

An aerial photograph of a desert landscape. In the foreground, there are several large, excavated caves or ruins, likely the Qumran caves. The terrain is sandy and rocky, with some sparse vegetation. In the background, a long, narrow strip of water, the Dead Sea, stretches across the horizon under a clear blue sky. The overall scene is arid and desolate.

EDITED BY

TIMOTHY H.
LIM

JOHN J.
COLLINS

≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**THE DEAD
SEA SCROLLS**

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The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Edited by John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim

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(p. v)

For Dr Zelick Perler, M.D.

Physician and father-in-law extraordinaire

On the occasion of his real retirement

בציתי

מיבירנ

ינפל

ושאר

מירמ

אפוד

תער

(Wisdom of Ben Sira 38: 3)

and

For Esperanza Bejarano Yarbrow Kish

Mother-in-law extraordinaire

On the occasion of her 96th birthday

'For wisdom is better than jewels and all that you may desire cannot compare with her'

(Proverbs 8: 11)

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List of Abbreviations

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Abbreviations of ancient sources and modern journals follow the *SBL Handbook of Style*, edited by Patrick H. Alexander, John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, Shirley Decker-Lucke, and, for the SBL, David L. Petersen (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).

In this volume, reference to the columns and lines of a scroll is expressed in Arabic numerals (e.g. 1QS 3: 13). When a scroll reference includes a fragment, it is further specified as 'fr.' (e.g. 4Q521 fr. 2 2: 1).

No attempt has been made to standardize the various systems of transliteration.

col(s) column(s)

DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert

DJD I D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.

DJD II P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'ât*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

DJD III M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.

DJD IV J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.

DJD V J. M. Allegro with A. A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.

DJD VII M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

DJD IX P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.

DJD X E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'aśe ha-Torah*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.

- DJD XI** E. Eshel et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- DJD XII** Eugene Ulrich, Frank M. Cross, et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994; reprinted 1999.
- DJD XIII** H. Attridge et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994. (p. xvii)
- DJD XV** Eugene Ulrich and Russell E. Fuller, *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- DJD XVIII** J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- DJD XIX** M. Broshi et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- DJD XX** T. Elgvin et al., in consultation with J. A. Fitzmyer, *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- DJD XXI** S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov and U. Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- DJD XXII** G. J. Brooke et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- DJD XXIII** F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- DJD XXV** É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- DJD XXVI** P. Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- DJD XXIX** E. Chazon et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- DJD XXX** D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- DJD XXXI** É. Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.
- DJD XXXIV** J. Strugnell, D. J. Harrington, and T. Elgvin, in consultation with J. A. Fitzmyer, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: 4QInstruction (Musar leMevin): 4Q415 ff.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- DJD XXXV** J. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- DJD XXXVI** S. J. Pfann, *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts*; P. S. Alexander, et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Miscellanea, Part 1*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
- DJD XXXVII** É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575, 580–582*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
- DJD XXXIX** E. Tov, ed., *The Text from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*. Oxford : Clarendon, 2002. (p. xviii)

DJD XL Hartmut Stegemann, Eileen Schuller, and C. Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot a–f and 1QHodayot^b*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2008.

DSS Dead Sea Scrolls

DSSAFY *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998–99.

DSSFYD *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James VanderKam. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, the Israel Museum, 2000.

DSSFYR *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Forty Years of Research*. Edited by D. Dimant and U. Rappaport. STDJ 10. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

DSSHC *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*. Edited by Timothy H. Lim, with L. W. Hurtado, A. Graeme Auld, and Alison Jack. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000.

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

Evv English versions

fr(s) fragment(s)

MIDSSKQS *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Khirbet Qumran Site, Present Realities and Future Prospects*. Edited by M. O. Wise, N. Golb, John J. Collins, and D. Pardee. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994.

MQC *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.

NTOA.SA *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus*. Series Archaeologica

QSDSS *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of the Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19*. Edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

RBL Review of Biblical Literature

RSRP *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions and New Approaches*. Edited by D. R. Edwards. New York and London: Routledge, 2004.

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Map 1. Qumran and Surrounding area (map by Rachel Hachlili)

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Introduction: Current Issues in Dead Sea Scrolls Research

Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The Dead Sea Scrolls were found near the site of Qumran, at the northern end of the Dead Sea, beginning in 1947. Despite the much-publicized delays in the publication and editing of the scrolls, practically all of them had been made public by the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery. This book seeks to probe the main disputed issues in the study of the scrolls. For indeed, many issues remain in dispute, despite the apparently impressive syntheses at the turn of the millennium. There has been lively debate over the archaeology and history of the site, the nature and identity of the sect, and its relation to the broader world of Second Temple Judaism and to later Jewish and Christian tradition. The book aims to reflect on diverse opinions and viewpoints, highlight the points of disagreement, and point to promising directions for future research.

Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, Second Temple Judaism, Christian tradition, archaeology

THE Dead Sea Scrolls were found near the site of Qumran, at the northern end of the Dead Sea, beginning in 1947. Despite the much publicized delays in the publication and editing of the scrolls, practically all of them had been made public by the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery. That occasion was marked by a spate of major publications that attempted to sum up the state of scholarship at the end of the twentieth century. These publications included *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (1998–1999), the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (2000), and *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (2000), to mention only the more ambitious undertakings. These volumes, especially the first two, produced an authoritative synthesis to which the majority of scholars in the field subscribed, granted disagreements in detail.

