI:9). While the sectarians as humans partake in this sinful nature of Adam, the author explains how God also has cleansed his elect from this state; the message is that the elect through divine mercy have received a taste of the original glorious state of Adam. Paul shares this perspective that comes somewhere in between realized and future eschatology, explaining that through Christ, followers already have part in this gift, which he develops further in 1 Cor 15; 15:49 is noteworthy in particular: “just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will also bear (or, “let us bear”) the image of the man of heaven” (cf. Rom 5:12–21; 8:30).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Based on the translation by B.G. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 2/201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 149–150; see also his discussion on 4Q417 1 i 15–18; 4Q416 2 iii 16–17 on pp. 124–156.

<sup>55</sup> This Adam-typology presents Adam and Christ as contrasting representatives of humanity. Whereas Adam brought death, Christ, the second Adam, will bring resurrection (1 Cor 15:42–53). For similarities and differences with Philo’s treaties on a heavenly and earthly man, see Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 44–57. Paul presents the two Adams within an eschatological framework based on the belief that the eschaton corresponds to the beginning (cf. 1 En. 85–90; Apoc. Mos 21:6; 41:1–3); see J. Murphy-O’Connor, “The First Letter to the Corinthians,” in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer, and R.E. Murphy; Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1990), 798–815, 799. Christ as the second Adam, untainted by sin, repossesses the original glory of Adam that believers now are able to benefit from in the present. Tabor (*Things Unutterable*, 17) explains, “so Jesus (as a last Adam) is the first of a transformed race or genus of heavenly beings, immortal and glorified. That Jesus is human (i.e., mortal,

As many commentators note Paul's argumentation in 1 Cor 11:2–16 is a bit forced; while arguing that man is the image and glory of God, and that man was not made from woman and so on—to enforce hierarchy—he almost immediately qualifies his statement by explaining their mutual dependency on each other. It is as if he is uncomfortable with his own argumentation; indeed, elsewhere all believers have part in this glorified state; they are transformed into the image of Christ or “His son” (Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 15:49; Phil 3:21; cf. Col. 3:9) and in 2 Cor 3:18 into the image of the Lord (= God):<sup>56</sup>

and all of us, with unveiled faces, seeing *the glory of the Lord* as though reflected in a mirror, are being *transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another*; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.

Paul emphasizes the transformation of all the believers, so through union with Christ, they are being changed into the divine likeness, the image of God's glory, which recalls the creation of the original Adam. Like Moses who saw the glory of God and was transformed in Exod 33, Paul argues here, so are the believers. The transformation concerns renewal of the “inner nature,” as opposed to the “outer nature,” the body, which he explains in 2 Cor 4:17.<sup>57</sup> The change is a new creation, as he says in 5:17, which again recalls the Adam motif.<sup>58</sup> Such transformation is the outcome of a (mystical) union with Christ.

The similarity between the reference to Adam as the image and glory of God in 1 Cor 11:7 and “the glory of the Lord” in 2 Cor 3:18 is striking; clearly he alludes to the same glory available to believers through Christ.<sup>59</sup> But in 1 Cor 11 Paul applies the imagery only to the man; why?

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“Adam”) is crucial since his transformation to an immortal, glorious state is representative for all those who follow.” Cf. Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 65–66.

<sup>56</sup> T.H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 170–171. In Paul's thought the idea of the glorification of the believers is clearly linked to the transformation that was part of his own ecstatic “conversion” experience. Alan Segal (*Paul the Convert*, 39–52) explains Paul's notion of transformation on the basis of Jewish mysticism; he argues “Like Enoch Paul claims to have gazed on the Glory, whom Paul identifies as Christ; Paul understands that he has been transformed into a divine state, which will be fully realized after his death” (ibid., 47; e.g., Phil 3:21). See also Tabor, *Things Unutterable*, 9–14.

<sup>57</sup> See Segal, *Life after Death*, 416–421; cf. Phil 3:12–21; the complete transformation of also the body lies in the future (1 Cor 15:41–54; Phil 3:21; 2 Cor 4:13–18).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Rom 8.

<sup>59</sup> As Alan Segal explains, Paul interprets Adam's divine likeness as being identical to the glory which Christ received; see “The Risen Christ and the Angelic Mediator Figures in Light of Qumran,” in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 302–322, 318.

Because in this case the focus is on the outer appearance only; in their outer appearance men/Adam is made in the glory and image of the Lord, women are not.

As we have seen, Jewish speculations about the first man, Adam, envisioned him semi-divine or angelic. Paul is likely drawing on this rich tradition and claims that the male body resembles that of angels. Paul frequently uses language of imitation; Christ followers are to imitate both Christ and Paul (who is imitating Christ): 1 Cor 4:16; 1 Thess 1:6; Phil 3:17; imitate other churches 1 Thess 2:14. In 1 Cor 11:10 “because of the angels” may then be a call for imitating angels.

What do we know about the appearance of angels? They are not sexless; though as the myth of the fallen sons of God in Gen 6 emphasizes, they are not supposed to be sexual in nature; the names of all the arch angels, such as Michael, Gabriel, Melchizedek and so forth, are male.<sup>60</sup> In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the primary roles of angels are that of priests serving in the temple and of warriors, both which identify them as male. The book of *Jubilees* claims that angels were created circumcised (*Jub.* 15:27–28), again leaving no doubt about their sex. This is the general view of angels to which also Paul subscribes when he refers to the creation of Adam as being in the image and glory of God.

In their close communion with angels, the Corinthians like the Qumranites, had to be careful about their appearance; women’s hair is the feature that particularly represents their femaleness—a woman’s hair is her glory, as Paul explains in 1 Cor 11:15. Therefore it has to be covered. If she does not veil herself, he argues, she might as well cut off her hair or even shave it (11:6). The point here is not so much to bring on shame, as commentators usually hold, but to make herself look male. Like at Qumran, the closeness to angels inspired worshippers to imitate them in inner and outer perfection. It may seem strangely foreign to us today; would people believe that angels really cared about how they looked? Yes, they would. To retain sacredness of space, decorum was extremely important. In the Dead Sea Scrolls no one who was blemished in any way was admitted into the meetings—angels demanded perfection in appearance and in action;

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<sup>60</sup> See C. Wassen, “Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception* (ed. F.V. Reiterer, T. Nicklas, and K. Schöpflin; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2007; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 499–523, 502–503; K. Sullivan, “Sexuality and Gender of Angels,” in *Paradise Now*, 211–228.

no blemished priests were allowed to serve in the Jerusalem Temple in the presence of the divine (Lev 21:17–23); similarly here, when Christ-believers got together for worship they created a sacred space where the appearance before the divine, represented through angels, was extremely important. According to Paul, women, not looking angel-like as the original Adam, had to make an effort to imitate the angels by covering up their most distinctive female feature, their long hair.

Thus when Paul demands that a woman covers her head—“for this reason a woman ought to have authority on her head because of the angels”—I propose that he intends to make her look less female and more male. In this chapter (whether we like it or not) Paul asserts a hierarchical distinction between men and women by stating that the man is the head of the woman like Christ is the head of every man, and God is the head of Christ (1 Cor 11:3). “Head” here denotes both authority and origin, according to its metaphorical usage in Greek and Jewish literature.<sup>61</sup> Although many commentators<sup>62</sup> more recently have dismissed any notion of subordination in the verse in favour of a chain of origin, such chain would also point to hierarchical relationships (cf. 1 Cor 8:6).<sup>63</sup> Paul is certainly smoothing out the initial hierarchical claims in the subsequent discourse by highlighting the mutual dependency of man and woman on each other, and them being a source of origin of each other (11:11–12). Nevertheless, as a woman’s head, the man has a certain authority over women in 11:2–3. This verse provides the basis of his argument, an initial statement on which he builds his arguments.<sup>64</sup> By covering her hair, a woman thus symbolically covers her femaleness and gains the same authority as a man to prophesy and pray with the angels.

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<sup>61</sup> Barrett (*Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 249) holds, “Thus a chain of originating and subordination relationships is set up: God, Christ, man, woman.” Similarly, Keener (*1–2 Corinthians*, 92) claims “both ‘authority’ and ‘most honored part’ fit Paul’s Christology,” pointing out that Paul assumes the normal structure of the household of his day.

<sup>62</sup> See G.D. Fee, e.g., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 502–503.

<sup>63</sup> See Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 183.

<sup>64</sup> Conzelmann argues that 11:3 is part of “not the doctrinal tradition of Christian creed . . . but a speculative school tradition founded on a Hellenistic-Jewish basis and aimed at providing a *fundamental* ground on which to argue the special problem” (*ibid.*, 182).

## WOMEN, HAIR, AND ANGELS

This interpretation of 1 Cor 11 that traces the underlying issue to the uneasiness over the female appearance of women in the presence of angels finds support in the Jewish novella *Joseph and Aseneth*. In this tale, we find the same concern about the uncovered hair of a woman in the presence of angels. Upon Aseneth's repentance and conversion to Judaism an angel (“a man”) appears and asks her to change clothing, from those of mourning into a new linen robe, which marks her new status (*Jos. Asen.* 14). When she appears wearing also a linen veil, the angels says: “Remove the veil from your head . . . For you are a chaste virgin today, and your head is like that of a young man.’ And Aseneth removed the veil from her head.”<sup>65</sup> Both *Joseph and Aseneth* and 1 Cor 11 address the same problem: should women be veiled in the presence of angels? Although the practical solution here is different than Paul's position, both authors agree that women have to look like men when encountering angels. In Paul's case by covering up the distinctive female feature, the hair, in the case of *Joseph and Aseneth*, by spiritual transformation that make women—again, with a focus on the head—appear as male.<sup>66</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This study has examined beliefs surrounding angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls primarily, and other Jewish documents secondarily, as a background to understanding Paul's message about angels in 1 Cor 11:10. These beliefs are helpful in three aspects: first, the Dead Sea Scrolls help us understand the reality behind Paul's phrase “because of the angels.” Angels were believed to be present in a very real sense both in Corinth and among the Qumran sectarians. Three of the Qumran documents

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<sup>65</sup> Translation by C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth (First Century B.C.–Second Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:177–247, 225–226.

<sup>66</sup> This story reflects a society in which women were wearing veils. A common suggestion for provenance is Egypt and the date may be anywhere from first century B.C.E. to second century C.E.; see *ibid.*, 187–188. It is worth noting that also *Gos. Thom.* 114 expresses a similar view, although perhaps only on a spiritual level: “Jesus said: See I shall lead her (Mary), so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven.” Translation from A. Guillaumont et al., *The Gospel according to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

bar blemished people from participating in gatherings of the community and in the final war because of the presence of angels. Their presence put obligations on the worshipers. In both communities the appearance of the worshipers was important; at Corinth men should worship with unveiled heads and women with veiled heads, according to Paul. Second, both Paul and the Scrolls writers express a deep unity with the divine, and in both cases to some extent this claim was based on mystical experiences. As well, both sets of writings reflect the idea that divine-human unity is expressed through imitation of the divine. At Qumran the imitation of angels concerned both behaviour and outer appearance. Paul ordinarily encourages his audience to imitate Christ and himself. Nevertheless, given the motif of imitating the angels in the sectarian literature from Qumran, it is likely that Paul expresses a similar view in the context of the communion with angels and is encouraging the Christ-followers to imitate the angels. Third, the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as other Jewish documents from the Second Temple period, testify to the rich traditions that developed concerning the original glorious nature of Adam. In 1 Cor 11:2–16 the focus is on the original glory that belonged to humans once, but was lost; for both the sectarians and Paul this glorious state was in part attainable in the present, and can be likened to an angelic state of being. This concept seems to lie beneath Paul's explanation. In Cor 11:2–16 he narrows this motif to apply to the creation of Adam, the man, focussing on the appearance, the outer nature, alone. In this regard, men are naturally closer to the divine beings whom they look alike. Therefore, in imitation of the male angels, women have to hide their female, long hair in order to attain the same authority as men have in order to prophesy and praise with the angels.

## DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND EARLY CHRISTIAN ART

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From the outset I must state that I am not a specialist in the Dead Sea Scrolls; rather I simply number among those interested in the Scrolls. The present article should not be understood as a comprehensive comparison between early Christian art and the Dead Sea Scrolls but as a first consideration of the importance of one for the other. Using select examples, I would like to demonstrate some convergences and divergences between the Scrolls and early Christian art. In this way, I hope to point to a new and mostly unexplored field of research.

Direct contact between the first Christians and the Qumran community cannot, as yet, be verified. The Greek fragments from Cave 7 do not permit any reliable conclusion and, in addition, could have been placed there at a later date.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the number of provisional commonalities are noteworthy—perhaps because of the shared (Jewish) context or roots—as well as the significant differences in their seemingly similar practices. Precisely this predicament shall be demonstrated by means of select early Christian images.

We shall begin with the *giants*, who are mentioned only briefly in Gen 6:4. The Septuagint text reads, “The giants were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.”<sup>2</sup> But giants are not only known from the Hebrew Bible and its Greek translation. Gods also battle against giants in Graeco-Roman mythology.<sup>3</sup> The best known examples are the images on the Altar of Zeus from Pergamon, now in the Berlin Pergamon Museum, such as the goddess Athena subduing the giant Enkelados.

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<sup>1</sup> See further K. Berger, *Qumran: Funde-Texte—Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005), 32–33.

<sup>2</sup> English translation of LXX by R.J.P.

<sup>3</sup> See further F. Vian, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l’art grec et romain* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1951).

In different caves from Qumran, a series of Aramaic scrolls of various Enochic texts were found<sup>4</sup> and among these Enochic texts is also the *Book of the Giants*.<sup>5</sup> In 4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> ar (4Q530) II:2 and 4QEnGiants<sup>c</sup> ar (4Q531) 17 12 one of the giants is called Gilgamesh—just like the hero of the Babylonian Epic<sup>6</sup>—which probably goes back to an older tradition.

4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> ar (4Q530) II:7–12 (Ohyah's dream), in which a garden is destroyed by water and fire, is suggestive of a connection between the giants and the flood. 2QEnGiants ar (2Q26) likewise mentions rising waters. The most conclusive citation however, remains 6QpapGiants ar (6Q8) 26 with the reference to Mount Lubar in line 1. According to the book of *Jubilees* Lubar is a mountain among the mountains of Ararat (cf. *Jub.* 5:28 and 7:1), i.e. the mountain peak on which Noah's ark landed.

Turning now to early Christian iconography, two images in particular are thought-provoking. One, in the *Vienna Genesis* codex (Pictura 3; fig. 1), is an illustration of the flood. There are fairly large humans in the water around the three-story ark in the center. Humans of similar proportions can be found on Folio 9<sup>r</sup> of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (fig. 2); in both of these examples one could consider a Jewish tradition of giants.<sup>7</sup>

Another prominent figure in the Dead Sea Scrolls is *Melchizedek*.<sup>8</sup> He too is mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures. Genesis 14:18–20 tells how Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of the Most High God, brings bread and wine to Abraham. According to 11QMelch (11Q13), Melchizedek is considered the precursor of the Messiah.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For the Enochic manuscripts in Qumran, see especially J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976).

<sup>5</sup> For the *Book of Giants* in the Qumran library, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997). In the following the manuscripts of the *Book of Giants* from Qumran are quoted according to this edition.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Schott, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos: Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen* (ed. W. von Soden; Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005) and the contribution of G.J. Selz to this volume.

<sup>7</sup> See especially K. Weitzmann, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Buchmalerei* (München: Prestel, 1977), 121. Weitzmann notes that various midrashim speak of "Giants of such largeness and strength that water alone would not be able to overcome them" ("Riesen von solcher Größe und Stärke, dass die Wasser allein sie nicht hätten überwältigen können").

<sup>8</sup> More details on Melchizedek can be found in 1QapGen ar (1Q20) XXII:15–17 and 11QMelch (11Q13) II:5, 8, 13 and III:5.

<sup>9</sup> Compare here A.S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS* 14 (1965): 354–373 and the contribution of P. Bertalotto to the present proceedings.



In the New Testament, specifically John 1:41, Jesus is shown as the Christ, i.e. the Anointed One, i.e. the Messiah. According to Heb 5:6, 10 and 6:20, Christ is the High Priest “according to the Order of Melchizedek.”<sup>10</sup> An early Christian mosaic (fig. 3) dated to the first third of the fifth century, located in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, fits this description. To the left of a *kantharos* stands Melchizedek with a bread basket in his hands, which he passes to Abraham. Abraham rides towards his right with his soldiers, and a bust with a nimbus, namely Christ, points to him from the blue-red sky.

The portrayals of Melchizedek from the sixth century Ravenna churches San Vitale and Sant Apollinare in Classe are quite distinct from the previous example. In San Vitale (fig. 4), Melchizedek is shown only with Abel, in Sant Apollinare in Classe (fig. 5) he is pictured with Abel, Abraham, and Isaac at the altar—in both cases clearly a Eucharistic reference.

We additionally learn of the expectation of the *Messiah* from the Qumran scrolls, though in no way is the Messiah presented in a uniform manner. In 1QSa (1Q28a) II:12–14, for example, the Anointed One is subordinated to the Priest; in CD 12:23–13:1 one awaits the “manifestation of the Anointed of Abraham and Israel,” thus perhaps two or even three messianic figures are present in this text, while 11QMelch (11Q13) II:18 cites the Anointed of the Spirit.<sup>11</sup>

Even the New Testament speaks of such an “anointed one,” as previously shown in the example of Melchizedek. John 1:41 identifies this “anointed one” as Christ, and as we shall see, Christ’s own resurrection plays a significant role in the resurrection of others.

The Messiah images in early Christian art are diverse. Thus, for example, the Messiah is depicted as a *shepherd* with his herd of sheep in a fifth century mosaic in the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna. The shepherd, with a nimbus and wearing a golden tunic and purple pallium, holds a golden cross-staff (fig. 6).

We also see the Messiah-figure in a kenotic form, namely as a *small child*. His birth scene is almost always depicted with the ox and donkey,

<sup>10</sup> Unless otherwise indicated all quotations of biblical references are taken from the RSV.

<sup>11</sup> See J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (3 vols.; München: Reinhardt, 1995–1996), 3:239 s.v. “Gesalbter.” Cf. also the contributions in R.S. Hess and M.D. Carroll, eds., *Israel’s Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003).

as narrated in the apocryphal text *Ps.-Mt.* 14.<sup>12</sup> A roughly eight-pointed *star* is frequently depicted, as on a textile fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (fig. 7).<sup>13</sup> The star also appears on ivory pieces: in the Nativity scene on the back of Maximian's kathedra in Ravenna (fig. 8), and a panel in London showing the Adoration of the Magi, below the manger with Salome (fig. 9).

Moreover, the star is found in the Adoration of the Magi; among other examples<sup>14</sup> are the early fifth century mosaics on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (fig. 10), and, from the sixth century, in Ravenna's Sant Apollinare Nuovo (fig. 11). Sometimes it is shown in a combination of these two scenes, as in the sarcophagi in the Museo Pio Cristiano (MPC) of the Vatican (fig. 12).<sup>15</sup>

The star even appears in the apocryphal narrations of the Annunciation. We see the star in the image of Mary spinning the purple wool next to the Visitation scene on an orbiculus in London's Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 13). From the Abegg Foundation in Riggisberg near Bern is the so-called *Marienseide*, a silk textile with images from the Virgin's life, such as the Annunciation at the fountain by the angel of the Lord, as told in *Ps.-Mt.* 9 (fig. 14).<sup>16</sup> A fresco in Rome's Catacombs of Priscilla (fig. 15) deals with the typological depiction of the pronouncement, namely the announcement of the Messiah by a prophet (Balaam or Isaiah).<sup>17</sup> The prophet, indicating the star, is in front of the Mother of God with the child Jesus. In Cubiculum O of the New Catacombs in the Via Latina,<sup>18</sup> we see the painting of the prophet pointing to the star as an autonomous composition.

In all of these cases, the star designates Christ. The latter two examples raise the possibility of interpreting the star as a messianic symbol in several other images from the Hebrew Bible. Such might be the case for

<sup>12</sup> G. Schneider, *Evangelia infantiae apocrypha: Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien* (Fontes Christiani 18; Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 226–229.

<sup>13</sup> A. Stauffer, *Textiles of Late Antiquity* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 45, nos. 26 and 38 with figure.

<sup>14</sup> Compare also Vatican, MPC 124 and the textile from New York cited in n. 14 above.

<sup>15</sup> See also F. Mancinelli, *Römische Katakomben und Urchristentum* (Florence: SCALA, 1981), 62, fig. 115.

<sup>16</sup> A. de Santos Otero, *Los evangelios apócrifos: Edición crítica y bilingüe* (3rd ed.; Biblioteca de autores cristianos 148; Madrid: EDICA, 1979), 201.

<sup>17</sup> According to Num 24:19 (cf. Isa 60:1–6). Cf. also E. Kirschbaum, "Der Prophet Balaam und die Anbetung der Weisen," RQ 49 (1954): 129–171.

<sup>18</sup> A. Ferrua, *Katakomben: Unbekannte Bilder des frühen Christentums unter der Via Latina* (Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 1991), 145, fig. 145.

the Sacrifice of Isaac on an amulet from the Tamerit private collection.<sup>19</sup> Also in Cubiculum O of Via Latina's New Catacombs is the image of a young man (fig. 16), whose physiognomy is that of the youthful Jesus, holding a *virga* or staff and passing through the Red Sea—under a star. Such might also be the case with the three Babylonian youths who had refused to pay homage to Nebuchadnezzar as carved on the Milan sarcophagus,<sup>20</sup> or the image of Daniel in the lion's den woven in a textile from Düsseldorf<sup>21</sup>—here Daniel is even between two stars. In all of these examples, we could only encounter a typology, with the star as an indicator of the coming Messiah in Jesus Christ, thus exclusively an *interpretatio christiana*.

On a sarcophagus in the Cathedral of Palermo,<sup>22</sup> the apostles are standing with crowned heads and their right arms stretched out in acclamation. Each apostle has a five-pointed star adjacent to his head.<sup>23</sup>

With respect to a star as a messianic symbol, in the Qumran scrolls, one must certainly include the reference to Num 24:17 (“... a star shall come out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel”) in CD 7:18–20.<sup>24</sup> A link to Christian star symbolism can also be found in the Bar Kokhbah coins of the Second Revolt which also use the star as a messianic symbol.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See E. Lässig, “Ein Amulett mit Reiterdarstellung und Opferung des Isaak: Papyrusammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Privatsammlung Tamerit, M 63,” in *Realia Coptica: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Harbauer* (ed. U. Horak; Wien: Holzhausen, 2001), 55–64, esp. pl. 30, fig. 2.

<sup>20</sup> J. Dresken-Weiland discusses the Magis's audience with Herod in *Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt* (ed. T. Ulbert; Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage 2; Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 57, no. 15 and pl. 60.2. If one compares this with the refusal to worship Nebuchadnezzar depicted in the Catacomb of Saints Marcus and Marcellinus (in J. Fink and B. Asamer, *Die römischen Katakomben* [Sonderhefte der Antiken Welt; Mainz: von Zabern, 1997], 36, fig. 56) this interpretation is highly unlikely.

<sup>21</sup> Reproduced in M. Borda, *La pittura Romana* (Milan: Società Editrice Libreria, 1958), 375.

<sup>22</sup> For more detailed information, see Dresken-Weiland, *Italien*, 49–50, no. 143 and pl. 51.1.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also F.W. Deichmann, “Zur Erscheinung des Sternes von Bethlehem,” in *Vivarium: Festschrift für Theodor Klauser zum 90. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Dassmann and K. Thraede; JAC Ergänzungsband 11; Münster: Aschendorff, 1984), 98–106, and D. Calganini Carletti, “Nota iconografica: La stella e il vaticinio del V. T. nell'iconografia funeraria del III e IV sec.,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 64 (1988): 65–87.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. e.g. J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 269 s.v. “star.”

<sup>25</sup> For more detailed information, see I. Knohl, “By Three Days, Live: Messiahs, Resurrection, and Ascent to heaven in *Hazon Gabriel*,” *JR* 88 (2008): 147–158.

Having illustrated some of the features shared between the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the early Christians, we can now turn to some of the deviations. Controversial even to this day is the role of *John the Baptist*. That he belonged to the members of the Qumran or Dead Sea Scroll community is not yet a supportable conclusion.<sup>26</sup>

Admittedly, like the Qumran community, Luke 1:80 tells that John the Baptist spends his childhood in the desert, which is where we find him also later in life: teaching and baptizing—from which the appellation “the Baptist” derives. According to Matt 3:1–17 and the synoptic parallels in Mark 1:2–11 as well as Luke 3:1–22, for the early Christians, John the Baptist is the preacher of repentance who prepares the way for the Messiah, additionally called the “Lamb of God” in John 1:29 and 36. Matthew 3:4 and Mark 1:6 describe him wearing camel hair clothes and eating locusts as well as wild honey. In fact, in early Christian iconography the Baptist is usually recognizable by his pelt garment, as we can see in the two Ravenna baptisteries.<sup>27</sup> In the Neonian baptistery, John holds a cross with inset gems in his left hand. The upper portion of the cross has been augmented like the upper torsos of John and Jesus. In the Basilica of Euphrasius in Poreč<sup>28</sup> the Baptist carries a cross-staff in his left hand, probably as a reference to the coming Messiah. On the ivory *kathedra* of Maximian,<sup>29</sup> he is depicted similarly with a fur collar and the *Agnus Dei* in his left hand. The Baptist is always shown bearded, as the encaustic Sinai icon<sup>30</sup> shows.

With respect to the numerous *miqwaot* found at Qumran, the only shared characteristic with the baptism of John lies in the type, namely an immersion. The Qumran *miqwaot* are not even exceptional because similar finds were made on the Masada, in Jericho, and in Jerusalem. As prescribed in the Mosaic Law (Lev 12–15), their purpose was for

<sup>26</sup> Here see R.L. Webb, “John the Baptist,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:418–421, with the most important literature.

<sup>27</sup> Color images can be found, among others, in A. Paolucci, *Ravenna: Una guida d'arte* (Florence: SCALA, 1973), 53 and 55.

<sup>28</sup> In M. Prelog, *Die Euphrasius-Basilika von Poreč (sic!)* (trans. G. Popović; Monumenta artis Croatiae 1.4; Zagreb: Udruženje izdavači, 1986), fig. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Fig. 227 in W.F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst: Die Kunst der Spätantike in West- und Ostrom* (München: Hirmer, 1958).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1977), pl. 110.

ritual cleansing and preparation (*miqwah*).<sup>31</sup> In contrast, the baptism of John, to which Jesus also deferred, is distinctively oriented to the coming judgment, as described in Matt 3:13–17, Mark 1:9–11 and Luke 3:21–22.

Unique is a miniature illumination on Folio 4b of the Rabbula Gospels (fig. 17)<sup>32</sup> dating to 586, where the baptism of Christ is pictured with a manifestation of fire or light in the waters of the Jordan, corresponding to Matt 3:11 (“I will baptize you with water . . . he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire”).<sup>33</sup>

Distinct from Qumran is also the Christian sacrament of baptism, which Jesus establishes (according to Matt 28:19 and John 3:5) and which prefigures the resurrection. In the post-apostolic period this is with increasing frequency administered through the pouring of water (fig. 18). Because of its occurrence also in the Qumran writings, the enduring emphasis on the “living water” as in *Did.* 7 remains very noteworthy.

The *communal meal*, which is described in 1QS VI:2–6 and 1QSa (1Q28a) II:17–22, played an equally important role. In 1QS VI:2 we read, “and they shall eat in community.” As is still often practiced among some Jews today, the meal is held with at least ten men ranked according to a strict hierarchy. According to 1QS VI:5–6, a priest should give the benediction over the bread and (new) wine.

In seeking a comparison with other religious communities, one might consider the Mithras cult with its exclusive male membership. For these mystics a meal represents a central event, as has been verified by the discovery of reliefs and various bones in Mithraea. The reverse side of such a cultic relief from Konjica (fig. 19)<sup>34</sup> illustrates a hierarchy: those low in the hierarchy, such as the *corax* (left) and the *leo* (right) are servants of those higher in the hierarchy (probably the *pater* and the *heliodromus*), who are reclining on the couch. In front is a wild boar and a bull’s head on either side of a three-legged table with four small bread loaves incised with crosses. It was believed that as a result of Mithras’ slaying of the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. J.D. Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Academia Biblica 23; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> In C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels: Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I, 56 in the Medicaean-Laurentian Library* (Monumenta occidentis 1; Olten: Graf, 1959).

<sup>33</sup> See also G. Winkler, “Die Lichterscheinung bei der Taufe Jesu und der Ursprung des Epiphaniestes: Eine Untersuchung griechischer, syrischer, armenischer und lateinischer Quellen,” *OrChr* 78 (1994): 177–229.

<sup>34</sup> Images in E. Schwertheim, *Mithras: Seine Denkmäler und sein Kult* (Antike Welt Sondernummer 10; Feldmeilen: Raggi, 1979), 71–72.

bull, which is depicted on the front side of the relief, the consumption of animal meat and blood would achieve new life.

If one examines descriptions of meals in early Christian literature one must conclude that, especially in the initial period, it is impossible to determine whether these meals were Eucharistic or *agape* meals, that is, a community meal. The same holds true for the images depicting meals.

Such is the case for a fresco in the Cappella Greca of Rome's Priscilla Catacombs (fig. 20), which depicts seven figures, some even women. The figure to the far left (*in dextro cornu*) appears to be sitting differently than the rest and has both arms extended, perhaps in a blessing gesture. In front of the participants are a two-handled cup, one plate with two fishes and one with five loaves, as well as seven baskets to the left and right of the sigma. An interpretation of this scene is very difficult. Despite the depiction of the processional offering (*Anbringung*) on the front wall of the apse's arch, Joseph Wilpert's<sup>35</sup> liturgical interpretation of this fresco as a Eucharist is highly questionable. More probable is that the five loaves and two fish, as well as the seven baskets, allude to the miracle of the Multiplication of the Loaves. Furthermore what remains noteworthy is that only one female, the third from the right, wears a veil, which customarily in the catacomb frescoes is an indicator of the deceased individual. In fact, we must not forget that here we are in a burial site, in which only a liturgy for the dead—if even any liturgy at all—would be celebrated.

The same holds true for the so-called sacramental chapels in the Catacombs of Calixtus (fig. 21). Their designation as such is also credited to Joseph Wilpert, and must currently also be reconsidered. In the paintings are again seven reclining figures at the sigma, in front of which are two plates with fish and eight baskets of bread.

The numerous paintings in the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Petrus<sup>36</sup> are configured entirely differently, with servants and the frequent and highly symbolic names AGAPE and IRENE; these paintings perhaps reflect the deceased.

We will close this brief examination with the *resurrection*,<sup>37</sup> which emerges as a theme in the Qumran scrolls in 4QMessianic Apocalypse

<sup>35</sup> J. Wilpert, "Fractio Panis": Die älteste Darstellung des eucharistischen Opfers in der "Cappella greca," *entdeckt und erläutert* (Freiburg: Herder, 1895).

<sup>36</sup> See J.G. Deckers, H.R. Seeliger, and G. Mietke, *Die Katakomba "Santi Marcellino e Pietro": Repertorium der Malereien* (Roma Sotterranea Cristiana 6; Münster: Aschendorff, 1987), pls. 24b, 30b, 33c, 59a, 64a and b.

<sup>37</sup> For more detailed information, see G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality,*



Fig. 1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. theol. graec. 31 (Vienna Genesis): pictura 3 (Weitzmann, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Buchmalerei*, fig. 23)



Fig. 2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 2334 (Ashburnham Pentateuch): folio 9<sup>r</sup> (Weitzmann, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Buchmalerei*, fig. 45)





Fig. 3. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore (H. Karpp, ed., *Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom* [Baden-Baden: Grimm, 1966], fig. 29)



Fig. 4. Ravenna, S. Vitale (R. Vantaggi, *Ravenna und seine Kunstschätze* [Narni: Plurigraf, 1987], 24)



Fig. 5. Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe (Vantaggi, *Ravenna*, 121)



Fig. 6. Ravenna, So-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Paolucci, *Ravenna*, 38)



Fig. 7. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: inv. no. 90.5.11 (Stauffer, *Textiles*, 38)



Fig. 8. Ravenna, Museo Nazionale:  
Maximian's *kathedra* (Detail) (postcard)



Fig. 9. London, British Museum (P. Metz, *Elfenbein der Spätantike* [München: Hirmer, 1962], fig. 44)



Fig. 10. Rome, S. Maria Maggiore (Karpp, *Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Mosaiken*, fig. 6)



Fig. 11. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo (G. Bustacchini, *Ravenna: seine Mosaiken, seine Denkmäler, seine Umgebung* [Ravenna: Fotometalgrafica Emiliana, 1984], fig. 185)



Fig. 12. Vatican City, MPC: inv. no. 31 450 (Photo © Musei Vaticani)



Fig. 13. London, Victoria & Albert Museum: inv. no. 814-1903  
(M. Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin  
in Byzantine Art: Exhibition Benaki Museum, 20 October-20  
January 2001* [Milan: Benaki Museum, 2000], 221, fig. 187)



Fig. 14. Riggisberg/Bern, Abegg-Stiftung: inv. no. 3100b  
(so-called *Marienseide*/Detail) (S. Schrenk, *Die Textilsammlung der  
Abegg-Stiftung*, vol. 4: *Textilien des Mittelmeerraumes aus spätantiker  
bis frühislamischer Zeit* [Riggisberg/Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 2004], 185)





*Fig. 15. Rome, Catacombs of Priscilla*  
(V. Fiocchi Nicolai, F. Bisconti, and D. Mazzoleni, *Roms christliche Katakomben: Geschichte-Bilderwelt—Inschriften* [Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2000], fig. 140)



Fig. 16. Rome, New Catacombs in the Via Latina:  
Cubiculum O (Detail) (Ferrua, *Katakomben*, fig. 141)



Fig. 17. Florenz, Medicaean-Laurentian  
Library, Plut. I, 56 (Rabbula Gospels): folio 4b  
(Cecchelli, Furlani, and Salmi, *Rabbula Gospels*)



Fig. 18. Rome, Catacombs of Calixtus, So-called sacramental chapel A 3 (A. Baruffa, *Le catacombe di San Callisto: Storia-Archeologia—Fede* [Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992], 80)



Fig. 19. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine: inv. no. 29 920 (Schwertheim, *Mithras*, fig. 87)



Fig. 20. Rome, Priscilla Catacombs (Detail) (postcard)



Fig. 21. Rome, Catacombs of Calixtus (S. Carletti, *Kurzer Führer durch die Katakombe des Hl. Kallistus* [Rome: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra], fig. 11)



Fig. 22. Dura Europos, Synagoge (Detail) (C.H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue* [The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report 8.1; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956], pl. 69)



Fig. 23. Dura Europos, Synagogue (Detail) (Kraeling, *Synagogue*, pl. 70)



*Fig. 24. Rome, Catacombs of Marcellinus and Petrus (Deckers, Seeliger, and Mietke, *Katakombe "Santi Marcellino e Pietro,"* color pl. 30 b)*



*Fig. 25. Rome, MPC: inv. no. 31 439 (Photo © Musei Vaticani)*

(4Q521). Through the victorious Messiah, the new creation begins with the new and eternal Jerusalem, since he is “freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twisted” (2 + 4 ii 8), and “he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the meek, give lavishly [to the need]y, lead the exiled and enrich the hungry” (2 + 4 ii 12).<sup>38</sup> This is, however, the only place in the Qumran scrolls where resurrection is mentioned, and it remains questionable whether a resurrection of all the Israelites in the framework of the *parousia* is truly meant.<sup>39</sup>

Ancient Jewish art provides an analogous image which can be found on the north wall of the synagogue in Dura Europos. Three panels depict the resurrection of the dead as a symbol of the restoration of the Jewish people at the end of days, as described in Ezek 37:1–14. The prophet is shown three times in the first two sections. In the first (fig. 22) he wears Persian clothing (a brown tunic with sleeves and green trousers), and is being apprehended by God; next he listens to the word of God; and lastly he is shown at the revival of bodies. The second section (fig. 23) illustrates the animation of the dead by Psychai. In early Christian art, this motif is especially found on sarcophagi, such as inv. no. 4 = 31 450 (fig. 12) and 31 440 in the MPC. Usually this motif is reflected in the way in which a wonderworker touches with his staff the nude recumbent body or limbs.

The New Testament reports in Luke 4:16–30 that Jesus, when handed the book of the Prophet Isaiah, reads from Isa 61:1, “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of the sight to the blind, etc.” Matthew 11:4–5 and Luke 7:22 report similar deeds of Christ the Messiah.

In early Christian iconography the resurrection of the individual is initially expressed through images of rescue or liberation, such as the spewing out of Jonah or Daniel in the lion’s den. For this reason the biblical figures are frequently pictured together with the portrait of the

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and *Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (HTS 56; Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Translation according to F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 2:1045.

<sup>39</sup> For the discussion about resurrection in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls cf. e.g. É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d’une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (2 vols.; EBib NS 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993) and Knohl, “Three Days”; idem, *Messiahs and Resurrection in The Gabriel Revelation* (Kogod Library of Judaic Studies 6; London: Continuum, 2009).

deceased, as in the example of Susanna as an older woman between two youths in the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Petrus (fig. 24), and Noah as a woman on the sarcophagus of Julia Julianete in the MPC 174B.<sup>40</sup> Further convincing evidence for the belief in the bodily resurrection is offered by a sarcophagus panel (no. 115; fig. 25), in which the raising of Lazarus not only depicts Lazarus with the features of an old woman, but a small, young, nude person stands—as in the Creation scenes<sup>41</sup>—next to his sister at the feet of Jesus.

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<sup>40</sup> In G. Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (München: Beck, 2000), fig. 21.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. H. Kaiser-Minn, *Die Erschaffung des Menschen auf den spätantiken Monumenten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (JAC Ergänzungsband 6; Münster: Aschendorff, 1981), esp. pls. 10a and 24a.



HERMENEUTICS AND METHODS OF  
INTERPRETATION IN THE ISAIAH PESCHARIM  
AND IN THE *COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH*  
BY THEODORET OF CYRUS

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Interpretation of the Bible, especially of prophetic texts, is important for Jewish and Christian communities who are eschatologically orientated. The same was true for the Qumran community as well as for the early Christians. Interpretations of the book of Isaiah were particularly prominent among early Christians. Generally it was understood in a messianic way as a prophecy of Jesus Christ. This type of interpretation can be found in the *Commentary on Isaiah* by Theodoret of Cyrus. Unfortunately, christological interpretations by the Church fathers often led to anti-Jewish statements. Such interpretations can also be found in Theodoret's commentaries. The impact of Theodoret's anti-Semitism is a serious issue that I have addressed already in a previous article.<sup>1</sup> Here my primary concern is with his hermeneutics in comparison with the pesharim. Theodoret was a monk and bishop of the town of Cyrus in Syria. At the height of the patristic era, in the first half of the fifth century C.E., he interpreted many biblical books. So, his *Commentary on Isaiah* was written several centuries after the Qumran pesharim.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, both kinds of texts share common features.

In what follows I first describe the two texts. Secondly, I consider the content of each and ask: How are Isaiah's words interpreted? Thirdly, I analyze the methods and hermeneutics of interpretation and draw some conclusions.

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<sup>1</sup> For Theodoret's attitude towards Jews, see A. Siquans, "Antijüdisch? Theodorets 'Quaestiones in Deuteronomium' und seine perspektivische Bibellektüre," *BZ* 52 (2008): 19–39.

<sup>2</sup> J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 118 dates the composition of the pesharim to the years between 100 and 40 B.C.E.

1. THE ISAIAH PESHARIM OF QUMRAN  
AND THEODORET'S COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH

Concerning the pesharim, I concentrate on the so-called continuous pesharim on Isaiah. Brooke lists five pesharim on Isaiah from Cave 4 and one pesher from Cave 3.<sup>3</sup> The state of preservation of these texts is different. 3QpIsa (3Q4) is very poorly preserved. It contains a quotation of Isa 1:1. The scantily preserved text shows an eschatological orientation. 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161) is a pesher on Isa 10:22–11:5. Portions of the biblical text are preserved with commentary. The citations of Isaiah are extensive and without omissions whereas the commentary is scarce. 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162) contains citations from Isa 5 and their pesher. 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163) is a document consisting of 57 fragments in a poorly preserved state. Quotations from Isa 8:7–31:1 can be identified. Obviously, this papyrus manuscript was not a commentary on the whole of Isaiah but interpreted selected passages. Besides, there are citations from Jeremiah, Zechariah, and Hosea. 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> (4Q164), consisting of three fragments, contains short citations from Isa 54:11–12 with interpretations. In 4QpIsa<sup>e</sup> (4Q165) parts of Isa 11:11–12; 14:19; 15:4–5; 21:10–15; 32:5–7; and 40:11–12 and very little commentary can be found. This pesher is interesting because of its terminology. The extant fragments of the pesharim show that the biblical text of Isaiah is quoted first. Then, either with or without an introduction formula, the pesher is given. Usually the interpretation is considerably shorter than the quotation of the biblical text. This fact emphasizes the importance of the latter. To understand the pesharim and their interpretations of Isaiah, it is necessary to take other Qumran writings into consideration, especially other pesharim, which can help to identify the historical background or the religious ideas of the commentators and their communities.

Interestingly, like the Qumran pesharim, the *Isaiah Commentary* of Theodoret of Cyrus, written between 435 and 447 C.E., was for centuries believed to be lost. Though its existence was known of through Theodoret himself, August Möhle only identified this *Commentary* in an old manuscript in Constantinople in 1929, and edited it. Theodoret's *Commentary*,

<sup>3</sup> G.J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. C.C. Broyles and C.A. Evans; VTSup 70.2; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–632. See also M.J. Bernstein, "Pesher Isaiah," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:651–653.

which comprises the whole book of Isaiah, is almost entirely preserved. Theodoret writes in Greek and uses the Septuagint as his Bible. Like the Qumran pesharim, he first cites the biblical text. The following interpretation remains close to the quoted text and is generally longer than the lemma. Thus, the proportion of lemma and interpretation is different from the pesharim. Theodoret is well known to us through his various writings.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the understanding of his *Isaiah Commentary* is supported by a lot of additional information. Furthermore, we can place Theodoret and his Isaiah interpretation within the Christian exegetical tradition. So, the conditions for understanding the Isaiah pesharim and Theodoret's *Isaiah Commentary* differ considerably. There is much more information about the *Commentary* of Theodoret and its context of production than there is about the Qumran pesharim.

## 2. THE ISAIAH INTERPRETATION OF THE PESHARIM AND OF THEODORET

We now take a closer look at the contents of the commentaries. How are the Isaiah texts interpreted? Because the pesharim are only partially preserved, these fragments have to be taken as the starting point for the examination. Then the corresponding interpretations from Theodoret's complete *Commentary* can be put alongside. The better preserved passages of the pesharim are chosen for the following comparison, which can be solely exemplary.

4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161) quotes and comments on Isa 10:22–11:5, though only parts of the text are preserved.<sup>5</sup> Isaiah 10 announces the destruction of Israel's enemy Assyria. The text originated around the events in 701 B.C.E. when Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem and its king Hezekiah. The pesharim display a double reading of the Isaiah text.<sup>6</sup> The historical meaning is not the only one. As *Pesher Habakkuk* points out, the author assumes that God did not reveal to the prophet the meaning of his word about the last days. Only the Teacher of Righteousness knows the

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<sup>4</sup> For Theodoret's exegesis, see J.-N. Guinot, *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (ThH 100; Paris: Beauchesne, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> For 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161), see J.M. Allegro in *DJD V* (1968): 11–15; for notes, see M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 70–86.

<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Hanan Eshel לרא for this helpful hint.

definitive meaning of the prophet's words.<sup>7</sup> So, they interpret the prophet's words in terms of the community's current situation and the imminent "end of days." The conflicts Isaiah speaks about are seen as conflicts of the interpreter's own time. The Assyrians are called "the Kittim," who are usually identified as the Romans.<sup>8</sup> In 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> (4Q161) 5–6 10–13 the Isaiah text is applied to the campaign of Ptomely Lathyrus against Jerusalem in 103–102 B.C.E.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the interpreter refers to an event in the recent past. Subsequently, the interpretation focuses on the last days and on the Messiah. The topics of battle and destruction of the enemies (i.e. the enemies of the Messiah and of the community itself) are at the centre of attention.

Theodoret also displays a multiple interpretation. He often reads the text historically and interprets the events of Isaiah's lifetime as such. Nevertheless, he points to a metaphorical level of understanding, though in different way than the pesharim do. His primary concerns are not the military and political aspects of the text. He does not figuratively transfer the Assyrians to any group of his own time. He rather prefers a spiritual and individual interpretation and concentrates on piety. This for Theodoret implies criticism of the Israelites as well as of the Jews of later times, because meeting his standard of piety means the acceptance of Jesus Christ as the Messiah.<sup>10</sup>

Isaiah 11:1–5 predicts a "shoot out of the stump of Jesse" whom Theodoret, as well as the Qumran peshar, interpret in a messianic way. For the peshar this shoot is the soon to come Messiah. For Theodoret it is Jesus Christ. Whereas the peshar speaks of an event in the near future, Theodoret speaks of a fulfilled prophecy. Both mention the eschatological judgment. While the peshar anticipates the coming Messiah as the judge, Theodoret speaks of a second manifestation of Jesus Christ at the end of days, when he will judge all humans.

4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162) consists of one quite large fragment containing some verses of Isa 5.<sup>11</sup> The middle column, which is best preserved, contains a commentary on Isa 5:10, a quotation of Isa 5:11–14 and its short inter-

<sup>7</sup> See 1QpHab VII:1–8 in Horgan, *Pesharim*, 16. For a short description, see S.L. Berlin, "Pesharim," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:644–647.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. T.H. Lim, "Kittim," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:469–471.

<sup>9</sup> See H. Eshel and E. Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>," *JBL* 119 (2000): 645–659.

<sup>10</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> For 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162), see J.M. Allegro in *DJD* V (1968): 15–17; for notes, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 86–93.

pretation, as well as a quotation of Isa 5:24c–25, and again a rather short piece of interpretation. Isaiah 5:10 says: “For ten acres of vineyard shall yield but one bath, and a homer of seed shall yield but an ephah.” (NRSV) Theodoret quotes vv. 9–10 and comments: “To the menace of desolation he added that of infertility: For different are the lessons (by God), because different are the human faults.”<sup>12</sup> One of Theodoret’s favourite topics interpreting the Scriptures is God’s παιδεία, his solicitous education of the humans. As a result, Theodoret interprets the different menaces in Isa 5 as God’s lessons to his people. The peshar in 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162) reads the menaces in another way: “<sup>1</sup> Interpretation of the phrase concerns the end of days, at the doom of the earth before the sword and famine; and it shall be <sup>2</sup> in the time of the earth’s visitation” (II:1–2). The peshar refers to the end of days, that means to the future. Theodoret speaks about the past, about Israel in Isaiah’s times, and implicitly about the present time of his readers. In the eyes of the peshar’s author, Isaiah prophesied the desolation of the earth at the end of days.

After these short comments in both texts, the lemma continues. Theodoret cites vv. 11–12 and then adds a commentary. The peshar quotes vv. 11–14 and briefly comments on the text: “These are the Men of Scoffing who are in Jerusalem. Those are they who [quotation of Isa 5:24c–25]. That is the congregation of the Men of Scoffing who are in Jerusalem” (II:6–10). Verses 15–24b are omitted. The Qumran peshar just identifies the ones Isaiah speaks of in 5:11–14 with the “men of scoffing who are in Jerusalem.” Horgan, representing the majority opinion, identifies the scoffers referring to the “scoffer” in CD 1:14, who is the enemy of the Teacher of Righteousness. The scoffers are therefore the “allies and followers of the Wicked Priest.”<sup>13</sup> The peshar continues quoting vv. 24c–25 as an explanation of the attitude of “the Men of Scoffing.” The interpretation is short and only inserts the most necessary identifications. Isaiah himself has already indicated what is to be said about these people. The passage ends with another annotation about the “congregation of the Men of Scoffing who are in Jerusalem.” Theodoret’s verse by verse commentary on vv. 11–14 refers to the Jews in Isaiah’s times. They are accused by the prophet and threatened by desolation. Theodoret quotes the New Testament concerning the accusation of drunkenness and voracity in vv. 11–12: “No one can serve two masters” (Matt 6:24). Then he

<sup>12</sup> J.-N. Guinot, ed., *Théodoret de Cyr: Commentaire sur Isaïe* (3 vols.; SC 276/295/315; Paris: Cerf, 1980–1984), 1:236–238, English translation A.S.

<sup>13</sup> Horgan, *Pesharim*, 92.

interprets the meaning of some metaphorical expressions allegorically. For example, he identifies the “hills” (v. 25) with the demons who are worshipped on the hills. God’s people will be “like refuse in the streets” (NRSV). To support this prophecy Theodoret quotes Ps 83:11. In the historical details concerning the famine and the captivity he also refers to the writings of Josephus.<sup>14</sup> Theodoret’s interpretation is an exhortation of his readers as well as a criticism of the biblical Israel.

What do the two commentaries have in common? They both identify a certain group of people as the ones accused by Isaiah and distance themselves from these groups. Whereas for Theodoret the prophecies have already been fulfilled, for the Qumran pesher the events are just taking place in the present time, and the end is awaited in the near future. Theodoret speaks of the Jews of Isaiah’s time, perhaps also about the Jews of Jesus’ and of his own time. The Qumran pesher speaks of the “scoffers” as contemporaneous to the author. Whereas Theodoret often speaks to his addressees in an exhorting manner, the pesher seeks to comfort its readers by describing the imminent end of their enemies. Theodoret’s *Commentary* often changes between an historical and a spiritual or moral level. 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162) is clearly eschatologically oriented. Its interpretations are short and concentrate on a few distinct arguments. Theodoret is more elaborate. He does not speak out of a threatening situation. This is due to the Christian belief that Jesus Christ is the Messiah and salvation has already been accomplished. Furthermore, the Christians are no longer persecuted and thus live in a settled situation within the Roman Empire.

Due to the poor state of preservation of 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163), a comparison with Theodoret’s *Commentary* is rather difficult.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, there is one passage in 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163) where a few lines of commentary can be found. It comments on Isa 30:15–18. After the quotation of the biblical text the pesher says: “<sup>10</sup> The interpretation of the passage: at the Last Days, concerning the congregation of the S[eeke]rs-after-Smooth-Things<sup>11</sup> who are in Jerusalem [...] <sup>12</sup> by the Law and not [...] <sup>13</sup> a heart for to seek [...]” (23 ii 10–13). The following line contains a citation of Hos 6:9.<sup>16</sup> The “Seekers-after-Smooth-Things” are usually

<sup>14</sup> Guinot, *Commentaire*, 1:238–248.

<sup>15</sup> For 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163), see J.M. Allegro in *DJD* V (1968): 17–27; for the English translation quoted in the following, see J.M. Allegro et al. in *Exegetical Texts* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov; The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 2; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 31–47; for notes, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 96–106.

<sup>16</sup> Notably, this pesher also cites or alludes to other prophets, namely Jeremiah and

identified as the Pharisees.<sup>17</sup> It can be assumed that they are meant to be the ones who flee from their enemies. Theodoret, on the other hand, exhorts his readers to repent. He addresses them directly with “you.” They shall turn around and abandon their way of iniquity to obtain salvation. He explains single words as metaphors for historical realities, for example “Lebanon” or “Carmel” as symbols for the nations and Israel.<sup>18</sup> Theodoret’s interpretation of the “mountain” and the “hill” is especially interesting: “A lot of trees on the mountain are not thus remarkable. Though, if somewhere on the top of a mountain one single pine or cypress is left, it is remarked by those who go by. Thus, he [the prophet] says, you will be left, you, too, a little number out of many thousands, and your mischief will be remarked.”<sup>19</sup> Theodoret uses a parable to clarify the meaning of Isaiah’s metaphorical language. His point in the comment on the respective verses is God’s mercy upon those who repent. The pesher’s point seems to be the judgment at the end of days. The pesher’s expression “a heart for to seek” could likewise indicate repentance and a return to God.<sup>20</sup>

Isaiah speaks of repentance, of pursuers and flight, and of God’s mercy. The pesher applies these words to the Pharisees and to the author’s own community. Theodoret refers the words to the people of Isaiah’s time and to his Christian addressees. He does not explicitly identify particular enemies. He concentrates on the people of God, in the old and in his own time.

4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> (4Q164) comprises three fragments preserving parts of Isa 54:11–12 and its commentary.<sup>21</sup> Isaiah describes the rebuilding of Jerusalem after the Exile. God himself will build the foundations of the city out of precious stones. The pesher understands this prediction as referring to the community: “[... Its interpretation is <sup>2</sup> th]at they have

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Zechariah. Also 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> (4Q162) contains a quotation of another prophet, Jer 32:24. See Brooke, *Isaiah*, 625–627.

<sup>17</sup> See Horgan, *Pesharim*, 160 and 173. In the pesharim this expression only occurs in 4Qpap pIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q163) and 4QpNah (4Q169). For a short overview see A.I. Baumgarten, “Seekers After Smooth Things,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:857–859.

<sup>18</sup> Similarly, 1QpHab XII:3–4 interprets “Lebanon” as the “council of the community” (see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 20). Whereas Theodoret speaks of the past, the pesher refers to the present.

<sup>19</sup> Guinot, *Commentaire*, 2:276, English translation A.S.

<sup>20</sup> For the expression “to seek God with the heart” compare e.g. Deut 4:29; 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 15:12; 22:9; Pss 27:8; 119:2.

<sup>21</sup> For 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> (4Q164), see J.M. Allegro in *DJD* V (1968): 27–28; for notes, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 125–131.

founded the Council of the Community, [the] priests and the peo[ple ...] <sup>3</sup> a congregation of his elect, like a stone of lapis lazuli among the stones [...]" (1 1–3). Verse 12, which is then quoted, is also applied to the Qumran community: "Its interpretation concerns the twelve [...] <sup>5</sup> giving light in accordance with the Urim und Thummim [...] <sup>6</sup> that are lacking from them, like the sun in all its light. And [...] <sup>7</sup> Its interpretation concerns the heads of the tribes of Israel at the [end of days ...] <sup>8</sup> his lot, the offices of [...]" (1 4–8). The pesher mentions several groups that are important in the community of Qumran: the council, the priests, the people, the twelve, the heads of the tribes. The congregation is called "elect." These chosen ones are compared to the precious stones that are mentioned in Isaiah. The expression "end of days" is reconstructed and it is the only term that signifies an eschatological orientation. Nevertheless, Horgan states that the pesher speaks of the building of the New Jerusalem at the end of days.<sup>22</sup> Theodoret applies the whole passage to the Church. The precious stones signify the different virtues of the saints. The believers are the ones who are precious and chosen. The foundations, the pinnacles, and the gates are the leaders of the Church. That they are made of crystal indicates that their teaching is enlightening.<sup>23</sup> These two interpretations clearly show similarities in their hermeneutic approaches: Theodoret speaks of the saints, the pious, the Church leaders. The pesher speaks of the council, the priests, the congregation of the elect, the twelve, the heads of the tribes. Both assume the metaphorical character of the prophet's words and interpret the precious stones in terms of election of their respective communities' members.

4QpIsa<sup>e</sup> (4Q165), containing passages of Isaiah 11, 14, 15, 21, 32, and 40, is too fragmentary to be compared to Theodoret's elaborate remarks.<sup>24</sup>

3QpIsa (3Q4) is a document that was identified as a commentary on Isaiah by R. de Vaux and M. Baillet, although this is not a verified identification.<sup>25</sup> The text contains parts of Isa 1:1–2 and some non-biblical material. A typical introductory formula is missing. The interpretation

<sup>22</sup> She follows D. Flusser who discusses the term "the twelve" in connection with Rev 21 and "the twelve" in the Gospels. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 125–126.

<sup>23</sup> Guinot, *Commentaire*, 3:170–172.

<sup>24</sup> For 4QpIsa<sup>e</sup> (4Q165), see J.M. Allegro in *DJD V* (1968): 28–30.

<sup>25</sup> For 3QpIsa (3Q4), see M. Baillet in *DJD III* (1962): 95–96. Cf. A. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, vol. 1: *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 276.



seems to contain remarks on the plain sense of the text. The peshet, as well as Theodoret, seems to focus on the same points concerning the setting of Isaiah's prophecies.

### 3. METHODS AND HERMENEUTICS

For a description of the methods of peshet interpretation, it is helpful to take a look at the other pesharim. Several scholars summarize the exegetical techniques used in the pesharim. M. Fishbane lists the following methods: citation and atomization, multiple interpretations, paranomasia, symbols, notrikon, and gematria.<sup>26</sup> S. Berrin enumerates paraphrase, allegory, polyvalence, atomization, and allusion to other biblical passages.<sup>27</sup> D. Dimant notes the following techniques: modelling the interpretation on the syntactic and lexical patterns of the citation, using lexical synonyms, punning on words (paranomasia), atomizing, vocalizing or grouping the consonants of words in the citation in a different way, adducing other biblical quotations which share one or more terms with the main citation.<sup>28</sup> Theodoret uses all of these methods except of paranomasia, notrikon, and gematria. We have to keep in mind that he used the Greek text. He was aware of the special character of this text as a translation. He often refers to the translations of Symmachos, Aquila, and Theodotion to clarify the meaning of the text. Therefore, the methods relying on letters, consonants, and vowels are out of question for him.

Generally, the particular methods used by Theodoret in his *Isaiah Commentary* and the Isaiah pesharim from Qumran do not differ so much. Both identify certain persons of the biblical text with persons (or groups) of their own time. Both understand metaphorical terms as applicable to their own situations. Both quote other biblical texts to support their arguments. Now and then Theodoret inserts exhortations into the comment. In the Qumran pesharim such passages cannot be found. Altogether, the pesharim are more homogeneous than Theodoret's

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<sup>26</sup> This last one can be found as a technique of biblical interpretation, though not in Qumran. M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Peshet and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics," in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 13-19 August 1973 under the Auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (ed. A. Shinan; 4 vols.; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1975-1980), 1:97-114.

<sup>27</sup> Berrin, "Pesharim," 2:644-647.

<sup>28</sup> D. Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5:244-251.

*Commentary*, which is more complex. Whereas the Qumran pesharim focus on the recent past, the present and especially the near future, Theodoret often explains the historical meaning as if concerning Israel at Isaiah's time. Nevertheless, he frequently switches directly to the situation of his contemporary readers. He knows at least three time levels: the time of Isaiah, the time of Jesus and the Apostles, and his own time.<sup>29</sup>

Taking into account the at least partially identical exegetical techniques, what are the factors that determine the differences in the Qumran and Theodoret interpretations? Both interpreters are convinced that they reveal the true meaning of the prophet's text. The truth of prophecy is an explicit topic of their comments.<sup>30</sup> Of course, the particular understanding of what is truth differs: The peshar claims truth for the Qumran community. Theodoret, on the other hand, applies Isaiah's words to Christ and the Christians. The fulfillment of the prophecies in Jesus and the Church is his basic assumption. Within this frame different interpretations of the textual details are possible. Evidently, the respective communities' beliefs provide the framework which shapes the interpretation.<sup>31</sup> The consciousness of election and the expectation of the end of days determine the understanding of the biblical text, in particular, the eschatological focus of interpretation. As a Christian exegete, Theodoret presupposes the coming of the Messiah, which means the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy. In his introduction to the *Commentary* he states that Isaiah is the prophet who predicted most clearly the salvation of the nations and the ruin of the Jews.<sup>32</sup> This fundamental idea underlies his interpretation, although it is not always explicit. Nevertheless, Theodoret is awaiting a second manifestation of Jesus at the end of days. This expectation, however, is not as urgent as in Qumran. The decisive event has already happened. Moreover, the first years of Christian expectation of Christ's imminent return have past. The end of days has become an event of the more remote future.

The Qumran peshar applies the prophecies to the present situation and the expected eschatological salvation of the community and the defeat of the enemies in the near future. Therefore, the Qumran peshar

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<sup>29</sup> Less specifically these time levels could be referred to as the time of the Old Testament, the time of the New Testament, and the time of the Church.

<sup>30</sup> See 4QpIsa<sup>c</sup> (4Q165) 1–2: "ri[ghteous] teaching" (Allegro et al. in *Exegetical Texts*, 47); Theodoret on Isa 29:17: "truth of the prophecy" (Guinot, *Commentaire*, 1:260).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the contribution of A. Lange and Z. Pleše to the present volume who speak of "transpositional hermeneutics."

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:142–144.

focuses more on the eschatological battle. Theodoret presupposes the eschatological victory of Christ. Therefore, his concern is the present life of the Christians who are not in imminent danger. He exhorts his readers to live according to their redeemed status. The interpretative transfer to a spiritual level and also the individualized view of faith are typical of patristic exegesis. In contrast, the Qumran pesher concentrates on the collective aspects of the eschatological events.

To conclude, the pesharim and Theodoret both assume that the decisive meaning of the prophet's words is the meaning they have for their contemporary readers. This is based on the common assumption that the prophets are inspired by God and that their words predict the future.<sup>33</sup> The actual understanding of this future is indeed different. Therefore, it is necessary to interpret the prophet's words according to the changing situations of those who read the Bible again and again. That is what the pesharim, as well as Theodoret, actually did being participants—as Fishbane put it—in an “honorable, ancient, and well-shared tradition of hermeneia.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> F.F. Bruce and E. Main, “Pesher,” *EncJud* (2nd ed.) 16:9–11, 9 list three principles of Qumran interpretation: “1. God revealed His purpose to the prophets, but did not reveal to them the time when His purpose would be fulfilled; this further revelation was first communicated to the Teacher of Righteousness. 2. All the words of the prophets had reference to the time of the end. 3. The time of the end is at hand.”

<sup>34</sup> Fishbane, “Qumran Pesher,” 114.



THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND  
THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN AND  
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN WORLDS



OF HEROES AND SAGES: CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN BACKGROUND  
OF SOME ENOCHIC TRADITIONS\*

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“[He who saw the deep, the] foundation of the country,  
who knew [the secrets], was wise in everything!

...  
he saw the secret and uncovered the hidden,  
he brought back a message from the antediluvian age.”

From the introduction to the Gilgamesh Epic<sup>1</sup>

The general framework of the “Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure” is quite well established. Since the initial comparison of Berossos’ account of Mesopotamian antediluvian kings and heroes to the biblical patriarchs a vast literature has evolved that discusses the possible transfer and adaptation of such Mesopotamian topics as ascent to heaven, the flood story, primeval wisdom, dream-vision, divination and astronomy. I argue in this paper that the respective traditions reach back to a third millennium “origin.”

o. Enoch, described in Gen 5:22–25 as great-grandson of Adam, father of Methuselah and great-grand-father of Noah, lived 365 years and “he walked with God: and he was not, for God took him.”<sup>2</sup> Enoch became a central figure in early Jewish mystical speculations;<sup>3</sup> *1 Enoch*, or the *Ethiopic Enoch*, is one of the earliest non-biblical texts from the Second

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\* I wish to thank Armin Lange for his unfailing help and Bennie H. Reynolds III and Matthias Weigold for their valuable comments.

<sup>1</sup> See A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1:539.

<sup>2</sup> All biblical translations follow the KJV.

<sup>3</sup> See H.S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* (WMANT 61, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner, 1988), 35: “Astronomy, cosmology, mythical geography, divination . . . are subjects which in a Jewish setting appear for the first time in the Enochic sources, at least in a so extensive form.”

Temple period<sup>4</sup> and, at least in part, was originally written in Aramaic as demonstrated by the fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>5</sup> They prove that the *Astronomical Enoch* and the *Book of the Watchers* are among the earliest texts collected in *1 Enoch*. *2 Enoch* belongs to the Old Slavonic biblical tradition—a tradition<sup>6</sup> that is still very much alive in the popular religion of the Balkans. Indeed, as F. Badalanova Geller was able to demonstrate, there is an oral tradition still alive in contemporary Bulgaria, incorporating various pieces from the Jewish and apocryphal traditions, which has also considerable impact on orthodox iconography.<sup>7</sup> She further calls the underlying (oral) stories “the Epic of Enoch,” arguing methodologically along the lines of V. Propp’s *Morphology of the Folk Tale*.<sup>8</sup> This “epic” was certainly also related to the tradition of the kabbalistic-rabbinic *3 Enoch* which, like other hermetic literature, describes Enoch as *Metatron*, featuring him as the “Great Scribe” (*safrā rabba*: *Tg. Yer.*).<sup>9</sup> It cannot be the purpose of this paper to take the entire Enochic tradition into consideration; the references to Enoch are mani-

<sup>4</sup> J.C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 88–94; see also J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), esp. the chapter on “The Early Enoch Literature,” 43–84.

<sup>5</sup> On *1 Enoch* see J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) and cf. the review by J.C. Greenfield and M.E. Stone, “The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch,” *Numen* 26 (1979): 89–103. A modern translation of the text is now published by G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004). For the religious-historical framework of the book see J.C. VanderKam and P. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002); cf. also VanderKam, *Introduction*. A thorough study of the Enochic literature should, of course, also take into consideration the many references to Enoch in the so-called apocryphal literature. There are presently two recommendable translations: *OTP* and *AOT*.

<sup>6</sup> At the time when I finished this article I was not yet able to check *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition: Continuity and Diversity* (ed. L. DiTommaso and C. Böttrich with the assistance of M. Swoboda; TSAJ 140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming 2011).

<sup>7</sup> F. Badalanova Geller, “Cultural Transfer and Text Transmission: The Case of the Enoch Apocryphic Tradition” (lecture delivered at the Conference “Multilingualism in Central Asia, Near and Middle East from Antiquity to Early Modern Times” at the Center for Studies in Asian Cultures and Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, 2 March 2010). I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Badalanova Geller for fruitful discussions and additional references.

<sup>8</sup> V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folk Tale* (trans. L. Scott; 2nd ed.; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

<sup>9</sup> *Tg. Yer.* to Gen 5:24; see also *b. Hag.* 15a; see further A.A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 50–59, esp. 51.



fold in the so-called apocryphal tradition.<sup>10</sup> We only mention here that “the instructor” Enoch, Idris in Arabic, is attested in the Qur’an (19:56–57; 21:85–86) as a prophet, and that in Muslim lore, like in Judaism, he is also connected with the invention of astronomy. We may further mention persisting traditions in Classical Antiquity, especially Claudius Aelianus, who mentions the miraculous birth of Gilgamesh.<sup>11</sup>

o.1. Dating back to the late nineteenth century and the so-called Babel-Bible dispute,<sup>12</sup> the relation of the biblical traditions, especially those concerning the paradise narrative, the flood-story, and the (antediluvian) patriarchs, to the Mesopotamian world received much interest (see below 2.1.2). From a modern scholarly point of view, much of what has been written in this period is obsolete and related to anti-biblical or apologetic motivations. Therefore, we encounter often a general warning against a naïve comparative attitude which is certainly in place.<sup>13</sup> If in the following paragraphs we refer to various Mesopotamian materials, we are fully aware of this warning. We do not intend to establish literal

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<sup>10</sup> Concerning the book of *Jubilees*, Kvanvig, *Roots*, 146, writes e.g.: “Jubilees deals with a tradition about the origin of Babylonian science. This science was revealed to men in primordial time. The revelators were angels who descended from heaven and acted as sages among men. Enoch as the first sage is found in Pseudo-Eupolemus.”

<sup>11</sup> Claudius Aelianus, *De Natura Animalium* 12.21: “At any rate an Eagle fostered a baby. And I want to tell the whole story, so that I may have evidence of my proposition. When Seuechoros was king of Babylon the Chaldeans foretold that the son born of his daughter would wrest the kingdom from his grandfather. This made him afraid and (if I may be allowed the small jest) he played Acrisius to his daughter: he put the strictest of watches upon her. For all that, since fate was cleverer than the king of Babylon, the girl became a mother, being pregnant by some obscure man. So the guards from fear the king hurled the infant from the citadel, for that was where the aforesaid girl was imprisoned. Now an Eagle which saw with its piercing eye the child while still falling, before it was dashed on the earth, flew beneath it, flung its back under it, and conveyed it to some garden and set it down with the utmost care. But when the keeper of the place saw the pretty baby he fell in love with it and nursed it; and it was called Gilgamesh and became king of Babylon.” (Claudius Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals* [trans. A.F. Schofield; 3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958–1959], 3:39–41). We may further note that in the subsequent text Aelianus explicitly refers to Achaemenes, the legendary founder of the first Persian dynasty, who is also said “to be raised by an eagle.”

<sup>12</sup> For an overview over this politically remarkable dispute and the involvement of the German emperor Wilhelm II see R.G. Lehmann, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (OBO 133; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1989). Delitzsch’s hypotheses were sharply criticised by Christian and Jewish theologians of the time and soon became a political issue. Finally the emperor was even requested to make a public profession of his faith.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. R. Liwak, “Bibel und Babel: Wider die theologische und religionsgeschichtliche Naivität,” *BTZ* 2 (1989): 206–233. An extensive bibliography of “Articles by Jewish Writers on the Babel-Bibel Controversy” is published in Y. Shavit and M. Eran, eds., *The Hebrew*

dependencies, but would rather draw attention to some parallels with selected Mesopotamian motifs. We will neither address the question of a common Near Eastern origin of such motifs, nor will we attempt to reconstruct the ways of transmission in the necessary detail. The latter were certainly manifold, and that orality played a major role is very likely but, of course, hard to prove.

o.2. The most important contributions concerning the relationship between Berossos,<sup>14</sup> the Sumerian King list, and the biblical patriarchs as well as the connected literary motifs are presently those of R. Borger,<sup>15</sup> J.C. VanderKam,<sup>16</sup> H. Kvanvig<sup>17</sup> and A.A. Orlov.<sup>18</sup> I shall return to them later. The discovery of the Qumran manuscripts put *1 Enoch* in the centre of these discussions and their connections to the related Jewish-Hellenistic texts and to Mesopotamian forerunners have been widely discussed.<sup>19</sup> The Qumran manuscripts of the *Book of Giants* mention the hero Gilgamesh among the Giants who were offspring of the evil (fallen) angels who had intercourse with human females.<sup>20</sup> Starting from this fact,

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*Bible Reborn: From Holy Scripture to the Book of Books: A History of Biblical Culture and the Battles over the Bible in Modern Judaism* (trans. C. Naor; SJ 38; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 531–566.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G.P. Verbrugghe and J.M. Wickersham, *Berosos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> R. Borger, "Die Beschwörungsserie *Bit Mēseri* und die Himmelfahrt Henochs," *JNES* 33 (1974): 183–196; for an abbreviated English version see idem, "The Incantation Series *Bit Mēseri* and Enoch's Ascension to Heaven," in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11* (ed. R.S. Hess and D.T. Tsumura; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 4, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 224–233.

<sup>16</sup> J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984).

<sup>17</sup> See Kvanvig, *Roots*.

<sup>18</sup> See Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*.

<sup>19</sup> For *1 Enoch*, cf. the literature listed in n. 5.

<sup>20</sup> The following excerpts of the reconstructed *Book of Giants* are taken from the edition of The Gnostic Society Library (online: [http://www.gnosis.org/library/dss/dss\\_book\\_of\\_giants.htm](http://www.gnosis.org/library/dss/dss_book_of_giants.htm) [14 March 2010]) (MSS: 4Q203, 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q530–532, 6Q8).

*The wicked angels, bringing both knowledge and havoc.*

2 [...] they knew the secrets of [...] 3 [...] si)n was great in the earth [...] 4 [...] and they killed many [...] 5 [...] they begat] giants [...] (1Q23 9+14+15)

*The outcome of the demonic corruption was violence, perversion, and a brood of monstrous beings.*

I attempt to show that not only did the generally late Mesopotamian traditions about the primeval sages and related matters form a background for the mythical imagery of the Enochic system of thought, but that the much earlier epic traditions about the kings Gilgamesh and Etana should also be considered. We might not be able to avoid some of the traps of this sort of intertextual studies, however, we are by all means entitled to

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1 [...] they defiled [...] 2 [...] they begot] giants and monsters [...] 3 [...] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was corrupted ...] 4 [...] with its blood and by the hand of [...] 5 [giant's] which did not suffice for them and [...] 6 [...] and they were seeking to devour many [...] 7 [...] 8 [...] the monsters attacked it. (4Q531 2)

*The giants became troubled by a series of dreams and visions. Mahway sees a tablet being immersed in water. When it emerges, all but three names have been washed away. The dream evidently symbolizes the destruction of all but Noah and his sons by the Flood. ... The giants realize the futility of fighting against the forces of heaven. The first speaker may be Gilgamesh.*

3 [... I am a] giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength 4 [... any]one mortal, and I have made war against them; but I am not [...] able to stand against them, for my opponents 6 [...] reside in [Heav]en, and they dwell in the holy places. And not 7 [...] they] are stronger than I. 8 [...] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call [me]. 9 [...] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream [...] the sleep of my eyes [vanished], to let me see a vision. Now I know that on [...] 11-12[...] Gilgamesh [...] (4Q531 1)

*[From] Ohya's dream vision ...*

1 concerns the death of our souls [...] and all his comrades, [and Oh]ya told them what Gilgamesh said to him 2[...] and it was said [...] "concerning [...] the leader has cursed the potentates" 3and the giants were glad at his words. Then he turned and left [...] (4Q530 II)

*More [ill-foreboding] dreams afflict the giants. ... Someone suggests that Enoch be found to interpret the vision. [... to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us 12 the dream. Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants, 13 I too had a dream this night, O giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth 14 [...] and such is the end of the dream. [Thereupon] all the giants [and monsters! grew afraid 15 and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch 16 [the noted scribe]. They said to him, Go [...] to you that 17 [...] you have heard his voice. And he said to him, He will [...] and] interpret the dreams [...] III:3[...] how long the giants have to live. [...]* (4Q530 II-III)

*After a cosmic journey Mahway comes to Enoch and makes his request.*

3 [...] he mounted up in the air] 4 like strong winds, and flew with his hands like ea[gles ... he left behind] 5 the inhabited world and passed over Desolation, the great desert [...] 6 and Enoch saw him and hailed him, and Mahway said to him [...] 7 hither and thither a second time to Mahway [...] The giants await 8 your

look after the pre- and the post-texts, especially if we remember that any reading implies a recreation of new texts. To put it metaphorically, texts are not stable entities but living beings undergoing all sort of philological and interpretative changes.

1. My contribution is an outsider's view, neither pretending to do justice to the ongoing discussions in biblical studies, in particular in the studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, nor dwelling on the highly complicated matter of the Babylonian background of the astronomical Enoch tradition.<sup>21</sup> O. Neugebauer, one of the pioneers working on Babylonian astronomical texts wrote in 1981: "The search for time and place of origin of this primitive picture of the cosmic order can hardly be expected to lead to definitive results. The use of 30-day schematic months could have been inspired, e.g., by Babylonian arithmetical schemes (of the type of 'Mul-Apin'), or by the Egyptian calendar." He then continues: "But [sc. in *Astronomical Enoch*] there is no visible trace of the sophisticated Babylonian astronomy of the Persian or Seleucid-Parthian period."<sup>22</sup> The opinion "that the astronomical part of the Book of Enoch is based on

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words, and all the monsters of the earth. If [...] has been carried [...] 9 from the days of [...] their [...] and they will be added [...] 10 [...] we would know from you their meaning [...] 11 [...] two hundred trees that from heaven [came down ...] (4Q530 III)

[Then,] Enoch sends back a tablet with its grim message of judgment, but with hope for repentance.

With this text, compare Gen 6:1–2, 4. See further L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) and K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levi aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Aramaistische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik/Wörterbuch, deutsch-aramäische Wortliste, Register* (2 vols. and Ergänzungsband; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984/1994/2004), 1:225–258 (*1 Enoch*), 258–268 (*Book of Giants*), Ergänzungsband: 117–118 (*1 Enoch*), 119–124 (*Book of Giants*), 2:153–155 (*1 Enoch*), 155–162 (*Book of Giants*). We note that Beyer postulates a Jewish Old-Palestinian language for these earliest Enoch fragments (*ibid.*, 1:229). He understands these fragments as an early translation from a Hebrew original. Especially important is É. Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1994), 1–29; cf. furthermore the works of Milik, *Books of Enoch*, and O. Neugebauer, *The "Astronomical" Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82)* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser 40.10; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1981).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

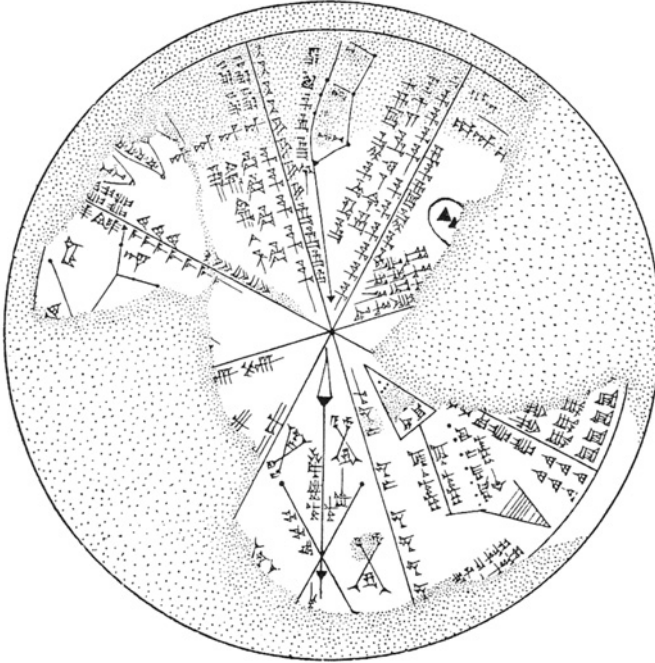


Fig. 1. The Neo-Assyrian star-map K 8538 according to the illustration in H. Hunger, ed., *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (SAA 8, Helsinki: Helsinki University Press: 1992), 46.

concepts extant in the Old Testament is simply incorrect: the Enoch year is not an old semitic calendaric unit; the schematic alternation between hollow and full months is not a real lunar calendar, and there exists no linear scheme in the Old Testament for the length of daylight, or patterns for 'gates,' for winds, or for 'thousands' of stars, related to the schematic year. The whole Enochian astronomy is clearly an *ad hoc* construction and not the result of a common semitic tradition."<sup>23</sup>

1.1. Neugebauer's opinion sharply contrasts the statement of VanderKam that "Enoch's science is a Judaized refraction of an early stage in the development of Babylonian astronomy—a stage that finds varied expression in texts such as the astrolabes, *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and <sup>mul</sup>APIN. In it astronomical and astrological concepts are intermingled and schematic

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

arrangements at times predominate over facts.”<sup>24</sup> Here VanderKam comes back to an early view of H. Zimmern from 1901,<sup>25</sup> who saw the Enochic tradition anchored in stories around the primeval king Enmeduranki, to whom the gods granted mantic and astronomical wisdom.<sup>26</sup>

1.2. The main arguments against Neugebauer’s position are provided by the Enochic Aramaic fragments from Cave 4, the careful evaluation of which prompted Milik already in 1976 to suggest that the astronomical parts of the Enoch tradition do belong to the oldest stratum of the Enoch literature in concordance to the 365 (originally) year life span allotted to Enoch in Gen 5:23.<sup>27</sup>

1.3. I cannot discuss here the philological evidence that anchors the biblical tradition in the historical charts. This is a different, albeit very important field which may support my arguments: I just mention one recent example: Jer 39:3 may go back to an eye witness’s account of Nebuchadnezzar’s conquest of Jerusalem in 589 B.C.E. This is indicated by my colleague Michael Jursa’s identification of the chief-eunuch *Nabusharrussu-ukin*, the biblical נְבוֹ שַׂרְסִימִים רַב־סָרִיס or Nebu-Sarsekim, in an economic document from the sun-god temple in Sippar, dated to the “Month XI, day 18, year 10 [of] Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.”<sup>28</sup>

1.3.1. The Babylonian exile<sup>29</sup> had a major impact on the development of Judaism, possibly even on the moulding of the apocalyptic traditions.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 101.

<sup>25</sup> H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion: Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu, Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger* (Assyriologische Bibliothek 12; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901).

<sup>26</sup> See Albani, *Astronomie*, 27.

<sup>27</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 8–10.

<sup>28</sup> M. Jursa, “Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn, rab ša-rēši, und ‘Nebusarsekim’ (Jer. 39:3),” *NABU* 5 (2008), online: <http://www.achemenet.com/document/Nabu2008-05.pdf> (1 July 2010). Jursa’s translation of the document runs as follows: “Regarding] 1.5 minas (0.75 kg) of gold, the property of Nabû-šarrūssu-ukīn, the chief eunuch, which he sent via Arad-Bānītu the eunuch to [the temple] Esangila: Arad-Bānītu has delivered [it] to Esangila. In the presence of Bēl-usāti, son of Alpāya, the royal bodyguard, [and of] Nādin, son of Marduk-zēru-ibni. Month XI, day 18, year 10 [of] Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.” We may note here that the evaluation of this document provoked a broad discussion in scholarly literature and in the Internet.

<sup>29</sup> Jer 39:3 gives account of Nebuchadnezzar’s conquest of Jerusalem and his victory over the Judean King Zedekiah: The passage reports that all of the officers of the king of Babylon made their entry, and occupied the middle gate.

<sup>30</sup> Kvanvig, *Roots*, 612 writes: “The emergence of the apocalyptic traditions and lit-

The background of this “knowledge transfer,” however, is the scholarly situation as just described. I say this not to deny the contribution of mere story-telling and fantastic lore to the growth of the corpus of apocalyptic literature, but we cannot neglect the scholarly and even empirical background of the underlying world-view. Indeed, this may provide the best explanation for why so many different topics and stylistic features are fused in the extant Enochic traditions.

1.4. What concerns us here is the heuristic attitude of Mesopotamian scholarship. Even in the late Seleucid period this scholarship remains basically “holistic” or “monistic” in the way that it links all sorts of empiricism, as may be demonstrated with examples from the famous “Astronomical Diaries.”<sup>31</sup> In the fifth year of Darius III (331 B.C.E.) we find a series of astronomical observations:<sup>32</sup>

Day 13 [20 September]: Sunset to moonrise: 8. There was a lunar eclipse. Its totality was covered at the moment when Jupiter set and Saturn rose. During totality the west wind blew, during clearing the east wind. During the eclipse, deaths and plague occurred. Day 14: All day clouds were in the sky ...

The reports then continue with observations from the “Burse of Babylon”; commodity prizes are given together with the positions of the planets in the zodiacal signs.

That month, the equivalent for 1 shekel of silver was: barley ... at that time, Jupiter was in Scorpio; Venus was in Leo, at the end of the month in Virgo; Saturn was in Pisces; Mercury and Mars, which had set, were not visible.

The reports further continue with the famous account of the downfall of the Persian empire in the same year, after the battle at Gaugamela, north of Mossul (331 B.C.E.).

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erature presupposes both a direct contact with Mesopotamian culture in the Babylonian diaspora, and the syncretistic tendencies in Palestine in the post-exilic centuries.” See also S. Robinson, “The Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature: Prophecy, Babylon, and 1 Enoch” (MA diss., University of Florida, 2005; online: <http://etd.fcla.edu/SF/SFE0001120/Robinson-Sarah-thesis.pdf> [30 October 2010]).

<sup>31</sup> We follow here the unpublished manuscript of G. Grafshoff, “The Diffusion of Knowledge: From Babylonian Regularities to Science in the Antiquity” (paper presented at the 97th Dahlem Workshop on Globalization of Knowledge and its Consequences at the Dahlem Konferenzen, Berlin, 18–23 November 2007).

<sup>32</sup> H. Hunger, ed., *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. 2: *Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.* (Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 210; Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 175–176.

On the 11th of that month, panic occurred in the camp before the king. The Macedonians encamped in front of the king. On the 24th [1 October], in the morning, the king of the world [Alexander] erected his standard and attacked. Opposite each other they fought and a heavy defeat of the troops of the king [Darius] he [Alexander] incited. The king [Darius], his troops deserted him and to their cities they went. They fled to the east.

1.4.1. As I have learnt from the Swiss philosopher and historian of science, Gerd Graßhoff, these collections of data were systematically made in order to obtain knowledge about the possible connections of various events, and more specifically in order to get information of how one could interfere and prevent an otherwise probable future event.<sup>33</sup>

1.4.2. The Astronomical Diaries are certainly a latecomer within the cuneiform tradition; there is, however no reason to postulate a fundamental change in the methodological attitude of Mesopotamian scholars, at least after the Old Babylonian period. In comparison to our approaches, “there is no methodological difference for Babylonian scholarship compared to causal reasoning to obtain knowledge about causal regularities with causes indicated by signs. This counts for all sorts of domains of knowledge—from medical, over meteorological, economic to astronomical knowledge.”<sup>34</sup>

2. Numerous articles and books deal with Enoch and “Enochic literature.” From the viewpoint of a cuneiform scholar, Helge Kvanvig’s book *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* must be considered a major contribution.<sup>35</sup> The Babylonian surroundings of the forefathers of apocalyptic literature, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, led to the hypothesis that other apocalyptic texts may have their roots in the Babylonian exile.<sup>36</sup> Be that as it may, the great impact the Babylonian mantic and astronomical tradition had on the growing Hebrew apocalyptic texts remains beyond dispute.

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<sup>33</sup> I refer to Graßhoff, “Diffusion”; see also idem, “Babylonian Metrological Observations and the Empirical Basis of Ancient Science,” in *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies—Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen* (ed. G.J. Selz with the assistance of K. Wagensonner; Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6, Wien: Lit, 2011), 25–40.

<sup>34</sup> Graßhoff, “Diffusion.”

<sup>35</sup> Cf. also the literature quoted in n. 5.

<sup>36</sup> VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth*, 6–15; Robinson, “Origins,” 38–51.



2.1. Since the times of Flavius Josephus, the first century Jewish historian who also recorded the Roman destruction of the second temple on 4 August 70 C.E., the relationship of the Jewish prehistory to the similar traditions of the neighbouring cultures became a pivotal point for all sorts of discussions.

2.1.1. While not very widely distributed initially, the *Babyloniaca* of Berossos<sup>37</sup> gained increasing influence on the picture of the earlier Mesopotamian history in antiquity, despite the fact that the primary source for all Hellenistic scholarship remained Ctesias of Cnidos (in Caria) from the fifth century B.C.E. The interest in Berossos' work was mainly provoked by his account of Babylonian astronomy, and, in the Christian era, by his record of the Babylonian flood lore. His report of the ten antediluvian kings was paralleled apologetically to traditions from the Hebrew Bible. In this way Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (ca. 260–340 C.E.), used the *Babyloniaca* in order to harmonize the biblical and the pagan traditions, whereas Flavius Josephus used it for Jewish apologetics. Therefore, the controversial debate over the reliability of biblical stories about the patriarchs and their relation to the mytho-historical accounts of Mesopotamian prehistory have persisted for two millennia.

2.1.2. After an increasing wealth of Mesopotamian cuneiform tablets was excavated and translated in the middle of the nineteenth century, critical evaluation of the biblical traditions gained great momentum. In 1872 George Smith delivered a paper to the *Society of Biblical Archaeology* in London, announcing the discovery of a Babylonian version of the biblical flood story, hereby renewing the interest in the extra-biblical traditions of Antiquity and eventually supporting the account of Berossos' *Babyloniaca*. A few years later, in 1876, Smith published his book *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, in which he included translations of excerpts from fragments of *Atraḥasīs*,<sup>38</sup> a text which, together with the so-called "Creation Epic *Enūma Elish*," soon became a corner stone for all comparisons between the biblical and Mesopotamian accounts of the "history" of primeval times.<sup>39</sup> To cut a long story short, when S. Langdon published

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<sup>37</sup> A Hellenistic priest from Babylon, living during Alexander's reign over the capital (330–323 B.C.E.), that is less than 200 years before the alleged earliest Qumran manuscripts!

<sup>38</sup> See W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-ḥasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 3.

<sup>39</sup> The comparison of the Mesopotamian flood story with its Noah-related figure of Ziusudra/Utnapishtim and the Babylonian *Epic of Creation* in conjunction with Berossos'

the Weld-Blundell (WB) copy of the *Sumerian King List* in 1923, a thorough revision of earlier opinions became necessary.<sup>40</sup> It became clear, in particular, that the names of (most) of Berossos' early Babylonian rulers were of Sumerian origin. Zimmern himself revised his earlier theories and Pater Anton Deimel even disputed any connection of the cuneiform tradition to the biblical patriarchs.<sup>41</sup>

2.1.3. The biblical patriarchs and the kings before the flood according to Gen 5 and 4, Berossos and the *Sumerian King List*.<sup>42</sup>

[Gen] 5	[Gen] 4	Berosos	WB 62
1 Adam	25 Adam	Ἄλωρος	Alulim
6 Set	25 Set	Ἀάπαρος	Alagar
9 Enosch	26 Enosch	Ἀμήλων	[...] Kidunnu
12 Qenan	17 Kain	Ἀμμένων	[...] -alimma
15 Mahalalel	18 Mehi(u)jael	Ἀμεγάλαρον	[Dumu]zi, d. Hirt
18 Jered	18 Irad	Δάωνος ποιμήν	[Enm]entuanna
21 Henoch	17 Henoch	Εὐεδοράγγχος	[E]sipazianna
25 Methuschelach	18 Methuschael	Ἀμεψινός	Enmeduranna
28 Lamech	18 Lamech	Ἔπιάρτης	Uburtutu
32 Noah	—	Ξισούθρος	Ziusudra

account of Babylonian History fostered many hypotheses and any originality of the biblical stories became disputed. In 1902 H. Zimmern published his influential article "Urkönige und Uroffenbarung," in E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (ed. H. Zimmern and H. Winckler; 3rd ed.; 2 vols.; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902–1903), 2:530–543, in which he attempted to parallel the names of the biblical primeval patriarchs and similar figures from extra-biblical traditions. Great influence gained F. Delitzsch who with his lectures on "Babel und Bibel" (1902–1905) provoked the so-called "Babel-Bibel Streit"; see F. Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921). Later he took an even more open hostile stand against the traditional theologians in his work *Die große Täuschung: Kritische Betrachtungen zu den alttestamentlichen Berichten über Israels Eindringen in Kanaan, die Gottesoffenbarung vom Sinai und die Wirksamkeit der Propheten* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1920–1921).

<sup>40</sup> A. Deimel, "Die babylonische und biblische Überlieferung bezüglich der vorsintflutlichen Urväter," *Orientalia* (Rome) 17 (1925): 33–47; cf. further H. Zimmern, "Die altbabylonischen vor- (und nach-)sintflutlichen Könige nach neuen Quellen," *ZDMG* 78 (1924): 19–35, 24. W.G. Lambert, "A New Fragment from a List of Antediluvian Kings and Maruk's Chariot," in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae: Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae* (ed. M.A. Beek et al.; Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 271–280, 271, pointed out that the connection of the patriarchs to the tradition of the *Sumerian King List* was first established by Josephus who again depended on Berossos.

<sup>41</sup> A. Deimel, "Urväter," 43 states: "(Es) dürfte besser ehrlich einzugestehen sein, dass bis jetzt kein Zusammenhang irgendwelcher Art zwischen der babylonischen und der biblischen Überlieferung bezüglich der vorsintflutlichen Urväter erwiesen ist."

<sup>42</sup> C. Westermann, *Genesis*, vol. 1: *Genesis 1–11* (BKAT 1.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1974), 473.

2.1.4. The most important information we can draw from this table is: 1. Berossos' account of the primeval history of Mesopotamian is clearly based on an emic tradition reaching back almost two millennia. 2. The Mesopotamian tradition dates back to an environment of Sumerian literary tradition; this is corroborated by the newly found Ur III version of the *Sumerian King List*.<sup>43</sup> 3. The position of Noah and Ziusudra/Utnapishtim asserts the interrelation of the biblical and Mesopotamian stories about the Flood.

2.2. As already mentioned, hypotheses on the interrelation of these biblical and Mesopotamian sources have flourished for millennia. In our context the alleged connection of the biblical tradition with the Gilgamesh reception deserves mentioning. Alfred Jeremias, who published the first German translation of the Gilgamesh Epic in 1891, and Peter Jensen supposed that the Gilgamesh material is indeed the blue-print for all related biblical stories, denying them any originality. From the present state of research this seems, at first sight, not even worth mentioning. It is, however, well-known that Gilgamesh's fame, how much mixed and distorted the various Babylonian traditions may have become, exerted influence on many stories of ancient authors all over the Near East. Thus the attestation of Gilgamesh's name in the Dead Sea Scrolls does not come as a surprise. The name is mentioned in the *Book of Giants*, which was later adopted by the followers of Mani. In the *Book of Giants*, Gilgamesh is the name of one of the giants—offspring of the fallen heavenly watchers and human women. Another giant mentioned besides Gilgamesh<sup>44</sup> is Hobabis,<sup>45</sup> who may well be a distortion of the name of Gilgamesh's adversary, Hu(m)baba (Assyrian)/Huwawa (Babylonian), the famous

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<sup>43</sup> P. Steinkeller, "An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List," in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: FS Claus Wilcke* (ed. W. Sallaberger, K. Volk, and A. Zgoll; *Orientalia Biblica et Christiana* 14; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 267–292.

<sup>44</sup> In the fifteenth century C.E. al-Suyūti collected conjurations against evil demons mentioning amongst them a certain Jiljamiš (see George, *Gilgamesh*, 60–61). George also mentions a certain Theodor bar Konai (ca. tenth century C.E.) who "passed on a list of twelve postdiluvian kings that were held to have reigned in the era between Peleg, a descendant of Noah's son Shem, and the patriarch Abraham. Both the tenth, *gmygws* or *gmngws*, and the twelfth, *gnmgws* or *gmgws*, who was king when Abraham was born, probably represent garbled spellings of Gilgamesh" (ibid., 61).

<sup>45</sup> See also C. Grotanelli, "The Story of Kombabos and the Gilgamesh Tradition," in *Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences: Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Paris, France, October 4–7, 1999* (ed. R.M. Whiting; Melammu Symposia 2; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001), 19–27.

monster guarding the cedar forest, who was finally killed by Gilgamesh and his comrade Enkidu. The alleged Elamite origin of the monster's name would nicely fit the observation that, from a Mesopotamian view, the localization of the cedar forest in historical times moved from the Eastern Zagros to the Western Libanon. Proof, however, is lacking.<sup>46</sup> The name of the Babylonian flood hero Utnapishtim/Ziusudra is, so far, not attested in the extant manuscripts from Qumran. The name does occur, however, in the form of At(a)nabiš (*'tnbyš*) in fragments of the *Book of Giants* found at Turfan.<sup>47</sup>

2.3. A central figure in the discussion about the alleged Mesopotamian model for the antediluvian patriarchs soon became Enoch, who lived for 365 (364) years and of whom we read in Gen 5:24 "Enoch walked with God then he was no more, because God took him away." The verb *lāqah* in this context has received numerous comments.<sup>48</sup> Biblical sources offer three interpretations: a) the liberation of a dead person from the power of the underworld, b) a final removal from earth (cf. Elijah) or c) an act of temporal transference, as in dream visions.<sup>49</sup>

The name Enoch has found several interpretations: It has been argued that J derived the name from *hānaq*, "to dedicate" and "to train" which comes close to an the interpretation of "the sage" (cf. also Arabic Idris!), and it may well be that the two values attributed to Enoch in Gen 5 is a "babilistic" interpretation of "a man dedicated to and trained by God."<sup>50</sup> In the light of Gen 4:17 the name was also thought to convey the meaning of "founder," referring to the eponymous city Enoch.<sup>51</sup> This Enoch is possibly entering the rank of those patriarchs who, according to biblical tradition, were perceived as a sort of cultural heroes.

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<sup>46</sup> George, *Gilgamesh*, 147.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 155 with n. 93 (and literature).

<sup>48</sup> Kvanvig, *Roots*, 48–53.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 48–49.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>51</sup> Westermann, *Genesis*, 443–445 suggests that Enoch may refer to the foundation of a city or sanctuary. Westermann writes: "In Israel wurde die Erinnerung daran bewahrt, daß der Städtebau zum dem gehört, was vor und außerhalb der Geschichte Israels geschah. Die Gründung der ersten Stadt gehört der Urgeschichte an" (444). Discussing Gen 4:17 most exegetes remark that it seems unlikely that Kain, the tiller, condemned to a nomadic life, could be renowned as the founder of a city. In an attempt to harmonize the alleged discrepancies, they even assume that the said founder was originally Enoch (cf. e.g. Westermann, *Genesis*, 443).

2.4. With the publication of a Seleucid text from Uruk, W 20030,<sup>52</sup> the comparison between Berossos, the Old Testament, and the *Sumerian King List* reached a new level:

1	[ina ta]r-[š]i <sup>2</sup>	<sup>1</sup> a-a-lu lugal	<sup>1</sup> u <sub>4</sub> - <sup>d</sup> an	abgal
	[ina ta]r-[š]i	<sup>1</sup> a-lá-al-gar lugal	<sup>1</sup> u <sub>4</sub> - <sup>d</sup> an-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	abgal
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> am-me-lu-an-na lugal	<sup>1</sup> en-me-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	abgal
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> am-me-gal-an-na lugal	<sup>1</sup> en-me-galam-ma	abgal
5	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> e[n-m]e-ušumgal-an-na lugal	<sup>1</sup> en-me-bulùg-gá	abgal
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> dumu-zi sipa lugal	<sup>1</sup> d <sup>an</sup> -en-líl-da	abgal
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> en-me-dur-an-ki lugal	<sup>1</sup> ù-tu-abzu	abgal
<hr/>				
	[egir-mar-uru <sup>2</sup> <sub>5</sub> ] ina palê <sup>e</sup>	<sup>1</sup> en-me-kár	<sup>1</sup> nun-gal-pirig-gal	abgal
	[šá <sup>d</sup> ištár išt-t]u šamê <sup>e</sup> ana	é-an-na ú-še-ri-du	balag-si <sub>x</sub> -par	
10	[šá x x ] 𐎧 𐎧 <sup>meš</sup> -šú <sup>na4</sup>	za-gin-na ina ši-pir <sup>d</sup>	nin-á-gal	
	[i-pu-uš ina ] 𐎧-kú <sup>ki</sup> šu-bat	dingir-lu-ulú <sup>7</sup>	balag ina maḥ-ri <sup>d</sup>	an ú-kin-nu
<hr/>				
	[	<sup>1</sup> d[ilga-m]èš	<sup>1</sup> dšín-liq-unninnī <sup>lu</sup>	um-man-nu
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> i-b]i- <sup>d</sup> šín lugal	<sup>1</sup> kabtu-il- <sup>d</sup> marduk	<sup>1</sup> u <sup>u</sup> um-man-nu
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> iš-bi]- <sup>d</sup> èr-ra lugal	<sup>1</sup> si-dù ša-niš <sup>1d</sup>	en-líl-ibni um-man-nu
15	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> a-bi]-e <sup>2</sup> -šú-uh <sup>l</sup> lugal	<sup>1</sup> šu- <sup>d</sup> ME.ME u <sup>1</sup>	ta-qiš- <sup>d</sup> ME.ME um-man-nu <sup>meš</sup>
	[ina tar-š]i	<sup>1</sup> x x]-𐎧 lugal	<sup>1</sup> é-sag-gil-ki-ni-apla	um-man-nu

This document establishes an important link between Berossos' account of the primeval kings and his story of the sage Oannes. In this text the names of Mesopotamian rulers are accompanied by names of advisors, sages, the so-called *apkallū* which play an important role in Mesopotamian iconography and have been known, up until now, chiefly from the so-called *Etiological Myth of the "Seven Sages"* studied by Erica Reiner in 1961.<sup>53</sup>

2.4.1. This list is certainly fictional, it is, however, based on scholarly traditions: the name of the well-known compiler of the standard version of the Gilgamesh Epic, <sup>d</sup>šín-liq-unninnī, functions as an *apkallu* to Gilgamesh himself. Further, a certain *Kabtu-il-Marduk*, perhaps referring to the author of the *Erra Epic Kabti-ilāni-Marduk*, is mentioned as a sage

<sup>52</sup> Published by J.J.A. van Dijk, "Die Tontafeln aus dem Resch-Heiligtum," in *Uruk-Warka Vorberichte* 18 (1962): 43–52, from which the following transcription is taken.

<sup>53</sup> E. Reiner, "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages,'" *Orientalia* 30 (1961): 1–11; eadem, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 85.4; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995). See further S. Parpola, "Mesopotamian Astrology and Astronomy as Domains of the Mesopotamian 'Wisdom,'" in *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens: Beiträge zum 3. Grazer Morgenländischen Symposium* (ed. H. Galter and B. Scholz; Grazer Morgenländische Studien 3; Graz: RM Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1993), 23–27.

during the reign of Ibbi-Sîn (ca. 2028–2004 B.C.E.), the unlucky last king of the Ur III empire.

2.4.2. The correspondance between Enmeduranki, for a long time considered to be the Mesopotamian Enoch, with an *apkallu* named Utu-abzu, proved highly informative.<sup>54</sup> In 1974 Borger observed in an important article, that in tablet III of the omen series *Bit Mēseri* (“House of Confinement”) a list of these *apkallū* is provided and that the *apkallu* Utu-abzu who is, as we have just seen, associated with the primeval ruler Enmeduranki is explicitly said to have “ascended to heaven.”<sup>55</sup> In Borger’s words we can therefore say: “The mythological conception of Enoch’s ascension to heaven derives . . . from Enmeduranki’s counselor, the seventh antediluvian sage, named Utuabzu!”<sup>56</sup>

2.4.3. The iconographic evidence for these *apkallū* is manifold and best known from various Assyrian reliefs. We usually refer to them as *genii*. *Bit Mēseri*, however, describes them as *purādu*-fishes, and this coincides with iconographic research undertaken by Wiggerman some twenty years ago in his study on *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits*.<sup>57</sup> Wiggerman could distinguish between basically three types of *genii*, attested in the Mesopotamian art: First, there is a human faced *genius*, second, a bird *apkallu* who occur only in “Assyrian” contexts, and third, a fish *apkallu*, the original Babylonian *apkallu*, as described by Berossos; according to the texts the last two groups of *apkallū* are coming in groups of seven. The first type, the human faced *genius* must be kept apart because these *genii* are depicted wearing a horned crown which explicitly marks them as divine.

2.5. I cannot dwell here on the complicated issue of a possible intertextual relation between these *apkallū* and the “fallen angels” of the biblical tradition. Instead I will add some remarks concerning the following

<sup>54</sup> See W.G. Lambert, “Enmeduranki and Related Matters,” *JCS* 21 (1967): 126–138; idem, “New Fragment.”

<sup>55</sup> “Beschwörung. U-anna, der die Pläne des Himmels und der Erde vollendet, U-anna-dugga, dem ein umfassender Verstand verliehen ist, Enmedugga, dem ein gutes Geschick beschieden ist, Enmegalamma, der in einem Hause geboren wurde, Enmebulugga, der auf einem Weidegrund aufwuchs, An-Enlilda, der Beschwörer der Stadt Eridu, Utuabzu, der zum Himmel emporgestiegen ist, . . .” (Borger, “Beschwörungsserie,” 192).

<sup>56</sup> Borger, “Incantation Series,” 232.

<sup>57</sup> F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* (Cuneiform Monographs 1; Groningen: Styx, 1992).

feature of the Enochic tradition, especially the *Book of Giants*. *1 Enoch* 6:1–3 gives account of the siring of giants; men had multiplied and the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw their beautiful daughters and desired them. Therefore, “they said to one another, ‘Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget children for ourselves.’ And Shemihazah, their chief, said to them, ‘I fear that you will not want to do this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.’”<sup>58</sup> *1 Enoch* 7:1–2 describes that the women conceived from them and “bore to them great giants. And the giants begot Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born . . . And they were growing in accordance with their greatness.”<sup>59</sup>

2.5.1. This passage reminds one of the old Mesopotamian concept—and I am convinced it *is* a Mesopotamian concept, not a mere invention of modern scholarship—according to which a (mythical) ruler is thought to cohabite with a goddess or with her priestly incarnation.<sup>60</sup> Accordingly, the kings of the Ur III empire depict themselves in their hymns as divine scions, as sons of the mythical ruler Lugalbanda and the Goddess Ninsu(mu)na-k. In the present context it is not without interest that these kings were thus becoming “brothers of Gilgamesh,” profiting somehow from the hero’s legendary fame.

2.5.2. The divine sonship, however, can be trace back to the middle of the third millennium. An Old Sumerian ruler of the south Mesopotamian city state Lagash depicts himself in his text as follows:

(The god) [Ni]n[gi]r[su]-k [imp]lanted the [semen] for (the ruler) E’[a]natum in the [wom]b . . . rejoiced over [E’anatum]. (The goddess) Inana-k accompanied him, named him “In the E’ana (temple) of Inana-k from (the sacred precinct) Ibgal I bring him (= E’ana-Inana-Ibgal-akak-atum)” and

<sup>58</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch*, 23.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>60</sup> This is a much disputed issue, best known under the heading “Sacred Marriage” concept. What is interesting here is the feature of a divine-human interaction in the sexual life and the consequences thereof. We are not concerned here with the hypothesis of a purely metaphorical interpretation or with a possible actualization in an alleged ritual. For a comparative evaluation of this topic see P. Lapinkivi, *The Sumerian Sacred Marriage in the Light of Comparative Evidence* (SAAS 15; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2004); see further E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, “Hierogamie-Eine Skizze zum Sachstand in der Altorientalistik,” in *Gelebte Religionen: FS Hartmut Zinser* (ed. H. Piegeler, I. Pohl, and S. Rademacher; Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), 65–72; G.J. Selz, “The Divine Prototypes,” in *Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond* (ed. N. Brisch; Oriental Institute Seminars 4; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008), 13–31.

set him on the legitimising knees of (the mother goddess) Ninchursag(a). Ninchursag(a) [offered him] her legitimising breast.<sup>61</sup>

Ningirsu-k rejoiced over E'anatum, semen implanted into the womb by Ningirsu-k. Ningirsu-k laid his span upon him, for (a length of) five forearms he set his forearm upon him: (he measured) five forearms (cubits), one span! (*to the reconstructed measurements of this period ca. 2.72 metres*). Ningirsu-k, out of his great joy, [gave him] the kin[gship of Lagash].<sup>62</sup>

Hence, the ruler is the one “who has strength,”<sup>63</sup> a precondition for his successful rule.

2.5.3. The aforementioned size of 2.72 meters makes just a small giant. However, this size is an outward sign designating someone who transgresses human measurements and norms. Accordingly it became possible to attribute to such an extraordinary ruler a sort of functional divinity, as can be corroborated by several additional arguments. We can therefore say that the ruler is perceived as an Avatar, a manifestation of the state god Ningirsu-k.