A decade or so later, the *Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* has a different objective and character. It seeks to probe the main disputed issues in the study of the scrolls. For indeed, many issues remain in dispute, despite the apparently impressive syntheses at the turn of the millennium. There has been lively debate over the archaeology and history of the site, the nature and identity of the sect, and (p. 2) its relation to the broader world of Second Temple Judaism and to later Jewish and Christian tradition. It is our intention here to reflect on diverse opinions and viewpoints, highlight the points of disagreement, and point to promising directions for future research.

The Nature of the Corpus

Perhaps the most fundamental question to be asked about the scrolls is the nature of the collection. Most scholars have assumed that the manuscripts hidden in the caves were the library of a religious community that lived at the site.

Frank Moore Cross entitled his classic study of the scrolls *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (1958; third edition 1995). The term 'library' has often been invoked in the scholarly literature, but the implications of what that might mean have seldom been discussed. Hartmut Stegemann's book, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus : Ein Sachbuch* (1993) appeared in English as *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (1998). He did not explain what he meant by 'library', but he clearly thought of it in terms of the various uses of the manuscripts, as he divided the collection into master manuscripts, scrolls for general use, works for special studies and items of current interest, and worn-out and discarded manuscripts (1998: 80–85). An exception is the 'imaginative reconstruction' of the partial contents of the library by a learned librarian. According to Katharine Greenleaf Pedley the men who curated the collection were librarians, *bibliothecarii*, who prepared the leather or papyrus for copying, and preserved and stored the scrolls on bookshelves that were divided into the shape of a 'nest' (Latin: *nidus*) or 'pigeon hole' (1959; cf. Roitman 1997: 60).

Other possibilities have always been entertained. Dissident scholars, of whom the most vocal is Norman Golb (1995), have always maintained that scrolls in this number could only have originated in Jerusalem, and that they were taken to the desert for hiding. Khirbet Qumran was no monastic-like centre; it was a military fortress that belonged to the nexus of defensive posts guarding the eastern front of Judaea. The scrolls then are a random sample of the Jewish literature of the time. In that case, their proximity to the ruins of Khirbet Qumran was mere coincidence. Golb raised important questions about the nature of this collection of scrolls. Was it really one collection? Did it belong to the community that lived nearby at Khirbet Qumran? And was this an Essene community? His own 'Jerusalem hypothesis', however, has not had many followers. Most scholars feel that the proximity of some of the caves to the site cannot be coincidental. Moreover, the archaeological site, with its large cemetery, was unlikely to have been a fortress as its water supply was (p. 3) unprotected (Lim 1992). Many of the scrolls are notably critical of the Jerusalem priesthood. They include multiple copies of rule books for distinct associations, and other literature of a sectarian character. They conspicuously lack literature that could be identified as Pharisaic, and only one text, the 'Prayer for King Jonathan' (4Q448) can be construed as pro-Hasmonean (and even that is disputed). While the scrolls contain many texts, including the biblical ones, that circulated widely, the collection as a whole has a sectarian character.

But even if the scrolls are a sectarian collection, it does not follow that they were all composed and used at Qumran. They could have been brought there from other sectarian communities, for safe keeping in the face of the advance of the Roman army. The fact that different editions of the sectarian rule books, both the Damascus Rule and *Serekh ha-Yahad*, have been found at Qumran, and that older editions of the rules were apparently copied after newer editions had been made, suggests that these scrolls, or at least the rule books, were not read side by side in the same community, but were rather preserved in different sectarian communities (Schofield 2009). A further complication is now raised by the suggestion that the scrolls were not all deposited in the caves on the same occasion. It has often been noted that the great majority of the scrolls were copied in the first century BCE. The average age of the scrolls in Caves 1 and 4 is considerably older than that of the scrolls in the other caves (Stökl Ben Ezra 2007). So it has been suggested that some scrolls were deposited in the caves already around the turn of the era. If indeed scrolls were hidden at the site on more than one occasion, that would strengthen the argument that they were related in some way to a community that lived at the site during this period. Whether this in fact was so, however, remains in dispute.

It is now widely agreed that not all the scrolls were composed within a sectarian movement. The biblical texts were obviously not peculiar to a sect, but many other texts found at Qumran lack sectarian characteristics. Much, but not necessarily all, of the non-sectarian literature dates from a time before the rise of the movement described in the sectarian rule books. This seems to be the case with much (but not necessarily all) of the literature composed in Aramaic (Berthelot and Stökl Ben-Ezra, 2010). Most of the disputed issues discussed in this volume concern the sectarian scrolls, and the movement they reflect, but many also concern the implications of the corpus for our broader understanding of the Judaism of the day.

The Archaeology

No topic related to the Dead Sea Scrolls has been more controversial than the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran. The classic view of the site was articulated by the original excavator, Roland de Vaux (1973). On this view, there had

Introduction

been a military (p. 4) fort at the site in the late Iron Age, but it was rebuilt in the mid-second century BCE as a religious settlement. After an interruption in the late first century BCE it was reoccupied by the same community, down to the war with Rome. After the destruction of the site, the Romans partially occupied it as a look-out post. This view of the site has been defended vigorously by Jodi Magness (2002), although she dates the Hasmonean reoccupation of the site to the early first century, rather than to the second, and also modifies de Vaux's interpretation at other points.

Over the last two decades or so, a plethora of alternative theories have been proposed. Golb argued that the site was a fort. This view has been taken up by Yizhar Hirschfeld (2004), by Magen and Peleg (2006), and most recently by Robert Cargill (2009). These scholars, however, argue that the site was a fort only in the Hasmonean period, and subsequently put to other use. Hirschfeld argues that it became a manor house, Magen and Peleg a pottery factory, and Cargill a religious settlement. Jean-Baptiste Humbert (2003) has also argued that the character of the site changed after the fall of the Hasmoneans. In his view, it was initially a country house, and was later taken over by the Essenes.

In his judicious survey of the debate, Eric Meyers recognizes that some valid points have been made. For example, it is now agreed that Qumran must be viewed in the larger context of its regional environment. It is unrealistic, and contrary to the archaeological evidence, to see it as an isolated settlement with no contact with outside society. Nonetheless, Meyers finds most of the revisionist views unsatisfactory. Regional contacts do not rule out the possibility of a sectarian settlement. Any interpretation must account for the unique character of the site, especially for the multiplicity of immersion pools and the large cemetery. It is also unrealistic to leave out of account the scrolls that were found in the virtual backyard of the settlement.

Within the debate over the archaeology, special importance has attached to the cemetery, and the presence of female burials. In recent years, wildly different claims have been made, some maximizing the number of female skeletons, others maintaining that most if not all of the female instances were intrusive Bedouin burials from a much later time. As Rachel Hachlili notes, 'recent research and reexamination of the bones have not resolved the controversy and riddle of the Qumran community, because of the small number of tombs excavated, and the even smaller number and poor condition of human remains. The recent excavations at Khirbet Qazone cemetery, with similar shaft tombs, add fervor to the debate.' In Hachlili's view, however, the burials were noticeably different from the burial customs of ordinary Judaism in this period. She concludes that the community that used the cemetery 'was a specific religious group, a separate Jewish sect, who fashioned their own divergent practices as well as some typical Jewish customs. The separate and isolated cemetery and the burial practices, which deviate from the regular Jewish tradition of family oriented tombs, show a distinctive attitude to death and burial customs'. This conclusion does not require that the community was Essene, but it does not rule out that possibility either. (p. 5)

The Identification and History of the Sect

Most scholars today still follow the Qumran–Essene identification as a working hypothesis. This identification was suggested independently by Eliezer L. Sukenik and Millar Burrows almost immediately after the discovery of the first scrolls, and it was expounded at length by André Dupont-Sommer. The theory was developed in its classical form by Frank M. Cross (1958), J. T. Milik (1959), and Geza Vermes. These scholars argued that 'the Qumran community' was led by Zadokite priests, who seceded from the Jerusalem temple in the mid-second century BCE, when the Hasmoneans usurped the High Priesthood. This theory was grounded, on the one hand, in the statement in the Damascus Document, col. 1 that the movement arose 390 years after the destruction of Jerusalem (hence in the early second century BCE) and in the references in the *Pesharim*, or biblical commentaries, to a Wicked Priest, who was identified as either Jonathan (Vermes, Milik) or Simon Maccabee (Cross). It was thought to derive support from de Vaux's dating of the resettlement of Qumran to the mid-second century BCE.

All aspects of this theory have come under scrutiny in recent years. John Collins noted that the communities described in the scrolls are not adequately identified as 'the Qumran community' (2010). The Damascus Document refers explicitly to people who live in 'camps' throughout the land, and who marry and have children. The passage in question, in CD 7, implies that this was not true of all members of the movement of the new covenant, but it does not clarify how the others lived. The Community Rule says nothing about women or children, but it says that wherever there are ten members of the *yaḥad*, there should be a priest. This would seem to imply that the *yaḥad*

was not one settlement, whether at Qumran or elsewhere, but rather an association made up of multiple communities. One passage in the Community Rule, col. 8, prescribes a retreat to the desert, to prepare the way of the Lord, but adds that this is the study of the Torah. Whether this passage can be taken to refer to the founding of the Qumran settlement is uncertain. The identity and history of the *yaḥad*, then, cannot be inferred simply from the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran.

The identification of the *yaḥad* with the Essenes was suggested by the fact that Pliny the Elder refers to an Essene settlement near the Dead Sea, 'above' (north of?) Ein Gedi, and by notable similarities between the *yaḥad*, as described in the Community Rule, and the Essenes as described by Josephus and Philo, with respect to their admission procedures and common life. Both Josephus and Philo say that the Essenes were dispersed in multiple settlements, so in this respect their accounts match the evidence of the scrolls. Much of the controversy about the Essene hypothesis has centred on the question of celibacy. Philo, Josephus, and Pliny all (p. 6) emphasize the celibacy of the Essenes, although Josephus also says that one order of the sect allowed marriage. The reference in the Damascus Document to people who married and had children has been referred to 'the marrying Essenes' (Vermes), but even the Community Rule does not prescribe celibacy. Besides, Steve Mason (2007) has argued that Josephus would not have eulogized people who held the apocalyptic views that we find in the scrolls.