2.5.4. A further consequence is that the appearance of the ruler was perceived as perfect in every sense, physically and mentally, he is strong and wise, these being the preconditions for his rule.<sup>64</sup> Such perfection is also mentioned repeatedly as a feature of the kings of Ur III; the best sources for this are provided by their hymns.<sup>65</sup> Therefore it does not come as a surprise that in the texts from the last years of his reign, king

<sup>61</sup> Ean. 1, 4:9–12 (H. Steible, ed., *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* [2 vols.; Freiburger altorientalische Studien 5; Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982], 1:122) = RIME 1.9.3.1, 4:9–12. See D. Frayne, ed., *Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)* (RIME 1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 129–130.

<sup>62</sup> Ean. 1, 5:1–5 (Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 1:123) = RIME 1.9.3.1 (Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 129).

<sup>63</sup> Ean. 1, 5:21 *et passim* (Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 1:124) = RIME 1.9.3.1 *et passim* (Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 130).

<sup>64</sup> Compare, for example, I.J. Winter, “The Body of the Able Ruler: Towards an Understanding of the Statues of Gudea,” in *DUMU-E2-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Ake W. Sjöberg* (ed. H. Behrens, D. Loding, and M.T. Roth; Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1989), 573–584.

<sup>65</sup> See already S.N. Kramer, “Kingship in Sumer and Akkad: The Ideal King,” in *Le palais et la royauté: Archéologie et civilization: Compte rendu de la XIX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée par le Groupe François Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 29 juin–2 juillet 1971* (ed. P. Garelli; Paris: Geuthner, 1974), 163–176; J. Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi, King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 71.7; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981); and numerous other works.



Shulgi-r was marked with the divine classifier,<sup>66</sup> which was traditionally reserved for all sorts of deities. Roughly two centuries earlier the Old-Akkadian king Narām-Sîn established this practice when he asserts that after rescuing the land from dire straits the people from various cities asked their gods to name him as their god and built him even a temple in the capital city Agade.<sup>67</sup> Such (self-)deification of the ruler was not accepted unanimously in Mesopotamia: In the later cuneiform tradition Narām-Sîn's attempt to obliterate the border between the human and the divine spheres was branded as blasphemous.

2.6. Like the giants, the rulers of Mesopotamia could have dreams. Dreams do, of course, play a major role all over the ancient Near East. For lack of space I just mention some very early examples here. The observable parallels may speak for themselves.

2.6.1. The earliest attestation for a dream is attested in the famous stèle of vultures of the pre-Sargonic king of Lagash, E'anatum. In Ean. 1, 6:28<sup>68</sup> we read: "to the one who has lain down, to the one who has lain down (the deity) stood at (his) head."<sup>69</sup> For our purpose, here it is noteworthy, that a deity was the sender or transmitter of the dream. The dream was of divine origin, considered as revelation of the divine will.<sup>70</sup> Whereas the

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. D. Frayne, ed., *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)* (RIME 3.2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 91.

<sup>67</sup> See D. Frayne, ed., *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)* (RIME 2; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 113–114.

<sup>68</sup> Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 1:125 = RIME 1.9.3.1 (Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 130).

<sup>69</sup> We note that this passage follows the miraculous birth of the ruler E'anatum; presumably he was thus especially fitted for the dream message.

<sup>70</sup> The clearest reference to the divine revelation of a text is attested in the late *Erra Epic* with his evident "apocalyptic" theme where the author Kabti-ilāni-Marduk actually asserts in the colophon of the text: (5:40) "For (the god) Erra had burned with wrath and planned to lay waste the countries and slay their peoples, but Ishum, his counsellor, appeased him and (Erra) left a remnant! Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, the son of Dabibi, (was) the composer of this tablet (= of this poem): (The deity) revealed it to him during the night, and in the morning, when he recited (it), he did not skip a single (line) nor a single line (of his own) did he add to it ..." (5:55) [Erra speaks] "The scribe who commits it to memory shall escape the enemy country (and) shall be honoured in his own country. In the sanctuary of (those) sages where they constantly mention my name, I will grant them wisdom. To the house in which this tablet is placed—however furious Erra may be, however murderous the Sebettu (pleiades or seven sisters) may be—the sword of destruction shall not come near." (English translation by L. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra* [Sources of the Ancient Near East 1.3; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1974].)

giants sent Mahway to Enoch for an interpretation of their dreams,<sup>71</sup> in earliest parallels from Mesopotamia the deities undertake this task: The Sumerian ruler Gudea had difficulties to understand the precise meaning of his dream and addresses the goddess Nanshe, firstly describing his visions:

(4:8) Nanshe, mighty queen, lustration priestess, protecting genius, cherished goddess of mine, . . . *You are the interpreter of dreams among the gods, you are the queen of all the lands, O mother, my matter today is a dream.*

*There was someone in my dream, enormous as the skies, enormous as the earth was he.*

*That one was a god as regards his head, he was the Thunderbird as regards his wings, and a floodstorm as regards his lower body.* There was a lion lying on both his left and right side . . . (but) I did not understand what (exactly) he intended. Daylight rose for me on the horizon.

(4:23) (Then) there was a woman—whoever she might have been—she (the goddess Nissaba[k]) held in her hand *a stylus of shining metal, on her knees there was a tablet (with) stars of heaven*, and she was consulting it.

(5:2) Furthermore, there was a warrior who bent (his) arm holding *a lapis lazuli plate on which he was setting the ground-plan* of a house. He set before me a brand-new basket, a brand-new brick-mould was adjusted and he let the *auspicious brick* be in the mould for me.<sup>72</sup>

#### 2.6.2. Using much the same words the goddess explains the dream:

(5:12) My shepherd, I will interpret your dream for you from beginning to end: *The person who you said was as enormous as the skies, enormous as the earth*, who was *a god as regards his head*, who, as you said, was the *Thunderbird as regards his wings*, and who, as you said, was *a floodstorm as regards his lower parts*, at whose left and right a lion was lying—he was in fact my brother Ningirsu-k; he talked to you about the building of his shrine Eninnu. The daylight that had risen for you on the horizon—that was your (personal) god Ningishzida-k: like *daylight* he will be able to rise for you from there.

*The young woman coming forward, who did something with sheaves, who was holding a stylus of shining metal, had on her knees a tablet (with) stars, which she was consulting* was in fact my sister Nissaba-k—she announced to you the bright star (auguring) the building of the House.

<sup>71</sup> “Thereupon] all the giants [and monsters] grew afraid 15 and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch 16 [the noted scribe]” (4Q530 II:18). Translation taken from the edition of The Gnostic Society Library (online: [http://www.gnosis.org/library/dss/dss\\_book\\_of\\_giants.htm](http://www.gnosis.org/library/dss/dss_book_of_giants.htm) [14 March 2010]).

<sup>72</sup> The translation from Cylinder A follows D.O. Edzard, ed., *Gudea and his Dynasty*

Furthermore, as for the warrior who bent his arm holding a lapis lazuli plate—he was Ninduba: *he was engraving* thereon in all details *the ground-plan of the House*.<sup>73</sup>

2.6.3. Certainly, the setting of this dream is very different from those of the Enoch tradition. We note, however, that the dreams in the *Book of Giants* also show a clear connection with the scribal art, especially the “Tablets of Heavens,” to the dreams as a message of God and also to the flood. The latter motif as found in the *Book of Giants* shows a clear connection to the story of the *Erra Epic*, where to Marduk’s horror, the deity of pestilence and destruction, Erra, decides to annihilate mankind and its foremost sanctuaries. The reason for the annihilation of the world and the expression of a certain degree of hope looks very similar indeed. It is important to note that this text from the eighth century B.C.E. had a considerable audience as can be deduced from the *over 35* tablets unearthed so far. In many respects, the wording of the text and its attitude ask for elaborate comparison with the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, but this would be another article.<sup>74</sup>

2.7. The story of Etana, one of the oldest tales in a Semitic language,<sup>75</sup> was, as I have argued elsewhere, modeled after the then extant Sumerian tales of the Gilgamesh Epic. Gilgamesh’s search for “the plant of life,” the *ú-nam-ti-la* (*šammu ša balāṭi*) was, however, replaced by Etana’s search for the plant of birth-giving (*šammu ša alādi*). The entire story runs as follows:

2.7.1. The gods build the first city Kish, but kingship is still in heaven. A ruler is wanted (and found). Due to an illness, Etana’s wife is unable to conceive. The plant of birth is wanted. In the ensuing episode eagle and snake swore an oath of friendship. Suddenly the eagle plans to eat up the

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(RIME 3.1; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 71–72 (emphases are mine, G.J.S.).

<sup>73</sup> The translation follows Edzard, *Gudea*, 72 (all emphases are mine, G.J.S.).

<sup>74</sup> For an overview of Mesopotamian “apocalyptic motifs” see C. Wilcke, “Weltuntergang als Anfang: Theologische, anthropologische, politisch-historische und ästhetische Ebenen der Interpretation der Sintflutgeschichte im babylonischen Atram-ḫasis-Epos,” in *Weltende: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Religionswissenschaft* (ed. A. Jones; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 63–112.

<sup>75</sup> See G.J. Selz, “Die Etana-Erzählung: Ursprung und Tradition eines der ältesten epischen Texte in einer semitischen Sprache,” *Acta Sumerologica* (Japan) 20 (1998): 135–179; a different opinion is expressed by P. Steinkeller, “Early Semitic Literature and Third Millennium Seals with Mythological Motifs,” in *Literature and Literary Language at*

snake's children; a baby eagle, with the name of *Atraḥasīs* opposes this plan, but eagle executes it. Now, the weeping snake seeks justice from the sun-god. With the god's help the eagle is trapped in a burrow, and now the eagle turns to the sun-god for help. He receives the answer that, because of the taboo-violation he cannot help, but will send someone else.

Etana prays daily for the plant of birth and in a dream the sun-god tells Etana to approach the eagle. In order to get the eagle's support Etana helps him out of his trap. Now the eagle, carrying Etana on his back, ascends to the heavens. On the uppermost level of the heavens Etana becomes afraid and the eagle takes him back to the earth.

The end of the story is missing, but that Etana finally got hold of the plant of birth is very likely, since other sources mention his son.

3. To summarize: I have tried to show that some features of the Enoch tradition are a re-writing of very ancient concepts. I do not claim that they all can be explained assuming dependencies, as earlier scholarship has done. I do not intend to idolize "origins," but what might eventually come out of such a research—if the topics mentioned here are thoroughly worked out and elaborated in detail—is, that our texts implicate many more meanings than tradition may have supposed. In my opinion there can be little doubt that the official transmission of texts in Mesopotamia was supplemented by a wealth of oral tradition. Indeed, the situation may be comparable to the one attested in the (still) living oral tradition on Enoch in the Balkanian vernaculars.

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Ebla (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Quaderni di Semitistica 18; Florence: Dipartimento di linguistica Università di Firenze, 1992), 243–275 and pls. 1–8. Further remarks on the ruler's ascension to heaven are discussed by G.J. Selz, "Der sogenannte 'geflügelte Tempel' und die 'Himmelfahrt' der Herrscher: Spekulationen über ein ungelöstes Problem der altakkadischen Glyptik und dessen möglichen rituellen Hintergrund," in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente Antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni* (ed. S. Graziani; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2000): 961–983.

LEVI IN THE THIRD SKY:  
ON THE “ASCENT TO HEAVEN” LEGENDS  
WITHIN THEIR NEAR EASTERN CONTEXT  
AND J.T. MILIK’S UNPUBLISHED VERSION  
OF THE ARAMAIC LEVI DOCUMENT

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents the reconstructed text of the Aramaic version of the vision of Levi and his ascent to heaven, as described in the monograph dealing with the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD), written by Józef T. Milik in the eighties, and rediscovered by Z. Kapera in 2006. In his manuscript, Milik offers some improved readings of 1Q21 and identifies the fragment 1Q37 as a remnant of the vision of the ascent to heaven.

Milik’s work on the ALD, as initially reported by him in 1976 and 1978 and thought by him to be from the first part of the *Book of the Patriarchs* (*Livre des Patriarches*) includes: 1. the primary text of a monograph on the *Testament of Levi*, 2. an edition of the existing fragments of the text, 3. notes for the preparation of tables providing a reconstruction of the Qumran Aramaic fragments, 4. an appendix consisting of a French translation of his reconstruction of the *Testament of Levi*, and 5. the original handwritten manuscript, partly typed, and his notes from library research, which bear the title “Testament de Lévi: Ma copie: I.”<sup>1</sup> Regrettably, the introduction, the conclusion and some footnotes are lacking.

Milik’s version differs from those of other editors in many details. For example, the mention of three visions and the opening title, which Milik

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<sup>1</sup> See Z.J. Kapera, “Preliminary Information about Jozef T. Milik’s Unpublished Manuscript of ‘The Testament of Levi,’” *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 6 (2007): 109–112 (110); J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 24; idem, “Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d’Hénoch à Amram,” in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 91–106 (95 n. 9).—On the ALD see my edition and translation in which some of Milik’s readings are already incorporated: U. Schattner-Rieser, “Document araméen de

reconstructs as follows: פֶּרְשָׁנָן כְּתָב מְלֵי חֲזוֹת לֵוִי בֶר יַעֲקֹב בֶּר יִשְׁחָק בֶּר אַבְרָהָם “copie du livre des paroles des visions de Lévi fils de Jacob fils de Isaac fils d’ Abraham,” as in the introductory formula to the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543 1a–c 1 par. 4Q545 1a i 1). In *T. Levi*, the title was shortened to three words: Ἀντίγραφον λόγων Λεβί “copy of the words of Levi” (1:1) and replaced elsewhere in the *T. 12 Patr.* by the word “Testament.”<sup>2</sup>

Like other scholars,<sup>3</sup> Milik believes that the Greek *T. Levi* depends upon the original Aramaic document and that there are few Christian interpolations. For him, the “original form” contained 1) the autobiographical introduction, 2) a first short vision concerning the city of Evil (see below, in 5,1 according to Milik’s counting), 3) the prayer, followed by 4) the second vision of the three or seven heavens, Levi’s ascent to heaven and matters dealing with the priesthood, 5) the commandment of the angels concerning vengeance upon Shechem, the Shechem incident, Jacob’s wrath, the justification of the Shechem slaughter, the laws governing the espousal of a violated or raped woman, 6) a third vision in which seven angels depict the consecration of the eternal Levitical priesthood, sacrificial laws and rules governing the wood to be used etc.,<sup>4</sup> 7) Levi’s visits to Bethel and Isaac, Isaac’s benediction of Levi, Levi’s investiture in the priesthood by his father Jacob, Isaac’s instructions regarding certain rituals, 8) a life story and 9) the wisdom speech.

For unknown reasons, Milik abandoned the idea of publication some time during the 1990s. It may be that poor health prevented him from completing it. It is also possible that he recognized that his edition differed significantly from the official edition of the Qumran fragments pre-

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Lévi (Aramaic Levi Document): CL Cambridge a–f; CL Bodléienne a–d; 1Q21; 4Q213–4Q213a–4Q213b–4Q214–4Q214a–4Q214b,” in *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân*, vol. 1: *Torah: Genèse: Edition bilingue des manuscrits* (ed. K. Berthelot, T. Legrand, and A. Paul; Paris: Cerf, 2008), 421–467 (448–457).

<sup>2</sup> Due to the use of the Aramaic verb פָּקַד “to attend, deposit, recommend, order, ordain,” which is translated by διατίθημι “to place, dispose of by a will” in *T. Levi*. Only *T. Reu.*, *T. Naph.*, *T. Gad*, *T. Ash* and *T. Jos.* use the title “Copy of the Testament of . . .”; other “Testaments” begin like the original Semitic *Vorlage* with “Copy of the words of . . .,” so do the *Assumption of Moses* and *2 En.* 31:1. Only in late Jewish Aramaic (דְּיִאֲתִיקָי) and in Syriac, do we have the Greek borrowing (Γουτμα) < Γουτμα >.

<sup>3</sup> For example, P. Grelot, “Notes sur le Testament araméen de Lévi,” *RB* 15 (1956): 391–306, esp. 405; M. Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les Manuscrits de Qoumrân* (Cahiers de la Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses 35; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), esp. 3, 7, 59–60.

<sup>4</sup> Confirmed by Milik’s v. 165 “C’était une vision—l’une comme l’autre,” cf. the Cairo Genizah Levi manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (CL), col. a line 11: חֲזוֹת הוּא דְּן וְכִדָּן אֲנָה.

pared by J. Greenfield and M. Stone<sup>5</sup> as well as from É. Puech's critical edition of the Cairo Genizah Levi fragments.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, since his commentary was based upon his reading of the manuscripts (e.g. col. b of the Cairo Genizah Levi manuscript in the Cambridge University library [CL]), many texts had to be changed or rearranged, so as to be in agreement with those of the official editors. In addition, the numbering system for Qumran fragments had been changed recently, and Milik had employed his own sigla, incorporated several other fragments and improved or occasionally corrected his initial readings, which had been published in *DJD* I.<sup>7</sup> Milik proposes a reconstruction of the supposed original *ALD* using five scrolls from Qumran<sup>8</sup> (1Q21, 1Q63, 4Q213–4Q214, 4Q540,<sup>9</sup> 4Q548),<sup>10</sup> the overlapping Aramaic Levi material in the Cairo Genizah fragments from the Cambridge University Library and the Bodleian Library in Oxford (CL), the eleventh century Greek manuscript of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* from Mount Athos Koutloumousiou 39 = MS e (GL) and a ninth century Syriac fragment, as well as isolated material from the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which he supposed to have been omitted in *ALD* (AL) and the Greek *T. Levi* (GL). Although Puech first shared Milik's view and proposed the sigla 4QTestLevi<sup>c</sup> for 4Q540 and 4QTestLevi<sup>c</sup> for 4Q548<sup>11</sup> by adding an additional fragment from 4Q541, which received the designation

<sup>5</sup> J.C. Greenfield and M.E. Stone in *DJD* XXII (1996): 1–72. For example Milik's deciphering of 4Q213a 3–4 offers a more important and quite different text from that of the official edition.

<sup>6</sup> É. Puech, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen de la Geniza du Caire," *RevQ* 20 (2002): 511–556.

<sup>7</sup> J.T. Milik in *DJD* I (1955): 87–91 and pl. XVII.

<sup>8</sup> Milik had already confirmed verbally to Robert A. Kugler that his identification of the five scrolls belonging to the *ALD* included 1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q214, 4Q540 and 4Q548, see R.A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 27 and 30 n. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Contrary to Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 188.

<sup>10</sup> For Milik, 4Q540, which he entitled 4QLevi<sup>c</sup>, is an integral part of the *ALD* (vv. 354–366). He inserted the fragment between the apocalyptic passage of the "seven jubilees" (*T. Levi* 17:6–10) and the verses concerning the "new priest" (*T. Levi* 18:1–14), in the Wisdom speech. Furthermore, using the remains of 4Q548, to which he assigns the siglum 4QLevi<sup>d</sup> and which describes the final destinies of the sons of light, he suggests to insert vv. 386–403 in the final part of *ALD*, due to its parallels with *T. Levi* 19, the Levitical paraenesis. He had reported this previously in an article in which he discussed the "doctrine des deux voies," see J.T. Milik, "Écrits préesseniens de Qumrân: d' Hénoc à Amram," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 91–106 (95). For a differing view, cf. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 189.

<sup>11</sup> É. Puech, "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique:

4QTestLevi<sup>d</sup>, he revised this hypothesis later, and 4Q548 is currently identified as 4QVisions of Amram<sup>f</sup>.<sup>12</sup> This was initially Milik's hypothesis.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, Puech confirms the closeness of 4Q540–541 to *T. Levi* and calls the remnants an “Apocryphon of Levi.”<sup>14</sup>

Milik considers *ALD* to be one of the oldest pseudepigraphic pre-Maccabean and pre-Qumranic texts, including material that goes back to the Persian exile. Therefore, he suggests that its composition took place during the third or fourth century B.C.E.<sup>15</sup> The linguistic archaisms retained by the second century B.C.E. copyists are the best proof of an original dating from the Hellenistic or even the Persian period. The orthography is usually defective and the scribe forgot, in one instance, to replace the archaic demonstrative pronoun **וַי** by the contemporary form **וַיִּ** (4Q213a 3–4 5). An additional archaism is found in 4Q214b 2–6 3, where one reads **עֵצִין** “wood” and not **אֵצִין** as in Biblical Aramaic and later Aramaic dialects.<sup>16</sup> Another unusual orthography exists in 1Q21 11 1,<sup>17</sup> where the third person masculine singular imperfect verb **יְהוּה** is prefixed with *yôd* and not “corrected” by adding the prefix *lāmed* and changing it to **לְהוּה**.

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4QTestLevi<sup>c-d(?)</sup> et 4QAJa,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11.1–2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:449–501 (490–491).

<sup>12</sup> É. Puech in *DJD XXXI* (2001): 391–398 (391).

<sup>13</sup> J.T. Milik, “4QVision de ‘Amram et une citation d’Origène,” *RB* 79 (1976): 77–97 (esp. 90–92).

<sup>14</sup> Puech, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi.”

<sup>15</sup> Already in Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 24 and 56; See also U. Schattner-Rieser, “Observations sur l’araméen de Qumrân—la question de l’araméen standard reconsidérée,” in *Józef Tadeusz Milik et Cinquantenaire de la découverte des manuscrits de la Mer Morte de Qumrân* (ed. D. Długosz and H. Ratajczak; Warsaw: Centrum Upowszechniania Nauki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2000), 51–62, esp. 54–55. As an excellent epigraphist and philologist Milik differentiated between the date of the *Vorlagen* of different origins, and the current compositions found in caves one and four, which are late copies of older texts.

<sup>16</sup> U. Schattner-Rieser, *Textes araméens de la mer Morte. Édition bilingue, vocalisée et commentée* (Langues et cultures anciennes 5; Brusells: Safran, 2005), 2; eadem, *L’araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte, I. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l’étude des langues de l’Orient ancien 5; Lausanne: Zèbre, 2004) 64 (α–β) and 65 (VI.b). Incidentally, we notice the strange language in the *ALD* text as given in J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 22. See also U. Schattner-Rieser, “L’apport de la philologie araméenne et l’interprétation des archaïsmes linguistiques pour la datation des textes araméens de Qumrân,” in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June–2 July 2008* (ed. K. Berthelot and D. Stoeckl Ben Ezra; STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 101–123.

<sup>17</sup> [ ... ] יהוה ארין יהוה [ ... ] “... thus he/it will be ...”



Thus, one should always consider the linguistic evidence before assigning a date to a text based upon purely palaeographic considerations. In addition, it should be stressed that what later became *T. Levi* is a composite work, combining typically Jewish beliefs with Mesopotamian and Persian material. The apocalypse of the ascent to heaven, as well as other extraterrestrial journey legends, are based upon ancient and widely disseminated myths that are well attested in Mesopotamian literature. They are very similar to Enoch's ascent to heaven, which is undeniably a very old text, not only conserved in Judeo-Christian literature but also in a Mandaic legend.<sup>18</sup> Another common ancient Near Eastern tale is the narrative of the sage and the praise of wisdom (for example, Aḥiqar, the Seven Sages and Adapa, and the seven angels in *ALD*).<sup>19</sup> Only later, the various literary elements in the *ALD* consolidated and shaped into a "testamentary" narrative, perhaps by Essene or Qumran copyists.

In comparison to others, Milik makes quite extensive usage of *T. Levi* and it is obvious that, for him, *ALD* relied on a text very close to *T. Levi*. Thus his reconstruction of the *ALD*'s text is modelled upon *T. Levi*. Milik also borrows from and/or discusses textual evidence based upon many other Qumran fragments, such as *Jubilees* and the testamentary literature. He even retranslates the passage CD 4:15–19 from Hebrew to Aramaic, with which he fills in vv. 404–407 of his French translation, followed by 1Q21 30.<sup>20</sup> Although Milik shares some views with the other editors of *ALD*, his reconstruction differs from Drawnel's interpretation,<sup>21</sup> as it does, in many ways from those of Kugler and Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel.<sup>22</sup> Milik also demonstrates the dependence of *Jubilees* upon the *ALD* material.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> U. Schattner-Rieser, "Reminiszenzen an Henochs Himmelfahrt in der mandäischen Literatur: Ein Beitrag zum Entstehungsmilieu apokrypher Texte aus Qumran," *Sacra Scripta* 9 (2011), forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> H. Kvanvig, *The Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT 69; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), containing precious data concerning Akkadian dream visions and primeval sages; see also Henryk Drawnel's chapter about the influence of elementary metro-arithmetical exercises common in the training of Mesopotamian scribal apprentices on *ALD*, in H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 81–96.

<sup>20</sup> See below and J.T. Milik, "Traduction continue du Testament de Lévi [Précédée d'une note de l'éditeur Z.J. Kapera]," *QC* 15 (2007): 5–24 (23).

<sup>21</sup> Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*.

<sup>22</sup> Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*.

<sup>23</sup> This is at variance with Kugler's thesis, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 33.

## 2. THE ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND VISION

The different editors of the *ALD* generally disagree as to whether the original text contains one or two visions. Milik mentions *three* visions. For him, the first two visions, according to *T. Levi* 2:3–4a, took place on Mount Aspis, a mountain near Ebal (ἐγγύς Γεβάλ, *T. Levi* 6:1) the modern et-Tûr, in the south of Abel-Mayin (ἐκ δεξιῶν Αβιλᾶ, *T. Levi* 6:1), the Abel-Maoul<sup>24</sup> of GL, which he identifies as Mount Gerizim. Milik also expresses his conviction that *ALD* is of Samaritan origin. Whether one agrees with his opinion or not,<sup>25</sup> his arguments are interesting. The first vision, a very short one, occurred due to the influence of the “spirit of prophetic intelligence” (which he calls in French “l’esprit prophétique d’intelligence”) and contains a vision of the “city of evil.”

The second vision, dealing with the “ascent to heaven,” is a dream beginning with a prayer in the Aramaic *Vorlage*, is limited to only two verses in *T. Levi* (2:5–6). However, the prayer is conserved completely in the Greek fragment of Mount Athos (Koutloumousiou E) and partially in the Aramaic Qumran fragment 4Q213a. With the help of the Athos manuscript, Milik retranslates the entire prayer into Aramaic.

After the prayer, the gates of heaven are opened and an angel speaks to Levi.<sup>26</sup> Contrary to the views of other editors of *ALD*, Milik proposed to integrate the following account of the ascent to heaven into the Aramaic reconstruction. And the vision and ascent to heaven from Greek *T. Levi* 2:7–9 fill in vv. 39–48 in Milik’s reconstructed text. Milik himself noted that a reconstruction using the minute fragments of 1Q21 is plausible, but nevertheless remains hypothetical. Due to disparities with other manuscripts of *ALD*, he estimated that 1Q21 consists of eleven columns, corresponding to the beginning and the middle of *ALD*. He calculated a total of 30 lines with 64 letters each. He seems to have identified other fragments of 1Q21 not published in *DJD* I, which cannot be identified at present. For Milik, there is no doubt that Levi’s vision of the heavens mentions three firmaments (v. 39). This understanding resulted from

<sup>24</sup> Due to the confusion between A and Λ < ABEΛMAOYA < ABEAMAIOYA, which corresponds to אבֵּל מֵיָא, the Aramaic emphatic form of מֵיָא.

<sup>25</sup> For an opposite view, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 20 n. 60; R.A. Kugler, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 51.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 4Q213a 2 17–18: [ . . . ] וְאֵרָא אֲתַתְּחוּן לִי תַרְעֵי שְׂמִיָא וּמְלֵאךְ חַד [ . . . ] which corresponds to vv. 33–34 according to Milik: “[Et voici] que s’ouvriraient devant moi les portes du ciel et un ange [m’appela disant: ‘Lévi, entre donc!’]”

correcting his initial reading<sup>27</sup> of 1Q21 37a 1 from [...] מִיִּן תְּלָהּ [...] to [...] מִיִּן תְּלִיָּהּ [...] מִן עֵלָה [...] ], a reading confirmed by Puech.<sup>28</sup> In my opinion, the reconstruction of vv. 39–42 proposed by Milik is too long. If the reading can be generally accepted, the reconstruction of v. 41 in 1Q21 32–33 + 37 1–3 should be shortened as follows:

1 [ואעלני מלאכא לש] מִיִּן תְּלִיָּהּ [יִן מִן עֵלָה וְחִזִּית תַּמָּן נְהוּ] רְ שְׁמִיָּא לְ [חֲדָה זֹהִיר מִן] 1  
 2 [תְּרִין שְׁמִיָּן וְלֹא אִיתִי] לְ [כֹּל מִשְׁחָה לְ] 2  
 3 [וְשִׂאלַת אֲנָה אִי דָן] [...] מִרְתָּ מַה דָּן שְׁמִיָּא אֲ [לִיִּן] 3

- 1 <sup>39</sup> [And the angel led me into] the thir[d hea]ven, [(which was) higher,  
<sup>40</sup> and I saw there] the heavenly [ligh]t, [(which was) much brighter than  
 (that)]  
 2 [of the (first) two <sup>41</sup> heav]ens and there was no <sup>42</sup> limit ...  
 3 [<sup>43(44)</sup> and I asked] what is the [signi]fication of th[ese] heavens?

There can be no doubt about the reading of “three firmaments,” which has been confirmed by the independent examination of E. Puech.<sup>29</sup> Milik corrected the reading of 1Q21 32 1 from ] הֵ שְׁמִיָּא לְ to ] הֵ שְׁמִיָּא לְ, which seems to imply that there are other heavens above these first three, which are brighter and less gloomy.

For Milik, the priestly scribe of *ALD* proposes an image of the other-world that is somewhat different from that described in *1 Enoch*. Under the Mesopotamian influence of Babylonian astronomy, the scribe promulgates the idea of seven heavens. He retains the traditional teaching of the threefold division of the universe, namely: a first, gloomy heaven, a second heaven of waters, and a third heaven of eternal light, identical with paradise and the place of judgement. To these three heavens, the scribe added a vertically positioned heavenly four-part realm, which contains the temple palace.

Milik's thesis is shared by Henk Jan de Jonge, who has demonstrated that seven is the original number of firmaments described in *T. Levi*. For him, the three firmament concept is a later transformation based upon the importance of their contents. Indeed, the third firmament is identified with paradise in 2 Cor 12:2–4, 2 *En.* 8:1–8 and in *Apoc. Mos.* 37.

<sup>27</sup> Milik in *DJD I* (1955): 87–91 and pl. XVII.

<sup>28</sup> É. Puech, “Notes sur le *Testament de Lévi* de la grotte 1 (1Q21),” *RevQ* 21 (2003–2004): 297–310 (305).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

3. ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TRADITIONS<sup>30</sup>

The beliefs in the existence of seven heavens originated in Mesopotamia at a rather late date, but the idea of three heavens was not less common than that of seven.<sup>31</sup> In Mesopotamian mythology, heaven is, in general, not a place for humans. This is evident from the words of Gilgamesh to his friend Enkidu: “Who can go up to heaven, my friend? Only the God dwells with Shamash forever . . .”<sup>32</sup> This reservation is also found in the Hebrew Bible, as one can see in Ps 115:16: “The heavens are the Lord’s heavens, but the earth He has given to the sons of men” (RSV). Similar statements may be found in Deut 10:14 and 30:12 or in Prov 30:3–4.<sup>33</sup> There is no need for one to ascend to heaven to learn the “secret things,” which belong to God only (cf. Deut 29:28 and Sir 3:21–23). A direct condemnation of this desire to ascend to heaven is found in Isa 14:13–15.<sup>34</sup> There, the prideful King of Babylon, who wants to ascend to heaven and become like God, is cast down to the netherworld of worms and maggots.

(Dream) Visions of the heavens or the netherworld and journeys thereto are well represented in Mesopotamian mythology. Adela Yarbro Collins writes: “Support for the conclusion that the motif of seven heavens derives from the Babylonian tradition is its combination with the notion of the correspondence between the earthly and the heavenly Paradise.”<sup>35</sup> Although the seven heaven motif is to be found in Sumerian

<sup>30</sup> For a general overview, see J.D. Tabor, “Heaven, Ascent to,” *ABD* 3:91–94.

<sup>31</sup> A. Yarbro Collins, “The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses,” in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (ed. J.J. Collins and M. Fishbane; Albany: State University of New York, 1995), 57–92 (60).

<sup>32</sup> Quoted from J.E. Wright, *The Early History of Heaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 47.

<sup>33</sup> “3 I neither learned wisdom Nor have knowledge of the Holy One. 4 Who has ascended into heaven, or descended? Who has gathered the wind in His fists? Who has bound the waters in a garment? Who has established all the ends of the earth? What is His name, and what is His Son’s name, If you know?” (Prov 30:3–4 NKJV).

<sup>34</sup> “13 For you have said in your heart: ‘I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will also sit on the mount of the congregation On the farthest sides of the north; 14 I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High.’ 15 Yet you shall be brought down to Sheol, To the lowest depths of the Pit” (Isa 14:13–15 NKJV).

<sup>35</sup> As in Yarbro Collins, “Seven Heavens,” 70. Elsewhere she also states that Culianu showed that there was never a link between the vaults of heaven and the planets (ibid., 60).

literature, W.G. Lambert claims that the most common number of heavens in second and early first millennia B.C.E. Babylonia was three.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4. ON THE ASCENT LEGENDS

There are some hundred magical incantation texts, called Maqlu, which relate to the ascent to heaven (and the decent to the netherworld).<sup>37</sup> Another text from the seventh century B.C.E. recounts a terrifying vision, in a dream, in which the legendary Kummaya descends to the netherworld.<sup>38</sup>

The tale most closely related to our ascent legend is to be found in the Akkadian text of Adapa. The son of Ea, attempts to ascend to heaven in order to obtain eternal life, but is cast back down to earth.<sup>39</sup> A somewhat similar story is told in the popular myth of Etana, one of the legendary antediluvian kings of the Sumerian dynasty of Kish.<sup>40</sup> There, heaven is depicted as a three level structure.<sup>41</sup> Etana, riding on the back of an eagle, ascends to heaven, but he has to interrupt his journey and is unable to enter the heavenly realm, because humans have no place in this restricted place.<sup>42</sup> Myths concerning seven firmaments are a well known motif in a number of Sumerian incantations.<sup>43</sup> On Assyrian and Babylonian tablets, the heavenly region consists of three heavens of precious stones and bordered by gates.<sup>44</sup> Anu, the king of heaven, dwells in the highest one, where he sits on a throne.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>37</sup> T. Abusch, "Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience," in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, 15–39.

<sup>38</sup> Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 390–391.

<sup>39</sup> ANET, 101–103.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 114–118. The text is known from six exemplars in Neo-Assyrian and Middle-Assyrian.

<sup>41</sup> W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 59–60.

<sup>42</sup> Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 46.

<sup>43</sup> Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 208–222 (esp. 208); Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 41.

<sup>44</sup> Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, xiii, 3, 7, 9, 266–267; Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 33–35.

## 5. THE PERSIAN PERIOD

According to Wilhelm Bousset, it was the Persian context where the notion of the ascent of the soul developed.<sup>45</sup> Thus also in Israel, interest in a heavenly world originates during the Persian period, as a consequence of the removal of God's presence (*shekhinah*), the destruction of His temple, the exile of His people and the cessation of temple worship. Indeed, apocalyptic views and Jewish mysticism overlap. Apocalyptic tales always contained mystical aspects and mysticism developed to satisfy a different religious need. The main purpose of the ascent is a vision of God, the Great Glory, who sits upon the heavenly throne (*merkavah*), "a likeness with the appearance of a man high above it" (Ezek 1:26 NKJV).

We will not discuss here the possible techniques for "ascending." It seems evident that the rhythmic repetition of words and/or sounds and behaviours, such as mourning, weeping, recitation of hymns, invocations or prayers, ascetic practices and fasting may result in a "state of trance," which enables the righteous one to make the ascent.<sup>46</sup>

When the Persians rose to dominate the Near East, between 538 and 333 B.C.E., a change occurred in popular imagery of the human being, the human soul and celestial phenomena. Although the Persians built upon older Assyrian and Babylonian traditions, they developed a different belief pattern. They combined the Babylonian concept of seven, or at least multiple, firmaments with their belief that the soul indeed does enter those heavens. From 600 to 300 B.C.E., Babylonian astrology developed and the zodiac was invented.<sup>47</sup>

As John J. Collins has written, it is widely assumed that Persian thought heavily influenced Jewish apocalyptic beliefs.<sup>48</sup> Most scriptural texts were compiled late in the Sassanian period (221–642 C.E.) but their roots may be found in Persian literature from the pre-Christian period (at least

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<sup>45</sup> W. Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele," *AR* 4 (1901): 136–169, 229–273.

<sup>46</sup> See M. Himmelfarb, "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World," in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, 121–137; P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch (Fifth–Sixth Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 1:223–302 (233).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the development of personal horoscopy, which related astronomy to a "science" that determined calendrical issues. Qumran texts such as 4Q186, 4Q318, 4Q534, etc. or Noah's encounter in 1QapGen ar V or 4Q204 (1 En. 106) are good examples of this kind of science.

<sup>48</sup> J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; The Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 29.

as early as the Seleucid dynasty 312–247 B.C.E. or the Parthian dynasty 247 B.C.E.–226 C.E.).

Throughout Persian history, visionary journey narratives, as for example Zarathustra who seeks immortality or the heavenly journey of Arda Viraf (Artai Viraz), seem to be derived from more ancient literature. According to Anders Hultgård, the vision and ascent to heaven of Vistaspa is obviously based upon Avestic material.<sup>49</sup> In the case of the visionaries Vistaspa and Artai Viraz, the soul leaves the body while the body remains on earth.<sup>50</sup> Arda Viraf was supposedly selected by the assembly to test the truth of Zoroastrianism. After seven days, he awakes joyous, bringing greetings to the assembly from Ahura Mazda, Zarathustra and the gods of the dead. The number seven is often mentioned in the text of Arda Viraf.<sup>51</sup>

Yet another ascension to heaven myth is that dealing with the magi Kartir, mentioned in a fragmentary inscription dating from the beginning of the Sassanian period (third century C.E.). This legend describes Kartir's journey to the East, where, at last, he reaches heaven and is shown the place that has been reserved for him in paradise. Then, he travels through hell and crosses the bridge of Cinvat. On the way, he traverses three levels and then is shown a throne of gold, a throne reserved for the soul of the righteous one.<sup>52</sup> The *Videvat* (19–20) mentions the ascension of the soul. On the third day after death, the soul is taken by a young girl, bright and white, and then travels, finally crossing the bridge into paradise. Vohu Mana rises from his golden throne and speaks with the soul of the Righteous Person, who then continues his journey to the throne of Ahura Mazda.<sup>53</sup>

A combination of older Persian traditions and later apocalyptic material is found in the Mandaic tale of Dinanukht, who ascended to the

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<sup>49</sup> A. Hultgård, "Mythe et histoire dans l'Iran ancien: Étude de quelques thèmes dans le *Bahman Yašt*," in *Apocalyptique iranienne et dualisme qoumrânien* (ed. G. Widengren, A. Hultgård, and M. Philonenko; Recherches intertestamentaires 2; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1995), 63–162 (145 n. 164).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>51</sup> M. Haug and E.W. West, eds., *The Book of Arda Viraf: The Pahlavi Text Prepared by Destur Hoshangji Jamaspi Asa, Revised and Collated with further MSS., with an English Translation and Introduction, and an Appendix Containing the Texts and Translations of the Gosht-i Fryano, and Hadokht-nask* (Bombay: Government Central Book, 1872).

<sup>52</sup> A. Hultgård, "Trône de Dieu et trône des justes dans les traditions de l'Iran ancien," in *Le trône de Dieu* (ed. M. Philonenko; WUNT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 1–18 (12–13).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 8–9.

seven heavens. Islamic legends also mention the seven firmaments.<sup>54</sup> Not only are they cited several times in the Koran, but also in a long legend called *Miradj-Nameh*, preserved in Turkish, which relates the ascension of Mohammed and his journey through seven heavens. The seven heavens are also described in detail in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Menah.* 39a) and in *2 Enoch*.

## 6. THE HEBREW BIBLE, POST-BIBLICAL LITERATURE, AND QUMRAN

Although the Hebrew Bible itself is silent with regard to the number of heavens, it would seem that, during their Babylonian exile, the Jews adopted Babylonian cosmogony<sup>55</sup> and the sevenfold division of the heavenly realm<sup>56</sup> and incorporated them into their belief systems. Milik posits this idea already in his *Books of Enoch*, where he tries to explain that the ascent of Enoch and his extraterrestrial journey was strongly influenced by Mesopotamian cosmic geography.<sup>57</sup> Milik expresses the same opinion regarding Levi's ascent to heaven. He often refers to the similarities between Enoch and Levi. The apocryphal literature and later Jewish writings show an increasing interest in the heavenly realm.<sup>58</sup> Several Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts, written between the second century B.C.E. and the second century C.E., use the same motifs and the existence of seven heavens is depicted not only in *T. Levi*, but also in the Babylonian Talmud (*Hagigah*), the *Ascension of Isaiah* (preserved in Ethiopian), *2 Enoch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (preserved in Slavonic), although other ascension legends, such as the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, speak of five firmaments.

Milik mentions the world view of the church father Irenaeus of Lyon who wrote: "Now this world is encompassed by seven heavens, in which dwell powers and angels and archangels, doing service to God, the Al-

<sup>54</sup> C.J. Gruber and F.S. Colby, *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters With the Islamic Mi'rāj Tales* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 231–232, 299, etc.

<sup>55</sup> See E. Unger, "From the Cosmos Picture to the World Map," *Imago Mundi* 2 (1937): 1–7; Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 20–42.

<sup>56</sup> See *ibid.*, 208–222.

<sup>57</sup> Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15–16; P. Grelot, "La géographie mythique d' Hénoc," *RB* 65 (1965): 23–69.

<sup>58</sup> The biblical expression "heaven of heaven" indicates at least two firmaments. If we translate the expression as "heaven of heavens," it implies at least 3 firmaments. But, certainly, in pre-exilic times the heavens are reserved for the Lord (Deut 10:14: "Indeed



mighty and Maker of all things, not as though He was in need, but that they may not be idle and unprofitable and ineffectual.”<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, he also states that the three heaven theory is cited in 2 Cor 12:2, a text from the first century C.E.

## 7. CONCLUSION

These reconstructions give an idea of J.T. Milik’s work on the *Testament of Levi* and his views as to the oldest form of the text and its composition. As with any reconstruction, its *Vorlage* cannot be determined absolutely, given the present state of research. Therefore, it must be considered hypothetical and in some ways speculative.<sup>60</sup> I hope that Milik’s reconstruction of the Aramaic text based upon tiny fragments will not arouse controversy as was the case with his reconstruction of the text of *1 Enoch*. As long as no other new texts are found, Milik’s version, following the order of the Greek *T. Levi* in *T. 12 Patr.*, is justified and merits being presented to the scholarly world.

With Milik’s decipherment of 1Q21 37 1 (and Puech’s corroboration), the existence of three firmaments in *ALD* is confirmed, which by no means excludes the possible seven heaven concept suggested by Milik. The Greek *T. Levi* (2:1–5:3) includes two versions, one involving three heavens and one containing seven heavens. According to Charles, Bietenhard, and Kee, the Greek text evolved from a three heaven to a seven heaven schema. On the other hand, H.J. de Jonge,<sup>61</sup> in agreement with

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heaven and the highest heavens belong to the Lord your God, also the earth with all that is in it.” [NKJV]. From Qumran we have the fragmentary text of the Book of Mysteries, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice that prove an increasing interest in the heavenly realm. Also, in John 14:2, Jesus reveals that “in My Father’s house are many mansions” (NKJV).

<sup>59</sup> Irenaeus, *Epid.* 9. Translation according to J. Armitage Robinson, *St Irenaeus: The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching: Translated from the Armenian with Introduction and Notes* (Translations of Christian Literature, Series IV: Oriental Texts; London: SPCK, 1920), 77.

<sup>60</sup> See Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 13: “It must be stressed that, notwithstanding all the painstakingly undertaken restoration, the *Document* still remains a fragmentary composition. Its beginning and end are lacking, the results of the text reconstruction are, therefore, not a final word concerning the textual form of the whole work. Further research and, hopefully, further manuscript discovery, may shed a new light and change many of the conclusions delineated in this study.”

<sup>61</sup> H.J. de Jonge, “Die Textüberlieferung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen,” *ZNW* 63 (1972): 45–62 (esp. 60).

Hunkin,<sup>62</sup> whose edition improved upon that of Charles, demonstrates that a seven heaven cosmography was the original concept.<sup>63</sup>

The motifs of three and seven firmaments are of Mesopotamian origin and are also part of Mandaic cosmogony.<sup>64</sup> They reflect a wide spread eastern tradition well represented in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Hag.* 12b–13a; *b. Menah.* 39a), in 3 *Enoch* and in the Koran.<sup>65</sup>

The idea that the soul returns to the heavenly realm was common to both Persia<sup>66</sup> and Greece.<sup>67</sup> However, both the Jewish and Christian ascent to heaven legends have so much in common with Persian legends and Babylonian cosmography in the vocabulary, the architectural representation of the heavenly realm, and the belief in a final judgement of the righteous that one should not deny a certain dependence from ancient oriental sources.

#### APPENDIX 1 MILIK'S TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Where Milik's readings differ from other editions, it is hoped that they will give rise to re-examination of the fragments in question. Émile Puech has already corrected many of these tiny fragments and his reconstructions are generally in agreement with Milik's. Puech confirms that they all belong to a scroll of the *Testament of Levi* and comes to the conclusion that the scroll 1Q21 is more recent than the *ALD* copies coming from Cave 4 (4Q213, 213a, 213b, 4Q214 and 214b) and dates its fragments to the beginning of the first century B.C.E.<sup>68</sup>

Below, we present Milik's reconstruction of the first 48 verses of the document, from a total of 432.<sup>69</sup> The first three "verses" are borrowed

<sup>62</sup> J.W. Hunkin, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JTS* 16 (1915): 80–97.

<sup>63</sup> See the detailed discussion in Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 143–148 and 262 nn. 38–39.

<sup>64</sup> E.S. Drower, *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran: Their Cults, Customs, Magic Legends, and Folklore* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937; repr. Leiden: Brill, 1962), 253 n. 33 and 254 fig. 14.

<sup>65</sup> See also the late Islamic legend of Mohammed's ascent to the seven heavens in A. Pavet de Courteille, ed., *Mirâdj-nâmeh: Récit de l'ascension de Mahomet au ciel composé A.H. 840 (1436/1437): Texte turc-oriental, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit ouïgour de la Bibliothèque Nationale et traduit en français* (1882; repr. Amsterdam: Philo, 1975).

<sup>66</sup> For the epigraphic evidence of the belief in an afterlife, see P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (L'aube des peuples; Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

<sup>67</sup> Wright, *Early History of Heaven*, 109.

<sup>68</sup> Puech, "Notes sur le Testament de Lévi de la grotte 1 (1Q21)," 310.

<sup>69</sup> Milik, "Traduction continue du Testament de Lévi," 5–24.

from *T. Levi* 1:1–2; 2:1–3 (resulting in v. in1–3), which is followed by the Aramaic prayer of Levi of 4Q213a (v. 4) and, lastly, by a retranslation of the Greek fragment Koutloumousiou 39<sup>70</sup> (the vision and ascent to heaven of Levi; it is similar to *T. Levi* 2:7–12). Verses 40–48 are a hypothetical reconstruction based upon 4Q213a and the minute fragments of 1Q21.

The symbols as employed by Milik are:

- in(initial or incipit?)<sub>1</sub>, in<sub>4</sub>, in<sub>6</sub> = *T. Levi* 1:1–2:4?
- 1, 133, 402: verses conserved in *ALD* or Greek *T. Levi*, and sometimes only in *T. Levi*
- (67), (113), (346): verses of Greek *T. Levi* reworked or summarized;
- ?115, ?413, ?419: fragments of *ALD* or citations of Greek *T. Levi* of uncertain origin;
- [[alternative reading]]

Concerning the Greek it should be mentioned that the accents are missing in Milik's unfinished manuscript, hand typed by his wife Y. Zaluska.

in<sub>1</sub> (= *T. Levi* 1:1–2) /<sup>1</sup> Ἀντίγραφον λόγων Λεβί, ὅσα διέθετο τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ πάντα ἃ ποιήσουσι, καὶ ὅσα συνατήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἕως ἡμέρας κρῖσεως.  
 in<sub>2</sub>/<sup>2</sup> Ὑγιαίνων ἦν ὅτε ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὥφθη γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὅτι μέλλει ἀποθνήσκειν. Καὶ ὅτε συνήχθησαν, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς·  
 in<sub>3</sub> (= *T. Levi* 2:1–4) /<sup>1</sup> Ἐγὼ Λεβί ἐν Χαροῦν συνελήφθην, καὶ ἐτέχθην ἐκεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον σὺν τῷ πατρὶ εἰς Σίκιμα.  
 in<sub>4</sub>/<sup>2</sup> Ἦμῃν δὲ νεώτερος, ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν εἴκοσι, ὅτε ἐποίησα μετὰ Συμειῶν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἡμῶν Δίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐμμώρ.  
 in<sub>5</sub>/<sup>3</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἐπομαίνομεν ἐν Ἀβελμαοῦλ, πνεῦμα συνέσεως Κυρίου ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἐμέ, καὶ πάντας ἐώρων ἀνθρώπους ἀφανίσαντας τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι τείχη ὠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ ἡ ἀδικία, καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους ἡ ἀνομία κάθηται,  
 in<sub>6</sub>/<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἔλυπούμην περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ...

#### 4Q213a

1 [באדין שחית לבושי ומדכא] אנה<sup>7</sup> [להן במין דכין]  
 2 וכל בשרי במיין חייין רחע]ת וכל<sup>8</sup> [ארחת עבדת קשיטן]  
 3 [אדין] נטלת לשמייא<sup>9</sup> [עיני ואנפי ופומי פתחת ומללת]  
 4 ואצבעת כפי וידי<sup>10</sup> [פרשת בקשט מן קדם קדשיא וצלית ו] אמרת  
 5 מרי אנתה<sup>11</sup> [מתבנן כל לבבין וכל מחשבת יצרא] נתה בלחודיך ידע  
 6 [וכען ברכני ובני בתרי והב לי כל] ארחת קשט<sup>12</sup>  
 7 ארחק<sup>13</sup> [מני מרי רוח רשע ומחשבת יצרא ב] איש\* ונותא דחא מני

<sup>70</sup> J.T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrán (Pl. IV)," *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406; Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 98–99.

- 8 14 [מרי חזא לי רוח קדשא וח] כמה ומנדע וגבורה 15 [הב לי  
 9 מעבד די רעא לכה ולא] שכחה רחמיך קדמיך 16 [מרי  
 10 למדכר ככל רעותך] 4שפיר ודטב קדמיך 17 [ולאודיה מליך עמי מרי  
 11] אל תשלט בי כל שטן 18 [לאטעותני מן ארחך  
 12 רחם ע] לי מרי וקרבני למהוא לכה [למהוא עבדך ולשמשותך בטב]  
 13 ור שלמך להוא סחור 2 [סחור לי ומטלת שלטנך תטללני מן כל באיש]  
 14-16 3 [הב לי מרי ...] 4 [ ... ]  
 17 דכר מרי 5 לע] בדך אברהם ואל תסתר אנפיך מן בר עבדך יעקב  
 18 אנתה 6 [מרי ב] רכת לאברהם אבי ולשרה אמי  
 19 ואמרת למהב להן 7 [זרע דק] שט מתברך לעלמיא  
 20 ושמע קל צלות יעקב וצוחת 8 [צלות עב] דך לוי  
 21 למהוא לכה קריב אן משתף עבדך לעבדיך כדוי 71  
 22 9 דין קשט ל] כל עלמא לי ולבני לכל דרי עלמיא  
 23 ואל תרחק 10 [לבר עבדך מן ק] דמיך כל יומי עלמא  
 24 ושקת ולא צלית עוד ]  
 25 11 באדין נגדת ב] השעתא לשכם ואזלת לדרת ביתנה  
 26 ועלת 12 על אבי יעקוב וכד] י אחוית לה חזוי  
 27 אמר לי אבי למתב 13 [מן אבל מין  
 28 אדין] סלקת אנה על טור גרוין ועל ראשה 14 שכבת  
 29 ויתבת אנה ע] ל כף חד והא חלמין עלי נפלו 15 [vacat  
 30 אדין חזיון אחוית] בחלמי וחזית עבדין רברבין 16 בחזית 72 חזויא  
 31 וחזית שמ]יא מן עלא פתיחין וטור חד מן 17 תחזית  
 32 רם עד דבק לשמי]א והוא אנה עלוהי  
 33 וארו אתפתחו 18 לי תרעיי שמיא ומלאך חד [קרא לי  
 34 ואמר לוי עול

## 4Q213 + 1Q21

- 35 באדין עלנה] בשמין קד] מין וחזית תמן חשוכא רבא  
 36 ועברנה מן שמיא ועלת לשמין קדמיא תניין  
 37 וחזית תמן מין מתלין במציע אלן שניאין לאלן  
 38 תלג וכפור מן תחתי ואשה משתלהבה מן מיא עליהון  
 39 4 ואעלני מל] אך אלה [לש] מין תליתין מן עלה  
 40 וחזית תמן נהו]ר שמיא ל] חדה זהיר מן תרין  
 41 ברקין ש]גיאי]ן וזיקין 5 רהטי]ן ולא אית]י להון  
 42 כל משחה ל] מנין דגליהון ולא הוה כל קץ]  
 43 ברומי [שמיא אלן] איך די ] הוין ש]מיא תרין  
 44 6 ושאלת א]נה אי דן [מנהון פרישו]א] מרת מה דן 73 שמיא א]לן  
 45 וענה לי מלאכא אמר אלן ואמ]ר לי עד [תנה  
 46 ואמ]ר לי עד [תנה תלת] 7 שמיא אנה אח]זית] ל]ך  
 47 ועוד תחזה ארבעת שמיא נהירין] שגיא [מן אלן  
 48 ולא תכול לאדמיה עליהון על פר]שא [די שמיא אנון  
 8 כדי תעול תמן ... ]

71 We corrected Milik's suggestion: ומשתף עבד במליך למעבד.

72 Milik reads בחזות which is grammatically more correct.

73 Milik's initial reading of 1Q21 37 3 is: ]ו. Puech reads 1Q21 37b:

*French Translation:*

in1 Copie des paroles de Lévi qu'il recommanda à ses fils concernant ce qu'ils auront à faire et ce qui leur arrivera jusqu'au jour du jugement. in2 Il était encore en bonne santé lorsqu'il les convoqua chez lui, et cela en raison de la vision où il lui avait été montré qu'il allait mourir. Et quand ils furent réunis il leur dit: in3 Moi Lévi, je fus conçu à Harran et ce fut là que je naquis. in4 J' étais tout jeune— j'avais dix-huit ans, tandis que Siméon mon frère avait vingt ans, lorsque nous vengeâmes notre sœur Dinah sur Sichem et Hamor. in5 Quand je faisais paître mon troupeau à 'Abel Mayîn, l' esprit d' intelligence vint sur moi et je vis tous les hommes en train de corrompre leurs voies, et l' injustice se construire des tours. in6 Je me mis donc en deuil pour pleurer le genre humain, et je priai Dieu.