Joan Taylor, in this volume, gives an exceptionally comprehensive account of ancient references to the Essenes. She takes note of the problems with the Essene identification, but remarks that 'it is not as if we have in Second Temple Judaism an array of highly educated Jewish schools/orders from which to choose'. She also observes that 'the maleness of the *yaḥad* may be affirmed while still acknowledging the presence of women and children in the "world" of the *Serekh* texts, whether these men of the *yaḥad* were married or not' (Taylor 2007). An all-male council of scribes or priests does not require total isolation from women, which Taylor regards as a logical absurdity. Her argument entails a nuanced, revisionist, understanding both of the Essenes and of the *yaḥad*, but she concludes that the Essenes were the only people we know of in Second Temple Judaism who demonstrate the kinds of concerns and lifestyle reflected in the rule books from Qumran.

The consensus view that the sectarian movement began in the second century BCE has recently been defended by Hanan Eshel (2008). Eshel's book can be read as a counterpoint to the article of Michael Wise in this volume. Wise sees the connection of the scrolls to the site of Qumran as tenuous, and notes that several considerations point to the texts' origin outside of Qumran. Moreover, neither archaeology nor palaeography require a date for the Teacher in the mid-second century BCE. The vast majority of the sectarian manuscripts are dated to the first century BCE by their editors. The 390 years of the Damascus Document are universally recognized as a symbolic number, derived from Ezekiel 4: 5. In any case, Jews in this period had no reliable knowledge of the chronology of the Persian period. Wise approaches the history of the Teacher and his movement from an analysis of the Teacher Hymns in the *Hodayot*, which reflect a conflict over the interpretation of the Law and the Temple service. This conflict is also reflected in 4QMMT and the *Pesharim*. Wise locates this conflict after the death of Alexander Jannaeus, when his widow, Salome Alexandra, switched the allegiance of the Hasmoneans to the Pharisees. The Wicked Priest would then be Hyrcanus II (as proposed long ago by Dupont-Sommer). Wise's reconstruction of the history departs sharply from the consensus that has dominated Qumran scholarship, but it should be noted that all the clear historical allusions in the *Pesharim* point to the first half of the first century BCE.

Other contributors to this volume challenge other aspects of scrolls scholarship that have long enjoyed the status of consensus. While Joan Taylor noted that we do not have a great variety of Jewish sects to choose from, Martin Goodman reminds us that our knowledge of ancient Judaism is dependent on the accidents of (p. 7) transmission, and by no means complete. Goodman questions whether the evidence of the scrolls requires that the *yaḥad* have cut itself off from the Temple. He refers to 'the helpful advice to be found in MMT on how to run the Temple', but denies that it is the polemic of a group that has cut itself off from the Temple (see now Goodman 2009). (Incidentally, Taylor also denies that the Essenes, according to Philo and Josephus, had rejected the Temple). Goodman does not deny that the authors of the scrolls were unhappy with the way the Temple was being run, but he notes that the Pharisees and the Sadducees both frequented the Temple despite strong disagreements. In a similar vein, Sacha Stern questions whether calendrical disagreement would necessarily require that the *yaḥad* withdraw from the Temple cult. He argues that the 364-day calendar 'should be regarded as just one of many peculiarities of the Qumran literature and perhaps community', but denies that it is a polemical issue. Whether Goodman and Stern will succeed in shaking long-established assumptions of scholarship remains to be seen, but the attempt to reexamine the bases of these assumptions is surely salutary.

The Scrolls and Other Strands of Judaism

Long-established theories are not the only ones that require critical examination. James VanderKam examines the theory propagated by Gabriele Boccaccini that the sect known from the scrolls originated as a splinter movement from Enochic Judaism. While VanderKam accepts that there was a strand of Judaism that may be called Enochic, he questions whether Enochians could not at the same time be Zadokites or Sapientialists. Could people not find value in a variety of literary traditions? He also questions the identification of the Enochians with the Essenes, and notes that Boccaccini has modified his views on this point. The books of Enoch do not show much similarity to the classical accounts of the Essenes. The hypothesis that 'the Qumran community' originated as a splinter group also plays a part in the Groningen Hypothesis of Florentino García Martínez and Adam van der Woude. VanderKam argues that while there is evidence in the Damascus Document of opposition between the Teacher and the figure called the Liar, there is no evidence that they were ever members of the same community, despite frequent assertions to the contrary in recent scholarship. Neither is there any evidence that the Teacher and his followers separated from a larger Essene movement.

The relation of the sectarian movement to the Enoch literature is related to the broader question of whether it can be appropriately described as 'apocalyptic'. Michael Knibb notes the ambiguity of the term 'apocalyptic', since material may resemble what (p. 8) we find in apocalypses in some respects and not in others. The sect was influenced by the eschatological ideas of Enoch and Daniel, but its view of the world was not shaped only or primarily by concern about the eschaton. (This point has been acknowledged by scholars who still refer to the sect as 'an apocalyptic community'). Apocalyptic concerns must be balanced against other interests, especially the correct interpretation of the Law. Knibb affirms the expectation of two messiahs in the scrolls, although there are also texts that only mention one. He suggests that the development of dualism, and to some extent of eschatology, was a way of coping with the fact that the sect's interpretation of the Torah was not accepted by other Jews.

Also related to the Enoch literature is the question of mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Mysticism admits of different definitions. James Davila understands it 'as the use of ritual practices to experience an ascent to heaven in which one undergoes a temporary or permanent transformation into an angelic being who may be enthroned on high or who may participate in the angelic liturgy. An aspect of this experience is a fascination with detailed descriptions of the heavenly realm'. The evidence for ascent to heaven lies primarily in one notoriously fragmentary and difficult text, the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn. While this is arguably a case of ascent mysticism, the interpretation remains in dispute. Davila finds evidence of vibrant mysticism, however, in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, which he understands as a liturgical text. The mystical aspects of the scrolls constitute one of the ways in which these texts anticipate developments in later Judaism and Christianity (see, however, Schäfer 2009: 350).

The apocalyptic and mystical traditions typified by the Enoch literature are one important strand of influence in the scrolls, but not the only one. Armin Lange reviews the substantial corpus of wisdom texts found in the scrolls. He regards most of this corpus as non-sectarian, and as representative of the development of Jewish wisdom in the Hellenistic period. He emphasizes the rise of Torah wisdom, and the increased interest in eschatology. While most of these texts (with at least one exception) were of non-sectarian origin, they show how wisdom traditions were received and incorporated in sectarian thought. So, for example, the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (which Lange regards as pre-sectarian) was incorporated into the Community Rule, and there are many allusions to *Musar le Mevin* in the *Hodayot*. A quite different strand of influence is explored by Albert de Jong. Zoroastrian influence on the dualism of the scrolls has been suggested since the early days of Qumran research. This topic is clouded by the difficulty of dating the Persian traditions. The similarities are most striking in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. De Jong notes differences as well as similarities, and argues that there is a 'structural dilemma' in the *Treatise*, because of the tensions between the dualistic worldview and biblical traditions. The description of the two spirits is almost wholly parallel to what we find in Iranian texts. De Jong also notes other points of Persian influence that are uncontroversial, such as the use of some Persian words and the Persian setting of the story in 4Q550, sometimes referred to as 'Proto-Esther'.

(p. 9) The Character of the Sect

The character and core values of the sect are at issue in the articles of David Lambert and Jonathan Klawans. Lambert questions whether the sectarian movement can be appropriately categorized as a penitential movement, if

this is understood by analogy with penitential movements in the Middle Ages. The scrolls attest to a deterministic worldview, in which one is acted upon by divine grace. They do not emphasize the feelings of remorse for past deeds that are later associated with repentance. Klawans notes the increased interest in ritual purity in Jewish Studies in general, and in Qumran studies in particular, over the last two decades. The dominant understanding of purity in the scrolls posits a meaningful and logically coherent sectarian purity system by following the interconnections among the various texts and correlating them with archaeological evidence. Klawans finds merit in this view, but questions whether all the evidence fits together so well. He proposes an alternative interpretation for discussion. In this view, the sect would not have claimed to constitute an adequate substitute for the temple. Many of the laws were formulated with an eye to a utopian future rather than immediate practice. Some acts may have been performed despite their incomplete effect. It should be noted that Klawans' discussion is predicated on the assumption that the scrolls are the library of the community at the site of Qumran; hence his concern for correlation between the scrolls and the archaeological evidence. It is not clear how this discussion would be affected if the scrolls were related more broadly to a movement of which only a small segment lived at Qumran (assuming that Qumran was indeed a sectarian community).

Another characteristic of the Qumran community, according to the consensus view, was that its membership consisted of celibate men. In recent years, the issue of women's presence in the community has been raised. The discussion, such as the seminal studies of Eileen Schuller, has focused on the role of women in the Qumran community: were they wives and daughters or full members of the sect? After critically reviewing Qumran scholarship and its focus on the Essene hypothesis, Tal Ilan takes a broader perspective on the gender reading of the biblical, apocryphal, and sectarian scrolls. She weighs up the variants in these texts, arguing that they are not exegetical but textual variants that attest to previously unmentioned women, their activities, and gender ideology. For Ilan, the absence of not only Esther, but also Judith and Susannah, from the scrolls' corpus is significant indication of the dominant male ideology of the community. She also finds gender as a useful tool for analysing the female personification of Jerusalem in certain biblical (Lamentations, 4Q179) and sapiential texts (4Q184, 4Q185, 4Q525, 4QInstruction and Wisdom of Ben Sira). She also discusses from the female perspective the halakhic regulations, those long known and more recently come to light, concerning polygyny, divorce, incest, oaths, the prospective bride, and endogamous marriages. (p. 10)

The Scrolls and Later Judaism

Some aspects of religious life in the scrolls are discussed here with reference to their relation to later Judaism. This is the case with the discussion of mysticism, and also with the understanding of religious law, which was arguably the most important defining feature of the sectarian movement. Aharon Shemesh examines an important difference between the Qumranic and rabbinic stance on *halakhah*. He argues that what is missing in the Qumran scrolls is *mahloket* or explicit dispute. Whereas rabbinic literature names rabbis and reports their different opinions, the Qumran scrolls are silent on halakhic disputes. He argues that this difference is explicable by the source of authority of the *halakhah*: Qumran's *halakhah* is based upon the premise of divine authority, whereas the rabbinic legal rulings are predicated on the idea of human autonomy and reason.