1 Alors je nettoyai mes vêtements et les purifiai dans de l' eau pure 2; et je lavai mon corps entiers dans de l' eau vive et toutes mes voies je les rendis droites. 3 Puis je levai mes yeux et mon visage vers le ciel et j'ouvris ma bouche et je parlai; 4 j'étendis les doigts de mes mains et de mes bras comme il le faut en face du sanctuaire céleste et je priai et je dis:

5 «Mon<sup>74</sup> Seigneur, tu connais tous les cœurs et toutes les intentions calculées, toi seul tu (les) sais. 6 Et maintenant bénis-moi et mes enfants après moi<sup>75</sup> et accorde-moi tous les chemins de justice.<sup>76</sup> 7 Eloigne de moi, mon Seigneur, l' esprit d' impiété et écarte de moi des pensées de mauvais penchant et la concupiscence écarte-(la) de moi. 8 Mon Seigneur, montre moi l' esprit saint et sagesse, connaissance et force accorde-(les) moi 9 pour accomplir<sup>77</sup> ce qui te plaît et trouver ainsi ta miséricorde devant toi, mon Seigneur; 10 et pour commémorer selon ton plaisir ce qui est beau et bon devant toi et louer tes actes à mon égard, mon Seigneur. 11 Qu'aucun Satan ne me domine pour m' égarer hors de ta voie. 12 Aie donc pitié de moi, mon Seigneur, et laisse-moi t' approcher pour devenir ton serviteur et fidèle ministre. 13 Que le rempart de ta paix m' entoure et que l' abri de ta domination m' abrite de tout mal. 14 Livre, mon Seigneur, mes ennemis ... 15 Pour ceci, efface l' iniquité de dessous le ciel et élimine l' iniquité de la face de la terre. 16 Purifie mon cœur, mon Seigneur, de toute impureté et je m' élèverai vers toi, moi-même Lévi. 17 Souviens-toi, mon Seigneur, de ton serviteur Abraham et ne détourne pas ta face du fils de ton serviteur Jacob. 18 Toi, mon Seigneur, tu avais béni Abraham mon père et Sarah ma mère 19 et tu as promis de leur donner une descendance<sup>78</sup> juste bénie pour les siècles. 20 Exauce donc la prière de ton serviteur Lévi 21 pour qu' il te devienne proche si tu associes ton serviteur à tes

ןר [מ, cf. Puech, "Notes sur le *Testament de Lévi* de la grotte 1 (1Q21)," 304.

<sup>74</sup> With the Aramaic, the Greek has κύριε "O Lord! (Seigneur!)"

<sup>75</sup> Or with the Greek "my children (which) are with me."

<sup>76</sup> Or "ways of justice"; Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," 402, translates "chemins de vérité."

<sup>77</sup> Lit. "to make, to do."

<sup>78</sup> Lit. "seed of justice."

affaires comme 22 afin qu'une loi juste soit accomplie pour toute l'éternité par moi et par mes fils pour toutes les générations des siècles. 23 Et n'écarte aucun fils de ton serviteur loin de ta présence, tous les jours de l'éternité».

24 Puis je me tus et ne priai plus.

25 Ensuite je me rendis rapidement à Sichem et j'entrai dans la cour de notre maison 26 et pénétrai chez mon père Jacob. Et lorsque lui racontai-je ma vision, 27 mon père m'ordonna de rentrer de 'Abel Mayin.

28 Puis je montai sur le mont Garizim et sur son sommet je me couchai; 29 je m'assis donc sur une pierre et voici que les songes m'assaillirent. 30 Puis des visions me furent montrées dans mon songe et je vis des grandes merveilles à travers la vision. 31 Je vis les cieux en haut qui s'ouvriraient et une montagne qui apparaissait en bas, 32 si haute qu'elle touchait les cieux, tandis que moi je me trouvais sur elle. 33 Et voici que s'ouvrirent devant moi les portes du ciel et un ange m'appela 34 disant: «Lévi, entre donc!»

35 Ensuite nous entrâmes dans le premier ciel et je vis là-bas une grande obscurité. 36 Alors nous passâmes du premier ciel et j'entrai dans le deuxième, 37 et je vis là-bas des eaux abondantes suspendues entre les deux cieux; 38 neige et glace étaient au-dessus des eaux et un feu brûlant au-dessus d'elles. 39 Et en plus l'ange de Dieu m'introduisit au troisième ciel, plus haut, 40 et je vis là la lumière du ciel, beaucoup plus brillante que celle des deux (premiers) cieux, 41 (ainsi que des tonnerres nombreux et des grands éclairs qui parcouraient le ciel) sans qu'ils mettent 42 mesure au nombre de leurs apparitions. Et il n'y avait aucune limite 43 à la hauteur de ce ciel-ci comme il y'en avait à celle des deux cieux. 44 Et je demandai: «Lequel de ces trois cieux est plus important?» Et je dis: «Quelle est la signification de ces cieux?» 45 Et l'ange me répondit disant: «Ne t'émerveille pas tellement sur ceux-ci!» 46 Et il me dit: «Jusqu'ici je t'ai montré trois cieux, 47 mais tu verras encore quatre autres cieux beaucoup plus lumineux que ceux-ci 48 et tu ne seras pas à même de les décrire, encore moins de saisir l'importance de ces cieux-là. 49 Quand tu y entreras ...

APPENDIX 2  
 THE FRAGMENT ABOUT THE THREE HEAVENS  
 (1Q21 37) IN COMPARISON WITH 1Q21 1 AND 39

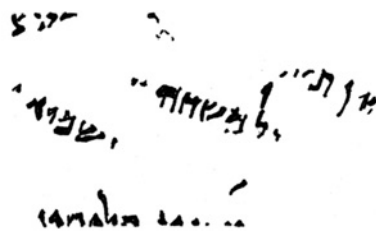


Fig. 1. Drawing of 1Q21 37 according to PAM 40.540<sup>79</sup>

The mention of the third sky in 1Q21 37 1<sup>80</sup> fills in vv. 39, 44 and 46 of Milik's reconstructed text by using 1Q21 32–33 + 37 1–3.

- 1 [ואעלני מלאכא לש] מין תלית [ין מן עלה וחזית תמן גהו] ר שמיא ל [חדה זהיר מן]  
 2 [תרין שמי]ן ולא אית [י] כל משחה ל [ ]  
 3 [ושאלת א]נה אי דן [ ... ] א מרת מה דן שמיא א [לין]

Comparison of 1Q21 37 with 1Q21 1 and 39

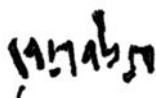


Fig. 2. Drawing of 1Q21 1 according to PAM 40.540

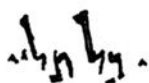


Fig. 3. Drawing of 1Q21 39 according to PAM 40.540

<sup>79</sup> The images are easily accessible in E. Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>80</sup> Puech, "Notes sur le *Testament de Lévi* de la grotte 1 (1Q21)," 305; U. Schattner-Rieser, "J.T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi and the Reconstructed Aramaic Text of the Prayer of Levi and the Vision of Levi's Ascent to Heaven from Qumran Caves 4 and 1," *QC* 15 (2007): 139–155; Milik, "Traduction continue du Testament de Lévi," 5–24; Kapera, "Preliminary Information," 109–112.





QUMRAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION  
IN THE LIGHT OF ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY—  
HISTORICAL MEMORY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Ancient Near Eastern cultures, which have produced a bulk of written material, have not left us detailed reports about their own history. Ancient Mesopotamia is a well documented culture, but the noticeable absence of historical literature has been noted repeatedly: “texts are lacking that would attest to the awareness of the scribes to the existence of a historical continuum in the Mesopotamian civilization of which they themselves and their tradition were only a part.”<sup>1</sup> Qumran was a particular site of ancient Israelite culture. The library of the community living on the site contained, besides biblical manuscripts, works reflecting their worldview and works expressing their ideas, some of them referring to conflicts within their social spheres. Unfortunately, nothing about the background of these conflicts or the history of the writers has been found. Any regular historiography is absent. According to the expectations of modern history writing—or at least, in view of what ancient historiographers like Herodotus and his Greek colleagues did—no detailed narrative in chronological order was written on the history of the community. Still, one cannot say that they were not interested in history—in biblical history, as well as their own history—since *pescharim* were written as interpretations of prophetic revelations. Nevertheless, the forms for the expression of interest in the past were very different from ancient Greek ones (and from modern ones).

Ancient Israel had a long historical tradition, and a particular tradition of history writing. The history of Israel’s past is shaped in various books

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<sup>1</sup> A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 19.

focusing on various eras of history. These are not always reliable to the standard of modern historiography; the narratives are presented with the help of literary and folkloristic patterns and miraculous events.<sup>2</sup> The desire to present a historical description and the reliability of the product are not the same. For that purpose, it is necessary to distinguish the aim of the historiographer and the historical facts which can be reconstructed on the basis of other sources.<sup>3</sup> “We may therefore conclude that to qualify as a historiographic work, it is only necessary for the author to be consciously seeking to describe the past. Whether or not it belongs to this specific genre is determined neither by its historical reliability nor by the degree of its objectivity.”<sup>4</sup>

The historical sequence, which opens in the book of Genesis and concludes at the end of 2 Kings, was written to perpetuate historical memory. The genre historiography represents a large portion of biblical literature, and thereby acquires qualitative importance.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, these works are very reticent. Even historical texts (i.e., in texts which, according to Huizinga’s definition, were intended to accurately depict events of history) are very laconic.<sup>6</sup> Aside from some highlighted figures like Saul, David and Solomon, the books of Kings and Chronicles do not go into details concerning the history of the monarchy. The authors might have worked from royal annals, more exhaustive materials than what

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<sup>2</sup> Fundamentalist interpretation tries to prove miraculous events with the help of phenomena and results drawn from natural sciences. This is not necessary, since the works had a special purpose, to express special ideas. The intention of the authors was not to present reliable natural facts, but to convey an idea through the example of the supernatural.

<sup>3</sup> Works with the expression “biblical historiography” in their titles usually deal with the difference between events narrated and the background reality of these events. Ideas and ideology appearing in biblical history writing are treated more infrequently. For a general overview of ancient Near Eastern and biblical historiography in the above sense, see R.C. Dentan and J.J. Oberman, eds., *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (AOS 38; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955; re-edition New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1983); D.N. Freedman, “The Biblical Idea of History,” *Int* 21 (1967): 32–49; H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, eds., *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983). Y. Amit, *History and Ideology: An Introduction to Historiography in the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) is a new overview on history writing in the Bible. See also H. Cancik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 4; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1976).

<sup>4</sup> Amit, *History and Ideology*, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> J. Huizinga, “A Definition of the Concept of History,” in *Philosophy and History: Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer* (ed. R. Klibansky and H.J. Paton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1936; repr. New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 1–10, esp. 10.

has been preserved in the biblical text. The history of the kingdom of Israel and then the divided monarchy was redacted for the first time in the Deuteronomistic History.<sup>7</sup> Chronicles, the re-telling of the history of the kingdoms in the frame of a world history, is another historical work—with sometimes different, but not more detailed description of the divided monarchy. Both works contain a series of stereotyped descriptions and not detailed historical narratives à la Herodotus, which had become the basis of European historiography.<sup>8</sup> It is worthy of note here that “history is not how things happened, but an incomplete account, written toward a specific end, of selected developments. This is an important point, ignored in the survey of Near Eastern historiography previously mentioned.”<sup>9</sup>

Historiography is an important form of cultural memory. Remembering the past in a community constitutes a form of self-definition.<sup>10</sup> Biblical and ancient Near Eastern writings with historical concern—although they represent a form different from that of Greek history writing—are extremely important since they give an insight into the thinking and identity of the group that produced them. It reflects how they were thinking about the process of history, the causes and consequences of events, and what they considered important (important things were meant to be motives of events). Special narrative forms used as historiography are also informative of the concepts of the culture in which they were written.<sup>11</sup> My aim here is to give a short overview of the specific forms and methods of pieces of historical memory preserved in Qumran writings,

<sup>7</sup> On the Deuteronomistic History and its problems, as well as Deuteronomistic history writing, see T. Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005). On history writing in the Chronicles, see S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. A. Barber; BEATAJ 9; Bern: Peter Lang, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> On questions related to Greek history writing and modern historiography, there is A. Momigliano's very inspiring *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>9</sup> B. Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 7. Modern comprehensive works deal only with “Greek” and “European” types of historiography, see E. Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). The introductory part devotes but a few sentences to ancient Near Eastern history writing.

<sup>10</sup> Jan Assmann gives an overall picture on the forms of historical memory. See the chapter “Formen kollektiver Erinnerung: Kommunikatives und kulturelles Gedächtnis” in his *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 1997), 48–66.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview on Mesopotamian historiography, see J.J. Finkelstein, “Mesopotamian Historiography,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963):

in the background of ancient Near Eastern historiography—that is, how much specific the Qumran view is and how it correlates with forms and methods of historical memory which are known from other ancient Near Eastern cultures.

Investigated herein are concepts of historical time and ideology manifested in the descriptions of the course of history as they are reflected in the texts bearing the historical memory of the Qumran community. Historical tradition here has an overall meaning, including both traditions of the patriarchal age (which meant a real history for the Qumran reader) and the historical memory of the community of Qumran. The present study aims to examine the attitudes towards history that the authors of these texts held, what the writers thought to be important in history, what they thought to be the engine of history, and what they thought about the causes of events and corollaries of human deeds.

#### HISTORICAL MEMORY IN QUMRAN

The basic form of Qumran historical memory is interpretation. Biblical history is frequently interpreted in Qumran works. Qumran interpretation has two basic forms: one is the paraphrasing of biblical narratives, the other an explicit interpretation of texts. Biblical historical tradition is paraphrased and interpreted in a number of so-called para-biblical texts and “rewritten Bibles.”<sup>12</sup> The explicit interpretation form is represented in the *pesharim*,<sup>13</sup> a special form of historical memory in the life of the Qumran community. The *pesharim* interpret continuous biblical texts verse by verse by means of various literary devices. Interpretations

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461–472. For principles and methods in Hittite historiography, see H.G. Güterbock, “Hittite Historiography: A Survey” in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, 21–35.

<sup>12</sup> Para-biblical texts are considered those paraphrasing biblical texts with an interpretative aim. The term “rewritten Bibles” refers, according to G. Vermes, to narratives that follow Scripture, but include “a substantial amount of supplements and interpretative developments.” Not everything is retold, while other pericopae are retold with additions and changes. See E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135): A New English Version* (rev. ed. G. Vermes et al.; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973–1987), 3.1:326.

<sup>13</sup> The name is the plural form of the noun *peshar* or “interpretation.” It designates a group of continuous interpretations written on prophetic books (Isaiah, and five, possibly six of the Minor Prophets) and Psalms. For the *peshar* method and interpretative forms resulting from this method, see S.L. Berrin, “Pesharim,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:644–647.

are introduced by the word *peshet* (pl. *pesharim*). These texts were written with the aim of interpreting prophetic and psalm texts as references to events contemporary to the author of the interpretation. The interpreted texts contained meaningful revelations for their intended sectarian audience. Events referred to in the interpretation are episodes memorable in the history of the community. The authors' concept-of and attitude-to history were certainly defined by the community's general attitude toward history. The interpretations themselves speak in veiled terms (for example, using nicknames for real persons) about the history of the community. Thus, the interpretations refer in a coded form to certain events of the history of the community, as well as their conflicts with enemies, supposedly over the second and first centuries B.C.E.

#### a. *Para-Biblical Texts and Rewritten Bibles*

Let us begin our overview with the so-called para-biblical texts and rewritten Bibles, with works which retell the Bible in some form. 4Q252, 4Q253, 4Q254, and 4Q254a are four fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4.<sup>14</sup> They contain implicit commentaries on selected pericopae of the book of Genesis and explicit commentaries on selected passages therein. The most extensive of these texts is 4QCommGen A (4Q252).<sup>15</sup> The text of its first fragment can be divided into two parts of different character: a narrative part, which retells (or, rather only refers to) biblical pericopae, following the biblical order of the narratives; and a second part formed by a series of *pesharim* (i.e., interpretations of biblical citations introduced by the formula *pšrw 'l*).<sup>16</sup> In spite of its literary diversity, the text as a whole is homogeneous. Arranged in the chronological order of the events found in Genesis, it has a consistent structure throughout.<sup>17</sup> The text of the manuscript seems to be divided into

<sup>14</sup> Published by G. Brooke in *DJD* XXII (1996): 185–212, 217–236.

<sup>15</sup> Formerly called “Peshet Genesis” and “Patriarchal Blessings,” *4QCommentary on Genesis A* contains six fragments in an early Herodian hand.

<sup>16</sup> H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 170–172, considered the fragments of 4Q252 as belonging to two different works. G.J. Brooke argued for the unity of the text that begins with col. I of the present text and ends with col. VI, see “The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Peshet,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 160–169, esp. 161–165. Sharing this opinion, I will refer to the fragments as parts of the same work.

<sup>17</sup> For a detailed analysis of the sequences in the text, its formal setup and thematic structure, see I. Fröhlich, “Themes, Structure and Genre of Peshet Genesis,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 81–90. M.J. Bernstein argues against reading the text in a thematic way and sees it

paragraphs separated by *vacats* (at times in the middle of the line). Each paragraph comprises two pericopae or, respectively, two *pesharim* (except paragraph IV:1–2, which contains a single explicit interpretation referring to Amalek). The pericopae and the *pesharim* illustrate examples of opposite characters. The content of the paragraphs is following:

1. The short introductory sentence—“[In] the four hundred and eightieth year of Noah’s life, the end came for Noah” (I:1)—refers to the history of antediluvian mankind. It can be supposed that their history is described according to the Enochic tradition, focusing on the sins of antediluvian humankind, which are sexual misdemeanors (the mixed marriages of heavenly beings with earthly women), practicing sorcery and magic. Events following the deeds of antediluvian humankind are skipped in 4Q252, and the text goes, without mentioning the beginning of the Flood and the events preceding it, to a description of the Flood (with calendar-like addenda about the exact times of the events of the Flood). The second part of the paragraph is formed by a report of Noah’s “landing” after the Flood (II:2).<sup>18</sup>
2. The second paragraph cites the biblical mention of the curse of Canaan, his subjection to his relatives (cf. Gen 9:25–26). The background of the cursing of Canaan in the Bible is the violation of a sexual taboo committed by Canaan’s father Ham who “saw the nakedness of his father [i.e., Noah] and told his two brethren outside” (Gen 9:22). The next event mentioned in the second paragraph of 4Q252 is a report of Abraham’s arrival to Canaan, and the covenant that God made with him (Gen 15) (II:5–13).
3. The sin of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah forms the content of the beginning of the third paragraph (the background of the story is their sin and homosexuality, which is the violation of a sexual taboo penned in biblical legislation).<sup>19</sup> The second part of the paragraph is formed by a reference to the *Aqedah* (where Abraham merits the covenant) and the blessing of Isaac (cf. Gen 22) (III:1–5, 6–14).

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as a running biblical commentary in a non-esoteric, simple sense. See his “4Q252: From Rewritten Bible to Biblical Commentary,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 1–27.

<sup>18</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the Hebrew Bible are according to the NRSV and translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from the *DJD* series.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Gen 19. Homosexuality is strictly banned in Old Testament legislation, see Lev 20:13; 20:13; cf. 18:22.

4. An oracle on the future seems to form a kind of dividing line in the text. At the same time, it introduces a new form, the *pesher*. The paragraph begins with a citation from Deut 25:19, an oracle about the annihilation of Amalek, enemy of Israel (IV:1–2).<sup>20</sup> From here to the end, the following paragraphs contain a series of explicit quotations followed by interpretations introduced by the term *pesher*.
5. The first fragment of the historical interpretations in *pesher* form is introduced by a citation from the Blessing of Jacob, the disapproval of Ruben, because he had violated a sexual prohibition by having a forbidden relationship with the concubine of his father (cf. Gen 34:22). The second part of the paragraph consists of a citation from the same biblical text, an oracle on the eternal reign of Judah and blessings on the other sons of Jacob (IV:3–7).

Obviously, the series of paragraphs (articulated by *vacats*) of 4Q252 are comprised of contrasting traditions about the sinners and the righteous.<sup>21</sup> In the examples of 4Q252, the sin is connected with the violation of a sexual taboo. The punishment of the sinner is destruction or subjection. The reward of the righteous is rescue from danger and/or taking possession of land. Contemporary readers who were socialized in biblical ethical tradition might have been well aware of the underlying meaning of the references.<sup>22</sup>

4QCommGen B (4Q253) and 4QCommGen C (4Q254) are further fragmentary works which contain Genesis interpretations. The three fragments of 4Q253 are too fragmentary for any thematic structure to be established.<sup>23</sup> There are no overlaps of this text with that of 4Q252. However, some themes are identical, like the story of the Flood. In 4Q253, revelation is given to Noah (1 4), and instructions about clean animals (2 3) are referred to. Besides, the name of Belial is mentioned (3 2). The fragments labeled 4QCommMal (4Q253a) contain a prophetic citation from Mal 3:16–18:

<sup>20</sup> The destruction of Amalek has been a theme since the early Jewish interpretative tradition. It can be found in *T. Sim.* 5:4–6:5, and *L.A.B.* on Judg 19. Later Jewish tradition associates Amalek with various sins, foremost with magic and astrology.

<sup>21</sup> The labeling of groups “sinners” and “righteous” goes in the spirit of the Mosaic law. The author of 4Q252 uses Deuteronomic language and shows an apparently strong legal interest. See G.J. Brooke, “The Thematic Content of 4Q252,” *JQR* 85 (1995): 33–59.

<sup>22</sup> The punishment of certain sins (sexual sins, bloodshed, magic and cultic impurity) is expulsion from the land and/or extinction of the family (*kārēt*). See P.D. Wright, “Unclean and Clean: Old Testament,” *ABD* 6:729–741, esp. 739.

<sup>23</sup> The fragments are written in a late Hasmonean or early Herodian hand.

[Then those who revered the Lord spoke, each to] his [neighbor. The Lord] attended [and listened, and a book of remembrance was written before him of those who revered the Lord and thought on his name.] They shall be mine, [says the Lord of hosts, a special possession on the day when I act, and I will show pity o]n them as [a man shows pity on his son who serves him. Then once more you shall see the difference] between the righteous and the wicked, [between one who serves God and the one who does not serve him.] (4Q253a 1 i 2–5)

It is inferential that the prophetic words provide a key to the content of 4Q253.<sup>24</sup> In all probability, its text contains biblical examples about the righteous and the wicked, about those who are considered a “special possession” of the Lord, and those who are not.<sup>25</sup>

The prophetic text provides a key to 4Q252, too, since the concept of the work matches perfectly with that of Mal 3:16–18 when giving clear historical examples of the righteous and the wicked—the righteous being the heir of the land and the wicked the one who loses it. The prophetic text makes mention of a “book of remembrance.” This calls to mind the fragmentary overviews from Qumran which might have served as *aide memoires* for historical examples of the sinner and the righteous.

The content of 4QCommGen C (4Q254)<sup>26</sup> partly overlaps with that of 4Q252. Thus, it might be a variant of the first<sup>27</sup> and a compilation of historical examples to the prophetic words of Zech 4:14 cited in the text: “[These are] the two anointed sons who [stand by the Lord of the whole earth . . .” (4 2). The pericopae examples in the text are the following: Noah’s drunkenness and the cursing of Canaan (1 2–4, based on Gen 9:24–25); a mention of Hagar (2 2); the events leading up to the binding of Isaac (3 4); promise of the land given to a patriarch (3 6); and the theme

<sup>24</sup> The editor of the text thinks that it rather belongs to a commentary on Malachi, see G. Brooke in *DJD XXII* (1996): 213–215. He further thinks that the quotation refers to the Teacher of Righteousness, see idem, “Prophecy,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:694–700, here 697. Dorothy M. Peters, supposing that 4Q253 and 4Q253a may have belonged together, argues that the quote from Mal 3:16–18 “may signify a retrospective view of the flood in Genesis to a time when the first differentiation was made between the righteous and the wicked” (*Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity* [SBL] 26; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 165).

<sup>25</sup> The noun *nḥlh* occurs 105 times in the Qumran scrolls, mostly in the works found in Cave 4.

<sup>26</sup> Written in an early Herodian formal hand, see G. Brooke in *DJD XXII* (1996): 219–220.

<sup>27</sup> 4Q254 cannot be a second copy of 4Q252, but a parallel text to the work—either a reworked, complementary version of it, or an interpretation of its narrative material from a different point of view. In the following, I will deal with the text as a variant of 4Q252.



of the desecration of something (3 8).<sup>28</sup> These are followed by the words of the blessing of Judah and the blessings given to the rest of the sons of Jacob (5–6 1–6 and 7 1–5, based on Gen 49).

4QCommGen D (4Q254a)<sup>29</sup> contains (partly citing Gen 6:15) a description of the measurements of Noah's ark (frgs. 1–2), Noah's debarkation (frg. 3),<sup>30</sup> and something that the raven makes known to the latter generations.

In view of the fragments contained in texts 4Q252–4Q254a, it is 4Q252 alone where the text's formal structure and content, as well as the idea behind this ordering, can be reconstructed. The hypothetical reconstruction of this idea is confirmed by the prophetic citation of 4Q254. The examples of the historical survey in 4Q252 serve as examples for the justification of the idea shaped in the prophetic words, while expressing an unambiguous attitude toward history. This attitude is centered around the theme of the land and its appropriation by the righteous. The land provides structure to the survey of the history of humankind, and the history of Israel from the beginning, including the time of the settlement of the Israelite tribes. Three phases are distinct in this process (represented in three paragraphs): sinful humanity lost the land; Canaan lost his right to the land; Ruben lost his birthright and his claim to the land. Moreover, the righteous like Noah, Abraham, and Isaac obtain the land. The oracle about the final doom of Amalek is equal to a symbolic elimination of all those who could endanger the righteous offspring's chances of taking possession of the land. This idea about history is apparently Deuteronomistic. The text might have served those who identified themselves with Judah with historical examples, and it seems to be intended for internal use by the community to reinforce its identity and ideology.<sup>31</sup> Of course, the text does not refer explicitly to this idea. This idea is expressed by the way historical tradition is interpreted and referenced. The series of references and interpretations gives a "skeletonised" overview of history with the recurring manifestation of certain regularities—that of the loss of land by the sinners (especially those committing sins of a sexual nature) and that of the acquisition of land by the righteous, by those who do not violate the Law.

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<sup>28</sup> *Hwll* meaning "pierced" or "profaned" or "trembled." The verb reflects a purity-centered outlook; it is not used in the pertinent part of Genesis.

<sup>29</sup> Three fragments in a developed Herodian formal hand.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. 4Q252 II:1–5.

<sup>31</sup> D.K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Library of Second Temple Studies 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 139.

### b. *Historical Surveys*

The historical survey of the *Damascus Document* (CD 2:2–3:12)<sup>32</sup> is headed by a “theoretical introduction” in the form of the paraphrase of a biblical verse: “and not follow after thoughts of the guilty inclination and after eyes of lust (*ny znwt*)” (CD 2:16).<sup>33</sup> The expression could contain a primary and a figurative meaning. The primary sense covers the violation of any taboos of sexual character. In a figurative sense (as in many biblical metaphors), the expression is meant as infidelity to God, the practice of cults celebrating alien gods. In the survey of the *Damascus Document*, each example of “*zēnūt*” is introduced by the formula “for many went astray through these” (or a variant of this sentence). In the following part of the text, periods characterized either by sin or by righteousness are listed. Unlike 4Q252, each period has here a homogenous character.

1. The first example is the story of the fallen angels (CD 2:17–21), not referred to according to the tradition of Gen 6:1–4, but that of *1 Enoch*, “the heavenly Watchers fell.”
2. The second historical symbol is the biblical tradition about the sons of Noah and their families (3:1). Its background could be the story of Noah’s drunkenness, the sin of Ham, and the curse of Canaan instead of Ham (Gen 9:18–27). The story refers to the violation of a prohibition of sexual character.<sup>34</sup> Since it is the breaking of a commandment, the tradition referred to in the text of the *Damascus Document* is an example of both: breaking the commandments and committing a sin related to sexuality.
3. The third symbol is the age of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—a sinless period due to Abraham, who kept the commandments.
4. The period of the sons of Jacob is interpreted as an age of erring in disobedience, referred to as the age in which “Jacob’s sons erred” (3:4–5). The sin behind the reference could be Reuben’s lying with

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<sup>32</sup> The earliest Qumran manuscript of the *Damascus Document* is dated to the beginning of the first century B.C.E. On the basis of the *terminus ante quem* provided by the earliest manuscript and the events referred to in the text, the date of the composition might have been the middle of the second century B.C.E.

<sup>33</sup> The reference is from Num 15:39 with transformations. Num 15:39 says, “And whenever you see this in the tassel, you will remember all the Lord’s commands and obey them, and not to go your own wanton ways, led astray by your own hearts and eyes.”

<sup>34</sup> Exod 20:23 and 28:42. Prohibition of sexual relations with parents and relatives in Lev 18:7–17.

Bilhah, the concubine of his father (Gen 35:22), which can be interpreted as an example for the sin of *'ny znwt*.

5. The fifth symbol is the example of the Egyptian captivity, when "their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their hearts, in taking counsel against the commandments of God, and doing each one as he thought right" (3:5–10). Thus, the sins committed in Egypt probably consist of infidelity to Yahweh.

In the overview of the *Damascus Document*, periods of sin are listed. All of them are related to sins such as the violation of sexual taboos, the transgression of Noah's laws, and idolatry. An example of the violation of sexual taboos is to be found in four out of five examples. The biblical pericopae referred to are the same as in 4Q252–4Q254a (except the reference to the Egyptian captivity which does not figure in these texts). Nevertheless, using the same examples of sexual sins, supplemented by an example of idolatry, the author of the overview of the *Damascus Document* creates a different system of historical ages from that of 4Q252. In the system of the *Damascus Document*, two sinful periods (and respective falls) are followed by a sinless period. The latter one is followed again by two sinful periods. The sinners are not contrasted with any other contemporary group or person representing a different ethical background. Both Jacob's sons, as well as the generation under Egyptian captivity, are uniformly declared as sinners. The sins serving as a basis for labeling groups and persons as sinners are sexual sins and idolatry.

4Q183 is a fragment of an interpretation on historical events.<sup>35</sup> Two examples for the sinners and one for the righteous are given in the manuscript dated to the late Hasmonean or early Herodian era. The sins are related to bloodshed (1 ii 2) and to cultic offenses, each example of the sin being introduced by this statement: "And they defiled their sanctuary" (1 ii 1). The righteous are told not to commit these sins, to despise wicked property (1 ii 5), and not to walk in "erring spirit" (1 ii 6).

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<sup>35</sup> Edited under the title *Catena*, together with 4Q177 and 4Q182, by J.M. Allegro in *DJD V* (1968): 67–74 and 80–81. The bad state of preservation does not allow any relationship to be established between the fragments. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>a-b</sup>): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 155–157, supposes that they form a composition with 4Q182 and 4Q178. This supposition is not confirmed by the text, since there is no overlap between the compositions. See also the comments of M. Kister, "Marginalia Qumranica," *Tarbiz* 17 (1988): 315–325, 321–324 (Hebrew).

The examples cited in the text cannot be identified with any historical event with any certainty. Mention is made to a cultic sin that is supposedly followed by a war. A possible biblical candidate for identification could be 1 Kgs 17, where the Assyrian victory over Israel and the subsequent exile are interpreted by the Deuteronomistic Historian as a result of “the sin of Jerobeam”—i.e., the establishment of a state religion in the northern kingdom with its royal temples, cultic calendar, iconography and priesthood.<sup>36</sup> From post-biblical period, the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty and the Roman conquest following it could be candidates for an historical example.<sup>37</sup>

4Q180 and 4Q181 are fragments of two separate interpretative works (*peshtarim*) on the historical tradition of Genesis.<sup>38</sup> The title of the work attested by 4Q180, “*pesher* on the periods” (*pšr l hqšym*), is very indicative of the concept of history in the work. In light of the term *qēš* (meaning “fixed time,” “length of time” or “period”), history is a sequence of precisely determined periods.<sup>39</sup> The question is the principle of articulating historical process, which can be answered on the basis of the content of the text. The text in the manuscript is divided into paragraphs, separated by *vacats*.

The first paragraph might have been a general introduction roughing in larger chronological units of the history. The text speaks about divine

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<sup>36</sup> Later prophetic and Deuteronomistic tradition had created from Jeroboam a negative type of ruler, see C.D. Evans, “Naram-Sin and Jeroboam: The Archetypal *Unheils-herrscher* in Mesopotamian and Biblical Historiography,” in *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* (ed. W.W. Hallo, J.C. Moyer, and L.G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 97–125. On the northern cult practice and its Deuteronomistic reception, see J. Debus, *Die Sünde Jerobeams: Studien zur Darstellung Jerobeams und der Geschichte des Nordreichs in der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung* (FRLANT 93; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

<sup>37</sup> The temple cult under later Hasmonean rulers was considered in Qumran *peshtarim* (middle of the first century B.C.E.) as improper and illegitimate, as shown by recurring references to “the evil priest” (*khn hršc*), an epithet used probably with a collective meaning for several Hasmonean rulers. See R.A. Kugler, “Priests,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2:688–693, esp. 691–692 (“Significance of Priests for the Qumran Community”).

<sup>38</sup> The first editor, J.M. Allegro, gave the name “Ages of Creation” to the fragments belonging to 4Q180–181. The relation of 4Q180 and 4Q181 was discussed by J. Strugnell, “Notes on marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276 (252–254); J.T. Milik, “Milki-šedeq et Milki-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144 (109–124). The fragments belong in fact to two works, 4Q180 (frgs. 1–12, called also “*Pesher on the Periods*”) and 4Q181, see D. Dimant, “The ‘*Pesher on the Periods*’ (4Q180 and 4Q181),” *IOS* 9 (1979): 77–102.

<sup>39</sup> The concept is known in biblical literature, see Dan 9:24–27, and in several Qumran writings, see 1QS III:15, 23; IV:3; 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:24; 1QpHab VII:13. The term is used in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En. 85–90), and the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 En. 93:1–10).

determination preceding the act of the creation: "... before He created them, He set up their activities" (4Q180 1 2). The exact nature of the "activities" is not known. Functioning and movement of luminaries, as well as human activities in history are both equal candidates for the meaning.<sup>40</sup> The following part of 4Q180 presents history as a sequence of precisely predetermined periods engraved on the heavenly tablets age by age (4Q180 1 2–3) according to the "ages of their dominion" (*qšy mmšlwtm*) (4Q180 1 4).<sup>41</sup>

The following words refer, in all probability, to the particular system of history: "this is the order (*zh srk*) of the so[ns of Noah to Abraham un]til he bore Isaac, the ten (*'srh*) [generations]" (4Q180 1 4–5). The number "ten" refers to the number of generations which lived before and after the Flood, and this mention serve as a general introduction for the overview. This is followed by a report on the birth of Isaac (4Q180 1 5). This event marks the beginning of the next series of ten generations. Accordingly, it is to be supposed that the first and second periods were the ten plus ten generations from Adam to Abraham, the Flood being the divider between them. The surviving fragments concern episodes that fall within these two periods.

The second paragraph (4Q180 1 7–10) begins with a "*peshet* on Azazel and the angels." This is the beginning of the concrete examples for the historical scheme. The events of antediluvian mankind's history are referred to according to the Enochic tradition (1 *En.* 6–11) with mention of the giants and their fathers, the fallen angels. The author of the *peshet* in 4Q180 identifies the leader of the angels with Azazel.<sup>42</sup>

Fragments 2–3 and 5–6 concern episodes from the life of Abraham. The author clearly follows the biblical sequence of the episodes as they

<sup>40</sup> On the idea that the working of heavenly luminaries is predetermined by God, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> (1QH<sup>a</sup>) I:7 and CD 2:7. 1 *En.* 1–5 gives a description of a perfectly regular functioning of the natural phenomena according to eternal rules which were determined by God in the act of creation.

<sup>41</sup> Dan 9:24–27 writes about a final period determined in seventy year-weeks. The idea that history is a consequent series of determined periods is clearly worded in 1QpHab VII:13. The underlying idea on determined periods (or generations, year-weeks) in human history is quite general in Qumran writings, see e.g. CD 2:9 and passim; 1QS I:14 and passim; 1QH<sup>a</sup> I:24 and passim; and ancient Jewish apocalypses like 1 *En.* 85–90 (*Animal Apocalypse*) and 1 *En.* 91:1–10 (*Apocalypse of Weeks*).

<sup>42</sup> The passage reflects a good acknowledgement of the traditions related in 1 *Enoch* (the Aramaic text of which has remained in Qumran fragments). The author of the *peshet* combines two traditions, that of 1 *En.* 6–7 and 1 *En.* 8:1–2 when giving the name Azazel to the leader of the angels. According to 1 *En.* 6–7 the leader of the angels who went to earth, begot children with women, and taught humans to sorcery was Shemihazah. The

are narrated in Gen 17–18. Biblical events referred to in 4Q180 are possibly to be identified with the sin of the angels (4Q180 1 7–8), the change of Abraham’s name (4Q180 2–3 i 3–5), the visit of the three angels to Abraham (4Q180 2–3 ii 3–4), and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (4Q180 2–3 ii 5–7). The mention of Mount Zion (2–3 ii 1–2) preceding the angels’ visit to Abraham (cf. Gen 18) may have to do with Gen 13:14–17, where Abraham is promised the land that was not chosen by Lot. That would also account for the mention of Lot in this context (4Q180 2–3 ii 2) and for the fact that the story about the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah follows it directly. All these events took place before the birth of Isaac, which marks the beginning of the second series of ten generations.<sup>43</sup>

Fragments 5–6 cannot be interpreted in the context of our theme. Certainly, interpretation was going on in reference to later ages. Unfortunately, there is no material to reconstruct the scope and chronology of the overview, which is seemingly built upon the opposition of the sinner and the righteous. The special connection of human groups (the righteous and the sinner) with the land is referred to in the two citations in the text.<sup>44</sup>

4Q181 is a work separate from 4Q180, having a distinct subject matter and literary form. The opening words of the text speak about the opposition of the *yahad* and the sinners whose activity began with the sin of the Watchers, who brought uncleanness to the earth. Sin will be active in history until its end. Sins in the world will call up divine punishments: “. . . severe diseases in their flesh, according to the mighty deeds of God and corresponding to the sinners’ wickedness, according to their uncleanness caused by the council of the sons of h[eaven] and earth, as a wicked association until the end” (4Q181 1 1–3). The opposite of the sinners is the gathering of the righteous, “a holy congregation, destined for eternal life and in the lot with His holy ones” (4Q181 1 3–4).

The detailed interpretation of the first period of ten generations, from the beginning until the generation of Isaac, is to be read on frg. 2:

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list of the leaders of ten mentions Asael. According to 1 En. 8:1–2 Azazel (who is not said here to be an angel) is the originator of various sins among men and women. The above data suggest a dual leadership of the rebel angels.

<sup>43</sup> See Dimant, “The ‘Peshar on the Periods’ (4Q180 and 4Q181),” 77–102; eadem, “Ages of Creation,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:11–13.

<sup>44</sup> Two biblical references are made, unfortunately both are fragmentary: “that is wr]ritten concerning the ear[th]” (4Q180 5–6 2), and “[th]at is written concerning Pha-raoh[ ]” (4Q180 5–6 5).

“[Abraham until he sir]ed Isaac, [ten generations” (4Q181 2 1). The detailed interpretation begins with the antediluvian age, the activity of the fallen angels whose leader is again identified here with Azazel: “[The prophetic interpretation concerning Azazel and the angels who went in to the daughters] of man, so that [they] bore mighty me[n] to them” (4Q181 2 2; cf. Gen 6:4). The period of Azazel and the angels is determined in seventy year-weeks (4Q181 2 3).<sup>45</sup> This is equal to 490 years. Tallying this data with the biblical chronology (the data that Noah was 600 years old at the beginning of the Flood, cf. Gen 7:6), one can conclude that the fallen angels came to the earth in the 110th year of Noah’s lifetime.<sup>46</sup> Azazel’s realm is with “those who love deceit (*wlh*) and possess guilt” (4Q181 2 4). Unfortunately, the rest of the text was lost, and further periods and historical chronology are not known. The text must have contained a detailed interpretation on at least two periods, that of antediluvian mankind and the period from the Flood until the generation of Isaac. Opposition of the sinner and the righteous is highlighted in the text. Furthermore, deeds of the sinner are mentioned as historical examples, with a chronology in generations and jubilees.

4Q180 and 4Q181 are two separate works, each possessing a distinct system of periodization and chronology. In 4Q180, a chronology based on generations is used, and the history of mankind is divided into periods according to generations. Two of these periods are known: the ten generations before the Flood and the ten generations following the Flood until Abraham. The following part of the work is not known (but it is

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<sup>45</sup> It is to be noted that both 4Q181 and 2Q252 understand the generation of Isaac (and not his birth) as a marker of the fulfilment and a new era. This phenomenon may have related to the astrological view rather common in the era, that human life is determined with generation. Qumran physiognomic texts (4Q186; 4Q561) reflect the belief that the character of a person’s “spirit” is determined, and it can be recognized on the basis of the person’s physical characteristics. 4Q186 links physiognomy with astrology. On the questions of Qumran physiognomy and astrology, see M. Popovic, “Reading the Human Body and Writing in Code: Physiognomic Divination and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 271–284; idem, “4QZodiacal Physiognomy (4Q186) and Physiognomics and Astrology in Second Temple Judaism,” *Henoch* 29 (2007): 51–66.

<sup>46</sup> The *Genesis Apocryphon* seemingly follows a different chronology when recounting Lamech’s anxiety about the origin of the pregnancy of his wife Batenosh. Lamech is worried that his wife (who is about to give birth to Noah) had conceived by one of the Watchers. Thus the Watchers’ coming to earth (described in *1 En.* 6–7) would have preceded Noah’s birth.

to be supposed that the series of generic computation continued). The borders of historical periods are determined by the generations. The text speaks of a history preordained, a history written on heavenly tablets. This idea is not comprehensible without the Enochic tradition, where heavenly tablets are mentioned several times. According to one of the ideas in Enochic tradition, history is written on heavenly tablets, and Enoch controls them. In the other tradition, Enoch is visualized as sitting in heaven and writing history on heavenly tablets.<sup>47</sup> 4Q181 uses for periodization the cycle of year-weeks (seven-year periods of sabbatical years). This unit is known from the Bible and is used mainly in post-exile works.<sup>48</sup> 4Q181, besides chronological periods, is acknowledged with a periodization based on ethics, mentioning a period (or rather periods) of sin, equal to an era of seventy year-weeks.

### c. *History in 1 Enoch*

The idea of preordained history is shaped in *1 Enoch*, the Aramaic text of which was well known in Qumran.<sup>49</sup> This collection contains, among others, two historical overviews, both of them being part of the Qumran Aramaic tradition. In *1 En.* 85–90, the *Animal Apocalypse*, a short review of human history is given, characterized and periodized with the help of a system of symbols.<sup>50</sup> Fragments of this part of the collection are to

<sup>47</sup> F. García-Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243–260.

<sup>48</sup> The system is known in Dan 9:24–27; *1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17 (*Apocalypse of Weeks*). The chronology of the book of *Jubilees* is built on a system of jubilees, cycles of seven sabbatical years. On the system, see M. Weinfeld, "Sabbatical Year and Jubilee in the Pentateuchal Laws and Their Ancient Near Eastern Background," in *The Law in the Bible and Its Environment* (ed. T. Veijola; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 1990), 39–62.

<sup>49</sup> This is true for chs. 1–36 (*Book of the Watchers*), and chs. 72–106 which belonged to the core Enochic tradition formed by the middle of the second century B.C.E. The *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of Giants* were also parts of this tradition (they have not been retained by the translations). Chapters 37–71 are not represented in the Qumran manuscript tradition and probably were not known in Qumran (they might have resulted from later additions to the work).

<sup>50</sup> A commentary to the text is P.A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993). See also I. Fröhlich, "The Symbolical Language of the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch (1 Enoch 85–90)," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 629–636; eadem, "Time and Times and Half a Time": *Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras* (JSPSup 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 82–88.



be found among the Aramaic Enoch fragments from Qumran (4Q201–4Q212). The Enochic *Animal Apocalypse* uses earlier Enoch tradition (1 En. 6–11) as well as biblical, historical and prophetic tradition up to the age of the Maccabean uprising. Human figures in the overview are symbolized by animals. The symbols change in the course of the narrative, and the appearance of a new symbol indicates the beginning of a new period in human history.

1. The first period (from Adam to the antediluvian era) is characterized by the symbol of the bull. The colour of the animal indicates the character of the given human figure: white bulls and cows stand for the elect (Adam, Eve), while people considered as sinners (Cain and his descendants) are symbolized by black bulls and cows. The colour red has a neutral significance; figures symbolized by this colour are victims (Abel) or play no important role in the further narrative.
2. With the story of the fallen angels (related according to the tradition in 1 En. 6), there is a change of symbols. The children born from the union of women (symbolized by black cows) with the Watchers (symbolized by stars) are wild animals (1 En. 86:4; 87:3; 88:2; 89:6). The elect (Noah, Shem, Abraham, and Isaac) are symbolized by white bulls (with the exception of Noah, who is transformed into a human being, cf. 1 En. 89:1). The sinners (children of the Watchers, identified with peoples foreign to Israel and other foreign peoples descended from Ham and Abraham) are symbolized by wild animals.
3. The third historical period is characterized by the symbol of the sheep. This period begins with Jacob, father of twelve sons, ancestors of the tribes of Israel. The elect are characterized by the colour white and additionally by changes in their size and form. Moses appears as a big ram who is transformed later into a human being (1 En. 89:3). Samuel and Saul, too, are symbolized by rams (1 En. 89:41–44). David appears as a lamb growing into a ram. God is called the Lord of the Sheep. The most important figure of this period is Elijah. According to 1 En. 89:52, the Lord of the Sheep takes a ewe, Elijah, up to Enoch, who lives in a tower (that is, in a heavenly sanctuary). The end of this period is marked by Elijah.
4. The figures of the fourth period are sheep and shepherds. Sheep stand for the people of Israel, and seventy shepherds stand for their rulers. The shepherds are commissioned by the Lord of the Sheep. When they accomplish their work, they have to give an account of it

to their followers. In heaven, Enoch bears witness to the shepherds' work, and he will also be their witness "in the end of times," when they will be judged, together with the Watchers.

The fourth period, the activity of the seventy shepherds, is subdivided again into four periods:

- a. The rule of shepherds for twelve "hours," the time of the Babylonian captivity. The shepherds deliver the sheep to wild animals—that is, to hostile peoples. The animals destroy "the house," which is a reference to the historical event of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.), and the mark of the first sub-period (*1 En.* 89:65–72a).
- b. The activity of further shepherds working for twenty-three "hours," the Persian period. In this epoch, "three are returning to the flock" (a possible reference to Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah). Completion of "the house" (rebuilding of the Second Temple in 516) marks the end of the second sub-period (*1 En.* 89:72b–90:1).
- c. The rule of further shepherds for twenty-three "hours," domination by the Greeks. During this time, wild animals keep on ravaging the sheep. No historical events are referenced specifically and it is unclear when the period ends (*1 En.* 90:2–5).
- d. The flock is tended (consecutively) by twelve shepherds during the time between the Hellenistic religious reforms of Antiochus IV and the final judgment. During this time, white lambs appear in the flock and they begin to open the eyes of the other sheep, which were blind until that time.<sup>51</sup> Reference is made to the murder of the high priest Onias III (170 B.C.E.). The period ends with the events at the beginning of the Maccabean revolt expressed in symbolic terms. Some white lambs grow horns on their heads, then a white ram appears with a large horn—the figure of Judas Maccabeus (*1 En.* 90:6–19).

The series of periods of human history are closed by a divine judgement over the Watchers and the shepherds. A white bull appears and the sheep change into white bulls and cows (*1 En.* 90:37–38). According to the views of the author(s) of the overview, human history is divided into dis-

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<sup>51</sup> On the symbolism, see J.C. VanderKam, "Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 85–90)," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J.H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 279–292.

tinct periods and sub-periods. Periods are characterized by human activity that can be evaluated ethically. Symbols (figures and colours) are used in the work to express this ethical evaluation. Sins referred to are violations of divine ethical commands (bloodshed, mixing of races and delivering the elect to destroyers). Unlike other surveys, the overview uses, besides ethical evaluation, a chronological scheme with explicit numerical values. The four-part division (repeated in the fourth period) is characteristic of the literary works of the Danielic collection, the redaction of which might have been roughly contemporaneous with the Enochic survey.<sup>52</sup> This four-part division is combined with the symbolism of seventy, epitomized in the description of the activity of the seventy shepherds, which covered a period of seventy “hours.” This seventy-scheme is an interpretation of Jeremiah’s prophecy of the seventy years of exile. The image of the seventy shepherds shifts the emphasis to a more synchronic or cosmic idea of the seventy nations and their heavenly counterparts.<sup>53</sup> The overview is a political allegory where animals represent nations or ethnic groups. The final transformation of animals back into white cattle must be understood as the ultimate elimination of the separate identities of the different nations. Foreign nations originate from the sinful relationship of the Watchers with earthly women. Thus, in the Enochic conception of post-exilic imperialism, Israel is at the mercy of demonic powers represented by rapacious animals assisted by bad shepherds.<sup>54</sup>

It seems that history is a recurring system. This system is expressed by the appearance of the white bull following the divine judgement. With

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<sup>52</sup> On the *Animal Apocalypse* and Daniel, see Fröhlich, “Symbolical Language,” 629–636; J.R. Davila, “The Animal Apocalypse and Daniel,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 35–38.

<sup>53</sup> A. Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (JSJSup 50; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 73. Differently G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 391. To be consulted: K. Klaus, “The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time, Universal History, and the Eschatological Turn in the Astronomical Book and the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,” in *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. G. Boccaccini and J.J. Collins; JSJSup 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 119–137.

<sup>54</sup> L.T. Stuckenbruck, “‘Reading the Present’ in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90),” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 91–102; P.A. Tiller, “Israel at the Mercy of Demonic Powers: An Enochic Interpretation of Postexilic Imperialism,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. B.G. Wright III and L.M. Wills; SBLSymS 35; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 113–121.

the appearance of the white bull, however, it is to be expected that the renewal will bring a substantial change: the disappearance of sin.

Another overview, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 En. 93+91), might have been known in Qumran, too. No fragment of this part of the Enochic collection is preserved in the Aramaic manuscript tradition except for a fragmentary commentary written about it. 4Q247 is an interpretation of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* from the Enochic collection—a lengthy review of history in the guise of a prophecy based on the Enochic periodization of history. Seven historical periods are presented in the work. The periods themselves are not characterized in detail; the main character of the period is given by the event occurring at the end of the period. The seven historical periods are followed by three eschatological ones and the whole history is concluded by a divine intervention and final judgment.<sup>55</sup> The apocalypse is composed of traditional materials, but in its present form, it is a unified product of a single author, reflecting his views and attitudes toward history. The Apocalypse concerns the righteous community, especially the community of the end time. The idea of “righteousness” (*qšṭ*) is perhaps the key concept in the Apocalypse. The naming of the group of the righteous is known only from the Greek text of the work: *hoi dikaioi*, “the righteous.”<sup>56</sup> It is Enoch, a prototype of righteousness, who reads the history from a book. Thus, the “weeks” (i.e., the periods of human history) are the following:

1. Primeval period concludes with the time of Enoch. This period is generally characterized as a time of righteousness (93:3).
2. The second period is that of “wickedness and deceit.” Sinful times are divided by the Flood conceived as a first end, and the time of iniquity after the flood (93:4).
3. The third period is not well determined. At the end of the period “a man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgment, and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.” The third period is characterized by God choosing Abraham and symbolized as the plant that engenders Israel (93:5).

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<sup>55</sup> Weeks 7–10 form a narrative on meta-history. On the structure of the work, see M.E. Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. idem; CRINT 2.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 383–441, esp. 405. History narrated in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En. 85–90) is also periodized with the help of the symbols used for human characters in the overview, see Fröhlich, “Symbolic Language,” 629–636.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 1QS III:20, 22 (*bny šdq*).