There are also significant continuities between the scrolls and the rabbinic corpus in relation to liturgical practice. These are explored by Daniel Falk. He is careful to note that similarity is not identity, and does not always require a linear relationship. For example, although both the scrolls and the rabbinic writings share the concept of appointed times for prayer, neither the times nor the rationale are necessarily the same. Falk's essay also highlights the importance of new methodologies, specifically ritual studies, for understanding the scrolls. He calls for a nuanced understanding of prayer that distinguishes between the surface meaning of the language and its rhetorical and ritual functions.

Another area that cries out for comparison is the Dead Sea Scrolls' relationship to medieval Karaism. After all, one of the foundational texts of the Qumran community, the Damascus Document, was discovered in the Cairo Genizah. Stefan Reif compares the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Cairo Genizah as sectarian collections by analysing not only the commonalities and divergences with respect to the literary remains of the Hebrew Bible, biblical interpretation, Hebrew grammar, and the masorah, Jewish law and liturgy, but also curatorial (disposal, survival, accessibility, location of the holdings), palaeographical, and codicological issues. He focuses on the preservation of four texts (the Damascus Document, Wisdom of Ben Sira, Aramaic Levi Document, and Tobit) in both collections

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and suggests that while it has to be admitted that the preservation of both collections was serendipitous, the corpora testify to the importance of the literature preserved in them and the extent of literacy in both periods. He concludes that the connection between the two collections is undeniable, and that Karaism owed a great debt to the religious ideas found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. (p. 11)

The Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible

As mentioned above, the heterogeneous collection of scrolls found in the eleven caves is not sectarian in the sense that it included only works that were written by the community. Some one quarter of all the scrolls are biblical texts. These attest to the fluidity of the biblical text, which had not yet been standardized when the scrolls were written. Ronald Hendel critically reviews the post-Qumran text-critical theories of Frank Cross, Shemaryahu Talmon, Emanuel Tov, and Eugene Ulrich, delving into their philosophical assumptions. He argues that the differences may in part be explained by the classic, epistemological contrast between realism and nominalism. Thus, while one text-critic might see a coherent family or group of texts, another might see only a collection of individuals. Hendel sees value in the post-Qumran textual theories and extracts features from each of them in presenting an alternative model. Using the Exodus manuscripts from Qumran as a case study, Hendel puts forward an eclectic and multidimensional (though he could only represent two dimensions on the page) stemmatic model that includes multiple classificatory layers of editions (from Ulrich), locales (from Cross), social setting (from Talmon), and textual groups (from Tov).

It is, however, not only for textual criticism that the scrolls are important. The issue of 'canon at Qumran' is discussed by Timothy Lim. He first critically reviews the methodological and terminological issues raised by Eugene Ulrich and John Barton before proposing an approach to authoritative scriptures based on what the Qumran community actually cited in the *pesharim* and other sectarian texts rather than what they had in their 'library'. He engages previous studies, especially those of Ian Eybers and James C. VanderKam, and suggests that the sectarian community had a broadly bipartite canon of the Hebrew Bible, including a closed Torah and an open-ended collection of prophetic books. There is no evidence for a third division of Writings (the evidence of 4QMMT being questioned), although the Psalms were recognized as a collection.

Early Biblical Interpretation

The collection of scrolls found in the caves also included a number of exemplars of early biblical interpretations. Some quote the biblical texts explicitly and provide their sectarian interpretation, while others rewrite the biblical texts that they presumably had before them. Molly Zahn discusses the genre of 'Rewritten Bible' which has been at the centre of much intensive research. Considering the lack of a fixed canon of the Bible at this time, she prefers the terminology of 'Rewritten Scripture' and explains how Jubilees, the Temple Scroll, Genesis Apocryphon, and Reworked Pentateuch fall (p. 12) along a continuum with the biblical texts. In fact, Reworked Pentateuch is probably not 'Rewritten Scripture' at all, but an expansion of the Pentateuch. Zahn has shown that it is probably better to think of the biblical scroll/biblical interpretation divide as different points along a continuous sequence that also includes translations; although she would argue that 'Rewritten Scripture' is a genre that can be defined by its function and purpose, such as the implicit claim of authority in the very act of rewriting scriptural texts which she would see as essentially exegetical.

If 'Rewritten Scripture' blurs the boundary between biblical text and post-biblical interpretation, then this seems not to be so in the case of the *Pesharim*. The *Pesher* is without doubt the quintessential form of sectarian exegesis that on the face of it distinguishes clearly between the lemma that is cited and the interpretation that follows; although, in its alteration of the biblical quotations, the *pesher* too crosses the exegetical line (Lim 1997). In the past, this type of exegesis has been characterized as a straightforward identification of a biblical element X with an interpretative comment Y. Bilhah Nitzan, however, shows how simplistic and misleading is such a characterization of the genre. Using a comparative approach to biblical interpretation in the Qumran scrolls and rabbinic literature she discusses the variegated exegeses of the continuous, thematic, and isolated *pesher* in relation to rabbinic exegeses, especially of the *targumim* and *midrashim*. She argues that the *pesher* is to be distinguished from other types of exegeses, at Qumran, in the Apocrypha, or in midrashic literature, by its emphasis upon revelation.

Using the technical term *pesher*, this sectarian exegesis seeks to unravel new divine revelations hidden in the

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prophetic oracles. It must be recognized that there is a range of interpretative approaches collected under the category of *peshet*. The continuous *peshet* is lemmatic and follows the sequence of the biblical texts; the thematic *peshet* combines a primary lemma with secondary proof-texts around a theme; and the isolated *peshet*, individual exegeses embedded within non-*peshet* texts, leads with an opening rule and is most similar to midrashic exegesis. Nitzan discusses a representative sampling of exegetical techniques, analyses its hermeneutical stance and social function, and concludes that while the *peshet* shares exegetical techniques with rabbinic *midrash*, its apocalyptic worldview, characterized by dualism, makes it distinctive. This dualism is marked by struggles that are both political (against the Pharisees and Sadducees on the one hand and the Greeks and Romans on the other) and eschatological (against wickedness).

Languages of the Scrolls

Jan Joosten discusses the languages of the scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, from diachronic and synchronic perspectives. He provides a brief sketch of the history of the languages and outlines, for Hebrew and Aramaic, their typological (p. 13) features. Qumran Hebrew represents a stage between biblical and mishnaic Hebrew. It was influenced by archaizing tendencies, especially by the Hebrew of the biblical texts, and the syntax, morphology, and vocabulary of Aramaic. Under this overlay of borrowings and influence, Joosten argues that there is a living substratum which attests to the active use of Hebrew. Some 14 per cent of the scrolls were written in the Aramaic language. These texts come from the Middle Aramaic phase of the language and the linguistic variation may be attributed to the different ages of the texts and to the personal preference of the author. The few, badly mutilated Greek scrolls reflect the language of the Septuagint.

The Scrolls and Early Christianity

One of the most contested areas of research, which receives disproportionate attention in the media, is the relationship of the Dead Sea Scrolls to early Christianity. In a review of previous scholarship, Jörg Frey critically assesses all the historical (e.g. John the Baptist, Essene Gate), ideological (e.g. dualism, messianism) and terminological (e.g. 'works of the law') links that have been suggested between the scrolls and the New Testament. He concludes that while theories of direct influence between the two do not stand up to critical scrutiny, the scrolls nonetheless constitute an invaluable source of information for the wider Jewish background of the New Testament.

One contribution of the scrolls to a better understanding of the Jewish background of the New Testament is on the central subject of Christology or, as Larry Hurtado prefers to call it, Jesus-devotion. Using the scrolls (especially the Songs of the Sabbath, 11QMelchizedek, 1 Enoch, the War Scroll) together with other Jewish texts, Hurtado argues that Jews in the Second Temple period were firm monotheists who believed in the one God, but who also held that there were powerful, exalted figures of principal angels who acted as God's deputies. It is from this context that the binitarian pattern of early Christian devotion should be understood. This early devotion emerged from the Jewish matrix, but it also innovated in portraying Jesus as the unique agent of creation and redemption, and in according him cultic devotion.

The exegesis of the biblical texts is a defining characteristic of the scrolls and the New Testament, and from the early days of scrolls scholarship the similarities and differences have been noted. George Brooke provides an update of the research by discussing three key issues: textual fluidity, types of biblical interpretation, and exegetical methods. He provides three worked examples of shared exegetical traditions between the scrolls and the Gospels: Isaiah 35 and 61 in 4Q521 and Q; Isaiah 5 in 4Q500, Mark and the synoptic parallels; and Psalms 2 and 82 in 4Q246, Luke and (p. 14) John. For Brooke, the shared exegetical traditions do not prove direct borrowings. Rather, they are to be explained by the common exegetical tendencies of the sectarians and those belonging more broadly to Judaism of the Second Temple Period.

New Approaches to the Scrolls

Complementing the historical and thematic studies of the scrolls are new approaches that use the analytical questions and methods of other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. It is premature to speak of a chastened historical criticism, but the scrolls are not exempt from the challenges of postmodernism. Maxine

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Grossman provides a brief, perspicuous overview of the insights of Roland Barthes, the emphasis upon the implied author and the meaning generated by different readers, before arguing that the different portrayals of the Teacher in 4QMMT and the Hodayot are literary fictions, made meaningful by the afterlife of these sectarian texts and the different audiences that read them. She argues that there is no fixed textual meaning and no consequent fixed historical knowledge in the scrolls or in any text.

Carol Newsom advocates the use of rhetorical criticism in investigating the interplay between the role of the speaker, the use of language, and the reception of the audience. Newsom begins by providing a potted history of rhetoric from classical antiquity to the present, including a summary of the application of rhetorical criticism to the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. Then, she analyses two case studies of the rule texts and the Thanksgiving Psalms or Hodayot. By attending to the techniques, strategies, and tone of the speaker, Newsom concludes that the admonition in the Damascus Document is more intimate, reinforcing as it does the community's identity within the history of Israel. By contrast, the Community Rule is highly formalized and rather impersonal, and its motivational introduction is intended to transform the outsider Jew to the insider sectarian.