4. The main characteristic of period four is that “visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen” at its end. The period concludes by the giving of the Law following the exodus (93:6).
5. At the end of the fifth period, “the house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.” This period is characterized by the building of the Solomon temple (93:7).
6. Period six is characterized generally by sins resulting in blindness. Only one positive event breaks with the general character of the period: “and in it a man shall ascend” (a reference to the ascension to heaven of the prophet Elijah, cf. 2 Kgs 2:11). The period is concluded by a divine punishment, the burning of the Temple, followed by the exile (93:8).
7. Period seven is the longest and describes the rising of “an apostate generation.” At the end of the period, the righteous elect will be elected as an “eternal plant of righteousness, to receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.” This period concludes with the author’s own time, when his community becomes the recipient of “sevenfold wisdom and knowledge.” No mention is made either of the rebuilding of the temple or of Zerubbabel (93:9–10; 91:11).
8. The eighth week will be characterized by righteousness, and “a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors”—that is, “sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous,” and “they shall acquire houses through their righteousness” (91:12–13).
9. In the ninth week, the righteous judgement is revealed to the whole world. This means the extermination of sin, and “all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth” (91:14b).
10. The tenth week is divided into seven parts, and at the end of the seventh part, “there shall be the great eternal judgement.” This will be the time of the final judgement of the Watchers when God “will execute vengeance amongst the angels.” Simultaneously, it will be the time of the renewal of heaven and earth. The heavenly bodies will give sevenfold lights, and sin will cease (91:15–17).

The commentary in 4QPesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q247) concerns the events of weeks five and six (line 2). Periods are prearranged, and “en]graved [in the heavenly tablets]” (line 1). Periods five and six are contrasting periods, the foregoing being the era of the temple building of Solomon (line 3), the subsequent one that of the exile of the last Judean

king Zedekiah (line 4). The mention of the sons of Levi and the Kittim (lines 5–6) might refer to a later period that cannot be identified with certainty.

#### d. *Chronologies and Lists*

4Q559 is a biblical chronology patterned according the “chronology of the generations of the righteous.” The text is fragmentary; the only known mark of its putative era is that of Isaac’s generation at Abraham’s age of 99, the mark between the first and second period (frgs. 2 and 1).

The periodization is seemingly made on an ethical basis, combined with a periodization by generations, following biblical tradition. A remarkable point in the text is the counting of the new generation beginning with Isaac. According to Gen 21:5, “Abraham was a hundred years old when his son Isaac was born to him.” The temporal aspect of the promise given to Abraham about the birth of a son is indefinite.<sup>57</sup> The mention of Abraham’s 99 years of age as the time of the beginning of the period of Isaac in 4Q559 means that the author antedated Isaac’s generation about one year—that is, he counted Isaac’s lifetime either from the promise (supposed to be about one year before his birth) or his conception (nine months before birth, which is not a full year).<sup>58</sup>

4Q339 is a list of “false prophets” (line 1), according to the chronology of biblical tradition.<sup>59</sup> Nothing but names are mentioned in the list—names of prophets who mislead their contemporaries when giving false interpretation of the divine word.

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<sup>57</sup> According to Gen 18:10 “Then one said, ‘I will surely return to you in due season, and your wife Sarah shall have a son,’” thus, the time of the angels’ visit preceded Isaac’s birth at least by nine months.

<sup>58</sup> The same concept is to be found in 4Q180 1 4–5 which mentions a period of ten generations after Noah, from Shem to Abraham, until the time “when he begot Isaac.” Similarly, the dividing line between the two periods of the life of Abraham is the begetting of Isaac in 4Q252; the text of II:5–13 refers to events preceding the begetting of Isaac (the last event mentioned here is the promise of the land to Abraham and his descendants), while the subsequent paragraph (II:14–III end) refers to Abraham as to the father of Isaac (the scene of the *Aqedah*, the willingness of Abraham to sacrifice his son).

<sup>59</sup> The four prophets at the end of the list are all known as the enemies of Jeremiah. Ahab and Zedekiah from Judah were accused by Jeremiah of false prophesying and adultery (Jer 29:21–24). Shemaiah from Babylonia prophesied a near end of the exile (Jer 29:24–32). Jeremiah’s main enemy, Hananiah, uttered prophecies against those of Jeremiah. His prophecies remained unfulfilled and the prophet himself died the next year (Jer 28).

- 2 Balaam [son of] Beor;
- 3 [The] old man from Bethel;
- 4 [Zede]kiah son of Che[na]anah;
- 5 [Aha]b son of K[ol]aiah;
- 6 [Zede]kiah son of Ma[a]seiah;
- 7 [Shemaiah the Ne]helamite;
- 8 [Hananiah son of Az]zur;
- 9 [Yohanan son of Sim]on.<sup>60</sup>

The activity of some of these prophets is documented from biblical tradition.<sup>61</sup> Their prophecies did not come true; consequently, their words were not inspired by God. They were not the transmitters of the divine word though they styled themselves as prophets. The list of the prophets begins with Balaam, the false prophet *par excellence*, and continues with names from consequent periods. It is obvious that the list of sinners (the false prophets) serves to demonstrate the activity of the wicked in a certain period. The chronology of the prophets extends from the age of wandering in the wilderness (according to biblical chronology) to the Maccabean era, ending with Yohanan son of Simon, ancestor of the Maccabean dynasty. Putting his name on the list means a critique by the compiler of the list against the Hasmonean regime.

<sup>60</sup> The reconstruction and transcription of line 9 is debated. Immediately after publication, Alexander Rofé and Elisha Qimron independently suggested that the line be supplemented to read “[Yohanan ben Sim]eon” the Hebrew name for John Hyrcanus, the Hasmonean prince who ruled 135–104 B.C.E. See E. Qimron, “On the List of False Prophets from Qumran,” *Tarbiz* 63 (1994): 273–275 (Hebrew); A. Rofé, “A List of False Prophets from Qumran: Two Riddles and their Solution,” *Haaretz* April 13, 1994 (Hebrew). This suggestion is taken into consideration by M. Broshi and A. Yardeni, “On *netinim* and False Prophets,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 29–37 (33–37). Other contributions to the understanding of this text include A. Shemesh, “A Note on 4Q339 ‘List of False Prophets,’” *RevQ* 20 (2000): 319–320; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Aramaistische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik/Wörterbuch, deutsch-aramäische Wortliste, Register* (2 vols. and Ergänzungsband; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984/1994/2004), 2:128.

<sup>61</sup> On Balaam, son of Beor, see Num 22–24; “the old man from Bethel” is to be identified with a nameless prophet from Bethel mentioned in 1 Kgs 13:11–30; Zedekiah son of Chenaanah was a prophet who promised Ahab victory against the Arameans at Ramoth-gilead (cf. 1 Kgs 22:1–28; 2 Chr 18:1–27); Ahab ben Kolaiah and Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, were condemned by Jeremiah for their false prophecies (Jer 29:21–23). Shemaiah the Nehelamite was a false prophet in Babylon and contemporary of Jeremiah (Jer 29:24, 31–32); Yohanan ben Shimon from the clan of Joarib was the grandfather of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 2:1; cf. 14:29 and Josephus, *Ant.* 12.265).

A parallel of the list is 4Q340, a list of temple servants (*netinim*). None of the names on the list can be identified with names known from other sources. The last line of the fragment holds the names “Kawik” (?) and “To[biah]” (line 6), the latter being a possible reference to the Tobiad family. Unfortunately, there are no further data to support this identification. Although the negative attitude of rabbinic Judaism towards temple-servants may not have been true for earlier ages,<sup>62</sup> it can be supposed that the list bears a kind of negative genealogy.<sup>63</sup>

Further names on the list are those of temple-servants (*netinim*), so the text in itself is not a historic overview. Nevertheless, being a list of sinners, it might have served as a basis for such a work, and perhaps it was compiled with such a purpose, serving as the preliminary work (an *aide memoire* or a reference) towards the composition of an overview or a detailed narrative.

#### e. Eschatological Texts

11QMelch (11Q13) is an eschatological work dealing with the end of history, the (pre-ordained) time of “the final days” (*ḥryt hymym*)<sup>64</sup> and “the Day of Atonement (*ywm hkpwrym*) at the end of the tenth jubilee,”<sup>65</sup> in which atonement shall be made “for all the sons of [light and for] the men [of] the lot (*gwrl*) of Mel[chi]zedek” (II:7–8). Their opposite, the sinners, are mentioned as belonging to Belial’s lot (*gwrl*). The nature of their sins is not specified; neither is the role they played during the course of previous human history.

Thus, the text concentrates on the end of history. Events preceding the final judgement are not known. The only system revealed in human history is a chronological one, that of the jubilees, a system for which the book of *Jubilees*—a work very well known in Qumran<sup>66</sup>—provides

<sup>62</sup> On temple-servants, see B.A. Levine, “The Netinim,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 207–212; idem, “Later Sources on the Netinim,” in *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. H.A. Hoffner; AOAT 22; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1973), 101–107; J.P. Weinberg, “*Netinim* und ‘Söhne der Sklaven Salomos’ im 6.–4. Jh. v.u.Z.,” *ZAW* 87 (1975): 355–371.

<sup>63</sup> Broshi and Yardeni, “On *netinim* and False Prophets.”

<sup>64</sup> The eschatological idea expressed in this term occurs 48 times in the scrolls, most often in basic texts like CD 4:4; 6:11; 1QSa I:1; 1QpHab II:5; IX:6.

<sup>65</sup> *Jubilees* is an overview of fifty jubilees, the last one being that of the exodus from Egypt and the lawgiving on Mount Sinai (*Jub.* 48:1).

<sup>66</sup> Fragments of the original Hebrew of the book were found in fourteen (possibly fifteen) manuscripts, see J.C. VanderKam, “The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave



copious evidence.<sup>67</sup> *Jubilees* gives an overview of a long historical period (from the creation to the giving of the Law at Sinai) in jubilees—that is, in chronological units of forty-nine years (= jubilees), each of which consists of seven “weeks of years.”<sup>68</sup> 11QMelch mentions just one period of ten jubilees, which is the last one, followed by the Day of Atonement (II:7–8). Ten jubilees are equal to five hundred years.<sup>69</sup> It is not known if this is a period to be counted from the author’s time to the end, or if the author expects a near eschatological end. In the latter case, the data relate to his past,<sup>70</sup> and considering the age of the manuscript (dated to the first half of the first century C.E.),<sup>71</sup> which might not be very far from that of the composition of the work, one can suppose that the beginning of the ten-jubilee period was thought to be the destruction of the Temple. Thus, the end was expected around the beginning of the first century B.C.E.<sup>72</sup>

#### ETHICAL IMPURITIES AND SEMIOTIZATION OF THE HISTORY

Looking over the texts treated here, one can conclude that they present various attitudes to history and historical time. Periodization in the

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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. VegasMontaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11.1–2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:635–648, esp. 642.

<sup>67</sup> The system of jubilee years is detailed in Lev 25:8–17. It was the end of the cycle of seven sabbatical years (the fiftieth year) when liberty to Israelites who had become enslaved for debt was given back, and land propriety was restored to families who had been compelled to sell it out of economic need. The chronological system of the book of *Jubilees* is based on a system of jubilees and year-weeks. 11QMelch II:2 cites Lev 25:13 on jubilees, and II:4 cites Isa 61:1 on the proclamation of the end of a jubilee.

<sup>68</sup> Besides chronological periodization there is a periodization with the help of literary motifs, see Fröhlich, “*Time and Times and Half a Time*,” 97–99.

<sup>69</sup> The year of jubilee came at the end of the cycle of seven sabbatical years. Lev 25:8–10 specifies it as the fiftieth year. There was also in biblical tradition a counting system based on sabbatical years, of 49 and 490 year periods, see Dan 9:24–27.

<sup>70</sup> The manuscript of 11QMelch can be dated paleographically to the middle of the first century B.C.E. or slightly later. The work itself may have been written earlier, the end of the second century B.C.E.

<sup>71</sup> A.S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *OtSt* 14 (1965): 354–373, esp. 357.

<sup>72</sup> A system identical with that of Dan 9. A remarkable parallel is the system of the *Damascus Document* counting a period of 390 years beginning with 586 the end of which was the beginning of the history of the “covenanters.” The number was, in all probability, chosen consciously from one of the manuscript traditions of Ezek 4:4. Based on these countings the beginnings of the school were the beginning of the second century.

works is made sometime on a chronological basis (years, generations, weekdays), but more often on some other basis, especially on an ethical qualification of the characters of historical times. The two systems—the chronological and the ethical one—may be combined among them. Ethical qualification of the eras means an opposition of the sinner and the righteous. The righteous are characterised by the keeping of the Mosaic Law. No specific virtues are mentioned in the texts. Contrary to this, sins are always appraised. Sins referred to in the historical surveys may be placed in three categories. The first is cultic sin (including false prophecy and improper religious practice labeled as walking in “erring spirit”). The second sin is bloodshed. The third category comprises various kinds of sexual sins. These sins have a special place in the religious worldview of the Deuteronomic legislation. They are sins which pollute the land.

*Polluting the Sacred*—the presence of unclean objects in the sanctuary and inappropriate cult practices make the sanctuary impure. Priests are not to come into contact with anything impure in order not to bring impurity into the sanctuary.<sup>73</sup> Priests, priestly households and Israelites are not to contaminate sacrificial meat and other offerings.<sup>74</sup> If they do, they are liable to the *kārēt* or “cutting-off” penalty.<sup>75</sup> Non-legislative literature gives several examples for the view that illicit forms of the cult were considered as polluting the sacred.<sup>76</sup>

*Sexual sins* are usually described as “fornication” (*zēnūt*). *Zēnūt* means the violation of any of the prohibitions concerning sexual relations—in particular, those listed in Lev 18. These are incest, i.e., sexual relation between blood relatives and persons in the place of a blood relative such as a stepmother (vv. 6–18), adultery (v. 20), homosexual relations and prostitution (v. 22) and bestiality (v. 23). The basis for this

<sup>73</sup> This is the rationale of the law prohibiting the priests to contact death impurity, see Lev 21:1–4 (prescriptions for priests), and Lev 21:10–11 (prescriptions for the high priest). Legal texts do not mention, but it is obvious, that contact with other impurities like blood was also forbidden. See e.g. Luke 10:25–37, the parable of the Good Samaritan where the priest and the Levite making for a service in the Temple of Jerusalem avoid even the sight of the bleeding man who lies by the roadside.

<sup>74</sup> Lev 7:19–21; 22:3–7; Num 18:11, 13; Lev 7:19–21; 22:3–7.

<sup>75</sup> The punishment of *kārēt* (noun from the verb *krt* “to cut off”) means not only the death of the sinner, but also the discontinuance of his progeny.

<sup>76</sup> During Josiah’s cultic reform objects considered as improper to the cult were eliminated from the temple, and defiled, and after that the sanctuary was ritually cleansed, see 2 Kgs 23:8, 10, 13, 16. Prolonged illicit cult practice—Canaanite cults and “Jeroboam’s sin,” the Northern form of Yahwism—were interpreted as causes of the fall of the kingdom in 722 B.C.E., and cause of the exile of the Northern tribes (cf. 2 Kgs 17:7–18).

biblical view is the sum of biblical laws concerning sexuality. According to Lev 18, sexual sins pollute persons (vv. 20, 23, 24, 30) and the land (vv. 25, 27, 28). Polluting the land results in expulsion from it (vv. 25, 28) and *kārēt* or “cutting-off” for the people (v. 29). Overlapping with permitted impurities is the case of intercourse with a menstruant (v. 19).<sup>77</sup> This sexual relationship is forbidden with a penalty of *kārēt* attached.<sup>78</sup>

*Bloodshed and homicide* (*ḥamās*) mean shedding innocent blood. Institutional forms of bloodshed, like war or blood feud, do not fall into this category.<sup>79</sup> Yet, any corpse, including any that results from homicide, pollutes persons and objects for seven days.<sup>80</sup> According to the priestly legislation, homicide brings pollution on the land whether the killing was intentional or unintentional.<sup>81</sup> The death of the murderer removes the pollution.<sup>82</sup> The rite described in Deut 21:1–9 serves to remove the pollution of the earth caused by a murder in which the culprit is not known. The polluted earth becomes barren; the land is said not to produce well for Cain because of Abel’s murder.<sup>83</sup> The corpse of a hanged person left on the tree for the night also defiles the land.<sup>84</sup>

*Idolatry and magic* (considered often as *zēnūt*) mean further ethical impurities. Offering a child to Molek pollutes the sanctuary.<sup>85</sup> The offender is to be put to death by stoning. A divine punishment to the person for the same sin is the *kārēt* (“cutting-off”). Consulting the dead, an idolatrous act, also defiles a person.<sup>86</sup> Non-P literature generally attests

<sup>77</sup> Also Lev 20:18; cf. Lev 15:24.

<sup>78</sup> A special case in Deuteronomy is the prohibition of the re-marriage with a divorced wife after her second marriage. The woman is considered as impure for her first husband; should she marry him, the land would be defiled (Deut 24:1–4; cf. Jer 3:1–10).

<sup>79</sup> This impurity is distinct from that of corpse contamination. Corpse contamination arises from the *state* of the corpse itself; homicide pollution arises from an illicit *act* of killing.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Num 31:13–24.

<sup>81</sup> Num 35:33–34.

<sup>82</sup> Num 35:12, 16–21, 31; cf. Gen 9:5–6. In the case of manslaughter, the slayer must reside in a city of refuge until the death of the high priest. The priest’s death apparently purges the pollution (Num 35:12, 15, 22–25, 28, 32).

<sup>83</sup> Gen 4:10–12; 2 Sam 21:1–14; Hos 4:2–3; Ps 106:38.

<sup>84</sup> This prohibition occurs only in Deut 21:22–23. Notwithstanding this it was considered in everyday practice, and this was the reason for asking for Jesus’ body from Pilate and burying it before night, see Mark 15:42–45; Matt 27:57–61; Luke 23:50–56; John 19:38–42 (the last two sources explain the practice with the beginning of the Shabbat).

<sup>85</sup> Lev 20:2–5.

<sup>86</sup> Lev 19:31; 20:6.

that idols were considered as impure and polluting for the devotees,<sup>87</sup> the sanctuary<sup>88</sup> and the land.<sup>89</sup> Deuteronomy places idolatrous implements under *ḥērem* (“extreme dedication”) status. This is why the Israelite conquerors of Canaan are to destroy the implements (Deut 7:5, 25).

Moral impurities have special consequences concerning the relation of the sinner and the land. The redactor of the Holiness Code considered the territory of Canaan not only a “promised land”—a land that the chosen people will inherit as a result of a divine promise—but also as holy, and as such, bound by certain obligations related to holy things. Other parts of the legal literature of the Bible also reflect a similar attitude to these sins. The observance of special laws means a prerequisite of the maintenance of the purity of people and the land, as well as a precondition for the survival of human beings on the land.

In summary, ethical impurities are generally considered in the biblical view as polluting the person and the land on which the sin was committed. The punishment of the ethical impurities in the legislative parts of the Bible is *kārēt*, annihilation of the sinner and his offspring. In non-legislative texts, punishment for sinful impurity is often exile or other destruction.<sup>90</sup> This punishment serves as a means of rectification and purification. Another consequence may be agricultural failure.<sup>91</sup> The people’s repentance and their restoration from exile may be discussed in terms of purification.<sup>92</sup>

Ethical impurities have an important and constant element: their relation to the land.<sup>93</sup> It is a general anthropologic phenomenon that peo-

<sup>87</sup> Josh 22:17; Jer 2:23; Ezek 20:7, 18, 26, 31; 22:3–4; 23:7, 13–14, 17, 30; 36:25, 29, 33; 37:23; Ps 106:36–40; cf. Gen 35:2; Hos 5:3–4; 6:10.

<sup>88</sup> Jer 7:30; 32:34; Ezek 5:11; 23:37–39; 2 Chr 36:14.

<sup>89</sup> Jer 2:7–9; Ezek 36:17–18; cf. Jer 13:27 of Jerusalem.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Isa 64:4–11; Ezek 20:38; 22:2–14, 24, 31; 24:11–13; 39:23–24; Mic 2:10; cf. Ezra 9:11.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Gen 3:17; Isa 24:5–7; Jer 12:4.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Jer 33:4–9; Ezek 20:43–44; 36:25–32.

<sup>93</sup> The relation of any people to the land they live on is a basic anthropological concept. This relation is regulated in human cultures by special rules and prescriptions. Human groups were thought to be enabled to live on the land only by keeping these rules. On the biblical concept of the land and rules enabling people to live on it, see W.D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 127–143 (“Reflections on the Doctrine of The Land”); G. Strecker, ed., *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit: Jerusalem-Symposium 1981 der Hebräischen Universität und der Georg-August-Universität* (GTA 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983); B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994); W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

ple living in a country have a special relation with the land they live on, and they formulate their right to the land in cosmic and legal terms. The idea of the relation of certain sins with the rule over the land is very well known in the historiographies of several ancient Near Eastern cultures.<sup>94</sup> The Old Babylonian Chronicle (the so-called Weidner Chronicle) relates the history of several Old Babylonian dynasties one after another, giving with it an evaluation of the rule of each king and dynasty.<sup>95</sup> The events that happened under various kings are evaluated from the point of view of the Esagila, the temple of the god Marduk in Babylon. The destiny of the dynasties is determined by the relation of their kings to the cult of Marduk. The kings—with rare exceptions—commit some cultic sin during their rule: they confiscate the fish caught for a sacrifice for Marduk, eat the fish prepared for the offering or fail to perform the ritual sacrifice for the god. Another type of sin mentioned in the account is bloodshed. According to the chronicle, “Naramsin destroyed the creatures of Babilu.” Ritual sin or bloodshed in each case calls for punishment, which is the attack of foreign hordes and/or the fall of the dynasty. The Weidner Chronicle, actually a *Fürstenspiegel*, a literary letter written by one Babylonian king to another “aiming to warn the reader to take care to provide for the Esagil cult, lest he suffer the fate of former rulers who were not so careful. . . . The emphasis is on maintaining ritual performance in order to insure the throne.”<sup>96</sup> The aim of its author was describing the past and showing regularities in it. The text is the clearest example for the idea of the semiotization of history in the name of ethics.<sup>97</sup> The underlying idea is that history consists of a series of similar periods, and each period ends with a fall caused by ritual sin or bloodshed.

This principle seems to be a constant element in Mesopotamian historiography. The Cyrus Cylinder, issued by the Persian ruler Cyrus after the capture of Babylon in 539, also mentions cultic sins and bloodshed as causes of the fall of the last Babylonian king. Nabonid “removed the images of the gods from their thrones and had copies put in their

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<sup>94</sup> On Mesopotamian Historiography, see Finkelstein, “Mesopotamian Historiography.”

<sup>95</sup> For the full text and *Sitz im Leben* of the chronicle, see B.T. Arnold, “The Weidner Chronicle and the Idea of History in Israel and Mesopotamia,” in *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context* (ed. A.R. Millard, J.K. Hoffmeier, and D.W. Baker; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 129–148.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>97</sup> Expression of Jan Assmann, see the chapter with the identical title “Semiotisierung im Zeichen von Strafe und Rettung” in his *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 229–248.

places,” “introduced improper cults in the city of Ur and other holy cities,” “failed to supply the holy cities with necessary things” and made Babylon’s inhabitants suffer. These were the reasons why Marduk left the city and gave Babylon’s kingdom to Cyrus, King of Ansan. (Of course, the text was composed by Babylonian priests, adherents of Cyrus.)

Hittite historiography is characterized by the same principles, albeit in a somewhat different form.<sup>98</sup> In a work known as *Murshili’s Prayers*, the country is afflicted with pestilence, drought and famine. The ill fate is due to divine punishment. The king asks for an oracle concerning its cause, which turns out to be a sin committed against the gods. This is followed by expiation: a huge sacrifice, the public confession of the sin and praise for the offended deity.

The Egyptian Demotic Chronicle, written in the third century B.C.E., relates the history of the twenty-eighth to thirtieth dynasties. According to the chronicle, the reason why a king loses his throne to another is always the sin he has committed. Chinese historiography institutionalized this principle. In China, the new king had to write down the history of his predecessors and to prove that the predecessor had forfeited the support of the gods.<sup>99</sup>

#### BIBLICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND QUMRAN *PESHARIM*

As to biblical historiography, the most common example of this principle is the justification of the fall of the northern kingdom Israel in 722 B.C.E. in 2 Kgs 17. The chronicle attributes the fall of the northern kingdom to a steady-state cultic impurity resulting from “Jeroboam’s sin” (i.e., the northern form of the cult of Yahweh, considered by the chronicler as illicit).<sup>100</sup> This sin was committed by each of the Israelite kings (even by Jehu, the devotee *par excellence* of Yahweh) (2 Kgs 17:22–23). The same principle is present in the historical narratives on the first kings. Saul’s story comprises a series of narrative elements relating to his cultic offences and bloodshed. David’s three sons commit ethical sins of a sexual character and will be disinherited (the rape of Tamar by Amnon,

<sup>98</sup> See the seminal article of H. Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200,” *ZA* 42 (1934): 1–91; 44 (1938): 45–149.

<sup>99</sup> Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 253.

<sup>100</sup> On Jeroboam’s figure as a “bad king” in Deuteronomistic historiography, see Evans, “Naram-Sin and Jeroboam.”

Absalom lying with his father's concubines, and Adonijah asking for his father's concubine as a wife).<sup>101</sup>

Historical outlines from Qumran continue this tradition. They interpret historical tradition in the name of ethics, highlighting events and periods characterized by the above types of sins and glorifying people known from biblical tradition as righteous for not committing these sins.

If one considers the *pesharim* in the light of the results presented above, one might have more insight into the intellectual background of these very distinctive writings. The *pesharim* cite prophetic writings (and not historical narratives!) verse by verse, and "translate" the text, identifying its textual elements one by one with persons and events of a later age. It is generally known that the interpretations relate to the events and persons of the age of the author of the interpretation. However, the interpretation represents again a kind of coded language where nicknames are used for real persons and events. These nicknames are in most cases typological names originating from a common tradition (and almost never from the texts commented upon) and attributed with a collective sense. The prophetic text often becomes a pretext for the author of the commentary, which secedes from the text commented upon. Accordingly, the commentary read alone has its own meaning, referring to various events in the history of the community. The author's attitude to history—and, accordingly, the reason for the commentary—is that the prophet's world relates not only to his own time, but also to a remote era which is identical with the present of the author of the commentary. According to this, the figures and persons mentioned in the prophecy are to be identified with those of the author of the commentary. Thus, the events referred to in the coded text are fulfilled prophecies, and this fact assigns to the events a much greater significance.

Although the names cover real historical persons (sometimes, having a collective meaning, they can refer to several persons), we do not make here any attempt to identify any of these names with historical persons. What we intend to examine here are the types of events mentioned in these sources and the opinion of the authors about their significance, their role in the course of the process of human history, the reason why even these events were mentioned, and the reason why others were not. *Pesharim* refer continuously to the history of the community in a coded

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<sup>101</sup> 2 Sam 13; 16:20–23; 1 Kgs 2:16–18, respectively.

way. They usually present a situation where the wicked and the righteous are opposed. The following are sins of the wicked:

“Cultic offences” were religious practices considered illicit, expressed in terms such as erring, lies, false teachings, lack of knowledge, as well as symbolical names like “the Liar” (*ʿyš hkzb*), “the Scoffer” (*ʿyš hlšwn*, *ʿnšy hlšwn*), “the Spreader of Lies, who deceived many” (1QpHab X:9).<sup>102</sup> The designations of the Pharisees as “Seekers after Smooth Things” (*dwršy hhlqwt*) refer to their halakhah, considered erroneous (4QpNah [4Q169] 3–4 i 7).<sup>103</sup> For a similar reason, they are also called “the misleaders of Ephraim” (4QpNah 3–4 ii 8).<sup>104</sup> The Wicked Priest (*khn hršʿ*) “forgot God who had f[ed them,] His ordinances they cast behind them, which He had sent to them [by the hand of] His servants the prophets” (4QpHos [4Q166] II:3–5). “The priests of Jeru[s]al[em] which went astray” (1QpMic [1Q14] 11 1). The atrocity of the Evil Priest against the Righteous Teacher, when he tried to force his ideas on the Teacher and his community and wanted to cause them stumbling (*lkšylm*) (1QpHab XI:4–9), can again be labeled as a “cultic sin.”

A more literal cultic offence is the sin of the Wicked Priest who “committed his abhorrent deeds, defiling the Temple of God” (1QpHab XII:8–9).

Violence was committed when “the Young Lion of Wrath” hanged people alive (4QpNah 3–4 i 7–8). Ephraim, the city of the Seekers after Smooth Things, whose sins are lies, deceit and looting, is called “city of bloodshed” (Nah 3:1; 4QpNah 3–4 ii 2–3). The Hasmonians are mentioned as the Wicked Dynasty (*byt šm[tm]*) who called in the Kittim, the enemy ravaging the land (1QpHab IV:10–13). They are guilty of “building a worthless city by bloodshed (*dmym*) and forming a community by lies (*šqr*)” (1QpHab X:10).<sup>105</sup> The oppression of the holy people is often mentioned in other places in the *pesharim*.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> “The Scoffer” is based on Isa 29:20; “the assembly of the Scoffers (*ʿdt ʿnšy hlšwn*) who are in Jerusalem” (4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> [4Q162] II:10).

<sup>103</sup> The name originates from Isa 30:10 *halāqôt* “smooth things.”

<sup>104</sup> They “mislead many (*yʿw rbym*) by their false teaching, and their lying tongue and their wily lip; kings, princes, priests, and populace together with the resident alien” (4QpNah 3–4 ii 8–9).

<sup>105</sup> The Wicked Priest had a reputation for reliability at the beginning of his term of service but later on, when he became ruler over Israel, “he became proud and forsook God and betrayed the commandments for the sake of riches” (1QpHab VIII:9–11).

<sup>106</sup> The oppressors are the Man of the Lie who turned against the elect (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1–10 iv 14), and “the wicked princes who oppress his holy people, who will perish like smoke that is lost in the wind” (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 7–8).



A new element among the sins is looting, the collecting of “ill-gotten riches from the plunder of the people” by the “later priests in Jerusalem” (1QpHab IX:5). The looting of the Wicked Priest (although he collected the goods of the sinners) and his other deeds are characterized as “impurity” (*kwl ndt tm’h*) (1QpHab VIII:12–13). The Evil Priest “stole the assets of the poor” in Judah (1QpHab XII:9–10). This sin recalls the second item of the list called the “three traps of Belial” mentioned in CD 4:15–18 otherwise known from a fragment of the *pesharim* as the “traps of Belial” (*phy bly’l*) (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1–10 ii 10–11) which the “Community of the Poor” will escape. The “traps of Belial” mean fornication (*znwt*), wealth (*hwn*) and defiling the sanctuary (*tm’ hmqdš*) (CD 4:17–18). Looting and gathering of riches by force is a specific form of the sin of violence (*hms*) considered by Essenes as leading to destruction.

### *The Righteous*

The righteous are mentioned in the *pesharim* as “those who obey the Law among the Jews” (1QpHab VIII:1–3). They are those who observe the Law correctly “in the House of Judah” in every situation. They are the “loyal ones, obedient to the Law, whose hands will not cease from loyal service even when the Last Days seem long to them” (1QpHab VII:10–12). Righteous “have not let their eyes lead them into fornication during the time of wickedness” (1QpHab V:7–8).

The righteous are characterized by the authentic interpretation of the Law, in a special way. Authentic interpretation of the Law by the (Righteous) Priest is interpretation that he received from “the Priest in whose [heart] God has put [the abil]ity to explain all the words of his servants the prophets, through [whom] God has foretold everything that is to come upon his people and [his] com[munity]” (1QpHab II:8–10); “the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysterious revelations of his servants the prophets” (1QpHab VII:4–5). Thus, the prophetic revelations are valid for the history of later generations, according to the Essenes’ concept of historical time.

### *Periodization and Endtime*

History in the *pesharim* is a continuous time divided in periods. The periods are determined by God; their coming end is a divine secret. “All the times fixed by God will come about in due course as He ordained that they should by his inscrutable insight” (1QpHab VII:13–14). The

sins of the wicked “will be doubled against them in the time which precedes the judgment, ‘But the righteous man is rewarded with life for his fidelity’ (Hab 2:4b)” (1QpHab VII:17). Their proper religious practice, their fidelity to the Righteous Teacher, and the authority of the right practice are the basis of their rescue in the future, “whom God will rescue from among those doomed to judgement, because of their suffering and their loyalty to the Teacher of Righteousness” (1QpHab VIII:1–3).

### *Punishment and Reward*

The evil deeds of “the misleaders of Ephraim” and their deceit “will be revealed at the end of time to all Israel” (4QpNah 3–4 iii 3). The “sack of the later priests of Jerusalem will be handed over to the army of the Kittim” (1QpHab IX:6–7). The wicked, together with the idolatrous gentiles, will be exterminated from the land. “In the day of judgement, God will exterminate all those who worship false gods, as well as the wicked, from the earth” (1QpHab XIII:1–4). “The wi[c]ked princes . . . will perish like smoke that is los[t in the win]d” (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 7–8). The wicked ones of Israel will be cut off and destroyed forever (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 12–13).<sup>107</sup>

The Righteous will be rescued “from among those doomed to judgement, because of their suffering and their loyalty to the Teacher of Righteousness” (1QpHab VIII:1–3). “The congregation of the Poor Ones” will inherit the land (of Israel) (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 10–11). The “righteous ones” will possess the land for thousand (generations) (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iv 2–3). Similarly, 4QpPs<sup>b</sup> (4Q173) speaks of “those who] take possession of the inheritance” when interpreting Ps 37 (4QpPs<sup>b</sup> 1 7).

### CONCLUSIONS

The views according to which the history of the community is interpreted in the *pesharim* are the same as in the narrative exegesis. Some notions have slightly changed. For example, the idea of “cultic offence,” here indicates a false interpretation of the Torah, and the religious observance based on this halakhah. This cultic offence, together with bloodshed and

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<sup>107</sup> The interpretation is based on a Psalms verse (Ps 37:21–22) in which the ethical principle of the possession of the land is formulated.

looting, leads to disinheritance of the sinner. Narrative exegesis (related immediately to the text) and *pesharim*, a coded history of the community based on interpretations alienated from the text interpreted, explain the fall of the sinners on the same basis as the ancient Near Eastern texts. The basis on which historical facts and events are evaluated is an ethical viewpoint; the overviews they give represent a “semiotization of the history in the name of ethics.”<sup>108</sup> This attitude manifests itself in both forms of historical interpretation, the short overviews, and the explicit interpretation of the *pesharim*. It is in line with the ancient Near Eastern tradition of historical memory, trying to show the essential motives that rule history—a schema meant to be effective in giving responses to questions of later ages.

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<sup>108</sup> Assman, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 229–248.



PROTECTION OF OWNERSHIP IN THE DEEDS OF SALE:  
DEEDS OF SALE FROM THE JUDEAN  
DESERT IN CONTEXT\*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ownership is “the legal relation between a person (individual, group, corporation, or government) and an object.”<sup>1</sup> The deeds of sale record the process of transmission of ownership from one contracting party to another.

The transfer of ownership from the vendor to the buyer generally has, in Aramaic deeds of sale, these phases: 1. declaration of the sale, 2. payment receipt clause, 3. description of the property, 4. withdrawal clause, 5. investiture clause, 6. guarantees, and 7. witnesses.<sup>2</sup>

Many aspects of the transmission of ownership and its protection in the Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale in antiquity have already been studied.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this study is to analyze the principles

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<sup>1</sup> *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia: Ready Reference* (ed. R.P. Gwinn et al.; 15th ed.; Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1991), 9:26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also E. Cussini, “The Aramaic Law of Sale and the Cuneiform Legal Tradition” (PhD. diss., The John Hopkins University, 1992), 167–199.

<sup>3</sup> I list some of the most important of these studies in chronological order: R. Yaron, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 79–92; Cussini, “Aramaic Law of Sale”; H.M. Cotton and J.C. Greenfield, “Babatha’s Property and the Law of Succession in the Babatha Archive,” *ZPE* 104 (1994): 211–224; E. Cussini, “Transfer of Property at Palmyra,” *Aram* 7 (1995): 233–250; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (HO 66; Leiden: Brill, 2003); L.H. Schiffman, “Reflections on the Deeds of Sale from the Judaean Desert in Light of Rabbinic Literature,” in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. R. Katzoff and D. Schaps; JSJSup 96; Leiden:

of legal protections of ownership behind the terminological unity and diversity in the deeds of sale discovered in the vicinity of the Dead Sea in the light of documents discovered in other places. This effort is enabled by the fact that all important corpora containing Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale related to ancient Palestine are published. I analyze Aramaic, Hebrew, Nabataean, Greek and Syriac deeds of sale discovered in Elephantine, Wadi Daliyeh, Naḥal Ḥever, Wadi Murabba'at, Dura Europos and belonging to the Seiyāl Collection in chronological order.

I focus on the final stage of the process of the acquisition of ownership by the buyer: the definition of the rights of the new owner (buyer) over the acquired property in the investiture clause,<sup>4</sup> and the description of the duties of the old owner (vendor) concerning the protection of the buyer's rights over the acquired property in the guarantees.

The guarantees in deeds of sale protect the buyer's party against eviction by the vendor's party or by a third person. The vendor is presumed of *bad faith* in protecting the buyer's party against eviction by the vendor's party: this guarantee requires the vendor to refrain. The vendor's party cannot contest the sale. If the vendor's party contests the sale, he acts in *bad faith* and must pay a *penalty* to the buyer. The vendor is presumed of *good faith* in protecting the buyer's party against eviction by a third person. The vendor sold his property in *good faith* and he must be able to prove it. This guarantee requires the vendor to act: he must assist the buyer and clear the sold property from claims of a third person before the court.

The deeds of sale contain different methods of protecting the buyer's ownership. The presumption of *good* or *bad faith* as well as the penalty and compensation as the means of protection are not represented in these deeds in the same way. Their combinations can vary from place to place and from period to period.

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Brill, 2005), 185–203. The Aramaic legal tradition was recently studied, with an in-depth analysis of the warranty clause, by A.D. Gross, *Continuity and Innovation in the Aramaic Legal Tradition* (JSJSup 128; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 151–193. I am not able to discuss Gross's study in this article: I received the book when the article was already prepared for the press. Nevertheless, the perspective and results presented by Gross are different from mine.

<sup>4</sup> For the analysis of the *šallit* clause, see D.M. Gropp, "Origin and Development of the Aramaic *šallit* Clause," *JNES* 52 (1993): 31–36; A.F. Botta, "The Legal Function and Egyptian Background of the שליט Clause: A Reevaluation," *Maarav* 13 (2006): 193–209.

2. ELEPHANTINE (EGYPT,  
SECOND HALF OF FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E.)

Two deeds of sale from Elephantine, *TAD B3.4* and *TAD B3.12*, stipulate the protection of the buyer's ownership against claims raised by the vendor's party, as well as by a third person.<sup>5</sup>

2.1. *TAD B3.4: Sale of Abandoned Property*

The document *TAD B3.4*, dated to 14 September 437 B.C.E., concerns the sale of an abandoned house, situated in the fortress of Elephantine, by Bagazushta, son of Bazu, and lady *Wbyl*, daughter of Shatibara, to Ananyah, son of Azaryah, for the price of one karsh and four shekels of silver by the stone of the king.

The ownership of the abandoned house is transferred in the clauses of withdrawal of the vendors<sup>6</sup> and investiture of the buyer. The investiture clause gives rights to the buyer over the bought property, as well as the right of disposal of the property to the buyer's children or in case of gift to a third person.<sup>7</sup>

The investiture clause is followed by a double guarantee of protection against the vendor's party, containing two waivers of suit or process in the matter of the sold property:<sup>8</sup> each waiver is followed by a stipulation of a penalty in case of violation of the waiver.

The first guarantee forbids to the vendors to intend suit or process against the buyer,<sup>9</sup> his sons and daughters and a third person,<sup>10</sup> determines the penalty of twenty karsh of silver to be paid by the vendors to

<sup>5</sup> I quote the texts from Elephantine under abbreviation *TAD* according to B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2: *Contracts* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> "I, Bagazushta, and 'wbl, all 2, we sold and gave to you, and we withdrew from it from this day and forever" (*TAD B3.4:10-11*).

<sup>7</sup> "you, Ananyah, son of Azaryah, have right to this house, and your sons after you, and to whom you desire to give it" (*TAD B3.4:11-12*).

<sup>8</sup> For the analysis of this "double clause," see Yaron, *Introduction*, 85.

<sup>9</sup> "we shall not be able to institute against you suit or process in the name of this house which we sold and gave you and from which we withdrew" (*TAD B3.4:12-13*).

<sup>10</sup> "and we shall not be able to institute against son of yours or daughter or to whom you desire to give" (*TAD B3.4:13-14*).

the buyer in case of violation of the waiver,<sup>11</sup> and ends by the reaffirmation of the investiture of the buyer's party.<sup>12</sup>

The second guarantee forbids the suit or process lead by the children of the vendors against the buyer,<sup>13</sup> stipulates the penalty of twenty karsh of silver in case of violation of this waiver<sup>14</sup> and finishes by the reaffirmation of the investiture of the buyer's party.<sup>15</sup> This second guarantee does not protect the third person in the case of gift.

In these two guarantees protecting the buyer's party against eviction by the vendor's party, the vendor is presumed of *bad faith*: the vendor's party is not supposed to act and to raise claims concerning the sold property. If the vendor's party acts and contests the transaction, it is consequently penalized by the payment of twenty karsh of silver to the buyer. The buyer does not lose the purchased property.

The status of a third person is different: suit or process in the matter of the buyer's ownership is allowed to a third person. The third person is not a contracting party and his claims are not followed by penalizing the claimant. In the case of claims raised by a third person, the vendor must act to protect the buyer's property. The vendor's party is presumed of *good faith*: they sold the property in *good faith* so they are able to protect it against other claims. The vendor's party must cleanse (פצל) the property and give it back to the buyer or his children within thirty days.<sup>16</sup> If they do not cleanse, they are liable to pay compensation—not a penalty—to the buyer. The compensation consists of either another similar house or

<sup>11</sup> הן גרינדן דין ודבב וגרין לבר וברה לך ולמן זי צבית למנתן אנהן ננתן לך כסף כרשן 20 כסף זון וזו לעשרתא "if we institute against you suit or process or institute against son or daughter of yours or to whom you desire to give, we shall give you silver, 20 karsh, silver zuz to ten" (TAD B3.4:14–16).

<sup>12</sup> "and the house is moreover yours and your children's after you and to whom you desire to give it" (TAD B3.4:16).

<sup>13</sup> "and son or daughter of ours shall not be able to institute against you suit or process in the name of this house whose boundaries are written above" (TAD B3.4:16–18).

<sup>14</sup> "if they institute against you or institute suit against son or daughter of yours, they shall give you silver 20 karsh, silver zuz to the 10" (TAD B3.4:18).

<sup>15</sup> "and the house is moreover yours and your children's after you" (TAD B3.4:19).

<sup>16</sup> "and if another person institute against you or institute against son or daughter of yours, we shall stand up and cleanse and give to you within 30 days." (TAD B3.4:19–20).



of the price of the sold property (one karsh and four shekels of silver) and other expenses.<sup>17</sup>

I have summarized the status of the persons who can attack the ownership of the buyer's party. I shall now summarize the status of the persons who are protected by the contract. The protection of the ownership of the buyer, of his children and of any other owner who receives the property from the buyer as a gift, is not equal. The buyer and his children are protected by the vendor and his children against suit or process instituted by the vendor, his children and by a third person. The third person—owner of the sold property in the case of gift—is protected only by the vendor against suit or process instituted by the vendor. The third person is not protected against the vendor's children and against the claims of another third person.

In sum, the means of protection in the case of acting in *bad faith* by the vendor's party is the payment of a penalty fixed by the contract to the buyer. In the case of impossibility to defend the sold property in a process instituted by a third person, the vendor is simply required to recompense the buyer; he is not penalized, because he is presumed of *good faith*. In cases of penalization or compensation, the vendor or his children are liable only to the buyer, not to his children or to the person who receives the ownership as a gift. The persons mentioned in the investiture clause—buyer, his children, third person in case of gift—are separately considered in the stipulation of their protection: their protection is nuanced and very precisely determined.

## 2.2. TAD B3.12: Sale of Apartment to Son-in-Law

The document TAD B3.12 was written on 13 December 402 B.C.E. in Elephantine and concerns a sale of a house by Anani, son of Azaryah, and his wife Tapamet, to Anani, son of Haggai, son of Meshullam, son of Besas.

<sup>17</sup> והן לא פצלן אנחן ובנין ננתן לך בית לדמות ביתך ומשחתה בר מן בר זכר ונקבה זי אפוליי או ברה לה יתה לה ולא כהלן פצלן ננתן לך כספך כרש 1 שקל 4 ובנינא זי תבנה בה וכל אשרן זי יהכן and if we do not cleanse (it), we or our children shall give you a house in the likeness of your house and its measurements, unless a son, male or female, of *pwly* or a daughter of his should come and we will not be able to cleanse (it). Then we shall give you your silver, 1 karsh, 4 shekels and the (value of) the building (improvements) which you will have built in it and all the fittings that will have gone into that house" (TAD B3.4:20–23).

The investiture clause gives the authority over the bought property to the buyer as well as to his children after him, or to a third person in the case of gift or sale.<sup>18</sup> All these potential owners are protected against suit or process instituted by the vendors, by their sons or daughters, brother, sister, partner-in-chattel, partner-in-land and guarantor: none of these persons can institute suit or process.<sup>19</sup> The vendor's party as well as other persons are bound by this guarantee: they have to abstain. Consequently, whoever (vendor's party or a third person) institutes a suit, whoever complains in front of the prefect, the lord or the judge, or whoever would like to contest the sale by another deed of sale, acts in *bad faith* and is liable to pay the penalty of twenty karsh of silver to the buyer or his children, not to the other persons in the case of gift or sale.<sup>20</sup>

The contract does not admit claims concerning the sold house presumed of *good faith*, thus the clearance of the property is absent as well as the possibility of compensation of the lost property. The protection of the ownership is absolute, nobody can contest. The vendor is not responsible for a suit or process instituted by other persons: he cannot be penalized in case of suit or process concerning the buyer's ownership by the vendor's relatives or other persons.

<sup>18</sup> ביתא זנה ( . . . ) אנת ענני שליט בה מן יומא זנה ועד עלמן ובניך שליטן אחריך ולמן זי רחמת תנתן או זי תובן לה בכסף . . . this house . . . you, Anani, have right to it from this day and forever and your children have right after you and anyone to whom you give it affectionately or to whom you sell it for silver" (TAD 3.12:22–24).

<sup>19</sup> לא נכהל גרשנך דין ודבב בשם ביתא זנה זי זבן ויהבן לך ויהבת לן דמוהי כסף ושיב לבבן בנו אף לא נכהל גרשה לבניך ובנתך זי תנתן לה בכסף או רחמת אף לא יכהל בר לן וברה אח ואחה לן הנגית לא נכהל גרשה לבניך ובנתך זי תנתן לה בכסף או רחמת אף לא יכהל בר לן וברה אח ואחה לן הנגית "we shall not be able to bring against you suit or process in the name of this house which we sold and gave you and you gave us its price silver and our heart was satisfied; moreover, we shall not be able to bring against your sons or your daughters or to whom you give it for silver or affectionately; moreover, son of ours or daughter, brother or sister of ours, partner-in-chattel or partner-in-land or guarantor of ours shall not be able" (TAD B3.12:25–27).

<sup>20</sup> זי ירשנך דין וירשה לבניך ולאיש זי תנתן לה זי יקבל עליך לסגן ומרא ודין בשם ביתא זנה זי משחת כתב מנעל זי ינפק עליך ספר חדת ועתיק בשם ביתא זנה זי זבן ויהבן לך יחוב וינתן לך זי מלכא כסף צרף "whoever shall bring against you suit or bring against your sons or against a man to whom you give, or whoever shall complain against you to prefect or lord or judge in the name of this house whose measurements is written above, or whoever shall take out against you a new or old document in the name of this house which we sold and gave you, shall be liable and shall give you or your children a penalty of silver, 20 karsh by the stone of the king, pure silver" (TAD B3.12:27–30).

## 3. WADI DALIYEH (CA. 375–332 B.C.E.)

The Wadi Daliyeh manuscripts, written in the city of Samaria in the fourth century B.C.E., before 332, are quite fragmentary. Not one of the preserved documents is complete.<sup>21</sup> So the analysis of protection of ownership in deeds of sale is based upon a reconstruction.<sup>22</sup> Most of the deeds of sale concern sales of slaves; two deeds seem to concern a sale of immovable property, other fragmentary deeds seem to concern a lease of the services of slaves, loans etc.<sup>23</sup>

As far as we can reconstruct the texts from the fragments, it seems that the investiture clause does not determine particular rights of the new owner of the property. It simply states that the buyer took possession of the slave,<sup>24</sup> that the slave belongs to him,<sup>25</sup> that he has the right of disposal of the slave,<sup>26</sup> and that the vendor is no longer owner.<sup>27</sup> Other specific rights (to sell, to give, etc.) are not specified.

The clauses concerning protection of ownership are two: the “defension”<sup>28</sup> clause and the contravention clause. These guarantees contain,

<sup>21</sup> F.M. Cross, “Samaria Papyrus 1: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 B.C.E. Found in the Wādī ed-Dāliyah,” *Erlsr* 18 (1985): 7\*–17\*; idem, “A Report on the Samaria Papyri,” in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986* (ed. J.A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 17–26; D.M. Gropp in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 3–116; J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C.* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 30 Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>22</sup> I use the reconstruction published in Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh*; for the overview of the legal formulary of the Wadi Daliyeh documents see pp. 105–114. See also J. Dušek, “Formulaires juridiques dans les contrats du wadi Daliyeh,” in *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques* (ed. S. Démare-Lafont and A. Lemaire; Hautes études orientales 48; Moyen et Proche Orient 4; Geneva: Droz, 2010), 279–316.

<sup>23</sup> Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh*, 65–66.

<sup>24</sup> (עבד) החסן (קדמה) וך S-ל B-ו “and B(uyer) took possession of the said S (slave) (before him)” (WDSP 3:3–4; 4:4; 8:3–4; 15:8).

<sup>25</sup> עבד יהוה־הוה לה (ולבנהי מן אחרויה) לעלמא “he will be/has become his slave (and his sons’ after him) in perpetuity” (WDSP 1:3[–4], 2:3; 3:4; 5:5; 6:[3–]4).

<sup>26</sup> וך S-ל B שליט “the B(uyer) has authority over the said S(lave)” (WDSP 1:4; 4:5; 20:7).

<sup>27</sup> לא שליט V או מן אחרי ונה בנ ואחן זילה “V(endor) has no authority nor his sons and brothers of his hereafter” (WDSP 4:6; 6:[4–]5; 15:10).

<sup>28</sup> The term “defension” clause is a transposition to English of the German “Defensionsklausel” used by H. Petschow for example in *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare* (Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 118; Leipzig: Weicher, 1939), 55–68. The term “defension clause” is used in the English terminology for the Aramaic legal texts for example in Cross, “Samaria Papyrus 1”; Gropp in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 3–116; Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri* (JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 226–228, etc.

according to D.M. Gropp, some features of the Neo-Babylonian legal tradition of deeds of sale.<sup>29</sup> The guarantees with penalties are not identical in all deeds of sale, but we present here their summary overview.<sup>30</sup>

The “defension” clause protects property acquired by the buyer against eviction in processes (דינין) and stipulates the clearance of the property in such a case by the vendor. The buyer, his sons or a third person who owes the deed of sale,<sup>31</sup> can be protected against a process instituted by the vendor or by the vendor’s party (one of his men, one of his colleagues or servants),<sup>32</sup> or by other persons.<sup>33</sup> The vendor is presumed of *good faith*: he sold his property and he must be able to protect it before a tribunal: the vendor must cleanse (מרק) the property from claims and give it back (נתן) to the buyer.<sup>34</sup> The case of non-clearance is perhaps mentioned in WDSP 3:6–7,<sup>35</sup> but it is only a fragment of the formula and does not allow possible conclusions.

The contravention clause concerns the violation (שנה “change”) of the contract by the vendor presumed of *bad faith*.<sup>36</sup> The vendor acts in *bad faith* if he contests the sale<sup>37</sup> and the receipt of payment.<sup>38</sup> In this case, the

<sup>29</sup> Gropp in *DJD* XXVIII (2001): 24–30; idem, “The Samaria Papyri and the Babylonio-Aramaean Symbiosis,” in *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity: Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 23–49, esp. 34–40.

<sup>30</sup> For a more in-depth description see Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh*, 78–88.

<sup>31</sup> “if (...) enter into litigation with a man who owes this deed” (WDSP 6:6; 7:9).

<sup>32</sup> “if I, V(endor) (or one of my men, my colleagues or of my servants), enter into litigation with B(uyer) (and his sons) (concerning the said S[lave])” (WDSP 1:5; 2:4[–5]; 4:7; 5:7[–8]; 8:6; 9:[7–]8; 11<sup>f</sup>:11; 15:11; 19:3).

<sup>33</sup> “and if someone else enter into litigation with B(uyer) (and his sons after him)” (WDSP 1:[5–]6; 3:5; 8:7–8).

<sup>34</sup> “I, V(endor), will cleanse and give (the sold object) to you” (WDSP 1:6; 2:5; 3:6; 4:8; 6:[6–]7; 18:4; 21:10).

<sup>35</sup> “if I do not [cleanse ...]” (WDSP 3:6[–7]).

<sup>36</sup> “or if I change this bond (in these terms)” (WDSP 1:[6–]7; 2:5; 3:7; 6:7; 7:11; 9:9; 15:13; 19:4; 25:1).

<sup>37</sup> “and I say (to you) that I did not sell to you this S(lave)” (WDSP 1:7; 3:7[–8]; 4:9; 5:9[–10]; 8:6–7; 14:15[–16]; 15:14).

<sup>38</sup> “and I do not receive from you (this) (X shekels of) silver (/from the hand of B[uyer])” (WDSP 1:[7–]8; 2:6; 3:8[–9]; 4:9[–10]; 9:[9–]10<sup>?</sup>; 15:14; 18:5; 25:2); or “and I have not given to you the silver” (WDSP 6:[7–]8).

buyer is quit,<sup>39</sup> the vendor is in debt<sup>40</sup> and penalized. The vendor must return to the buyer the price of the purchased property.<sup>41</sup> He is liable to pay the penalty fixed by the contract to the buyer<sup>42</sup> and the buyer must accept it.<sup>43</sup> The vendor must pay an additional penalty for each slave in case of sale of more than one slave.<sup>44</sup> The restitution of the price and the payment of the penalties by the vendor to the buyer do not cancel the transaction: the buyer is not deprived of his rights of ownership over the purchased property.<sup>45</sup> It means the restitution of the price to the buyer is not compensation for lost property, as in Elephantine, but constitutes part of the cumulative penalty.

In sum, the contract presupposes that the vendor sold the property in *good faith* and is able to clear it before a tribunal in the event of claims raised by his party or by a third person. This is the sense of the “defension” clause. According to the contravention clause, if the vendor contests the sale, his contesting is presumed of *bad faith* and he is penalized. The sense of the contravention clause and of the cumulative penalties seems to be to prevent the vendor from declining his responsibility for the sale, presupposed in the “defension” clause.

#### 4. CAVE OF LETTERS (FIRST–SECOND CENTURY C.E.)

The Cave of Letters in Naḥal Ḥever produced Nabataean, Greek and Aramaic deeds of sale from first and second centuries C.E.

<sup>39</sup> תשׁתִּבֶּק קדמי “you are quit before me” (WDSP 2:7; 6:[8–]9; 9:[10–]11).

<sup>40</sup> (ואחר) חיב אנה “(and afterwards) I am liable” (WDSP 1:9; 2:7; 6:9; 9:11).

<sup>41</sup> אף כספא ש X זי יהבת לי אהתיב אנתן לך (אנת B) “also the silver, X sh(eqels), which you gave to me, I return to you (you B[uyer])” (WDSP 1:8; 4:10; 5:10[–]11]; 6:8; 7:13?; 8:8–9?; 15:[14–]15; 21:13; 35 frg. 5:3).

<sup>42</sup> X כסף מנן B אשלם אנתן לך (ובניך מן אחרריך) כסף מנן X “I will pay, I will give to you, B(uyer), (and your sons after you), X silver minas silver” (WDSP 1:9; 3:9; 4:11; 5:11[–]12]; 15:[15–]16; 18:6).

<sup>43</sup> X כסף מנן (ולא חובנן) כסף מנן X “you will take possession of X silver minas without litigation (and without liabilities)” (WDSP 1:[9–]10; 2:8; 6:[9–]10; 15:16?).

<sup>44</sup> X כסף מנה 1 אשלם ל-B לנפש 1 “I will pay to B(uyer) 1 silver mina for each person” (WDSP 2:9; 5:12[–]13]; 6:10[–]11]; 8:9–10?; 9:[11–]12).

<sup>45</sup> ו S ל-V אנה ו I, V(endor), have not authority over the said S(lave)” (WDSP 1:10; 4:12; 6:11; 7:16); (ובנהי מן אחרויה) B ושליט B “and B(uyer) (and his sons after him) has authority” (WDSP 1:[10–]11; 14:18[–]19)).

4.1. *Nabataean-Aramaic Deeds of Sale:*  
*P. Yadin 2, P. Yadin 3 and XHev/Se Nab. 2*

Two double Nabataean deeds concerning a sale were discovered in the Cave of Letters:<sup>46</sup> P. Yadin 2 (97/98 C.E.)<sup>47</sup> and P. Yadin 3 (97/98 C.E.).<sup>48</sup> P. Yadin 2 concerns the purchase of a date palm plantation by Archelaus, the commander, from Abi'adan; P. Yadin 3 is a deed of purchase of a date palm plantation by Shim'on. These two documents were written in the Nabataean kingdom before its Roman annexation (106 C.E.).<sup>49</sup>

The third Nabataean deed of sale, listed as XHev/Se Nab. 2, records the sale of a parcel of a real estate by a woman Shalom to Š'dlthy; this document was dated by A. Yardeni to ca. 100 C.E.<sup>50</sup>

The investiture, "defension" and contravention clauses are preserved: they are identical in all three documents. According to the investiture clause, the buyer acquires in the purchase the rights forever to buy, to sell, to pledge, to inherit and grant as gift and to do with these purchases whatever he wishes.<sup>51</sup> Like in the Wadi Daliyeh documents, the clauses protecting the buyer's ownership are two: the "defension" clause and the contravention clause.

The "defension" clause presupposes that the vendor sold the property in *good faith* and is able to protect it. This clause forbids lawsuit (דין), process (דבב), or oath (מומא) in the matter of the bought property,<sup>52</sup> stipulates the vendor's obligation to cleanse (צפא)<sup>53</sup> the property from all

<sup>46</sup> Yadin et al., *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 201–246.

<sup>47</sup> 3rd of Kislev, year 28 of Rab'el II, Nabataean king.

<sup>48</sup> 2nd of Tebet, year 28 of Rab'el II, Nabataean king.

<sup>49</sup> Aspects of language and formulation of the Nabataean documents were compared to the Jewish-Aramaic documents by B.A. Levine, "The Various Workings of the Aramaic Legal Tradition: Jews and Nabataeans in the Naḥal Hever Archive," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 836–851.

<sup>50</sup> A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2000), 1:290–292 and 2:95.

<sup>51</sup> למקנא ולזבנה ולמרהן ולמנהח ולמנתן ולמעבד בובניא אלה כל די יצבה B דנה מן יום די כתיב לם שטרא דנה ועד עלם "to buy and to sell, and to pledge, and to inherit and grant as gift, and to do with these purchases all that he wishes (accrues to) this B(uyer) from the day on which this document is written and forever" (P. Yadin 2:9–10, 30–32; P. Yadin 3:10–11, 33–35; XHev/Se Nab. 2:13–15).

<sup>52</sup> "that it not be subject to lawsuit or contest or oath (whatsoever)" (P. Yadin 2:10, 32; P. Yadin 3:11, 35; XHev/Se Nab. 2:15).

<sup>53</sup> See Y.C. Greenfield, "The 'Defension Clause' in Some Documents from Naḥal Hever and Naḥal Še'elim," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 467–471; repr. in *Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies*

claims<sup>54</sup> and states that the purchased property is clean from the vendor's claims or from claims in vendor's name.<sup>55</sup> Compared to the Wadi Daliyeh deeds of sale the "defension" clause is more developed.<sup>56</sup>

The contravention clause protects the buyer's ownership against the actions of the vendor presumed of *bad faith*. Like in the Wadi Daliyeh documents, the vendor is penalized in the contravention clause in case of violation (שנא "change") of the contract. If the vendor contests the sale, he must give back to the buyer the price of the purchase, must pay all that the vendor may claim or that may be claimed in vendor's name against the buyer and the vendor will pay an undetermined penalty also to the Nabataean king.<sup>57</sup> This means that the penalty consists of the price, of other expenses and of payment to the ruler. This penalty against the vendor has no consequences for the buyer's party: the buyer, his heirs or another person who owns the deed of sale, has the right of disposal over the bought property and remains clean.<sup>58</sup> The return of the price—which corresponds to the compensation in the Elephantine documents—has the role of penalty. The compensation of the lost property itself is not considered in the contract.

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of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology (ed. S.M. Paul, M.E. Stone, and A. Pinnick; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:460–464.

<sup>54</sup> ודי אצפא אנה V דנה זבניא אלה מן כל אנוש כלה רחיק וקריב ואשבק לך אנת B דנה לך ולבניך  
 "and that I will clear, I, this V(endor), these purchases from anyone at all, distant or near, and I will free them up to you, you, this B(uyer); to you and to your sons after you, forever" (P. Yadin 2:10–11, 32–33; P. Yadin 3:11–12, 35–36; XHev/Se Nab. 2:15–17).

<sup>55</sup> וכות דכי ומ... אנת B דנה מני אנה V דנה מן כל די אבעא ויתבעא בשמי עליך בזבניא אלה (...)  
 "and as well, clean and ... are you, this same B(uyer), from me, I this V(endor), from all that I may claim or that may be claimed in my name against you regarding these purchases (...)" (P. Yadin 2:11–12, 33–34; P. Yadin 3:[12–]13, 37–38; XHev/Se Nab. 2:17–18).

<sup>56</sup> וחלק ותעין ועדי'ערי ומותו די עד יתבעה בהגין ... ותצדיק כחליפין ומעמין ... זבנין ובראון  
 "clearance and specification and accounting and oath concerning what may still be claimed regarding ... And (there is) agreement regarding exchange rates and profits ... (regarding) purchases and clearances, as is customary for purchases and clearances, as is written, forever." (P. Yadin 2:12–13, 35–37; P. Yadin 3:13–14, 38–40; XHev/Se Nab. 2:18–20). For the commentary, see Yadin et al., *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 227.

וקן אנה V דנה ... ואשנא מן דנה די לא ברשא אחוב לך אנת B דנה כל דמי זבניא אלה ובכלכל די  
 "And if I, V(endor), this, shall deviate from this (agreement) without authority, then I shall owe to you, you, this B(uyer), the entire price of these purchases, and all and everything that I may claim or that may be claimed in my name against you regarding them. And to our lord Rab'e'l the King, as well" (P. Yadin 2:14–15, 38–40; P. Yadin 3:16[–18], 43–44; XHev/Se Nab. 2:[21–]22).

<sup>58</sup> ... ושליט ודכי ...  
 "and empowered and clean ..." (P. Yadin 2:16, 40–41; P. Yadin 3:46–47; XHev/Se Nab. 2:[23–]24).

#### 4.2. P. Yadin 8: An Aramaic Deed of Sale

Aramaic contract P. Yadin 8 was written in 122 C.E. in the Roman *Provincia Arabia*. According to the *editio princeps*, this contract is a deed of purchase for an ass or donkey and a female animal, by Yehoseph, son of Shim'on, from his brother, whose name is lost.<sup>59</sup> The interpretation of the text was reconsidered and rightly corrected by Hillel I. Newman: the contract is a deed of sale where Yehoseph, son of Shim'on, acts as vendor and pronounces the guarantees for the sold property on lines 6–9.<sup>60</sup>

The “defension” clause seems to be in the lines 6–7,<sup>61</sup> and the convention clause concerning the violation (שונה “change”) of the contract by the vendor, punished by the penalties, is attested in lines 8–9.<sup>62</sup> The penalty should be paid also to Caesar.<sup>63</sup>

This form of legal protection of the buyer’s ownership seems to belong to the same legal tradition as the Nabataean deeds of sale.

#### 4.3. Greek Deeds of Sale from the Cave of Letters

Two deeds of sale recording the same transaction were discovered in the Cave of Letters: a deed of purchase of a date crop (P. Yadin 21) and deed of sale of a date crop (P. Yadin 22). Both documents were written on 11 September 130 C.E., in Maoza, district of Zoara (Roman *Provincia Arabia*), and belong to the Babatha’s archive.<sup>64</sup> These two deeds do not contain the investiture clause. A. Radzyner identified in these deeds of sale some elements of a labor-lease agreement.<sup>65</sup>

P. Yadin 21, belonging to the buyer, contains a clause concerning payment of a penalty by the vendor to the buyer in case of default of fulfillment of the contract, and the buyer’s right of execution (πρᾶξις).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Yadin et al., *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 109–117.

<sup>60</sup> H.I. Newman, “P. Yadin 8: A Correction,” *JJS* 57 (2006): 330–335.

<sup>61</sup> אִי לִי עִמָּךְ מִנְדָּעִים לֹא וְזֵעִיר וְלֹא סֹגִי [א] אִנְהָ [ ] [ ] בְּנִי אֱלֹהִים מִן כָּל אֲנוּשׁ כְּלֵה רַחֵי [קֹקְרִיב] ] “I will [not] have with you anything neither small nor larg[e . . . ] I, . . . [ ] . . . [regarding] these purchases, from any person whomsoever, fa[r or near . . .]” (P. Yadin 8:6–7).

<sup>62</sup> [ ] וְהָן אֲסֻסָּה וְאֲשֵׁנָה מִן דְּנָה • יְהוּא לֶךְ עִמִּי כֹל • [ ] “And if I . . . and deviate from this, you will have with me (= I will owe you) the entire [ . . . (= amount)]” (P. Yadin 8:8).

<sup>63</sup> “and to our lord, Caesar, as well” (P. Yadin 8:9).

<sup>64</sup> N. Lewis, ed., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (JDS 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), 94–101.

<sup>65</sup> A. Radzyner, “P. Yadin 21–22: Sale or Lease?” in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. Katzoff and Schaps), 145–163.

<sup>66</sup> “And if I do not provide you with the aforesaid dates in full and drying time, I will



P. Yadin 22, belonging to the vendor, contains a “defension” clause stipulating the vendor’s obligation to cleanse (καθαροποιεῖν) the property in case of claims (ἀντιποίησης “claim”).<sup>67</sup> This “defension” clause is followed by the contravention clause for the case when the vendor does not cleanse the property from the claims: in this case the vendor must pay a penalty of twenty silver denarii.<sup>68</sup> Apparently, the non-clearance of the property of the claims is considered proof of the vendor’s *bad faith*: he is penalized by a fixed sum; the contract mentions no compensation of the lost property because of claims.

It is very interesting to see that the guarantees in two documents concerning the same transaction, pronounced both by the vendor, are different. The copy belonging to the buyer (P. Yadin 21) is focused on the non-fulfillment of the contract by the vendor with the buyer’s right of execution upon the vendor’s property. The copy belonging to the vendor (P. Yadin 22) reflects a different legal tradition of guarantees with clauses of “defension” and contravention focused upon the vendor’s duties. In sum, the buyer’s copy informs the buyer about his right of execution (πρῶξις) on the vendor’s property, and the vendor’s copy informs the vendor concerning his duties to protect the sold property against other claims.

##### 5. HEBREW AND ARAMAIC DEEDS OF SALE FROM WADI MURABBA‘AT, WADI SEIYÂL/NAḤAL ḤEVER AND 4Q346

The other deeds of sale from Judean Desert, written in Aramaic or in Hebrew, which contain clauses protecting the buyer’s ownership, reflect a different legal tradition than the Aramaic/Nabataean deeds of sale mentioned previously. It concerns deeds of sale from Wadi Murabba‘at

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give you for each several talent [of “splits”] two denarii and of Syrian and Naaran (?) one “black.” Both upon myself and upon my property or from my guarantor, from whichever the person acting through (you) or for (you), (your) right of execution (πρῶξις) shall be valid everywhere, the formal question having in good faith been asked and acknowledged in reply” (P. Yadin 21:21–28).

<sup>67</sup> “I shall clear (καθαροποιεῖν) the right to the aforesaid orchards for you of every counterclaimant” (P. Yadin 22:20–23).

<sup>68</sup> “And if anyone enters a counterclaim (ἀντιποίησης) against you because of your purchase and I do not firmly validate [it] for you as aforesaid, I shall be owing to you in return for your labors and expenses twenty silver denarii, interposing no objection” (P. Yadin 22:23–25).

and from the Seiyāl Collection.<sup>69</sup> All these deeds of sale contain the same type of guarantee concerning legal protection of the buyer's ownership, with some variants.<sup>70</sup> The deeds of sale from Wadi Murabba'at are dated between 131 and 134 C.E., to the era of "liberation of Israel" (גאולת ישראל).<sup>71</sup> The deeds of sale from the Seiyāl Collection are dated to the third year of "freedom of Israel" (חר[ו]ת ישראל) under Shim'on bar Kosiba, the prince of Israel (134–135 C.E.).<sup>72</sup>

The investiture clause is wholly or partially preserved in Mur 30 and in XHēv/Se 8, 8a, 9, 21, 23 and 50: these contracts express authority over the purchased property, in Aramaic as well as in Hebrew, by the term רשה "to have power."<sup>73</sup> This term רשה appears together with the term שליט "to have authority" in XHēv/Se 9,6.<sup>74</sup> The investiture clause can give to the buyer and to his inheritors—with small variants—the right to buy, to sell, etc. and to do with the purchased property whatever they desire.<sup>75</sup>

The vendor is responsible for and guarantor of the transaction,<sup>76</sup> by the means of property that he owns or may acquire,<sup>77</sup> for the protection of the buyer's ownership: the vendor will defend the buyer's property against a dispute and challenge,<sup>78</sup> in some cases also against damage<sup>79</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Mur 26; Mur 30; XHēv/Se 8, 8a, 9, 21, 23 and 50.

<sup>70</sup> The guarantee clauses are not preserved in some deeds of sale from Wadi Murabba'at (Mur 22, 23, 27, 29).

<sup>71</sup> Deeds of sale are dated to 131 C.E. (Mur 22), 132 C.E.? (Mur 23), 133 C.E. (Mur 29) and 134 C.E. (Mur 30).

<sup>72</sup> חר(ו)ת ישראל לשם (אעל ימי) שמעון בר כסבה נשיא ישראל. Deeds of sale are dated to the third year of the freedom of Israel: 134 or 135 C.E. (XHēv/Se 7 and 8a) and 135 C.E. (XHēv/Se 8). The date of subscription of the contract is not preserved in the other Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale belonging to this corpus.

<sup>73</sup> Mur 30:22; XHēv/Se 8a:6; 9:6; 21:6; 50:12.

<sup>74</sup> See also P. Yadin 47a:9–10.

<sup>75</sup> In Hebrew: לעשות בו כל שתחפץ "to do whatever you wish" (Mur 30:23). In Aramaic: למקנה ולמו[ב]נה ול[מ]עבד בה כל די "to dig and to deepen" (XHēv/Se 8:6); למחפר ולמעמקה למחפר "to buy and to se[l]", and to [d]o with it whatever you desire" (XHēv/Se 9:7); למחפר "to dig and to deepen, to bu[ild] and to erect, to buy and to sell" (XHēv/Se 21:7–8); למהרמא למב[נה] ולהרמא למקנה ולמובנה "to do with it whatever you desire" (XHēv/Se 23:3); כל די יצבן "to buy and to sell and to do whatever they desire" (XHēv/Se 50:12–13).

<sup>76</sup> Hebrew: אחראים וערבים (Mur 30:24). In Aramaic: אחראין וערבין (XHēv/Se 8:6; 9:8; 23:4; 50:14); אחריא וערביא (Mur 26:4), אחרי וערב (XHēv/Se 8a:11).

<sup>77</sup> Aramaic: וכל די איתי לי ודי אקנה "and all that I own and whatever I will acquire" (XHēv/Se 8:6; 23:4; 50:14); [פר]ען תשלמתה מן נכ[סי] ודי אקנה; "The fulfillment of my payment from my prop[erty] and whatever I will acquire" (XHēv/Se 8a:13; 9:10). In Hebrew: וכל שיש לי ושאקנה (Mur 30:23).

<sup>78</sup> חרר ותגר (Mur 26:5; 30:25; XHēv/Se 8:7; 9:9).

<sup>79</sup> נזקן (XHēv/Se 9:9).

and annulment.<sup>80</sup> In case of these attacks on the buyer's ownership the vendor will cleanse (שפה or מרק)<sup>81</sup> and establish (קים) the sale before the buyer and his inheritors.<sup>82</sup> The vendor as a guarantor of the transaction is presumed of *good faith*.

We can see that, compared to the other deeds of sale from Elephantine, Wadi Daliyeh and Naḥal Ḥever, the clauses concerning protection of the buyer's ownership in the Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale from Wadi Murabba'at and from the Seiyāl Collection are considerably simplified and can be compared to P. Yadin 21 (see above, § 4.3). The concept of presumption of the vendor's *bad faith* is absent. The buyer is implicitly protected against all attacks on his acquired ownership: the vendor must cleanse the sold property from all attacks and warrants this protection by all his property that he owns or may acquire.

The guarantee, by the means of property that the vendor owns or may acquire, is interesting. In Palestine we find this principle especially in the context of the right of execution in the Greek deeds from the Cave of Letters published by N. Lewis<sup>83</sup> and in other contracts from Wadi Murabba'at and from the Seiyāl Collection:<sup>84</sup> in the Greek marriage contracts,<sup>85</sup> in a Greek contract of deposit,<sup>86</sup> in Aramaic and Greek deeds of acknowledgement of debt,<sup>87</sup> in a Greek deed of loan of hypothec,<sup>88</sup> and in a Greek deed of sale.<sup>89</sup> All these deeds were written under Roman administration. This clause gives to one contracting party, or to a person

<sup>80</sup> בטלן (Mur 26:5); בטלה (XḤev/Se 9:9).

<sup>81</sup> Greenfield, "Defension Clause."

<sup>82</sup> "to cleanse and to establish the place before you and be[fo]re your inherit[ors]" (XḤev/Se 9:8–9); "למַשְׁפִּיָּה וּלְמִקְיָמָה אֶתְרָא קִדְמָךְ וְיִקְדְּמִי יִרְתְּכִי" (XḤev/Se 9:8–9); "לְמַרְקָא וּלְקִימָא זַבְנָה דְּךָ קִדְמִי כֵן" (XḤev/Se 9:8–9); "to cleanse and to establish the sale before you and before your inheritors" (XḤev/Se 50:15 and Mur 26:4–5).

<sup>83</sup> Lewis, *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*.

<sup>84</sup> The promissory note XḤev/Se 49:11 is an exception: it contains the guarantee by all property, but the reference to the execution is absent.

<sup>85</sup> In the Cave of Letters: P. Yadin 18:16–20, 51–56 (Babatha Archive, 5 April 128 C.E., in Maoza, Zoara district, *Provincia Arabia*). In the Seiyāl Collection: XḤev/Se 65 (P. Yadin 37) (Salome Komais Archive, 7 August 131 C.E., in Maoza, Zoara district, administrative region of Petra, *Provincia Arabia*); XḤev/Se 69:11 (130 C.E., in Aristoboulias, *Provincia Judaea*). In Wadi Murabba'at: Mur 115:16–18 (124 C.E., in Bethbassi, toparchy of Herodion, *Provincia Judaea*).

<sup>86</sup> P. Yadin 17:12–[15], 34–38 (21 February 128 C.E., in Maoza, district of Zoara, *Provincia Arabia*).

<sup>87</sup> Mur 18:7–8 ar (55/56 C.E., year two of Caesar Nero, in Šiwata); Mur 114:17–21 gr (171? C.E.).

<sup>88</sup> P. Yadin 11:8–11, 23–29 (6 May 124, in Ein Gedi village of lord Caesar).

<sup>89</sup> For the Greek deeds of sale, see above, § 4.3.

who is not a party to the agreement, the right of execution (πρῶξις) upon present and future property of the other contracting party,<sup>90</sup> in case of default of fulfillment of the obligations stipulated in the contract.

The practice of execution, in case of default of fulfillment of obligations, stipulated in the contract is known in the Greek papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. These contracts—and especially the marriage contracts—contain the *praxis* clause concerning the right of execution. This *praxis* clause concerning execution seems to be—according to H.J. Wolff—a result of the actions of Greek tribunals in Ptolemaic Egypt in cases concerning personal claims.<sup>91</sup>

H. Cotton mentions that the clause of guarantee by present and future property exists in some Demotic marriage contracts from Egypt,<sup>92</sup> and states that this clause is not known in the Greek marriage contracts from Egypt.<sup>93</sup> According to H. Cotton, the formula concerning the guarantee by present and future property is among the Greek contracts attested only in deeds contracted by Jews and discovered in the Judean Desert.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless the combination of the *praxis* clause with the guarantee by present and future property is also attested in Syria, in four deeds from Dura Europos written in the second and third centuries C.E.<sup>95</sup> Thus the deeds from the Judean Desert probably reflect a legal practice common to Syria and Palestine which is not exclusively Jewish.

The principle of absolute guarantee by the vendor's property, which evokes the right of execution of the Greek contracts, was probably adopted to the Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale from the legal formulary from Ptolemaic Egypt. It is not proven if the Greek influence comes from the time of Ptolemaic rule over Palestine or if it was later. One Greek deed of sale, written in the Ptolemaic period in Transjordan (*birta* of Ammanitis), is preserved in the archive of Zenon from Caunos: it

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<sup>90</sup> ὧν τε ἔχει καὶ ὧν ἄν ἐπικτήσῃται κυρίως “both those which he possesses and those which he may validly acquire in addition” (P. Yadin 17:36–37).

<sup>91</sup> H.J. Wolff, “The *Praxis*-Provision in Papyrus Contracts,” *TAPA* 72 (1941): 418–438.

<sup>92</sup> P.W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 115–128, esp. 115–117. H.M. Cotton refers to this text in *DJD XXVII* (1997): 270.

<sup>93</sup> H. Cotton, “A Cancelled Marriage Contract from the Judean Desert (*XHev/Se Gr. 2*),” *JRS* 84 (1994): 64–86, esp. 79–80.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>95</sup> P.Dura 20:17–19 (Antichretic Loan, 121 C.E.); P.Dura 21:6–8 (Antichretic Loan, first half of second century C.E.); P.Dura 22:9–12 (Loan on Security, 133/4 C.E.); P.Dura 29:12–14 (Deposit, 251 C.E.). According to C.B. Welles et al., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report*, vol. 5.1: *The Parchments and Papyri* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

is a deed concerning the sale of a Babylonian slave girl Sphragis by Nicanor to Zenon, written in April–May 259 B.C.E.,<sup>96</sup> but unfortunately this contract does not contain any guarantee. The situation is similar in P.Dura 15 from the second century B.C.E. written under the Seleucid administration.<sup>97</sup> The oldest Aramaic evidence of guarantee by present and future property seems to be attested in a small fragment of an Aramaic deed of sale: 4Q346. The text may be dated paleographically to the late first century B.C.E.<sup>98</sup> In Palestine, the oldest Aramaic evidence of the right of execution upon present and future property in case of default of payment is in an acknowledgement of debt from Wadi Murabba'at Mur 18:7–8 written 55/56 C.E., in the time of Caesar Nero, under Roman administration.

## 6. DURA EUROPOS (SECOND–THIRD CENTURY C.E.)

One Syriac and four Greek deeds of sale were discovered in Dura Europos, in Syria.<sup>99</sup>

### 6.1. *Syriac Deed of Sale of Female Slave*

One Syriac deed of female slave written in 243 C.E. in Edessa under Roman rule<sup>100</sup> was discovered in Dura Europos (P.Dura 28).<sup>101</sup> In this deed of sale we find the structure that is already known from the deeds of sale from Wadi Daliyeh and from the Nabataean deeds of sale (P. Yadin 2

<sup>96</sup> P.Cairo Zen. 59003. X. Durand, *Des Grecs en Palestine au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ: Le dossier syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261–252)* (CahRB 38; Paris: Gabalda, 2003), 45–48.

<sup>97</sup> See below, § 6.2.

<sup>98</sup> A. Yardeni in *DJD XXVII* (1997): 296–298.

<sup>99</sup> Welles et al., *Parchments and Papyri*.

<sup>100</sup> “In the year 6 of Autokrator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Eusebes Eutuches Sebastos ...” (P.Dura 28:1–2).

<sup>101</sup> C.C. Torrey, “A Syriac Parchment from Edessa of the Year 243 A.D.,” *ZS* 10 (1935): 33–45; C. Brockelmann, “Zu dem Syrischen Kaufvertrag aus Edessa,” *ZS* 10 (1935): 163; Welles et al., *Parchments and Papyri*, 142–149 and pls. LXIX–LXXI; J.A. Goldstein, “The Syriac Bill of Sale from Dura-Europos,” *JNES* 25 (1966): 1–16; H.J.W. Drijvers, ed., *Old Syriac (Edesean) Inscriptions: With an Introduction, Indices and a Glossary* (SSS 3; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 54–57; idem and J.F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (HO 42; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 232–235.



The rights over purchased property acquired by the buyer are defined in the investiture clause only in P.Dura 26: the buyer has the right to acquire, to employ, to sell and to administer as he pleases.<sup>106</sup>

The guarantees are well preserved only in P.Dura 26 and 27: they contain the guarantees with “defension” and contravention clauses, similar to the Syriac P.Dura 28. The “defension” clause compels the vendor to cleanse (καθαροποιεῖν) the property if somebody lays claim (ἐμποιεῖν).<sup>107</sup> The contravention clause determines specific cumulative penalties in case of non-clearance by the vendor, and the property belongs to the buyer.<sup>108</sup> The cumulative penalty consists in P.Dura 25 of the double amount of whatever loss and an additional penalty of 500 drachmae (= price of the sale),<sup>109</sup> and of double the price of the sale and other loss in P.Dura 26.<sup>110</sup>

The guarantees in P.Dura 27 are fragmentary, but seem to reflect the same schema as in P.Dura 25 and 27.<sup>111</sup> This schema, where the price of the property is not a compensation of loss, but a part of the penalty, fits the schema known in the manuscripts from Wadi Daliyeh and in the Nabataean deeds of sale.

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records of survey against the sum of 120 drachmae as principal and the like amount as penalty for default ...” (P.Dura 25:1–2).

<sup>106</sup> “... which the price the seller has received from the buyer, and he has transferred to him the land to have it as owner securely for all time, to acquire (κτᾶσθαι) and to employ (χρᾶσθαι), to sell (πωλεῖν) and to administer, in such fashion as he pleases (δι[οι]κεῖν τρόπῳ ᾧς ἂν αἰσθῆται)” (P.Dura 26:13–15).

<sup>107</sup> “Lysias, the seller, acts as guarantor and broker according to the law and has undertaken, if anyone lays claim to the objects of sale, the slave and the half-share of the vineyard, that he will oppose it and establish a clear title for Heliodorus” (P.Dura 25:9–10, 30–32); “the seller furnishes to the buyer the above purchase unencumbered, unmortgaged, free from any title dispute, and clear of claims; if he does not so furnish it, and if anyone raising a claim gets possession of the above mentioned purchase or any part of it, then the seller will contest the claim in the courts and clear the title for the purchaser” (P.Dura 26:20–24).

<sup>108</sup> “While this deed of sale shall be valid nevertheless” (P.Dura 25:33–34).

<sup>109</sup> “If he does not establish a clear title, and Heliodorus suffers any loss in consequence, he will pay to him double the amount of whatever loss has occurred and an additional penalty of 500 drachmae” (P.Dura 25:10–11).

<sup>110</sup> “If not, he will pay him double the amount of the price and the loss similarly” (P.Dura 26:24–25).

<sup>111</sup> “... he undertakes thus, that if anyone [laying claim, shall gain possession of the above purchase or a part] thereof, he himself will take a stand [... and clear the title] and free it for [(the purchaser), or if not, he will pay him] the price which he received doubly [and the damage in addition; and this] sale shall remain [valid even so ...]” (P.Dura 27, frgs. a–b).

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

I have analyzed legal texts written during approximately 700 years, from the fifth century B.C.E. (Elephantine) until the third century C.E. (Dura Europos), in Aramaic, Hebrew, Nabataean, Greek and Syriac, especially in Palestine, but also in Egypt and in Syria. Over such a long period and large area, we admit that the available evidence is very scanty. It is nevertheless possible to distinguish—within the analyzed texts—three main groups, according to the form and content of the guarantees.

7.1. *Elephantine*

The deeds of sale from Elephantine compose the first and oldest group written in the Persian period, like the Wadi Daliyeh documents. The form of their guarantees is different from the group of the Wadi Daliyeh documents and other later documents; the principles are similar but not the same.<sup>112</sup> This means that, within the Persian Empire, the law protecting purchased property was not identical in all satrapies: it was at least different in Egypt and in Palestine (satrapy of Transeuphrates).

The guarantees in the two deeds of sale from Elephantine are perhaps the most logical. The principle of protection of the buyer is very simple: the vendor is *penalized* by a high sum of silver, fixed by the contract, in case of an act in *bad faith*, but he must *recompense* the buyer when acting in *good faith* and the buyer is evicted, without other penalizations. This simple principle is in both deeds of sale, *TAD* B3.4 and B3.12, with the difference that the actions of all persons (vendor's party and third person) are presumed of *bad faith* in B3.12.

7.2. *Aramaic Tradition in Palestine and Syria*

The second group, which is the most impressive, consists of the following deeds of sale:

- deeds of sale from Wadi Daliyeh from the fourth century B.C.E. (province of Samaria under Persian rule);

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<sup>112</sup> The form of final clauses (clauses concerning the protection of the buyer's ownership) of the deeds of sale from Elephantine and from Wadi Daliyeh were compared by D.M. Gropp: these two corpora represent two different legal traditions. D.M. Gropp, "The Wadi Daliyeh Documents Compared to the Elephantine Documents," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (ed. Schiffman et al.), 826–835.



- Nabataean deeds of sale from the Cave of Letters (P. Yadin 2 and 3) and from the Seiyâl Collection (XḤev/Se Nab. 2) written at the end of the first century C.E. in the Nabataean kingdom;
- Aramaic P. Yadin 8 written in 122 C.E. (Roman *Provincia Arabia*);
- Greek P. Yadin 22, written in 130 C.E. in Maoza (Roman *Provincia Arabia*);
- Greek deeds of sale from Dura Europos (P.Dura 25, 26, and 27), written in 180 C.E., 227 C.E. and ca. 225–240 C.E., under Roman administration;
- Syriac deed of sale from Dura Europos (P.Dura 28) written in 243 C.E. in Edessa, under Roman rule.

These deeds of sale from Syria-Palestine, written during approximately 600 years (fourth century B.C.E.–third century C.E.), seem to reflect the same—or similar—legal tradition of the protection of the buyer's rights. This legal tradition is attested in Palestine and Syria, especially in Aramaic or its later dialects, but also in Greek texts, under Persian, Nabataean and Roman administration. This overview shows that the Roman administration in Palestine and Syria probably did not interfere excessively with local legal traditions of sale. The oldest corpus belonging to this tradition consists of the deeds of sale from Wadi Daliyeh with Neo-Babylonian legal features.<sup>113</sup>

The rights of the buyer over the bought property are defined in the investiture clause: the Nabataean documents and P.Dura 28 define specific rights of ownership acquired by the buyer's party (authority over the property, right to buy, to sell, to give, etc.), Wadi Daliyeh documents are more brief and Greek P. Yadin 22 does not contain an investiture clause. Unlike the Elephantine documents the “defension” and contravention clauses seem to be independent of the content of the investiture clause.

Protection of buyer's ownership consists of the “defension” and contravention clauses. The “defension” clause stipulates the vendor's duty to cleanse the buyer's property if somebody raises a claim concerning it. This clause presumes that the vendor sold the property in *good faith*. The contravention clause prevents the vendor from contesting the sale (verb שנה is often used), against an action in *bad faith*. This contravention clause is the condition *sine qua non* of the application of the “defension” clause. The threat of penalties in the contravention clause forces the vendor to execute the clearance stipulated in the “defension” clause.

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<sup>113</sup> Gropp in *DJD XXVIII* (2001): 19–32; idem, “Samaria Papyri,” 23–49.

The principle of the vendor presumed of *good/bad faith* known in the Elephantine documents also exists in these deeds, but the consequences of the action in *good* and *bad faith* are different. The vendor's action in the "defension" clause is presumed of *good faith*, and his action concerned in the contravention clause is presumed of *bad faith*.

The main difference from the Elephantine texts is in the use of the return of the price of the sold property by the vendor to the buyer. In deeds of sale from Elephantine, it has the role of *compensation* of the lost property paid by the vendor to the buyer in the event of his eviction. But in the texts from Syria-Palestine, and especially in the Aramaic documents from Wadi Daliyeh, in the Nabataean deeds of sale and in the Greek deeds of sale from Dura Europos, the return of the price of the sold property is part of the penalty that is to be paid by the vendor to the seller in case of violation of the contract by the vendor's party. An attempt at eviction of the buyer, when the vendor cannot clear the property, seems to be considered as proof of the bad faith of the vendor and he is penalized; without consequences for the buyer's ownership.

### 7.3. Greek Influence in Aramaic and Hebrew Texts

The third group consists of Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale from Wadi Murabba'at and the Seiyāl Collection written during the second Jewish revolt against Rome, in the "free Israel" of Shim'on bar Kokhba between 131–135 C.E.<sup>114</sup>

The investiture clause in the deeds from Wadi Murabba'at and the Seiyāl Collection reflect the same legal tradition as the documents from the second group (see above, § 7.2).

The guarantees protecting the ownership in these deeds seem to be influenced by the clauses concerning the right of execution (*praxis*) well attested in the Greek documents from the Judean Desert written under Roman rule and from Syria (Dura Europos).<sup>115</sup> This influence in the Aramaic and Hebrew deeds of sale perhaps came from Ptolemaic Egypt and might be older than the Roman occupation of Palestine, but we are unable to prove it.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Mur 26; Mur 30; XHēv/Se 8, 8a, 9, 21, 23 and 50.

<sup>115</sup> See above, § 5.

<sup>116</sup> H. Cotton came to a similar conclusion in the matter of the Greek marriage contract P. Yadin 18 concluded between two Jews but reflecting a Greek legal practice from Egypt: H. Cotton, "XHēv/Se ar 13 of 134 or 135 C.E.: A Wife's Renunciation of Claims," *JJS* 49 (1998): 108–118, esp. 117.

This legal tradition seems to have coexisted in the deeds of sale, at least in first and second centuries C.E. in Palestine, together with the older Aramaic legal tradition (see above, § 7.2). The Greek deeds P. Yadin 21 with the buyer's right of execution and P. Yadin 22 with "defension" and contravention clauses prove that both types of guarantees (see above, §§ 7.2 and 7.3) were used in the contract concerning the same transaction, according to the owner of the contract (vendor and buyer).



PUBLIC MEMORY AND PUBLIC DISPUTE:  
COUNCIL MINUTES BETWEEN ROMAN EGYPT  
AND THE DEAD SEA\*

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Approximately one million papyri and similar handwritten documents, one would guess, are preserved in museums and collections all over the world. After 120 years of papyrological research some 80,000 papyri (in various ancient languages) have been published, and the number grows by ca. 700 new texts each year.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of those documents originates and was discovered in Egypt, of course. The diversity of texts and types of documents could too easily create the impression that the papyrological evidence in its entirety offers a fairly representative view of almost all aspects of life in antiquity. But even in Egypt the geographical and chronological distribution of preserved papyri is very uneven and concentrates on a few sites, mostly situated on the fringe area of ancient settlements.<sup>2</sup> Most of the material which survived from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods was produced and found in villages, while nearly all papyri from the Byzantine period come from cities, mainly the *metropoleis*—that is, the chief towns in each district, *nomós*. Equally uneven is the spreading of preserved papyri over the centuries.<sup>3</sup>

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\* The papyrological abbreviations used in this article follow J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (5th ed.; BASP-Sup 9; Oakville: American Society of Papyrologists, 2001). An updated electronic version of this list is available online: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>

<sup>1</sup> These calculations are based on P. van Minnen, “The Millennium of Papyrology (2001–)?” in *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien 22.–28. Juli 2001* (ed. B. Palme; Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 703–714, and idem, “The Future of Papyrology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (ed. R.S. Bagnall; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 644–660, esp. 645.

<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive treatments are still K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1933), 40–185, and E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 25–53. An excellent recent overview is provided by H. Cuvigny, “The Finds of Papyri: The Archaeology of Papyrology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 30–59.

<sup>3</sup> W. Habermann, “Zur chronologischen Verteilung der papyrologischen Zeugnisse,” *ZPE* 122 (1998): 144–160, based on the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis* (HGV): <http://>

From the point of view of a documentary papyrologist, one could ask: What is the value of the comparatively small number of papyri, wooden panels and ostraca preserved from other parts of the Graeco-Roman world? Even an optimistic estimation would count hardly more than thousand documents from outside Egypt—slightly more than one percent of the published evidence available at the moment.<sup>4</sup> Probably all papyrologists would agree though, that the scientific value of those documents cannot be estimated high enough.<sup>5</sup> First, they provide very welcome information about some parts of the ancient world that are much less well documented—and less well known—than Egypt. Second, and even more important, they give us the possibility to compare and sometimes to correct our historical conclusions based on the evidence from Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Granted that Egypt stands somewhat apart from the other provinces of the Roman Empire and that analogy is a tool to be used with caution, papyri from outside Egypt are of essential methodological importance, even if their limited number and restriction to a handful of finding places offer hardly more than some selective spotlights.

Literary and documentary papyrology—or let's say: classical philology and ancient history—equally profited from the new texts from outside Egypt. To quote just the most prominent discoveries: Who could now-a-days imagine the papyrological world without the orphic papyrus found in Derveni near Thessaloniki in northern Greece,<sup>7</sup> or without the literary and philosophical texts from the Villa dei papiri in Herculaneum? No

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aquila.papy.uni-heidelberg.de. On peculiarities of the papyrological evidence cf. B. Palme, "The Range of Documentary Texts: Types and Categories," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 358–394.

<sup>4</sup> H.M. Cotton, W.E.H. Cockle, and F.G.B. Millar, "The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey," *JRS* 85 (1995): 214–235 provide a catalogue of more than 600 papyri written outside of Egypt. Since then, the corpora P. Euphr., P. Petra I and III, as well as some single documents from outside Egypt have been published (see e.g., F. Mitthof and A. Papatomas, "Ein Papyruszeugnis aus dem spätantiken Karien," *Chiron* 34 [2004]: 401–424).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the considerations of J. Gascou, "The Papyrology of the Near East," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 473–494.

<sup>6</sup> For the spread of papyrus in the ancient world, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 84–94, focusing on the Greek papyri. On the importance of Hebrew and Aramaic papyri, see the brilliant surveys in L.H. Schiffman, ed., *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity: Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> T. Kouremenos, G.M. Parássoglou, and K. Tsantsanoglou, eds., *The Derveni Papyrus: Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Studi e testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini 13; Florence: Olschki, 2006).

legal historian would ignore the *tabellae* found in Pompeji, and certainly no historian of the Roman and post-Roman period would miss the Latin letters on the wooden tablettis from Vindolanda at Hadrians Wall and Vindonissa in Switzerland, or the Latin ostraca from BuNjem in Libya, the papyri from Byzantine Ravenna or the *Tablettes Albertini* from the Vandalic kingdom in Africa.<sup>8</sup> The Near East has, of course, the lion's share of handwritten documents from outside Egypt. Besides the treasures from the Judean Desert and Dead Sea area—the core subject of the present volume—one should mention the famous papyri from Dura Europos in the Roman province Mesopotamia. And we still may hope for sensational new discoveries like the carbonised papyri from Byzantine Petra or the small dossier from the Euphrates (but this time in the Roman province Syria) that turned up some years ago.<sup>9</sup>

Sometimes even a single line may open a totally new chapter in the endless story of what we call cultural history. To give just one example: A small scrap, found in a Roman camp at Masada turned out to contain the beginning of Dido's first speech in Virgil, *Aen.* 4.9; at the other end of the Empire, at Vindolanda, a military camp at Hadrians Wall, a verse of *Aen.* 9.473 was identified on a small wooden tablet; and in the Desert between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea someone copied *Aen.* 1.1–3. Probably all three attempts to write down some lines of Virgil were done by Roman soldiers.<sup>10</sup> Occasionally *Agathe Tyche*, the patroness of papyrology, provides us with a group of connected text—that's what papyrologists call an "archive."<sup>11</sup> Dozens of such papyrus

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<sup>8</sup> Corpora of papyri, ostraca, and wooden tablets from outside Egypt: Europe: P. Ital. I–III, T. Sulpicii, T. Vindol. I–III, T. Vindon., O. Cret. Chers.—North-Africa: T. Alb., O. BuNjem.—Near East: P. Petra, P. Murabba'at, P. Hever, P. Jud. Des. Misc., P. Babatha = P. Yadin I, P. Yadin II, P. Ness. III.—Mesopotamia: P. Dura, P. Euphrates.

<sup>9</sup> In addition to P. Euphrates, cf. the preliminary report of D. Feissel and J. Gascou, "Documents d'archives Romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.)," *CRAI* 133 (1989): 535–556, and the Syriac texts in J. Teixidor, "Deux documents syriaques du III<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C., provenant du Moyen Euphrate," *CRAI* 134 (1990): 144–163, and idem, "Un document syriaque de fermage de 242 après J.-C.," *Semitica* 41–42 (1993): 195–208.

<sup>10</sup> P. Masad. 721 (MaspapVirgil lat [Mas721]); T. Vindol. II 118; O. Claud. I 190. On the back of PSI XIII 1307 = ChLA XXV 786—another military document—the words *Aeneas Dardaniae* resemble Virgil as well.

<sup>11</sup> For the terminological problems, see A. Martin, "Archives privées et cachettes documentaires," in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen 23–29 August 1992* (ed. A. Bülow-Jacobsen; Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1994), 569–577, and A. Jördens, "Papyri und private Archive: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag

archives survive from Egypt, but we are lucky enough to have archives also among the documentary texts from the Judean Desert as well as from Mesopotamia.<sup>12</sup>

Both the documents from the Bar Kokhba sites in the Judean Desert and the documents from the Euphrates are rich in evidence for the routine functioning of the Roman provincial administration. Ancient historians and legal historians have extensively studied and discussed all texts of major interest, like the petitions, summons, declarations of property and various types of legal contracts.<sup>13</sup> Comparative studies of similar types of documents from Egypt and the Judean Desert—e.g. census declarations, marriage contracts or deposits—have brought particularly rich results.<sup>14</sup>

In what follows I would like to focus on one document: P. Yadin 12—otherwise also known as P. Babatha 12 or 5/6Hev papExtract from Council Minutes gr (5/6Hev12)—and one specific aspect of this document: the city council. P. Yadin 12 contains an extract from council minutes of Petra, written in spring 124 C.E., when Petra was the capital of the Roman province Arabia.<sup>15</sup> P. Yadin 12, like many other documents from the so-called “Babatha archive,” has received considerable attention.<sup>16</sup> Thus,

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zur papyrologischen Terminologie,” in *Symposion 1997: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (ed. E. Cantarella and G. Thür; Köln: Böhlau, 2001), 253–268.

<sup>12</sup> The main papyrus archives from outside Egypt are described by Gascou, “Papyrology of the Near East,” 477–481. On papyrus archives in general cf. K. Vandorpe, “Archives and Dossiers,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 216–255. An important electronic tool on archives is provided by W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe at “Papyrus Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt”: <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php>.

<sup>13</sup> The scholarly literature on these manuscripts is extensive; in addition to a long series of articles by H.M. Cotton, numerous important contributions are collected in R. Katzoff and D. Schaps, eds., *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (JSJSup 96; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> For a brilliant overview, see H.M. Cotton, “The Impact of the Documentary Papyri from the Judaean Desert on the Study of Jewish History from 70 to 135 CE,” in *Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit: Wege der Forschung: Vom alten zum neuen Schürer* (ed. A. Oppenheimer unter Mitarbeit von E. Müller-Luckner; Schriften des Historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien 44; München: Oldenbourg, 1999), 221–236.

<sup>15</sup> The document dates between February 27th and July 28th 124 C.E. Additional information is provided in BL X 285 and XI 292. Photographs of the papyrus are available in N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (JDS 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), pls. 5–6 and in E. Crisci, *Scrivere greco fuori d’Egitto: Ricerche sui manoscritti greco-orientali di origine non egiziana dal IV secolo a.C. all’VIII d.C.* (Pap.Flor. XXVII; Florence: Gonnelli, 1996), pl. XXIII.

<sup>16</sup> Especially the legal aspects of the text have been studied: H.M. Cotton, “The Guardianship of Jesus son of Babatha: Roman and Local Law in the Province of Arabia,”



my contribution will concentrate on just a minor point. The “Babatha archive” consists of papyri in the possession of a Jewish woman called Babatha, who lived in both Arabia and Judaea. When she went hiding in the Cave of Letters during the revolt of Bar Kokhba, she had with her a group of 37 personal documents in Greek, Nabatean, and Aramaic spanning the period from 94 to 132 C.E. Babatha’s documents constitute the single most precious repository of evidence that we have for private life and landholding in Roman Arabia and Palestine.<sup>17</sup>

Before analyzing P. Yadin 12 in detail and comparing it with Egyptian documents, I should say some preliminary things on the *boulai*. The βουλή (*curia*) or city council was a characteristic feature of many of the Greek cities of the Hellenistic period. Modeled more or less on the pattern of the Athenian *boule*, the *boulai* of the Hellenistic cities were in a large degree responsible for the internal administration of their community. Many of these cities eventually succumbed to Roman rule, but in most of them the *boule* was retained. It remained hence an important institution in the Greek cities throughout the eastern Roman provinces.<sup>18</sup>

In Egypt, however, the situation was different.<sup>19</sup> During the Ptolemaic period, only two cities, apart from Alexandria, possessed a *boule*: Naucratis in the Delta and Ptolemais in Upper Egypt. When Egypt was added to the Roman Empire in 30 B.C.E., Augustus and his successors kept an especially close watch upon its administration.<sup>20</sup> Despite requests from

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JRS 83 (1993): 94–113, esp. 95–97 and eadem, “Language Gaps in Roman Palestine and the Roman Near East,” in *Medien im Antiken Palästina: Materiale Kommunikation und Medialität als Thema der Palästinaarchäologie* (ed. C. Frevel; FAT 2/10; Tübingen: 2005), 151–169; T.J. Chiusi, “Babatha vs. the Guardians of her Son: A Struggle for Guardianship: Legal and Practical Aspects of P. Yadin 12–15, 27,” in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*, 105–132.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the introduction to the archive by Lewis, *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 3–29 and the critical review of G.W. Bowersock, “The Babatha Papyri, Masada, and Rome,” *Journal of Roman Archeology* 4 (1991): 336–344; repr. in *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire: Social, Economic and Administrative History, Religion, Historiography* (Goldbach: Keip, 1994), 213–228.

<sup>18</sup> There is ample discussion on the subject; the basic studies are still F.F. Abbot and A.C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926), and A.H.M. Jones, “The Cities of the Roman Empire: Political, Administrative and Judicial Institutions,” *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 6 (1954): 135–173; repr. in *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), 1–34.

<sup>19</sup> The *locus classicus* is P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l’Égypte Romaine* (Paris: de Boccard, 1968).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A.K. Bowman and D. Rathbone, “Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt,” JRS 82 (1992): 107–127, see also the critical remarks by A. Jördens, “Das Verhältnis der

the Alexandrinians to the Emperors Augustus and Claudius, Alexandria did not receive the permission to set up or reinstate its *boule*. Neither did the *metropoleis* of the nomes possess councils during the first and second centuries C.E.<sup>21</sup> Only Antinoopolis, a city founded in Middle Egypt in 130 C.E. by Hadrian, was organized as a Greek city, complete with a *boule*.<sup>22</sup> And only in 200 C.E., when Septimius Severus visited Alexandria in person, a *boule* was granted to this famous town. Shortly afterwards evidence begins to appear for the existence of *boulai* in several *metropoleis* of Egypt as well.<sup>23</sup> The position and character of the new *boulai* of the *metropoleis* appear to owe little to predecessors in Egypt and elsewhere. Rather they took over many of the functions of the  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omega\nu$  in the *metropoleis*, a number of elected or appointed magistrates who functioned in concert with the officials of the local administration, namely the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus*, and with representatives of the central government, the *procuratores* and the *praefectus Aegypti*.<sup>24</sup> These *boulai* were invested, however, with a much wider competence. The most important tasks of the *boulai* of the third (and fourth) century C.E. were the supervision of finance and the election of the officials and liturgists who played an essential role in the administration of the *metropolis*. The *boule* was responsible to the central government for

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römischen Amtsträger zu den 'Städten' in der Provinz," in *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert* (ed. W. Eck unter Mitarbeit von E. Müller-Lückner; Schriften des Historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien 42; München: Oldenbourg, 1999), 141–180.

<sup>21</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (ed. M. Avi-Yonah et al.; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), see esp. 295–348 for Egypt. On the development of the cities in Egypt see more generally R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> M. Zahrnt, "Antinoopolis in Ägypten: Die hadrianische Gründung und ihre Privilegien in der neueren Forschung," in *Provinzen und Randvölker: Afrika mit Ägypten* (ed. H. Temporini; ANRW II.10.1, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 669–706; on the political context cf. also M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), esp. 190–196.

<sup>23</sup> For the following, see Jouguet, *La vie municipale*, 344–350 and A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology 11; Toronto: Hakkert, 1971), esp. 15–19 for the installation of the *boulai*, and D. Hagedorn, "The Emergence of Municipal Offices in the Nome-Capitals of Egypt," in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (eds. A.K. Bowman et al.; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 194–204.

<sup>24</sup> This interaction is analysed by A. Jördens, "Der *praefectus Aegypti* und die Städte," in *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis: Konzeption, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich: Akten der Tagung an der Universität Zürich 18.–20. 10. 2004* (ed. A. Kolb; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 191–200.

the payment of taxes and the demands for the supply of the army (*annona militaris*).<sup>25</sup>

The procedure of the meetings may be described briefly.<sup>26</sup> They apparently opened with εὐφημίαι, *acclamations*. The meetings were chaired by the *prytanis*, and he took a prominent role in opening discussions, introducing business and forcing decisions. P. Oxy. I 41 is probably the best example of the opening rituals of a council meeting in the presence of the governor (lines 1–7):<sup>27</sup>

[ --- ] when the assembly had met, (the people cried) [ --- ] the Roman power for ever! lords Augusti! good fortune O governor, good fortune to the *catholicus*! Bravo *prytanis*, bravo the city's boast, bravo Dioskoros chief of the citizens! under you our blessings still increase, source of our blessings, [ --- Isis] loves you and rises, good luck to the patriot! good luck to the lover of equity! source of our blessings, founder of the city ... bravo ...

And after some other acclamations, the *prytanis* replied (lines 16–21):

"I welcome, and with much gratification, the honour which you do me, but I beg that such demonstrations be reserved for a legitimate occasion when you can make them with authoritative force and I can accept them with assurance." The people (ὁ δῆμος) cried: "Many votes does he deserve, lords Augusti, all-victorious for the Romans, the Roman power for ever! ..."<sup>28</sup>

We understand from the phrase "The people cried" (ὁ δῆμος ἐβόησεν) here, and other evidence from elsewhere, that meetings of the *boulai* were not (or not necessarily) closed sessions, but in fact open to the public. The system in debate is rather obscure. There does not seem to be any fixed order of speaking. Any problem was simply discussed until a decision was reached or postponed until the next meeting.<sup>29</sup> The evidence shows that the city councils were also the stage for petitions and complaints. The

<sup>25</sup> For the variety of businesses of the *boulai*, cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 211–250; Jouguet, *La vie municipale*, 399–454; and Bowman, *Town Councils*, 69–119.

<sup>26</sup> For these meetings, see *ibid.*, 32–39 and Jones, *Greek City*, 185–188, quoting instructive passages from various sources.

<sup>27</sup> P. Oxy. I 41 = W. Chr. 45 = Sel. Pap. II 239 (Oxyrhynchus, early fourth cent. C.E.), cf. BL IX 176–177, on the dating: K.A. Worp, "Further Chronological Notes," *ZPE* 151 (2005): 153 n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Translation according to A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, vol. 2: *Official Documents* (LCL 282; London: Heinemann, 1934), # 239.

<sup>29</sup> The record and the situation in P. Oxy. I 41 is extensively analyzed by T. Kruse, "The Magistrate and the Ocean: Acclamations and Ritualized Communication in Town Gatherings in Roman Egypt," in *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World*

*boule* was called upon to confirm exemption from liturgy by persons of privileged status, like Roman citizens, soldiers or athletes. The subject of most petitions addressed to the *boulai* were complaints against nomination to liturgies or similar duties. All this was discussed in public. Moreover, every business of the *boule* was not only a thing of the moment, but something for the public memory. Naturally the business meetings of the councils were recorded and each *boule* kept the minutes of her meetings for decades, maybe even longer. P. Oxy. XVII 2110 is probably the most instructive example of council minutes we have; though dating from 370 C.E., it illustrates the procedure which we may assume was not substantially different from that of the second and third centuries C.E. A complaint is made:<sup>30</sup>

In the 3rd consulship of our masters Valentinian and Valens, eternal Augusti, Phaophi 9, at a meeting of the *boule*, in the *prytany* of Claudius Hermeias, son of Gelasius, *ex-gymnasiarch* and councilor; after the *plaudits* Theon, son of Ammonius, councilor, represented by his son Macrobius, came forward and made the following statement:—"Fellow councilors, you know as well as I that my name is on the tablet about to come into force and that I am one of the twenty-four ordained by our lord the most illustrious Tatianus (= praefect of Egypt) for the *pagarchies* and contractorships. Perhaps in ignorance, the president has appointed me to the administration of the soldiers' woolen clothing for the 14th indiction, at the very time when I have horses to keep; wherefore I put it to you that the ordinances ought not to be infringed."—The councilors cried: "What is on the tablet is valid; what has been rightly ordained must not be infringed."—Ptoleminus, *ex-logistes*, said: "What has been ordained by our lord the most illustrious Tatianus with the approval of the whole council must stand fast and unshaken, whence it follows that the twenty-four are not to serve in any other service whatever but keep to the heavier liturgies, not only in this but in future *prytanies*. If, however, anyone wishes to serve in another service, he does not do so on the responsibility of the council, and Macrobius ought not to be burdened."—Gerontius, *ex-exactor*, said. "What has been rightly ordained and legally done by my lord Tatianus and referred to our sovereigns and to my lords the most illustrious *praefects of the praetorium* has its validity from them, and hence it is not proper for Macribius to be burdened by either the *prytanis* or the future *prytanis* with other administrations" ...<sup>31</sup>

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(ed. E. Stavrianopoulou; Kernos Supplément 16; Liège: Centre International d'Etude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 2006), 297–315.

<sup>30</sup> P. Oxy. XVII 2110 = Sel. Pap. II 240 (Oxyrhynchus, 6 October 370 C.E.), cf. BL IX 193; X 146; XI 159.

<sup>31</sup> Translation according to Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, # 240.

The complainant is supported by statements from nine other councilors until the *prytanis* finally yields and upholds the complaint. The situation is typical: Acclamations and disputes—every business of the *boule* was done in public. We understand that—like today—publicity was desired because it would make all actions more “transparent.” But we also can imagine that publicity could well give an even more harsh tone to every dispute: being successful (or not) in escaping public duties was one thing for a councilor, being victorious or defeated in a public discussion was still another thing.

The written minutes of the meetings, kept by each *boule*, grew in importance, as the financial responsibilities of the town council increased.<sup>32</sup> Much more than simple “public memory,” the records could in cases of dispute get some legal bearing, as the entries clearly displayed each action and every decision made by the *boule*. In Egypt, the terms ὑπομνήματα and ὑπομνηματισμοί are used to describe those reports and could probably best be translated into English as “proceedings.” U. Wilcken<sup>33</sup> demonstrated an equivalent between the terms ὑπομνηματισμοί and Latin *commentarii*, the day to day *journal* in which Roman magistrates recorded each and every official activity. E. Bickerman<sup>34</sup> attempted to bring the term ὑπομνήματα close to Latin *acta*, a second step in recording the official business. The *acta* were compiled at the end of the day from the *commentarii* and contained in short form the results and decisions of the magistrates or the *boule*. But this distinction is not always clear in our documents—and maybe was not always observed. Structure and style of the records are known from quite a number of original minutes of *boulai* that survived in more or less fragmentary conditions. Two substantial bodies of evidence come from Oxyrhynchus and Hermoupolis.<sup>35</sup> The majority of the reports is written in *oratio recta* and contains vivid accounts of the meetings, interspersed with acclamations

<sup>32</sup> On the proceedings see Bowman, *Town Councils*, 32–39 with a list of recorded meetings or references to meetings on pp. 32–33.

<sup>33</sup> U. Wilcken, “ὑπομνηματισμοί,” *Philologus* 53 (1894): 80–126.

<sup>34</sup> E. Bickerman, “Testificatio Actorum,” *Aegyptus* 13 (1933): 333–355.

<sup>35</sup> Oxyrhynchus: P. Oxy. XII 1413–1419 (end of third cent. C.E.); XXVII 2475–2477 (298); Hermoupolis: SPP V preserves an extensive convolute of proceedings from the middle of the third century C.E.; this important evidence is analysed by Bowman, *Town Councils*, esp. 32–39; M. Drew-Bear, “Les archives du conseil municipal d’Hermoupolis Magna,” in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia: Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983* (3 vols.; Naples: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1984), 3:807–813, and eadem, “Contenu et intérêt historique des archives du conseil municipal d’Hermoupolis sous Gallien,” in *Egyptian Archives: Proceedings of the First Session of the*

and interjections. Discussions, motions, and comments were recorded verbatim and therefore present an insight into the routine business of the city councils—like the two examples just cited.

Proceedings of this kind were of course no Egyptian peculiarity. P. Yadin 12 proves that the *boulai* of other cities kept their minutes too, and they did so even before the Egyptian *metropoleis* had a *boule*. Moreover, containing an extract from council minutes of Petra, P. Yadin 12 proves that such extracts were put on public display and by this—similar to legal judgments of Roman governors—served as formal publications of council decisions. Those published extracts are abbreviated versions of the verbatim council proceedings (the Egyptian ὑπομνηματισμοί) and resemble the *acta* of Roman magistrates. P. Yadin 12 reads as follows (lines 1–11):

(*Inner text*): Verified exact copy of one item from the minutes of the council of Petra the *metropolis*, minutes displayed in the temple of Aphrodite in Petra, and it is as appended below in the outer text.

(*Outer text*): Verified exact copy of one item of guardianship from the minutes of the council of Petra the *metropolis*, minutes displayed in the temple of Aphrodite in Petra, and it is as appended below:

(*line 6*) “And of Jesus, a Jew, son of Jesus, of the village Maoza, ‘Abdodbas son of Illouthas and John son of Eglas [i.e. are appointed guardians].”

Done in Petra, *metropolis* of Arabia, four days before the kalends of . . . , in the consulship of Manius Acilius Glabrio and Gaius Bellicius Torquatus . . .<sup>36</sup>

(On the back signatures of the witnesses)

This small sheet of light-colored papyrus contains a double document.<sup>37</sup> At this type of contract the text—styled as objective minutes—was written two times on the same sheet of papyrus. One copy remained visible (*scriptura exterior*), the second one was rolled up and sealed (*scriptura interior*). The stitched-up upper (now inner) text exists to verify that the exposed or lower text, accessible to all, has not been manipulated. In cases of litigation the seals could be broken at court and the original

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*International Congress on Egyptian Archives / Egyptological Archives* (ed. P. Piacentini and C. Orsenigo; Quaderni di Acme 111; Milan: Cisalpino, 2009), 187–195.

<sup>36</sup> Translation by Lewis, *Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period*, 49.

<sup>37</sup> On this form of the document see *ibid.*, 6–10; H.M. Cotton, “‘Diplomatics’ or External Aspects of the Legal Documents from the Judaean Desert: Prolegomena,” in *Rabbinic Law in Its Roman and Near Eastern Context* (ed. C. Hezser; TSAJ 97; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 49–61.

text could be read. The double document was a common style for legal documents in Hellenistic Egypt,<sup>38</sup> but became relatively rare in Roman Egypt—fewer than a hundred among the thousands of contracts published so far.<sup>39</sup> But the papyri from Wadi Murabba‘at and Dura Europos include numerous double documents from the Roman period. Moreover, all but one of the private documents from the Euphrates area are of the double form—confirming the prevalence of this type in Palestine, Arabia, and Syria at least into the middle of the third century C.E.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, we detect a first sign of decline in P. Yadin 12: The inner text does not repeat the relevant text any more (as it should), but simply refers to it “and it is as appended below in the outer text.”<sup>41</sup>

P. Yadin 12 belongs to the legal documents of Babatha—a wealthy woman from Maoza at the south end of the Dead Sea.<sup>42</sup> When she fled to the cave at the time of the uprising of Bar Kokhba, she kept with her documents concerning her property<sup>43</sup> and the raising of her son Jesus from her first marriage.<sup>44</sup> By the time P. Yadin 12 was set

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<sup>38</sup> H.J. Wolff, “Zur Geschichte der Sechszeugen-Doppelurkunde,” in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses: Marburg/Lahn, 2.–6. August 1971* (ed. E. Kießling and H.-A. Rupprecht; MBPF 66; München: Beck, 1974), 469–479; idem, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats*, vol. 2: *Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft X.5.2; München: Beck, 1978), 57–71; M. Amelotti and L. Migliardi-Zingale, “Osservazioni sulla duplice scritturazione nei documenti,” in *Symposion 1985: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (ed. G. Thür; Köln: Böhlau, 1989), 299–309.

<sup>39</sup> For double documents from the Roman period, see D. Rathbone, “PSI XI 1183: Record of a Roman Census Declaration of A.D. 47/8,” in *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas* (ed. T. Gagos and R.S. Bagnall; American Studies in Papyrology 42; Exeter: American Society of Papyrologists: 2001), 99–106.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Gasco, “Papyrology of the Near East,” 482; for the use of double documents in the papyri from outside Egypt, see *ibid.* 485.

<sup>41</sup> This “presentation” of the content of the document does not, to be sure, provide much possibility for controlling the outer text.

<sup>42</sup> For the Babatha Archive and its context, see the literature quoted in nn. 13 and 17; for additional remarks, see M. Goodman, “Babatha’s Story,” *JRS* 81 (1991): 169–175; B. Isaac, “The Babatha Archive: A Review Article,” *IEJ* 42 (1992): 62–75; repr. in *The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers* (Mnemosyne Supplementum 177; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 159–181.

<sup>43</sup> H.M. Cotton and J.C. Greenfield, “Babatha’s Property and the Law of Succession in the Babatha Archive,” *ZPE* 104 (1994): 211–224.

<sup>44</sup> In addition to the literature cited above in n. 16, cf. A.E. Hanson, “The Widow Babatha and the Poor Orphan Boy,” in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*, 85–103, and generally J.G. Oudshoorn, *The Relationship between Roman and Local Law in the Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives: General Analysis and Three Case Studies on Law of Succession, Guardianship and Marriage* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

up (124 C.E.), Babatha was widowed and the boy orphaned. In the first half of the year 124 C.E. the *boule* of Petra had appointed two men to be guardians of the orphan.<sup>45</sup> The purpose of the present document was to copy from the minutes (ἀπὸ ἄκτων) of the *boule* of Petra the names of the two guardians appointed by the *boule*. Unlike similar proceedings from Egypt, P. Yadin 12 “from the beginning to end ... reads like a Greek translation of a Latin original.”<sup>46</sup> Even the date is given in Latin and the formula ἐγγεγραμμένον καὶ ἀντιβεβλημένον (probably *scilicet* ἀντίγραφον) in lines 1 and 4 renders the Latin *descriptum et recognitum* at copies of edicts issued by Roman authorities and indeed the excerpt from minutes of the city council of Caere in Italy which survived in a Latin inscription.<sup>47</sup>

As the Greek and Roman practice normally required only a single guardian, the naming of two guardians presumably followed local custom.<sup>48</sup> Appointed by the *boule* in one of its meetings, the whole affair of naming guardians for Babatha’s orphan son became public. The fact was memorized publicly in the *acta* of the *boule*, and it was displayed in the center of the city. According to lines 5–6, the *acta* of the *boule* were posted at the Aphrodeision, the temple of the Arabian Aphrodite (al-Uzza) in Petra.<sup>49</sup> In the Roman Empire, edicts and decrees of the emperors and governors as well as the *acta* of the city councils were routinely posted at centrally located public buildings for the information of those concerned. The interested parties could have copies made during the period of posting. This practice is very well known from Egyptian papyri as well, but the posting is expressed by προτίθημι, not πρόκειμαι, as here. Babatha took care that the veracity of her copy of the *acta* of the *boule* concerning

<sup>45</sup> Thus lines 6–8 of the document quoted above (see p. 890).

<sup>46</sup> Lewis, *Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period*, 48; cf. also J. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 267–268, and H.M. Cotton, “The Languages of the Legal and Administrative Documents from the Judaean Desert,” *ZPE* 125 (1999): 219–231.

<sup>47</sup> CIL XI 3614, lines 4–6 (113/4 C.E.): “Descriptum et recognitum factum in pronao aedis Martis | ex commentario, quem iussit proferri Cuperius Hostilianus per T. Rustium Lysipponum | scribam, in quo scriptum erat id quod infra scriptum est ...”; and lines 8–9: “Commentarium cottidianum municipii Caeritum, inde pagina XXVII kapite VI ...”

<sup>48</sup> Babatha was dissatisfied with the performance of both guardians. Only a couple of months after their nomination, she petitioned the governor and later summoned the guardians: P. Yadin 13 (5/6Hev papPetition to Governor gr [5/6Hev13]; second half of 125 C.E.), P. Yadin 14 (5/6Hev papSummons gr [5/6Hev14]; October 125 C.E.); P. Yadin 27 (5/6Hev papReceipt gr [5/6Hev27]; 132 C.E.).

<sup>49</sup> The Aphrodeision is best identified with the Temple of the Winged Lions; cf. G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 87.



the guardians of her son were attested by witnesses. Five witnesses signed on the back of P. Yadin 12, the first four in Nabatean, the fifth in Greek.

In Roman Egypt, in fact all legal proceedings that survive on papyrus are such “copies from the *commentarii*” (ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος or simply ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν). Court proceedings and legal judgments were never stand alone documents, but just entries in the *commentarii* of the judging official.<sup>50</sup> If one party wanted to have a written document on the results of a *causa*, the posted *acta* had to be copied—just the way Babatha did it. Those extracts frequently were cited in court or included in petitions. For the same reason P. Yadin 12 was also styled as a legal contract with witnesses.

Despite those similarities, there are, however, some differences between the Egyptian extracts ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν and P. Yadin 12. First: the extracts ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν from Egypt are *verbatim* records of the proceedings and thus may, as Wilcken already thought, indeed be copies from the lengthy *commentarii*.<sup>51</sup> P. Yadin 12, on the other hand, is taken ἀπὸ ἄκτων βουλῆς Πετραίων, and the way it briefly states just the facts (and not the discussions) may indicate, that it really was taken *ab actis*, presumably the summaries of the ὑπομνήματα of the *boule*, as Bickerman suspected.<sup>52</sup> Second: The administration of the Egyptian *metropoleis* before 200 C.E. had been vested in the κοινὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, but the operations of these bodies had been largely dependent upon co-operation with officials of the central government, like the *strategos*. It is striking that the *boule* of Petra—also styled as *metropolis* (lines 2 and 5) and maybe organized as a Greek polis only shortly before<sup>53</sup>—had the capacity to name the guardians; in Egypt we would expect the *strategos*, chief administrator of the *nomós*, to be responsible for appointing guardians.<sup>54</sup> This is an important point: The *boule* of Petra performs legal actions on her own authority already in 124 C.E., while the *boulai* of the Egyptian *metropoleis* even in the third century C.E.—when

<sup>50</sup> R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 4; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1966).

<sup>51</sup> See above, n. 33.

<sup>52</sup> See above, n. 34.

<sup>53</sup> It remains unsure whether Petra had the constitution of a *polis* before 114 C.E. Cf. G.W. Bowersock, review of A. Spijkerman, *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, *JRS* 72 (1982): 197–198, 198; on the meaning of *metropolis* in this contexts cf. idem, “Babatha Papyri,” 340 n. 7.

<sup>54</sup> R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (332 B.C.–640 A.D.) (2nd ed.; Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 153–162, esp. 161–162; Cotton, “Guardianship,” 96.

Petra had already advanced to the status of a *colonia*<sup>55</sup>—still act only together with and probably depending on the *strategos*.

P. Yadin 12 attests to activities by the *boule* of Petra in the province Arabia in 124 C.E., which the *boulai* of the Egyptian *metropoleis* and Alexandria were able to perform only three generations later, after 200 C.E. Twenty years after the incorporation of Arabia in the Roman Empire in 106 C.E., the *boule* of Petra functions as if it would be a free Greek city. Thus, this small papyrus document proves that the city council of Petra had retained the important role the councils of Greek cities played in the Hellenistic period before the coming of Rome. Not only city administration and taxation, but also a variety of private legal actions, like the appointment of guardians, were on the agenda of the public meetings of Petra's city council.

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<sup>55</sup> Petra became *colonia* under Elagabal; cf. S. Ben-Dor, "Petra Colonia," *Ber* 9 (1948–1949): 41–43; F. Millar, "The Roman *coloniae* of the Near East: A Study of Cultural Relations," in *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History: Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvärminne, 2–3 October, 1987* (ed. H. Solin and M. Kajava; Commentationes humanarum litterarum 91; Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1990), 7–58, 51.

THE QUMRAN PESHARIM AND THE DERVENI PAPYRUS:  
TRANSPOSITIONAL HERMENEUTICS IN  
ANCIENT JEWISH AND ANCIENT  
GREEK COMMENTARIES\*

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Already in 1953, Karl Elliger stated in his commentary to *Pesher Habakuk* that the text often resorts to allegorical interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

Es wird allegorisiert, wiederum nicht durchgängig, aber da, wo der Wort-sinn sich der Konzeption des Auslegers nicht fügt, und gelegentlich auch sonst.

Ten years later, after more pesharim were published, Asher Finkel compared the pesharim with rabbinic sources and characterized their exegetical approach as allegorical in nature.<sup>2</sup>

The method of applying peshar to the Scriptures indicates traditional lines of interpretation in Qumran and Rabbinic sources. The central feature is the understanding of the inspired words of the past in the context of a present or future situation, or in relating them to a given case. To achieve these purposes the exegete allegorically interprets the significant words.<sup>3</sup>

Finkel's understanding of the pesharim has been reasserted by a number of scholars, including Bilha Nitzan,<sup>4</sup> Devorah Dimant,<sup>5</sup> Menahem

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\* We are indebted to Dr. Nóra Dávid for editing this article according to the stylesheet. If not indicated otherwise, translations of ancient sources are our own.

<sup>1</sup> K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (Studien zur historischen Theologie 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 142, cf. 142–143.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Finkel, "The Peshar of Dreams and Scriptures," *RevQ* 4 (1963–1964): 357–370 (364–370).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 370.

<sup>4</sup> B. Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab): Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 51–54 (Hebrew).

<sup>5</sup> D. Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5:244–251 (249). Dimant speaks of "symbolic or allegorical equations" (*ibid.*).

Kister,<sup>6</sup> and Shani Berrin.<sup>7</sup> The recent publication of the *editio princeps* of the Derveni papyrus<sup>8</sup>—a lemmatic allegorical commentary on an Orphic poem which, due to its archeological context and its paleography, can be dated to the late fourth century B.C.E.—allows now for a comparison between the Qumran pesharim and a relatively early firsthand witness of Greek allegoresis. In this article, we would like to revisit Finkel's characterization of the pesharim as allegorical in light of such a comparison. In choosing the Derveni papyrus and the Qumran pesharim for our comparison, we have been guided by the affinities between the cultural status of their respective producers and by their similar hermeneutical objectives and procedures. As our study intends to show, these two “metatexts”<sup>9</sup> represent the dissenting attitudes of religious groups or individuals, each feeling increasingly estranged from their cultural matrix and its approaches to founding texts and authoritative traditions. As a result of this estrangement, they each resorted to a transpositional kind of hermeneutics by presupposing a new signification of the authoritative texts and traditions beyond their culturally endorsed meaning. Since our objectives reach far beyond a simple answer to the question of whether the pesharim practice allegoresis or not, we begin with some general observations about the nature and scope of transpositional hermeneutics.

#### TRANSPositionAL HERMENEUTICS

Transpositional hermeneutics designates an interpretative procedure that seeks to redescribe and thereby recontextualize the authoritative texts of a specific culture. The procedure itself comprises three distinctive

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<sup>6</sup> M. Kister, “A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and its Implications,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 101–111. Kister characterizes peshar-exegesis as a “historical-eschatological allegory” (111).

<sup>7</sup> S. Berrin, *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 17: “It is our contention that the author of peshar perceived his biblical base-text as polysemous, allegorical, and generally cohesive.”

<sup>8</sup> For the Derveni papyrus, see below, 899–908.

<sup>9</sup> According to G. Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 4, metatextuality is “the relationship most often labeled as ‘commentary.’ It unites a given text to another, of which it speaks without necessarily citing it (without summoning it), in fact sometimes even without naming it.”

moments: (i) the anticipatory movement of fore-understanding (*Vorverständnis*)<sup>10</sup> as a basic notion of reality that every reader brings as a presupposition to a text and finds it either confirmed or contradicted; if the text contradicts this presupposed basic notion of reality, the reader next resorts to (ii) atomization, or isolation of individual elements from the text, which serves the purpose of (iii) recontextualization, or the systematic one-by-one matching of the elements isolated from the authoritative text with those belonging to a chosen referential paradigm. In this way, transpositional hermeneutics confirms the reader's fore-understanding and realigns a seemingly contradictory authoritative text with it.

Formally, transpositional hermeneutics corresponds to the practice of allegoresis, or allegorical interpretation, inasmuch as both operate within the same hermeneutical dichotomies of surface vs. hidden meaning, whole vs. part, conventional semantics vs. conceptual transformation, and normative vs. deviant reading of the text.<sup>11</sup> At the same time,

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<sup>10</sup> The term *Vorverständnis* was introduced into hermeneutics by Rudolf Bultmann ("Ist voraussetzungslose Exegese möglich? [1957]," in *Glauben und Verstehen: Gesammelte Aufsätze* [4 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933–1965], 3:142–150; "Das Problem der Hermeneutik [1950]," in *Glauben und Verstehen*, 2:211–235) in conversation with Martin Heidegger (*Sein und Zeit* [15th ed.; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979]). While Bultmann restricted his own hermeneutical discourse of *Vorverständnis* to the interpretation of biblical texts—although he envisioned a wider hermeneutic framework—Hans-Georg Gadamer made it an integral part of his hermeneutical theory (*Hermeneutik*, vol. 1: *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* [6th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990], 272–312).

<sup>11</sup> For many modern scholars, atomization is a recurrent but not necessary moment in allegorical exegesis. For example, R. Pfeiffer in his *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 35–56, argued that the fifth-century "Sophists" used a detailed word-by-word analysis but showed no interest in allegoresis. In his monograph *Spätantike Dichtungstheorien: Untersuchungen zu Proklos, Herakleitos und Plutarch* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1990), W. Bernard distinguished between "substitutive" and "diairetic" allegory, the former roughly corresponding to the Stoic practice of atomization, or a one-to-one matching of the individual elements of the base text with those belonging to a chosen referential paradigm, and the latter to the method of later Platonists who sought to reveal the concealed meaning of "whole" narratives or their episodes. But see N.J. Richardson, "Homeric Professors in the Age of the Sophists," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 21 (1975): 65–81 (67), who suggests that "it may be wrong to attempt to draw too hard and fast a line between detailed word-by-word analysis of a text with a view to eliciting its true meaning, and the more extended form of interpretation which seeks to reveal the underlying purpose or hidden significance of whole scenes, or even of whole poems." Such a neat division between two procedures also runs counter the idea of the hermeneutical circle already formulated in the Neo-Platonist theories of textual "scopus" and more recently elaborated in the hermeneutical theories of Schleiermacher, Heidegger, and Gadamer. As pointed out by H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (trans. J. Weinsheimer and D.G. Marshall; 2nd ed.; New York: Continuum, 1989),

allegoresis in its traditional sense of a physical, ethical, or psychological exegesis is only a segment, or subspecies, of transpositional hermeneutics. The range of referential paradigms available to transpositional hermeneutics is practically indefinite, and it includes not only physical or psychological phenomena but also any concrete historical situation, political ideology, or religious belief and projection.

Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of transpositional hermeneutics in our exemplary metatexts, we want briefly to examine the ways in which each of these metatexts envisages the purpose and meaning of the base text as a whole—that is, their idea of how a given base text relates to the set of their anticipatory presuppositions (*Vorverständnis*). To start with the Derveni papyrus, its author formulates this preliminary insight at the very beginning of his detailed line-by-line exegesis of the Orphic “sacred discourse”:

This poem is strange and riddling for people, even though [Orpheus] himself did not intend to say contentious riddles, but rather great things in riddles. In fact, he is telling a holy discourse from the very first word to the last, as he also makes clear in the well-chosen verse: for having ordered them to “put doors to their ears,” he says that he is not legislating for the majority [but teaching those] who are pure in hearing ...

(P. Derveni VII:4–11)

The initial recognition of an overarching tension between the literal and non-literal meaning of the Orphic poem leads the Derveni author to postulate a set of important exegetical assumptions about the poem’s intent. As indicated in the above passage, “Orpheus” understood the value of concealment and deliberately cultivated the “riddling” style. In this way, the legendary singer restricted his wisdom to a particular audience, “those pure in hearing,” at the expense of the ignorant majority confined to the explicit content of his poem. And finally, “Orpheus” was telling a riddling story “from the very first word to the last,” as though he wished to warn “those pure in hearing” to attune their ears not only

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291, “the movement of understanding is constantly from the whole to the part and back to the whole ... The harmony of all the details with the whole is the criterion of correct understanding.” Even the Stoics did not draw too hard a line between atomization and a more extended analysis of whole stories; cf. Cicero, *Nat. d.* 3.63 (= *SVF* 2.1069): “A great deal of quite unnecessary trouble was taken [by the Stoics] to rationalize these purely fanciful myths *and* explain the reasons why each of (divine) names was thus called.” In the allegorical treatises of Philo of Alexandria, atomization is also a necessary step toward a correct understanding of the whole biblical lemma, as he constantly moves from the whole to the part and back to the whole; cf. D.T. Runia, “Further Observations on the Structure of Philo’s Allegorical Treatises,” *VC* 41 (1987): 105–137.

to an overall intent of the poem but also to its narrative line and to its individual elements—to each verse and every word therein. Taken together, these assumptions lay the ground for the specific exegetical method of the Derveni author, which amounts to a systematic matching of the verses, phrases, and individual words of the Orphic poem with specific extratextual referents.

A similar set of assumptions indicative of transpositional hermeneutics characterizes the Qumran pesharim, the earliest line-by-line Jewish commentaries. The *Pesher Habakkuk* from the Qumran community is a good case in point. As 1QpHab VII:1–5 explains,

1 And God told Habakkuk to write down what will come over 2 {over} the last generation; but the end of that period, He did not let him know. 3 *vacat* When it says, “so that he can run who reads it” (Hab 2:2), 4 its interpretation is about the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known 5 all mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.

In this case, the true meaning of God’s prophecy is hidden even to the prophet himself. Although “God told Habakkuk to write down” what would happen to “the last generation,” דור האחרון, Habakkuk does not know when the *eschaton* is coming. This deeper level of meaning is enclosed in his prophecy, yet only the Teacher of Righteousness has access to it.

How can we explain the parallels between the Derveni papyrus and the peshar? What circumstances led to the development of such strikingly similar hermeneutical agendas? To answer these questions, we first study the Derveni papyrus and its detailed word-by-word interpretation of an Orphic poem. Next, we will look at the hermeneutics of the pesharim from the Qumran library. At the end of our article we will draw some conclusions.

#### TRANSPOSITIONAL HERMENEUTICS IN THE DERVENI PAPYRUS

For many reasons, the Derveni papyrus represents one of most significant recent manuscript finds from the ancient world.<sup>12</sup> It is arguably the oldest surviving Greek literary manuscript, one of the earliest surviving

<sup>12</sup> The ensuing summary of the archaeological and paleographical aspects of the find draws on an excellent monograph by G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 56–73, and on the introductory section in the first critical edition of the papyrus by T. Kouremenos,

Greek papyri, and the only papyrus found in mainland Greece. As far as its content is concerned, the papyrus casts a new light on the relationship between philosophical speculation and religious thought in the fourth century B.C.E., and provides new evidence for the history of Orphism and the ritual function of exegetical texts in this revisionist religious movement. For our study, the text of the papyrus is particularly significant as the earliest preserved running commentary with verbatim quotations (*lemmata*)—a predecessor of the continuous commentaries (*hypomnēmata*) produced by the Alexandrian philologists.

### *The Find and Its Content*

The papyrus was discovered in 1962, in the course of the excavation of a group of graves near Derveni, a narrow mountain pass twelve kilometers north of Thessaloniki. The burial site was located on the territory of the ancient town of Lete and its nearby sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The papyrus scroll was found in the debris of the pyre belonging to tomb A of this burial site. The archaeologists involved in the excavation of the burial site and the study of the individual graves and their contents favor a date for the burials in the late fourth to early third century B.C.E. Thus the actual papyrus scroll might also date from the same period. Paleographical dating has proven inconclusive, but the affinities of the papyrus script with late fourth-century pottery inscriptions and the copyist's systematic use of *paragraphoi* does not exclude an earlier date between 340 and 320 B.C.E. The text transmitted on the papyrus may belong to roughly the same period, but most scholars think that it dates

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G. Parássoglou, and K. Tsatsanoglou (henceforward KPT), *The Derveni Papyrus* (Studi e testi per il corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini 13; Florence: Olschki, 2006), 1–10. Our translation of individual sections follows K. Tsatsanoglou's diplomatic and critical edition in KPT, 62–125 and the edition with an extensive apparatus (absent in KPT) by A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci: Testimonia et fragmenta*, vol. 2.3; *Musaeus, Linus, Epimenides, Papyrus Derveni, Indices* (Teubner; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 171–269. Among an ever-increasing number of studies on the Derveni papyrus, we have especially benefited, besides the aforementioned monograph by Betegh, from the following: A. Laks and G.W. Most, eds., *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); A. Laks, "Between Religion and Philosophy: The Function of Allegory in the Derveni Papyrus," *Phronesis* 42 (1997): 121–142; F. Jourdan, *Le papyrus de Derveni* (Vérité des mythes 23; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003); C. Calame, "Pratiche orfiche della scrittura: itinerari iniziatici?" in *Orfeo e le sue metamorfosi* (ed. G. Guidorizzi and M. Melotti; Rome: Carocci, 2005), 28–45; A. Bernabé, "Autour de l'interprétation des colonnes XIII–XVI du Papyrus de Derveni," *Rhizai* 4 (2007): 77–103; M. Frede, "On the Unity and the Aim of the Derveni Text," *Rhizai* 4 (2007): 9–33.



from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth century, mostly on the basis of its numerous allusions to cosmological theories of various fifth-century Greek natural philosophers, from Diogenes of Apollonia to Anaxagoras and Heraclitus.

The preserved top portion of the papyrus varies in height, with the beginning of the scroll suffering more damage than the inner layers. As a result, the opening three columns (*selides*) of the papyrus survive only in small fragments of 9–10 lines. The ensuing twenty-three columns have 14 to 17 lines of writing, of which the upper 10–11 lines yield an almost continuous text with occasional small lacunae. It is impossible to determine the original height of the scroll, but comparison with the height of early literary papyri suggests that approximately half of the text is missing. A large block of space following the last column and the conjectured number of 20 *kollemata* typical for a standard scroll indicate that we possess the fragments of all columns of the papyrus.

There is a noticeable change of tone, style, and content from the top of col. VII, where the author launches his systematic exegesis of a poem he attributes to Orpheus. In contrast with this impersonal exposition which, with the exception of col. XX, continues to the end of the text, the style of the first six columns is forceful, occasionally polemical, and ridden with rhetorical questions.<sup>13</sup> The columns are concerned with propitiatory rituals, with the magi performing sacrifices and the initiates, with the Erinyes and the Eumenides, the impending daemons and the avenging souls of the deceased, with oracles and dream interpretation, and with the interconnectedness of impiety, injustice, and the lack of understanding among people, including even the initiates.

The atmosphere evoked in the first six columns is reminiscent of Plato's unfavorable description of the itinerant Orphic priests "who present a noisy throng of books by Musaeus and Orpheus, . . . in accordance with which they perform their rituals, and persuade not only individuals but

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<sup>13</sup> A similar shift in tone, from an engaging polemic to a dry explanation of words, phrases, and grammatical construction of a literary text, can be observed in the second-century *hypomnēma* on Thucydides from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 853). For the comparison of the Derveni papyrus with ancient hypomnematic commentaries and later scholia, cf. A. Lamedica, "La terminologia critico-letteraria del Papiro di Derveni ai *corpora scoliografici*," in *Lessici tecnici greci e latini* (ed. P. Radici Colace and M. Caccamo Caltabiano; Messina: Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti, 1991), 83–91; idem, "Il Papiro Derveni come commentario: problemi formali," in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology, Cairo 2–9 Sept. 1989* (ed. A.H.S. El-Mosallamy; Cairo: Ain Shams University Center of Papyrological Studies, 1992), 1:325–333; Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus*, 94–108.

also entire cities that the unjust deeds of the living or the dead can be absolved or purified through ritual sacrifices and pleasant games” (*Resp.* 2.364e–365a). The Derveni author does not appear to share Plato’s general resentment toward the religious professionals who conduct private religious ceremonies, for in col. V:4–5 he seems to speak of himself as a member of one such group (“we”), that of diviners (μάγνταις), who “go into the oracular shrine to inquire for oracular answers” on behalf of their clients. What he profoundly resents, however, is people’s disbelief in the post-mortem punishments and their inability to understand premonitory dreams sent by gods. And he shows even less sympathy for the conduct of “those who make a craft of the holy rites” but cannot, or do not wish to, explain the rituals they are performing, leaving the initiates ignorant of “what they have seen or heard or learned” (P. Derveni XX:4–8). The ensuing commentary of an Orphic poem—the latter presumably an instance of what the initiates “have heard or learned” in the ritual—is thus intended as a corrective move on the part of a rival practitioner, dissatisfied with the low professional and intellectual standards of his colleagues.

The poem with which the author is occupied from col. VII onwards provides yet another among many versions of the Orphic theogony. The lacunous state of the papyrus does not allow full reconstruction, but the remaining lines, some fully preserved and others recoverable from the author’s partial quotations, reveal significant divergences from the other known Orphic accounts. In this curious reworking of the succession myth recorded in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, the oldest deity appears to be Night (col. XI:1–3), and not Konos as in some other Orphic versions. Her son is Ouranos, who is to be the first king (XIV:6). Kronos supplants his father Ouranos after chopping off his sexual organ (XIV:5), only to be himself deposed by Zeus (VIII:4–5; XV:6). Following the advice of Night (XI:10) and Kronos (XIII:1), Zeus swallows Ouranos’ sexual organ (XIII:4) and, remaining the sole ruler (XVI:9) with absolute power (XVII:12), contrives a new generation of gods. The last episode in the story, as given in the papyrus, deals with Zeus’ incestuous desire for his mother Rhea.

Compared with the plot of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, the Orphic poem of the Derveni papyrus brings two important innovations: one is Zeus’ swallowing of Ouranos’ sex and the other his mating with Rhea. By the former act, Zeus absorbs within himself all previous cosmic stages, and by the latter he breaks the pattern of previous succession and thereby secures his everlasting supremacy. As one line in the poem describes him, “Zeus is the head, Zeus is the middle, and from Zeus all things have their being” (XVII:12). As a result, the cosmos is no longer ruled by a

number of gods, each assigned a different function in generating and maintaining the existing order, but has a single source, a single ordering principle, and a single point of convergence. In this model, the traditional gods of Homer and Hesiod are assimilated to a transcendent divine designer, Zeus, and play the role of his various creating powers immanent to the world. Based on this preliminary insight into the general scope and purpose of the Orphic poem, the Derveni author begins his detailed interpretation of the Orphic poem by transposing its individual episodes and characters into the framework of Greek natural philosophy.

*Transpositional Hermeneutics in the Derveni Papyrus*

The cosmology that underlies and guides the Derveni author's exegesis is not systematically expounded, but given in a series of snapshots, each linked to a particular verse, or a group of verses, of the poem. It is also eclectic, made up of the bits and pieces taken from various fifth-century B.C.E. physical theories, but it does not lack internal coherence, drawing as it were on those physical theories which argue for a single intelligent principle governing the cosmogonic process. The only natural philosopher mentioned by name is Heraclitus (IV:5), whose statement about the size assigned to the sun, the Erinyes, and Dike (Justice) is subsequently quoted (IV:7–9) and later paraphrased (XXV:9–12). But the influence of two other naturalists, viz. Anaxagoras of Clazomenae and Diogenes of Apollonia, is more tangible, and especially of their respective theories of a single corporeal and intelligent substance, air and mind respectively, informing and governing phenomenal reality.<sup>14</sup> The indebtedness to these two thinkers is particularly noticeable in the middle section of the Derveni commentary:<sup>15</sup>

And the following verse: *Ouranos, son of Night, who reigned first*. By naming Mind that strikes (κρούοντα) existing things against each other Kronos (Κρόνον), he (sc. Orpheus) says that it did a great deed to *Ouranos*, for the latter was thereby deprived of *the kingship*. And he named it Kronos after its action and the other (names), too, according to the same principle. For when all the existing things [were not yet being struck, Mind,] dividing as it were the nature of things, [received the designation *Ouranos*].

(XIV:6–13)

<sup>14</sup> For the eclectic cosmology underlying the Derveni author's individual comments, see esp. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus*, 224–348, and Frede, "On the Unity," passim.

<sup>15</sup> All words typeset in italics mark the original Orphic poem.

And in the next verse, *Since then in turn Kronos, and next contriving Zeus*, he (sc. Orpheus) says something like this: the rule has been *since the time* he has been the king. And this rule is explained as [his] striking (*κρούων*) the existing things against each other and setting them apart into their current reconfiguration—not different from different ones but rather [different]iated. (XV:6–10)

[*Zeus was first to be born, Zeus the last, with the flashing bolt.*]<sup>16</sup> [...] It existed *before* it was named, and then it was named. For air existed even *before* the present things were set together, and will always exist. For it did not come to be, but existed. And why it was called air has been made clear in the previous sections. But it was thought to be born after it got the name Zeus, as if it did not exist before. And he (sc. Orpheus) said that it will be *the last* after it was named Zeus, and this will continue to be its name until the present things have got set together into the same state in which the former things were floating. (XVI bottom–XVII:9)

The passages exhibit rather clearly the hermeneutic procedure adopted by the Derveni author—a mixture of a detailed elucidation of individual names or common words (typed in italics) and the more extended physical reinterpretation of whole episodes from the Orphic poem. The author first sets apart a verse or verses, and then either breaks open the lemma by means of an initial comment, often in the form of a paraphrase, or immediately picks up those words or phrases in the lemma whose semantics or grammar he finds obscure. Having isolated them out of the verse (atomization), he matches each of these words or phrases with the corresponding elements of his cosmological doctrine. This “atomization” of a lemma is a crucial moment in the whole exegetical procedure, for it not only allows the Derveni author to proceed with a more extended interpretation of the larger narrative units but also works as a protective shield against possible accusations of his arbitrary choice of the philosophical framework.

The above quoted sections from the Derveni commentary show that etymology plays an important role in matching the gods involved in the Orphic story of succession with the particular modalities of the intelligent air, or air/Mind. Ouranos thus signifies the initial attempt at separating (*ὀρίζειν*) elementary particles within the original lump of elemental mixture, and Kronos the subsequent stage of “striking” (*κρούειν*) these “existing things” against each other—a vortex-like action which

<sup>16</sup> This is a possible restoration of the Orphic verse from the destroyed lower part of col. XVI, based on a fragment from an Orphic poem preserved in multiple sources; cf. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci*, 2.3:228.

entails further division and diversification of matter and causes like particles to tend toward like particles. The conjunction of these particles leads to the present world order—a process that the Orphic poem (XXI:5–12) assigns to Zeus and his divine progeny, viz., Aphrodite, Peitho, and Harmonia, who make particles “mate” (ἀφροδισιάζειν), “persuade” (πείθειν) each other, and stay “closely attached” (ἀρμόζειν). But etymology is not the only interpretive tool at the author’s disposal—he often detects cosmological references in ambiguous grammatical constructions (*hyperbaton* in VIII:6), in phonetic assonances of words (ἐπι-κλώσαι and ἐπικυρῶσαι in XIX:4–5; cf. XXIII:11–13), or in unexpected combinations of nouns and adjectives (“long Olympus” in col. XII passim). The range of interpretive procedures employed by the Derveni author is impressive, showing not only his philosophical competence but also advanced knowledge of semantics, grammar, and all sorts of rhetorical devices.

#### *Hermeneutics of the Derveni Author and Early Greek Allegoresis*

As mentioned earlier, it has become customary to situate the hermeneutics of the Derveni author in the context of the Presocratic allegoresis of Homeric poetry. Early Greek allegorists also employed the atomizing strategy already observed in the Derveni papyrus, matching individual Homeric gods and heroes with specific natural phenomena, bodily parts, or psychological processes. The first known practitioner of this method was the early sixth-century grammarian and Homeric scholar Theagenes of Rhegium, whose exegetical program is recorded in a scholion that probably goes back to Porphyry (schol. B *Il.* 20.67 = DK 8.2):

Homer’s discourse of the gods is generally incongruent and also inappropriate, for the myths he relates about the gods are unbecoming. Against this sort of accusation, some people offer a solution from the diction (ἐκ τῆς λέξεως), thinking that all was said in an allegorical mode (ἀλληγορία) and has to do with the nature of the elements, as in the confrontation of the gods. For they say that the dry clashes with the wet, the hot with the cold, and the light with the heavy, and that, moreover, water extinguishes fire while fire evaporates water. In a similar fashion, there exists a mutual opposition between all the elements that constitute the universe: they may occasionally suffer partial destruction, but they all remain eternally. And he (Homer) arranges these battles by calling fire Apollo, Helios, and Hephaistos, water Poseidon and Scamander, the moon Artemis, air Hera and so on. In the same way, he sometimes gives names of gods to dispositions: that of Athena to wisdom, Ares to folly, Aphrodite to desire, Hermes to

discourse, and so on as it is appropriate to each. This type of defense is quite ancient and goes all the way back to Theagenes of Rhegium, who was the first to write on Homer. Such is the solution from the diction.

Theagenes' method of a one-by-one matching could also account for his attested interest in the Homeric usage, as he is cited for a variant reading of *Il.* 1.381 (DK 8.3), and for his pioneering study of the correct usage of the Greek language (DK 8.1a). As in the case of the Derveni author, Theagenes' transpositional hermeneutics represents a medley of extended allegorical interpretation in a physical or psychological key and the semantic study of individual words. A similar dual tendency can be observed in the Homeric scholarship of the fifth-century critic Metrodorus of Lampsachus, simultaneously engaged in the explanation of Homeric glosses (DK 61.5) and in a rather extravagant procedure of explaining the heroes of the *Iliad* as parts of the universe and the gods as parts of the human body (DK 61.3–4). Thus, a sharp distinction that is often drawn between the narrative dimension of allegoresis and a systematic word-study does not always hold true. In fact, both the earliest allegorists and the Derveni papyrus seem to suggest exactly the opposite. Allegorical interpretation is the combination of a word-by-word matching and the search for broader correspondences between the text as a whole and the complex structure of its referent.<sup>17</sup>

But despite their close agreement in matters of exegetical methods and procedures, the Derveni author and the early allegorists of Homer appear to differ rather significantly both in their intentions and in their achieved results. If Porphyry's account of Theagenes is accurate, then he must have resorted to allegoresis in order to "defend" Homer's anthropomorphic representations of the gods against the charges of irreverence and moral impropriety brought by his philosophically minded contemporaries.<sup>18</sup> For Theagenes, Homeric allegories are essentially a stylistic choice—the

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 11, and esp. W. Bernard, *Spätantike Dichtungstheorien*, who distinguishes between "substitutive" and "diaretic" allegory, the former roughly corresponding to Theagenes or the Derveni papyrus, and the latter to the method of the later Platonists who take the narratives or their episodes as a "whole." For a "dual tendency" in Theagenes and Metrodorus, see Richardson, "Homeric Professors," 65–81, where he counters the argument made by R. Pfeiffer in his *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 35–56, namely that the fifth-century "Sophists" used detailed word-by-word analysis but showed no interest in extended allegoresis.

<sup>18</sup> The first preserved attack on traditional anthropomorphic representations of gods comes from Xenophanes, who asserts that "Homer and Hesiod attributed to the gods everything blameworthy and disgraceful among men: stealing, adultery, and deceiving one another" (DK 21 B11).

poet's concession to the way the people of his time thought and talked. Theagenes' allegoresis consequently serves a double function. On the one hand, it endorses the culturally dominant way of reading Homer by neutralizing the shocking aspects of the surface meaning as a simple matter of Homeric usage (ἐκ τῆς λέξεως). On the other hand, by offering an alternative reading of Homeric poetry in a physical or psychological key, it accommodates this important repository of cultural memory to a new conceptual framework of natural philosophy and thereby bridges the gap between traditional and more recent modes of cultural communication. Following our definition of transpositional hermeneutics in the introductory section, we could say that Theagenes reached a new understanding of the Homeric text that simultaneously endorsed and went beyond the common (and his own) *Vorverständnis* of Homer. In formulating this compromise solution, Theagenes resorted to two complementary exegetical methods, allegoresis and word semantics (etymology, explanation of glosses), and applied both of them to individual elements isolated from the Homeric text—the former in order to transpose these elements into new physical or psychological frameworks, and the latter to ground his interpretation into the linguistic conventions of Homer's own time.

Contrary to Theagenes, the Derveni author employs transpositional hermeneutics to promote all sorts of radical separations—first, the separation between the Homeric-Hesiodic polytheistic model and the Orphic lore of one divinity, Zeus, who is “first and last” and both transcendent and immanent; then, the separation within his own fringe movement between the initiates who “understand” and those who remain “ignorant”; and finally, the separation within his own religious craft between the strict ritualists and those who, like him, believe that initiatory rituals are ineffective without the proper understanding of their hidden intent. For the Derveni author, Orpheus' “riddling poetry” is not a stylistic choice, but rather the way of concealing the truth from the unworthy. While Theagenes was a literary-minded intellectual engaged in the contemporary discussions about the value of traditional sources of authority, the Derveni author, in turn, is an itinerant religious specialist involved in a revisionist reappraisal of his divinatory craft and its underlying written lore. Thus, even though he clearly draws on the tradition of physical and moral allegory, the background of his exegetical procedure is primarily religious and, as is the case with the sources of the pesharim, appears to lie in the ancient practices of oracular divination and omen interpretation. We have discussed the divinatory background of the Qumran pesharim

and the Derveni commentary elsewhere.<sup>19</sup> In this contribution, we are more interested in the concrete historical and ideological motives that prompted the Derveni author and the Qumran pesharists to adopt a similar hermeneutical model of atomization and transposition.

#### TRANSPOSITIONAL HERMENEUTICS IN THE QUMRAN PESHARIM

As mentioned in our introduction, the Qumran pesharim, which are dated to the first half of the first century B.C.E., represent the earliest preserved line-by-line Jewish commentaries. As has been shown by Michael Fishbane and others, the Qumran pesharim were inspired by ancient Near Eastern omen interpretation in their hermeneutics of isolation and recontextualization.<sup>20</sup> The difference between Ancient Near Eastern omen lists and the Pesharim lies in the choice of material used as primary and secondary narratives. In the pesharim, the quoted biblical lemma is the equivalent of the *protasis* in an omen list (e.g. a brief description of a dream in an ancient dream book) and the lemma's interpretation is the equivalent of the omen list's *apodosis* (e.g. the interpretation of a dream in an ancient dream book). But the pesharim are interested in interpreting not the life of an individual in light of scripture but rather the history of the Essene movement as the only true remnant of Israel. In peshar

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<sup>19</sup> A. Lange and Z. Pleše, "Derveni-Alexandria—Qumran: Transpositional Hermeneutics in Jewish and Greek Culture," in *Palimpsestes Deux: Symposium international sur la littérature de commentaire dans les cultures du Proche-Orient ancien et de la Méditerranée ancienne*, Aix-en-Provence (ed. P.S. Alexander and S. Aufrère; OLA; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming). For valid suggestions pointing to the same direction, see Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus*, 364–370.

<sup>20</sup> For the pesharim and ancient Near Eastern omen-interpretation, see L.H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Scripture and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab)," *RevQ* 3 (1961–1962): 323–364 (330–335); A. Finkel, "The Peshar of Dreams and Scripture," *RevQ* 4 (1963–1964): 357–370; I. Rabinowitz, "Peshar/Pittaron: Its Biblical Meaning and Its Significance in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 8 (1972–1975): 219–232 (230–232); M. Fishbane, "The Qumran Peshar and Traits of Ancient Hermeneutics," in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 13–19 August 1973 under the Auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (ed. A. Shinan; 4 vols.; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1975–1980), 1:97–114; M. Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination: Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy," in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. K. De Troyer, A. Lange, and L.L. Schulte; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 43–60.



hermeneutics,<sup>21</sup> this history of the Essene movement as the true remnant of Israel living in the last days functions as a secondary narrative. To achieve their exegetical objective, the pesharim employ the same mechanism of isolation and recontextualization as the Derveni papyrus. A good example is 1QpHab III:2–6, which quotes the rather cryptic verse Hab 1:7:

Terrible and dreadful are they; their justice and dignity proceeds from themselves.

In the book of Habakkuk, this verse is part of a description of the Neo-Babylonian empire, which God has raised as an instrument of punishment for his people.<sup>22</sup> But for *Pesher Habakkuk*, written in the middle of the first century B.C.E., the long gone Neo-Babylonian Empire was of little interest. Following its revisionist agenda, the peshar isolates the phrase “dreadful and terrible” from the primary narrative of Hab 1:7 and recontextualizes it into the secondary narrative of the Essene-Jewish history:

Its interpretation is about the Kittim: the fear and dread of whom are over all the peoples; intentionally all their plans are to do evil, and with deceit and treachery they walk among all the nations.

By way of this transposition, the phrase “terrible and dreadful” refers now to the fear and dread experienced by an encounter with the Roman army—the Kittim being the peshar’s name for the Romans.<sup>23</sup> This transposition allows the peshar to find a deeper signification of the primary text. Peshar hermeneutics is governed by the presupposition (*Vorverständnis*) that Jewish prophetic scriptures carry two meanings, a surface meaning and a hidden deeper meaning. This deeper meaning was not understood by the prophet Habakkuk, but only by the initiated interpreter.<sup>24</sup> Shani Berrin has aptly summarized this approach to the interpretation of Jewish scriptures as follows:

<sup>21</sup> For the interpretative and hermeneutic strategies of the Qumran pesharim, see E. Osswald, “Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentar,” *ZAW* 68 (1956): 243–256; Fishbane, “Qumran Peshar,” 98–100; S.L. Berrin, “Qumran Pesharim,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–133; eadem, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 9–19.

<sup>22</sup> For the interpretation of Hab 1:7 as concerned with the Neo-Babylonian Empire, see e.g. R.L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC 32; Waco: Word Books, 1984), 101–102.

<sup>23</sup> For “Kittim” as a cipher for the Romans in Qumran literature, see e.g. T.H. Lim, “Kittim,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:469–471 (470).

<sup>24</sup> See our discussion of 1QpHab VII:1–5 in the introduction of this article.

A form of biblical interpretation peculiar to Qumran, in which biblical poetic/prophetic texts are applied to postbiblical historical/eschatological settings through various literary techniques in order to substantiate a theological conviction pertaining to divine reward and punishment.<sup>25</sup>

When Berrin claims that peshet is “a form of biblical interpretation peculiar to Qumran,” she is well aware of hermeneutical parallels in ancient Near Eastern omen exegesis and in rabbinic *petirah* midrashim. It should also be pointed out that the hermeneutics of atomization and recontextualization can be found in various interpretative passages inside the Hebrew canon as well. Examples include Jer 23:33–40<sup>26</sup> and Dan 9:23.<sup>27</sup> What was not yet available to Berrin though was the Derveni papyrus. But before comparing pesharim with the allegorical exegesis of the Derveni papyrus, we will analyze other peshet interpretations of Jewish scriptures.

#### *Transpositional Hermeneutics in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) 1–10 i 25–ii 20*

To develop a better idea of how peshet exegesis applied transpositional hermeneutics to prophetic Jewish scriptures, we turn to a passage of 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171). 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> is one of the three extant manuscripts of a peshet on selected Psalms.<sup>28</sup> This *Psalms Peshet* can be dated to the early first century B.C.E.<sup>29</sup> The passage in question, 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) 1–10 i 25–ii 12, interprets Ps 37:7–11.

<sup>25</sup> Berrin, “Qumran Pesharim,” 110; eadem, *Peshet Nahum*, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. A. Lange, “Reading the Decline of Prophecy,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (ed. K. de Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 181–191.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. A. Lange, “Interpretation als Offenbarung: Zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. Garcia Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 17–33 (17–22).

<sup>28</sup> Whether 1QPs (1Q16), 4QPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171), and 4QPs<sup>b</sup> (4Q173) are three copies of one *Psalms Peshet* (thus e.g. H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* [4th ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1994], 179) or attest to three different pesharim to selected Psalms (thus T.H. Lim, *Pesharim* [Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002], 38–39) is still debated. Due to missing overlaps between the three manuscripts and the bad stage of preservation of 1QPs and 4QPs<sup>b</sup>, no certainty can be reached on this issue. It seems more probable though that the Qumran library contained one *Psalms Peshet* in several copies rather than three different *Psalms pesharim*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Stegemann, *Essener*, 179–180. For a recent survey of 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> and its history of research, see N. Crisanto Tiquillahuanca, *Die Armen werden das Land besitzen: Eine exegetische Studie zu Psalm 37* (Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel 16; Münster: Lit, 2008), 22–44.

Psalm 37 belongs to the group of wisdom psalms in the Psalter. It emphasizes the validity of the sapiential concept of act-consequence correlation in the context of short-term gains by the wicked. Gerhard von Rad summarizes the theme of the psalm as follows:

Do not grow heated at the prosperity of the wicked (vv. 1, 7b), trust and hope in Yahweh; the righteous will not be ruined, but will possess the land (vv. 3, 7, 19, 22, 34). The wicked, however, come to a bad end; in a short time the wicked man is no longer there (vv. 2, 10, 20). The thoughts in the psalm are simple and are not developed in any complex way. Its conclusion is that it is the end that is important. The end . . . of the wicked is destruction, the end of those who trust in Yahweh is salvation (vv. 37 ff.). By 'end' the psalm obviously means the conclusion of a way of life in which God's salvation and judgment are then finally visible to men.<sup>30</sup>

For the Essene interpreter of Ps 37 this simple message contradicted his experiences. The illegitimate Hasmonean high priests of the Jerusalem temple had been in power for several generations. The—in the eyes of the pesharist—schismatic Pharisees became increasingly influential in Jewish religious and political life. The Essenes, who perceived themselves as the only true remnant of God's chosen people and as the only part of Israel that truly observed his Torah, were isolated and marginalized. Transpositional hermeneutics allowed the Essene pesharist to find a deeper meaning in the Psalm, one that was related to the history of his movement and concerned his own experiences and expectations. For this purpose, the pesharist structured his pesher into larger interpretative units, separated from one another by large blank spaces (*vacat*) extending up to a whole manuscript line.<sup>31</sup> A section commenting on Ps 37:7 runs as follows:<sup>32</sup>

“[Be resign]d to [the LORD and] wait for him, do not be angry because of the one who is successful on his way, because of the man 26 [who carri]es out (his) wicked schemes” (Ps 37:7). Its [interpretation] is about the Man of the Lie who led astray many with words 27 of deception because they

<sup>30</sup> G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. J.D. Martin; Harrisburg: Trinity, 1972), 203–204.

<sup>31</sup> Preserved *vacats* can be found in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) 1–10 i 24; ii 6, 12, 21; iii 6, 13; iv 6, 12, 22 and 4QpPs<sup>b</sup> (4Q173) 1 6. For the *vacats* in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup>, see G.L. Doudna, *4Q Peshar Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 240–243.

<sup>32</sup> All translations of 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) 1–10 i 25–ii 20 are based on the edition of M.P. Horgan, “Psalm Peshar 1,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6b: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 6–23.

choose swift things and did not list[en] to a translator of knowledge, so that ii 1 they will perish through sword, and through famine, and through plague. (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1-10 i 25-ii 1)

Out of Ps 37:7, the peshet isolates two elements, viz. the man who carries out his wicked plans and the success on his way. Both elements are identified with the “Man of Lie” and his followers. The *Damascus Document* (CD B 20:15; cf. 1QpHab II:2; V:11; 4QPs<sup>a</sup> 1-10 iv 14) shows that the phrase “Man of Lie” is a slanderous way of designating the adversary of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Essene-Pharisaic schism. The “Man of Lie” is the one “who carries out his wicked schemes” in Ps 37:7. His success in Ps 37:7 is understood by the peshetarist as his “leading astray of many with words of deception.” The phrase “swift things” hints at a liberal Pharisaic halakhah as the means of promoting this deception. Instead of following a Pharisaic dignitary, the “many” should have listened to the “translator of knowledge.” A passage in one of the so-called Teacher Songs in the *Hodayot* (1QH<sup>a</sup> X:15) shows that “translator of knowledge” was a self-designation of the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>33</sup> Thus, by way of a transposition of two elements from Ps 37:7 into the history of the Essene movement, the *Peshet on Psalms* turns the general statement about the brief success of the wicked from Ps 37:7 into a concrete prophecy about the shortlived Pharisaic success in the Essene-Pharisaic schism. This interpretation of Ps 37:7 could well be influenced by the persecution of the Pharisees by Alexander Jannaeus. Such an understanding of the Peshet would be in line with *Peshet Nahum*’s reading of this persecution (see 4QpNah 3-4 i 6-8).<sup>34</sup>

The interpretation of Ps 37:8-9a expresses the hopes of the peshetarist that the Pharisees might eventually return to the Essene movement.

“Desist from anger and abandon fury, do not 2 be angry, it can only cause evil. Indeed, evil men will be cut off” (Ps 37:8-9a). Its interpretation is about all those who turn back 3 to the Torah, who do not reject to turn back from their evil, because all who resist 4 to turn back from their sin will be cut down. (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1-10 ii 1-4)

<sup>33</sup> Cf. e.g. J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 83, 97.

<sup>34</sup> H. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 147-148, thinks that “they will perish through sword, and through famine, and through plague” refers in 4QPs<sup>a</sup> 1-10 ii 1 to a famine attested in Coile-Syria for the year 65 B.C.E. But the language of 4QPs<sup>a</sup> 1-10 ii 1 is rather idiomatic at this place and employs biblical rhetoric (cf. e.g. Jer 14:12; 21:9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:24, 36; 38:2; 42:17, 22; 44:13; Ezek 6:11; 12:16). Contra Eshel, the peshetarist has therefore no concrete famine in mind at this place.

Again, the pesharist isolates two elements out of Ps 37:8–9a: (i) “desisting from anger” and “abandoning fury,” and (ii) “cutting down.” Transposed into the history of the Essene-Pharisaic schism, “desisting” and “abandoning” signify a Pharisaic return to the true interpretation and fulfillment of the Torah as practiced in the Essene community. While Ps 37:9a proclaims that the sapiential act-consequence correlation will lead in the long run to the “cutting off of evil men” (כִּי־אֶמְרָם יִכְרְתוּ), the pesharist sees this as a prophecy that the Pharisees will be cut off: “because all who resist to turn back from their sin will be cut down (יִכְרְתוּ).” As in the previous passage, transposition of individual elements from Ps 37 into the history of the Essene-Pharisaic schism turns the Psalm’s description of the ethical structure of the universe into a prophecy concerning the history of this schism. Some Pharisees will return to the Essene understanding of how to fulfill the Torah because of the threat of (eschatological) punishment.

This eschatological dimension of Ps 37 is emphasized in the following paragraphs of the pesharist:

“And those who wait for the LORD, they will take possession of the land” (Ps 37:9b). Its interpretation is: 5 they are the congregation of his chosen ones, those who do his will. “And only a little time and there will be no wicked one” (Ps 37:10a). 6 *vacat* (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1–10 ii 4–6)

After discussing the issue of the Pharisees who will return to the Essene movement and its halakhah, the interpretation of Ps 37:9b focuses on the future of the Essenes themselves. For this purpose, the pesharist isolates the Hebrew word הַמָּה (“they”) out of Ps 37:9b: “They (הַמָּה) are the congregation of his chosen ones,” and applies it to the Essene community. Transposed into the history of the Essene movement, their “waiting for the Lord” is explained as doing God’s will, viz. observing the Lord’s Torah according to its Essene interpretation. “Waiting for the Lord” becomes in this way the observance of the correct halakhah. Possession of the land mentioned in Ps 37:9b as the reward for the patient sage remains uninterpreted at this place, and it will be explained later in the pesharist’s detailed interpretation of Ps 37:11. Instead, the *Psalms Peshar* ends the section dedicated to Ps 37:9b with an uninterpreted quote of Ps 37:10a: “And only a little time and there will be no wicked one.” In the context of the preceding and following paragraphs, this quotation addresses the demise of the Pharisees and all other wicked people in the imminent eschaton.

In the second preserved paragraph of its interpretation of Ps 37, the *Psalms Peshar* addresses the eschatological future of both the Essenes

and the Pharisees. The interpretation of Ps 37:10b is concerned with the eschatological fate of the latter group:

7 “And when I will regard his place, he will be no more” (Ps 37:10b). Its interpretation is about all of wickedness at the end of 8 forty years: they will end and in the land not one wicked man will be found.

(4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1–10 ii 7–8)

To understand what will become of the Pharisees, the pesharist isolates the Hebrew word אִינְנוּ (“and he will be no more”) out of Ps 37:10b. The Psalm itself emphasizes the short-lived prosperity of the wicked at this place. Transposed into the eschatological thought of the Essene movement, this one-word statement gains a new signification. All the wicked, including the Pharisaic violators of the Torah, will perish. In the opinion of the pesharist, after forty years there will be no more wickedness. This period of forty years evokes the forty years of Israel’s wandering in the desert until it was delivered into the Promised Land. Like Israel after the Exodus, the Essene movement will also experience the destruction of its enemies after forty years. But the meaning of the forty years is not exhausted by the pesharist’s typological reading of Israel’s time in the desert. The *Damascus Document* shows that the span of forty years was of key importance in the eschatological hopes of the Essene movement.

And from the day the unique Teacher was gathered in until the end of all the men of war who turned away 15 with the Man of the Lie, there will be about forty years. And during that time God’s 16 anger will be kindled against Israel, as he said, “There is no king and no prince” (Hos 3:4) and no judge and no reprove in righteousness. (CD B 20:14–17)<sup>35</sup>

Like the *Psalms Peshar*, the *Damascus Document* connects the period of forty years with the end of the “Man of the Lie” and the Pharisaic movement. After the death of the Teacher of Righteousness there will come a time when the Essenes will have no leader and when God’s anger will be lit against Israel. The *Psalms Peshar* shows in its preceding paragraph (4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1–10 i 24–ii 5) that persevering in Torah observance is the appropriate conduct during this forty-year period.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Translation according to J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 2: *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* [ed. J.H. Charlesworth; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995], 4–57 (35).

<sup>36</sup> Thus Stegemann, *Essener*, 174, 180. For the motif of a forty-year period in Essene

After forty years, in the soon-to-come eschatological end, the Pharisees and all other wicked ones will be destroyed. Only the Essenes as the true observers of God's law will be rewarded.

This second aspect of the eschatological future is addressed in the interpretation of the following lemma:

9 "And the poor will possess land and they will enjoy abundant peace" (Ps 37:11). Its interpretation is about 10 the congregation of the Poor Ones: they will accept the appointed time of humiliation and they will be delivered from all the snares 11 of Belial. And afterwards they will enjoy all [...] of the land and they will become fat [...] 12 flesh. *v[acat]*  
(4QpPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q171] 1-10 ii 9-12)

The pesharist isolates three elements out of Ps 37:11. The "poor" (עניים), the "possession of land," and the "enjoyment of abundant peace." Transposed into the Essene history and eschatology, the עניים are identified with "the poor ones" (האביונים). In Essene literature, האביונים is a self-designation of the Essenes in general and the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness in particular.<sup>37</sup> For the pesharist, it is thus the Essenes to whom possession of the land and enjoyment of abundant peace are promised according to Ps 37, because they endured forty years<sup>38</sup> of affliction prior to the eschaton in true observance of the Torah.<sup>39</sup> Transposed into the Essene eschatological worldview, this promise of Ps 37 signifies the deliverance from the Essene archdemon Belial as the dominant negative force before the eschaton.

Once saved, the Essenes will enjoy the possession of the land. In Ps 37, the "possession of the land" is not to be understood as a concrete conflict with (violent) potentates over the land of Israel.<sup>40</sup> The parallel usage of the verbs ירש and שכן in Ps 37:29 demonstrates that a more general

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literature cf. also H. Eshel, "The Meaning and Significance of CD 20:13-15," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 330-336.

<sup>37</sup> See 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> (4Q171) 1-10 iii 10; 1QpHab XII:3, 6, 10; cf. 4QM<sup>a</sup> (4Q491) 11 i 11; 1QM (1Q33) XI:13; XIII:14. For the Essenes' self-description as "the poor" in the *Psalms Peshar*, see J. Jokiranta, "The Social Identity Approach: Identity-Constructing Elements in the *Psalms Peshar*," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Popović; STDJ 70; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 85-109 (98-102).

<sup>38</sup> See above the commentary to lines 7-8.

<sup>39</sup> Jokiranta, "Social Identity," 105.

<sup>40</sup> Contra K. Seybold, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 1/15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 155-156.

experience of well-being and safety is meant: “The phrase . . . seems to be a kind of shorthand for salvation and prosperity in general.”<sup>41</sup> But in the light of Essene eschatology, the pesharist understands the general statement of Ps 37 as a concrete promise that the Essenes, being as it were the only true remnant of Israel, will possess the land in the eschaton because all wicked parts of the Israel will be destroyed. The “enjoyment of abundant peace” from Ps 37:11 also has a concrete eschatological signification for the pesharist. In the eschaton, the Essenes will “grow fat” like fat cows on good land. By combining the “possession of the land” with the prospect of “growing fat” out of it, the *Psalms Peshar* reflects eschatological expectations of the *Damascus Document*:

And at the end of (his) wrath, three hundred 6 and ninety years after giving them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, 7 he turned his attention to them and caused to grow out of Israel and Aaron a root of planting, to inherit 8 his land (ולירוש את ארצו) and grow fat in the goodness of his soil (ולדשן בטוב אדמתו).<sup>42</sup> (CD A 1:5–8)

### *Transpositional Hermeneutics in the Pesharim*

The two sample paragraphs from the Qumran *Psalms Peshar* on Ps 37 provide a good illustration for the issues addressed by peshar hermeneutics. Psalm 37 speaks of the wicked as of ethically defunct persons and addresses the problem of theodicy by claiming that their successes are short lived. The righteous, who are currently poor and oppressed by the wicked, will be rewarded by God in the future and their wicked opponents destroyed. Psalm 37 has thus no specific group of wicked people in mind and shows no interest in eschatology.

As is the case with other psalms, the Essenes regarded Ps 37 as scripture. It was thus for them a key constituent of Jewish cultural memory. And yet, the views expressed in Ps 37 agreed neither with the Essene worldview nor with Essene thought. In contrast with the general statements of Ps 37, the Essenes knew exactly who the wicked in Israel were—those who broke God’s laws, including all non-Essene Jews, and especially the Pharisees. Furthermore, Ps 37 does not address eschatological concerns but promises the demise of the wicked during the lifetime of the righteous. But the Essenes were convinced that they lived in a

<sup>41</sup> Cf. N. Lohfink, “ירשׁ yāraš; ירשׁה yērešā; ירשׁה yēruššā; מורשׁ mōrāš; מורשׁה mōrāšā,” *TDOT* 6:368–396 (394); and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, vol. 1: *Psalmen 1–59* (6th ed.; BKAT 15.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), 441.

<sup>42</sup> Translation according to Baumgarten and Schwartz, “Damascus Document,” 13.



time of eschatological trial shortly before the final judgment. The lack of eschatology in a key part of their cultural memory was all the more a problem for the Essenes because the Teacher of Righteousness died some time after the Essene-Pharisaic schism and because the importance of the Pharisees within Judaism continued to grow. According to the surface meaning of Ps 37, the righteous Teacher should have experienced the downfall of Pharisaic opponents during his lifetime. As a memory space of Jewish cultural memory, Ps 37 thus contradicted the key assumptions of Essene thought and worldview.

As a result, the Essenes found themselves increasingly estranged from their scriptures as the memory spaces of the Jewish cultural memory. There were two possible ways for them to address this growing sense of estrangement: either descripturalize Ps 37 or adjust it to Essene thought and worldview by way of either rewriting the original text or interpreting its manifest meaning. The evidence of the pesher on this psalm indicates that the Essenes chose to adjust the meaning of Ps 37 to the central tenets of their worldview and thought by way of transpositional hermeneutics. This adjustment was possible inasmuch as the Essenes approached Ps 37 with the presupposition (*Vorverständnis*) that the Jewish scriptures are indispensable to a right understanding of Jewish history. Another Essene presupposition was that this historical dimension of the Jewish scriptures is not easily accessible but hidden behind their surface meaning. Transpositional hermeneutics provided the Essenes with a necessary tool to disclose a deeper historical meaning of the Jewish scriptures. In order to overcome truisms of the psalmic text they regarded as highly authoritative, the Essenes transposed its individual elements into the secondary narrative of their own history and thought. Transposition of these individual elements into Essene history and thought allowed the pesharist to assign them new meanings and hence to elicit a whole new meaning to Ps 37. In the three sample paragraphs of 4QpPs<sup>a</sup>, which were analyzed above, the psalm prophesied the respective pre-eschatological and eschatological fates of the Essenes and the Pharisees.

But transpositional hermeneutics did not only allow for a rereading of Ps 37; it also assigned a new meaning to the Essene history and to the present situation of the Essenes as well.<sup>43</sup> In other words, the

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<sup>43</sup> For this phenomenon, see the contributions to de Troyer and Lange, *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library*.

Essenes interpreted their own history in light of Ps 37. The employment of transpositional hermeneutics in the pesharim enabled the Essenes to overcome not only their estrangement from authoritative scriptures but also the hiatus between their thought and the historical and political realities of their times. The Essenes' radical observance of the Torah and the events leading to their separation from the Pharisees raised the (eschatological) expectations for a reward that would correspond to their suffering. But the successes of the Pharisees contradicted the Essene hopes for such a reward. Transpositional hermeneutics, such as applied in pesharim-commentaries, was nevertheless able to explain the hiatus between Essene expectations and historical realities and thereby reintegrate the Essenes and their thought into their contemporary historical context.

To summarize: As evidenced by the extant pesharim, transpositional hermeneutics enabled the Essenes to overcome their dual sense of alienation, from the Jewish scriptures on the one hand and from their contemporary context on the other.

1. Books such as Habakkuk or texts such as Ps 37 addressed past historical or theological contexts, not the situation of the first century B.C.E. Prior to that time, Essene eschatological readings of prophetic texts had sometimes been disproved by history. Very much like ancient Greek allegorists, the Essenes faced the challenging task of simultaneously communicating a primary and a secondary narrative with each other. In the particular case of the pesharim, we can distinguish two such narratives: the primary narrative, or the literal meaning of the prophetic texts, and the secondary narrative about a reality that disagreed both with the literal meaning of the prophetic texts and with the Essene hopes created by their historical experiences.
2. Historical developments contradicted the Essene worldview and estranged the Essenes from their own present. Although they perceived themselves as the true remnant of Israel, which alone observed the Torah and fulfilled Israel's covenantal obligations, the Essenes had no political power and suffered persecution from their enemies. Transpositional hermeneutics allowed the Essenes to reassess their reality in the light of their scriptures. Thanks to this exegetical procedure, events like the Essene-Pharisaic schism were understood as a necessary eschatological cleansing in the period of assessment prior to the final eschatological judgment.

## CONCLUSION

The principal objective of our study was to point to a common hermeneutical pattern underlying the exegetical techniques of two culturally heterogeneous metatexts—the Orphic Derveni papyrus and the Qumran pesharim. We are now ready to ask whether in their respective use of transpositional hermeneutics and its methods of atomization and recontextualization, these metatexts could have influenced each other or whether they are historically independent phenomena. If we accept the last proposition, then their commonalities go back to a basic structure of human understanding and to such universal hermeneutical preconditions as the historical situatedness of the interpreter or, even more abstractly, a general human tendency to re-describe reality and invent new ways of relating an object to other objects. While acknowledging the presence of these transcendental elements of hermeneutic experience in the two metatexts under our investigation, we would still like to propose a more concrete, historical explanation of their common interpretative strategies.

In our examples, a common problem of the relevance of authoritative religious traditions was addressed by resorting to the same technique of atomization and recontextualization. The Derveni papyrus isolates individual elements from an Orphic theology and recontextualizes them into the discourse of philosophical cosmology. The Qumran pesharim isolate individual elements from the prophetic scriptures of Judaism and recontextualize them into the (eschatological) history of the Essene movement. These hermeneutical undertakings are transpositional in that they transpose individual elements of primary narratives into secondary narratives. What the Derveni papyrus and the pesharim share in common is the need to transpose one narrative into the context of another one. Their shared hermeneutical approach can therefore be best described as *transpositional hermeneutics*.

Transpositional hermeneutics is a dialectical process in which both the primary and secondary narratives undergo structural adjustments and acquire new meanings. In the Derveni papyrus, a cosmology that underlies and guides the author's exegesis of Orphic theology is a creative reworking of various fifth-century B.C.E. physical theories necessitated by the narrative logic of the base text. The example of the *Psalms Pesharim* shows how the pesharist was able to find the righteous Essenes and their wicked opponents lurking beneath the surface meaning of the archetypal conflict of the just and the wicked in Ps 37. At the same time, it was

precisely this universality of Ps 37 that enabled the pesharist to provide an eschatological dimension to the history of his movement and its present sense of failure and disappointed hopes. While the basic method of transposing isolated items out of one narrative into another guides both the allegorical project of the Derveni papyrus and the Qumran pesharim exegesis, the two metatexts are quite distinct in their aims. The Derveni papyrus transposes elements out of an Orphic poem into the narrative of various fifth-century B.C.E. physical theories. The pesharim transpose elements out of prophetic texts into the history of the Essene community.

Transpositional hermeneutics is a cross-cultural phenomenon, which developed independently in Greek and Jewish cultures. There is no common historical archetype to the methods of exegesis employed in the Derveni papyrus and the pesharim. What we have here are two metatexts without direct historical contiguity, yet sustained by the same hermeneutical presupposition (*Vorverständnis*) and driven in their exegetical endeavor by a similar sense of estrangement from the normative understanding of authoritative texts within their respective cultures.

It is precisely this sense of cultural estrangement that serves as a necessary precondition for the employment of transpositional hermeneutics. Cultural estrangement may be triggered by various reasons, and these reasons, in their turn, determine the selection of a particular referent, or a secondary narrative, into which the elements isolated from a base text will be transposed. The range of referents, or secondary narratives, is practically indefinite, from historical (peshar) to philosophical referents (Theagenes, the Derveni papyrus). In this process, the only stable element is a threefold structure of the transpositional procedure (*Vorverständnis*—atomization—recontextualization), while both the initial impetus for resorting to transpositional hermeneutics and its concrete realizations are historically specific and thus infinitely diverse.

For the Derveni author, a systematic application of philosophical allegoresis to the riddling language of the Orphic theogonical poem reflects his profound sense of estrangement from all sorts of prevailing norms, both in the society at large and in his own religious group—first, the estrangement from the Homeric and Hesiodic polytheistic model, at the time still dominant in Greek culture; second, the estrangement within his own Orphic movement from the majority of initiates, deprived of the correct hermeneutic attitude towards the cathartic and telestic rites in which they participate and towards the sacred lore they pretend to observe; and finally, the estrangement within his own religious craft from the strict

ritualists, those who believe in the effectiveness of their rituals without understanding their hidden intent. By transposing the Orphic lore into the categories of contemporary philosophy, the Derveni author opens up the way to modernize his own religious tradition, accommodate it to new conceptual frameworks, and distance it even further from the mythological discourse of traditional polytheism.

In the case of pesher-exegesis, the Essene pescharists experienced a dual estrangement from the prophetic texts and from their own history. The author of the *Psalms Pesher*, for example, is confronted in his reading of Ps 37 with its universal claim that the sapiential act-consequence correlation is only temporarily valid, and that the short-lived gains of the wicked will soon be recompensed by their eternal punishment and by the lasting rewards for the just. The Essenes' own history, and especially their disappointment over Pharisaic successes which led to their increasing marginalization, not only countered the optimistic theodicy of Ps 37 but also made the present reality of the movement devoid of any positive signification. Transpositional hermeneutics offered the pescharist a way out of this hermeneutical deadlock. By transposing the elements of Ps 37 into the turbulent history of his movement, he identified the archetypical figures of just and wicked in Ps 37 as the Essenes and their Pharisaic and Sadducean opponents, respectively. The rewards and punishments that Ps 37 projected into an immediate future became rewards and punishments in the imminent eschaton. By way of this simple transposition, the pescharist assigned an eschatological dimension to the retributive theodicy of Ps 37 and simultaneously gave his own movement a much needed hope in the imminent resolution of its tribulations.

What, in the end, is the purpose of transpositional hermeneutics, and what wider cultural goals does its technique of atomization and recontextualization of authoritative texts attempt to achieve? In the two ancient Mediterranean societies covered in this study, texts and especially authoritative texts, both oral and written, represent the reservoirs and transmitters of cultural memory.<sup>44</sup> They are the memory spaces<sup>45</sup> which make up

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<sup>44</sup> For the concept of cultural memory, see A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 1999), J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (2nd ed.; München: Beck, 1997), and A. Erll and A. Nünning, eds., *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Media and Cultural Memory 8; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008).

<sup>45</sup> For texts as memory spaces, see e.g. R. Lachmann, "Mnemonic and Intertextual Aspects of Literature," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 301–310.

the totality of cultural memory in these societies. But authoritative texts remain static as their respective societies undergo political, social, and cultural transformations. The consequence of these changes is a gradual alienation from the founding texts as repositories of cultural memory. A natural response to this historical process of cultural alienation is to rephrase outdated master-narratives. Such attempts at rephrasing frequently took place already in the oral stages of both Greek and Jewish culture. Numerous redactions of Homeric and biblical narratives indicate that the same readjustment of cultural memory was also applied to its written versions.

But the increasing authority and importance assigned to written texts made the practice of rephrasing and rewriting utterly problematic. It can hardly be a coincidence that philosophical allegoresis evolved along with the first attempts to standardize the Homeric text in Pisistratean Athens.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, it can hardly be a coincidence that *pesher* exegesis began after Judaism developed the concept of sacred scripture during the Hellenistic religious reforms of the years 175–164 B.C.E.<sup>47</sup> The increasing authority of written traditions asked for a method that would simultaneously maintain their fixity and adapt them to changing cultural models and new discursive modes. The transpositional hermeneutics of isolation and recontextualization, such as attested in *pesher* exegesis and in the philosophical allegoresis of the Derveni papyrus, was ideally suited for this double task of simultaneously preserving and readjusting the written repositories of cultural memory.

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<sup>46</sup> For the textual history of the Homeric epics, see G. Nagy, *Homer's Text and Language* (Traditions; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> See A. Lange, "From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library," in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives* (ed. C. Helmer and C. Landmesser; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51–107.

## WHY DOES 4Q394 BEGIN WITH A CALENDAR?

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4QMMT<sup>a</sup> (4Q394) 3a includes a solar calendar and the beginning of a sectarian halakhic discussion. Regardless of whether that calendar “originally” belonged to *MMT* or was later added by a scribe, someone in antiquity associated the solar calendar with the halakhic and hortatory sections of *MMT* and so placed it before them. In this paper, I address why someone would make that association.

I argue that sections B and C of *MMT* portray the *yahad* as the utopian or eschatological community and that by connecting the solar calendar to this idealistic depiction of the community, the original author or subsequent scribe participates in the fairly widespread use of solar symbolism in utopian and eschatological discourse of the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods. In other words, the text features the sort of use of solar symbolism we find in Iambulus’ travel narrative *Commonwealth of the Sun*, Aristonicus’ *Heliopolitae* (at least according to Strabo), and the propaganda of the Roman emperor Augustus.

To put this paper in a broader context, by focusing here on *MMT*, I hope to highlight the importance of one discursive context of the *yahad*’s deployment of a solar calendar. And by studying *MMT*’s sectarian calendar in light of the discursive contexts that encouraged its rhetorical use—rather than, say, claiming that *MMT* includes a calendar *only* because *MMT* indexes the major disagreements between the *yahad* and its rivals—I adopt an approach to Qumran sectarianism that Albert Baumgarten has suggested. In *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era*, Baumgarten contends that explanations of why the Dead Sea Scrolls’ sect split from other Jews too easily equate boundary markers with boundary creators, what the group used to distinguish itself from what actually gave rise to the sect.<sup>1</sup> The community (“we”) of 4QMMT, for instance, distinguished itself from other Jews on the

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<sup>1</sup> A. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 75–78.

basis of its halakhah. But in the late Second Temple period, more Jewish sects existed than did positions on most disputed laws. The legal opinions of distinct groups overlapped and 1QS even witnesses conflicting judgments within one sectarian vision.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, legal stances, while important secondary expressions of difference, cannot account primarily for the *yahad*'s or any other sect's origins or foundations, Baumgarten argues.<sup>3</sup> Opinions on the source(s) of legal authority probably cannot either, since 1QS suggests that these too may differ within a single community expression.<sup>4</sup> Concerning the calendar, Baumgarten writes, "Calendar differences are neither a necessary reason for nor an inevitable expression of separatist trends. They can play either role under the appropriate circumstances, but it is precisely those circumstances which it is the task of the investigator to discover and comprehend."<sup>5</sup> Hence Baumgarten proceeds to describe how several sociological circumstances promoted sectarian divides along certain lines. Similarly, I highlight how a specific discursive condition of the Greco-Roman world, the frequent employment of solar symbols and solar calendars in utopian visions, encouraged the *yahad*'s deployment of one particular boundary marker: the solar calendar. Put another way, I attempt here to shed light on why the *yahad* stressed the solar calendar (and not some other symbol)<sup>6</sup> as a

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<sup>2</sup> It includes, for example, three penal codes and two admissions protocols, some of which contradict each other. In addition to Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 77, see S. Metso, "In Search of the *Sitz Im Leben* of the Community Rule," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 306–315.

<sup>3</sup> Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 77. Cf. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell in *DJD X* (1994): 131: "MMT deals primarily with the three topics that stood at the center of the controversy between the Jewish religious parties of the Second Temple period. All are issues with regard to which a lack of consensus would make it impossible to coexist within a single religious community. Disagreement on these issues is what created the sects."

<sup>4</sup> Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 78–79. On 1QS, see Metso, "In Search of the *Sitz Im Leben*." For the view that opinions on the source of legal authority may have defined and distinguished Jewish communities, see M. Smith, "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" *JBL* 78 (1959): 66–72 (72).

<sup>5</sup> Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> Morton Smith points out that within several ancient Jewish groups, members maintained widely diverging notions of the Messiah and the eschaton. "What faces us, therefore, is an unreconciled diversity, within single groups, of opinions which are nevertheless considered important, at least by many members of the groups concerned. Recognition of this diversity raises far-reaching problems as to the organization of these groups and the significance of their ceremonies. If a group had no single eschatological



critical distinction between themselves and outsiders by highlighting the ancient cultural trends that encouraged the use of this particular symbol as a boundary marker. I do not pretend that these trends alone explain the appearance of the solar calendar in 4Q394 3a (or elsewhere at Qumran). I merely describe here one of the historical circumstances that illuminate why in one manuscript a solar calendar precedes parts B and C of *MMT*.

### 1. 4Q394

Of the six reconstructed manuscripts<sup>7</sup> that constitute 4QMMT (4Q394–399), only one, 4Q394, contains a calendrical section before the more discursive legal section. What fragments belong to 4Q394—and so the extent of its calendar—and whether that calendar originally or ever formed part of *MMT* remain disputed.<sup>8</sup> My argument depends only on

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myth, it cannot have been organized as a community of believers in the myth it did not have” (“Messianic Figures,” 71). For my purposes, Smith’s observation shows that messianism did not become a boundary delineating Jewish groups. As with explaining why the solar calendar did, answering why messianism did not requires understanding the discursive spaces, the total range of signifying possibilities and the power relations buttressing each, within which each group’s members expressed themselves.

<sup>7</sup> Themselves consisting of one hundred or so fragments. See E. Qimron, “The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. J. Kampen and M.J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 9–13 (9).

<sup>8</sup> Qimron and Strugnell in their *editio princeps* attribute ten fragments to 4Q394, the first two of which contain only calendrical material, and print a twenty-three line calendar at the beginning of *MMT* (*DJD* X [1994]). But most editors have not assigned what Qimron and Strugnell consider frgs. 1–2 of 4Q394 to that manuscript because, compared with frgs. 3–7, 1–2 are written in smaller letters (2.5–3 mm, on average, vs. 3–3.5 mm, on average), with less distance between the lines (4.8 mm vs. 5.5 mm), in much shorter columns (7–9 cm vs. 16–18 cm), and by a different hand using different orthography. See F. García Martínez, “Dos notas sobre 4QMMT,” *RevQ* 16 (1993): 293–297; Qimron in *DJD* X (1994): 201; L.H. Schiffman, “The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of the Qumran MSS,” in *Reading 4QMMT*, 80–98 (82); J.C. VanderKam, “The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden, Brill, 1997), 179–194.

On rhetorical and material grounds, Strugnell maintains that the calendrical section of 4Q394 belongs to a different text than the legal and exhortative sections of *MMT*. On rhetorical grounds, he argues that “[t]he legal and hortatory parts of *MMT* are addressed by one group to another and have a notably polemic tendency to them. The calendar, however, is clearly only a list, not addressed to anyone, and with no internal indicators



Tuesday concludes the year and the new year begins on Wednesday—just as other Qumran texts lead us to expect.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the solar nature of 4Q394's calendar is evident whether one includes or omits the disputed calendrical material of frgs. 1–2.<sup>12</sup>

Second, 4Q394 3a includes both the calendar and the legal section of *MMT* and so this conjunction does not depend on textual reconstruction. At some point in antiquity, the calendrical and halakhic discussions of *MMT* were joined.

Such a conjunction invites explanation. Qimron and Strugnell consider it meaningless, imagining that a scribe happened to copy a distinct and banal calendrical document before an epistle or treatise. The Sabbath list “appears as uncontroversial in its intention as our ‘thirty days hath September,’” they claim.<sup>13</sup> Schiffman, however, believes a later scribe very intentionally prefixed the calendar to a halakhic-hortatory text, just as, in his view, the redactor of the *Temple Scroll* incorporated a calendar into that text—the very same calendar, in fact.<sup>14</sup> Schiffman's scribe senses the calendar's inherent polemic (one has a reason after all for saying even hackneyed phrases like “thirty days hath September”): “it may very well be that the scribe copied the calendar before *MMT* precisely because calendrical issues were to him determinative and he could not imagine that they were not a factor in the initial schism” that *MMT* reflects.<sup>15</sup> I agree with Schiffman that whoever placed the calendar next to sections B and C of *MMT* associated it with those passages and in what follows I offer an additional reason that 4Q394 begins with a calendar.

<sup>11</sup> In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, for example, the first Sabbath falls on the fourth day of first month (4Q400 1 i 1) and so the year must begin on Wednesday. On calendars at Qumran, see J.C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> VanderKam, “The Calendar, 4Q327, and 4Q394,” 183: “[I]t is worth emphasizing that even if the fragments of 4Q327 [= 4Q394 1–2] do not belong to 4Q394, that does not eliminate the presence and important place of a calendrical statement in the first preserved passage in 4Q394.” See also S.D. Fraade, “To Whom It May Concern: 4Q*MMT* and its Addressee(s),” *RevQ* 76 (2000): 507–526 (521–522).

<sup>13</sup> *DJD* X (1994): 110–113. The quote is from p. 113.

<sup>14</sup> Schiffman, “The Place of 4Q*MMT*,” 83–86. He points out that, by themselves, the legal and hortatory sections constitute a complete rhetorical unit that never mentions the calendar; אלה מקצת דברינו (“these are some of our precepts,” B 1) forms an *inclusio* with אנוחו כתבנו אליך מקצת מעשי התורה (“We have written down for your benefit some deeds of the Torah,” C 26–27).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 85. See also Fraade, “To Whom It May Concern,” 522–523.

## 2. THE UTOPIAN YAḤAD OF 4QMMT

Like some of the first scrolls published, 4QMMT describes an eschatological community (“we”), a community, that is, that sees itself as to some degree already constituting humans’, or at least their own, ultimate *telos*.<sup>16</sup> The legal section (B) lists specific *halakhot* concerning which the *yaḥad* differs from its addressee (“you”), the Pharisees (“they”),<sup>17</sup> and “the multitude of the [people]” ([מְרֹב הָעָם], C 7). At the beginning of the hortatory section (C), the author of 4QMMT explains that to avoid involving themselves in the majority’s incorrect keeping of the law, פְּרָשְׁנוּ מְרֹב אֱלֹהֵינוּ (C 7) (“We have separated from the multitude of the [people] . . . and from sharing in these practices and from associating with them] on these principles,” C 7–8). Given that most of the matters (בְּדַבְרֵיהֶם) discussed in section B concern the Temple,<sup>18</sup> “we have separated” probably means the *yaḥad* has forged for itself some alternative to participating in the Jerusalem Temple.

Interpreting this separation in light of the closing chapters of Deuteronomy,<sup>19</sup> *MMT* casts the *yaḥad* as a religious paragon (וְאַתֶּם יְרֵדֵימָה שְׁלֹמֹה), “Now you know that no unfaithfulness, falsehood, or evil may be found in us,” C 8–9) and others as the apostasizers whom Moses predicts: כָּתוּב שֶׁתִּסּוּר [מִן הַיָּהוָה] וְיָקַרְתָּ [רָךְ] וְיָקַרְתָּ [רָךְ] הָרַעָה (C 12).<sup>20</sup> It then turns Deut 30:1–3 on his addressee: וְכִתְּבוּ [וְיָבוּ] וְהָיָה כִּי יָבוּ אֶתְּכֶם (C 12).

<sup>16</sup> For other definitions of eschatology, see Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 173; Smith, “Messianic Figures”; Y. Hoffman, “Eschatology in the Book of Jeremiah,” in *Eschatology in the Bible and in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (ed. H. Graf Reventlow; JSOTSup 243; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 75–97 (75–78). The *yaḥad(im)* of 4QMMT, the *Damascus Document*, and *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* might also be described aptly as “millenarian,” a subgroup of “eschatological” that emphasizes the “imminent commencing of the eschatological era” (Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 154, emphasis mine). But I wish to stress here the idealized and realized-eschatological dimensions of the *yaḥad*’s self-understanding and so employ “utopian” and “eschatological.”

<sup>17</sup> The *halakhot* that *MMT* attributes to “them,” rabbinic literature attributes to the Pharisees. Therefore, “they” in 4QMMT likely refers to Pharisees or their predecessors. See Qimron and Strugnell in *DJD X* (1994): 175 and especially Y. Sussmann in *DJD X* (1994): 180–200.

<sup>18</sup> See the summary by Qimron and Strugnell in *DJD X* (1994): 131.

<sup>19</sup> *MMT* broadcasts its reworking of Deuteronomy in section B’s opening words; אֱלֹהֵינוּ (B 1) echoes Deut 1:1: מִשָּׁה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל. It thus portrays itself as another normative address to its audience, a *Triternomy* if you will, an exhortation to keep the law properly by adopting *MMT*’s *halakha*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Deut 31:29: כִּי יָדַעְתִּי אַחֲרַי מוֹתֵי כִּי-הִשְׁחַת תִּשְׁחַתְּךָ וְסָרְתָם מִן-הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶתְכֶם. וְיָקַרְתָּ אֶתְּכֶם הָרַעָה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים כִּי-תַעֲשׂוּ אֶת-הָרַעָה בְּעֵינַי יְהוָה (“For I know that after my

עליך [כו]ל הדברי[ם] האלה באחרי[ת] הימים הברכה [וה]קללא [והשיבות]ה אל ל [בב]ך ושבתה אלו בכל לבבך [ובכו]ל נפשך (“And it is writt[en], ‘When [al]l of these things [com]e upon you at the en[d] of days, the blessing [and the] curse, [you will move] it into your heart and return to him with all your heart [and with al]l your soul,” C 12–16). The authors of *MMT* write in order to facilitate this eschatological repentance, which they equate with understanding scripture as the *yahad* does: [כתב]נו אליכה שחבין בספר מושה [ו]בספר [י הנ]ביאים ובדו[י]ר [ד] (“we have [written] to you so that you may study carefully the book of Moses [and] the book[s of the Pr]ophets and of Davi[d],” C 10–11). The addressees should “scrutinize all these things” (הבן בכל אלה, C 28), “so that you may rejoice at the end of time in finding some of our precepts correct” (בשל שתשמה באחרית העת במצאך) (מקצת דברינו כן ונחשבה) (לך לצדקה בעשותך הישר והטוב לפנו ובקש מלפנו) [“Ask him to set you in order and he will remove from you evil’s purposes and Belial’s will”], C 28–29). It embodies the end-time repentance or “return” that it believes others Jews will make. It is a community that prefigures the eschatological state. 4Q394 joins this depiction of the *yahad* to a solar symbol, the solar calendar.

### 3. SOLAR SYMBOLISM IN THREE CONTEMPORANEOUS ESCHATOLOGICAL PROJECTS: IAMBULUS’ AND ARISTONICUS’ *HELIOPOLITAI* AND AUGUSTAN PROPOGANDA

Iambulus, Aristonicus, and Augustus attest a discourse that employed solar symbols to characterize the ideal (Iambulus, Aristonicus) or eschatological (Augustus) society. Roughly contemporaneous with the composition and use of the Dead Sea Scrolls, they represent a part of the discursive contexts within which the *MMT yahad* depicted itself as a separate, ideal, and morally superior community with a solar calendar.

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death you will certainly go to ruin, turning aside from the path that I have commanded you. Evil will summon you at the end of days because you will do evil in the sight of the Lord”).

Iambulus' travel narrative, *Commonwealth of the Sun*,<sup>21</sup> describes a social and natural utopia, a set of islands on which geography, flora, and fauna, and human physiognomy, knowledge, conduct, and community are perfected.<sup>22</sup> The extant portions of the work do not mention the islanders' calendar but Iambulus seems to have termed the island *Heliopolis*, its residents *Heliopolitae*, or "citizens of the Commonwealth of the Sun," not merely because the islanders worship the Sun (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 2.59.2) but because in antiquity solar symbols carry particular utopian associations. As David Winston states, "Iambulus' Sun symbolism is especially understandable when we realize its specific connection with justice and righteousness. The prophet Malachi (3:20) spoke of 'the Sun of Justice,' a figure of speech then current in the Near East, from the ancient Babylonian literature to the Orphic hymns."<sup>23</sup> Solar symbols, for Iambulus, convey that a community is ideal.

In 133 B.C.E., Attalus III died and bequeathed the Pergamene kingdom to Rome. In the wake of or just before Attalus' death,<sup>24</sup> Aristonicus, claiming to be an illegitimate son of Eumenes II, attempted to seize control of the area. According to Strabo's account of the campaign, Aristonicus, "went up into the interior and quickly assembled a multitude of resourceless people and slaves, invited with a promise of freedom, whom he called

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<sup>21</sup> The work is known to us only through Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica* (2.55–60) and brief remarks in Lucian's *True Histories* and John Tzetzes' *Chiliades* but was likely composed in the second or first century B.C.E. On the narrative and its date, see D. Winston, "Iambulus' *Islands of the Sun* and Hellenistic Literary Utopias," *Science Fiction Studies* 10 (1976). Cited 29 July 2006. Online: <http://www.depauw.edu/sfs/backissues/10/winston10art.htm>; idem, "Iambulus: A Literary Study in Greek Utopianism" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1956); and N. Holzberg, "Novel-like Words of Extended Prose Fiction II," in *The Novel in the Ancient World* (ed. G. Schmeling; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 619–653 (621–627). See also Doron Mendels' enumeration of the systematic similarities between the Qumran *yahad*, the Essenes, and Iambulus' *Heliopolitae* ("Hellenistic Utopia and the Essenes" *HTR* 72 [1979]: 207–222).

<sup>22</sup> In antiquity, accounts of the ideal society often belonged to travel narratives (e.g., the account of the island of Scheria in the *Odyssey*, Herodotus' fantastic tales, Hecateus of Abdera's Hyperboreans, Euhemerus of Messene's *Sacred Inscription*); Josephus refers to this convention in *Ag. Ap.* 2.220–224. For discussion see E. Gabba, "True and False History in Classical Antiquity," *JRS* 71 (1981): 50–62 (58–60); T. Engberg-Pedersen, "Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* as a Philosopher's Dream," *JSJ* 30 (1999): 40–64 (45–46, 64).

<sup>23</sup> D. Winston, "Iambulus' *Islands of the Sun*." W.W. Tarn identifies many ancient texts that associate the Sun and the ideal human community ("Alexander Helios and the Golden Age," *JRS* 22 [1932]: 135–160 [140, 147–148]).

<sup>24</sup> On the timing of Attalus' campaign, see E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (2 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 2:594–596.

Heliopolitae,” or, “citizens of the Sun-city” (εἰς δὲ τὴν μεσογαίαν ἀνιῶν ἡθροίσε διὰ ταχέων πλῆθος ἀπορῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ δούλων ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίαι κατακεκλιμένων, οὓς ἡλιοπολίτας ἐκάλεσε).<sup>25</sup> Perhaps inspired by Iambulus’ account of the *Heliopolitae*,<sup>26</sup> Aristonicus, at least on Strabo’s account, attempts to forge a utopian community, in this case a more socially just community, and to communicate his utopian intent, he employed solar symbolism.<sup>27</sup>

In 10 B.C.E., the Emperor Augustus erected the obelisk that today stands in front of the Italian Parliament building. Its height and original location demanded attention. At 30 m tall, it was a vertical land-marker. Located in the Campus Martius off the Via Flaminia, it dominated the initial visual impression that the capital made upon those entering the city from the North. Surrounding it were inlaid bronze markers and astrological signs that rendered the obelisk the gnomon of the largest sundial ever constructed. It is likely also the most ideological sundial ever. Imported from Egypt, adorned with hieroglyphics, and bearing an inscription on its base referring to “victory over Egypt,” the obelisk memorialized Augustus’ defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, a victory that ended a century of civil wars and inaugurated a “new era” of peace, or at least this is how some contemporaneous Roman literature portrays the victory (i.e., Horace’s *Carmen Seculare* and Virgil’s *Aeneid*, *inter alia*).

The obelisk/sundial claimed that with Augustus the eschatological<sup>28</sup> age had begun not only by memorializing the inauguration of that new age but also by associating Augustus with the Sun sign (Capricorn) and

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<sup>25</sup> Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.1.38 is the only evidence for this title, though other evidence suggests Aristonicus did recruit slaves. The historical sources for Aristonicus are collected and translated in Z. Yavetz, *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Rome* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1988), 47–66 and R.K. Sherk, ed., *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 39–45. I quote the Greek text of Strabo from the Loeb Classical Library edition.

<sup>26</sup> Tarn argues that Aristonicus strives to implement Iambulus’ vision (“Alexander Helios,” 140) or some version of it (*Alexander the Great* [2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948], 2:413–414).

<sup>27</sup> O. Patterson, *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (New York: Basic, 1991), 270. The meaning and value of Strabo’s report is heavily debated and many scholars do not believe that Aristonicus sought social transformation; for discussion and bibliography, see Gruen, *The Hellenistic World*, 2:597; V. Vavrinek, “Aristonicus of Pergamum: Pretender to the Throne or Leader of a Slave Revolt?” *Eirene* 13 (1975): 109–129.

<sup>28</sup> On eschatology as a dimension of Greek and Roman cultures, see D. Georgi, *The City in the Valley: Biblical Interpretation and Urban Theology* (Studies in Biblical Literature 7; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 25–52, 301 (cf. 218); H. Koester, “Jesus the Victim,” *JBL* 111 (1992): 3–15 (10–13).

the Sun God (Apollo). According to Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 36.72), the sundial's bronze markers established the beginning of the year at the winter solstice and so under the sign of Capricorn. Augustus claimed to have been conceived under Capricorn (Suetonius, *Aug.* 94) and from at least 41/40 B.C.E. and especially after 28 B.C.E., he minted coins that featured Capricorn alongside images and text depicting him as "born to save the Roman state" and as herald of a new, pacific (and hence superior) age.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, obelisks were sacred to the Sun God, Apollo, and this obelisk was taken from the Sun Temple in the Sun City (*Heliopolis*) of Egypt and dedicated to Apollo.<sup>30</sup> Augustus likely promoted the stories that later appear in Suetonius claiming that Augustus' mother spent the night in the Temple of Apollo and was impregnated with Augustus by the God (*Aug.* 94), that Augustus' earthly father dreamed that the sun rose from his wife's womb (*ibid.*), and that Augustus was born just before sunrise (*Aug.* 7). Apollo also appeared at the top of the cuirass of the widely disseminated *Prima Porta* portrait type of Augustus, which, by assimilating Augustus' physiognomy to that of Polyclitus' Doryphorus, represented the *princeps* as the ideal (male) human form and so captured visually Augustan propaganda's eschatological claims. And Augustus further stressed the eschatological nature of his reign by having the Temple of Actium Apollo built next to his house on the Palatine Hill, which itself recalled the myth of Romulus' founding of Rome there in the eighth century B.C.E. The architectural configuration cast Augustus as the new founder of the city.

Thus, the Sun, the Sun sign, and the Sun God (Apollo) formed a symbolic repertoire on which the sundial in the Campus Martius drew to make eschatological claims. Every winter solstice, when the Sun was reborn (i.e., the days began to lengthen) under Capricorn, the sundial commemorating Augustus' victory announced the beginning of a new year and a new, ideal age.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> T.S. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics, and Medicine under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 42. See also P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (trans. Alan Shapiro; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 101–166; W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus* (trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider; Malden: Blackwell, 2003), 122–123.

<sup>30</sup> Zanker, *Power of Images*, 144.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.



## 4. CONCLUSION

I am, of course, not the first to describe the Dead Sea Scrolls *yahad* as utopian and/or eschatological. Helmut Koester epitomizes this interpretation well:

The eschatological orientation of the community appears in all aspects of its life. The Essenes not only anticipate the promised future of the true people of God, they already are these elect people and God's temple. Every new member had to assign his possessions to the community. Personal poverty and communal living represent the messianic age, which knows no difference between rich and poor. The liturgy of the common meals, regularly celebrated every day, mirrors the messianic banquet. While holy war ideology is clearly evident, there are also strong correspondences with Hellenistic utopian concepts. Retreat to a secluded place, common meals of simple food, community of goods, sharing all labor, strict moral obligations and penance for offenders, rejection of temple worship, and finally the preference for a solar over a lunar calendar are also ingredients of Iambolous' utopian Hellenistic romance *Commonwealth of the Sun*.<sup>32</sup>

And Philip Davies argues that 1QS is not a rule of an actual community but Jewish utopian literature.<sup>33</sup>

Koester and Davies have in mind texts other than 4QMMT. I have tried to show here that *MMT* belongs in the same utopian, eschatological vein and that vein itself takes part in a larger discourse that associated solar symbolism with ideal community.<sup>34</sup> One reason then that the sectarian text 4Q394 begins, originally or secondarily, with a solar calendar is that, in the discursive context of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, a solar calendar powerfully symbolized the utopian and eschatological claims made in the rest of *MMT*.

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<sup>32</sup> H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 1: *History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age* (2nd ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 225.

<sup>33</sup> P.R. Davies, "Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honor of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C.J. Labuschagne; VTSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 152–163 (157–160).

<sup>34</sup> For other ways in which the solar calendar is eschatological, see M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994).



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