When scholars use sociology to describe the Qumran community as sectarian, they are often unaware of the contexts of the discourse from which the concepts and terminology are taken. Jutta Jokiranta argues that this usage has often been reductionist, focusing as it does on definition and leaving out features highlighted by the sociology of sectarianism (e.g. character formation of the virtuoso personality, conversion). It is also largely uninformed, sometimes mixing different theoretical frames of reference. Grounding her discussion in five case studies, she puts forward two sociological approaches, focusing on the individual sectarian character, and the type of community and its relationship to society. Among other insights, her (p. 15) sociological approaches highlight the characteristics of the ideal sectarian 'hero', the tendency for self-assertion (moderated by the hierarchical structure), the development of the community's revolutionary, utopian response into the introverted concerns for the sectarian's purity and holiness, the closeness of the Damascus Document and Community Rule when analysed by Stark and Bainbridge's scale of tension, and the importance of rituals with respect to conversion.

Finally, the article of Hector MacQueen considers the implications of scrolls scholarship for an important contemporary legal issue, the definition of authorship for purposes of copyright. The issue was crystallized by the lawsuit brought by Elisha Qimron against Hershel Shanks, for the unauthorized publication of the reconstructed text of 4QMMT. The Israeli court that tried the case in effect declared that Qimron was the legal author of the reconstructed composite text. MacQueen describes how the judgment in the case of *Qimron v. Shanks* has been a watershed in this much contested area. Providing basic background information on the history and concepts of copyright law and updating the discussion with the subsequent case of *Sawkins v. Hyperion Records Ltd* (2004), MacQueen suggests that copyright should protect the reconstruction of a composite text from discontinuous fragments, which can only be imperfect as regards the presumed *Urtext*. He concludes that this will promote rather than stifle scrolls scholarship. The judgment in *Qimron v. Shanks* does not give rise to any new method of studying the scrolls, but it has important implications for how the resulting studies are published and how Qumran scholars refer to and rely on the reconstructed text. The composite text is not the putative original text of MMT, if there was only one such text (see now Weissenberg 2009), and Qimron is not 'the author' of MMT in the conventional sense of the word, but the editor of a reconstructed version of it.

Conclusion

It is in the nature of scholarship that results are seldom if ever definitive. New evidence comes to light. New perspectives change our perception of old problems. The study of the Dead Sea Scrolls enjoyed a remarkable consensus for a long time, roughly from the mid-1950s to the mid-1990s. That consensus viewed the scrolls as the library of a quasi-monastic settlement that lived at Qumran. It was formed on the basis of a much smaller corpus of scrolls than what is now available. Inevitably, the new evidence would reopen old questions and give rise to new ones. It is not the case that all aspects of the old consensus were necessarily wrong. Most scholars still believe that Qumran was a sectarian site, and that the people who occupied it were most probably Essenes. But even if these elements of the (p. 16) consensus prevail, the scrolls can no longer be viewed only in the context of the Qumran settlement. The sectarian movement was more widely dispersed, and there is much in the scrolls that relates more broadly to the Judaism of the day. It is apparent that the scrolls have more to say about the role of women than was initially supposed, on the basis of a too facile reading of the Essene hypothesis. While the early

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decades of scrolls scholarship were largely concerned with the implications of the scrolls for Christianity, the last quarter of a century or so has seen great advances in the understanding of how they relate to rabbinic Judaism. As yet there has been relatively little work done on the relation of the scrolls to the wider Hellenistic–Roman world. Here too there is room for scholarship to expand.

No doubt, many more questions about scrolls scholarship can be raised than are discussed in this volume. We trust, however, that the essays brought together here are sufficient to show that little if anything is definitively settled in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and that they are likely to remain a source of vibrant debate for generations to come.

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Khirbet Qumran and Its Environs

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

This article makes it clear that there is a connection between the caves and the settlement of Khirbet Qumran. Although no scrolls have been found at the site, there is evidence in the artificially cut Cave 4, and Caves 7, 8, and 9, and the pottery found in the caves. There is also strong evidence to support the idea that the majority of inhabitants from Qumran lived in the caves, and it would have been they who hid the scrolls from the advancing Roman armies either at the time of the first destruction of Qumran in 9/8 or 4 BCE or of the Great Revolt in 68 CE. Recently, some scholars have proposed that members of the elite Temple establishment or the Judaean synagogue communities fleeing the Roman armies, wanted to save the scrolls of the Jewish community and deposited them in the Qumran caves.

Keywords: Khirbet Qumran, pottery, Roman armies, Great Revolt, Judaean synagogue, Qumran caves

Introductory

In recent years the archaeology of Qumran has become a matter of heated dispute and contention. In examining the reasons for this lack of agreement it will become quite clear that the corpus of scrolls that has been found through the years, coming from some eleven caves nearby, is inextricably tied into the discussion of who the occupants of Qumran were and what the ruins at the site mean and signify. Since none of the 900 scrolls from among the total has been found at the site itself the case for connecting the ruins with the scrolls and the caves is much more complicated, although in the years following the first excavations the nearly universal assumption was that the inhabitants of the site of Qumran had written them and hidden them to save them from the Romans, who were committed to putting down the revolt in 66–73 CE. Also, when we consider the question of the dating of the occupation of the site on the basis of the finds from the ruins, we will note that many of the scrolls pre-date the time of occupation of the settlement, which means that their provenance and the context for their use is unknown. At the very least we are not able to relate those scrolls to the history of settlement at Qumran or associate them in any definitive way with the inhabitants of the site, though some of them such as Jubilees (VanderKam 2000: 434–8), which share a common calendar, or 4QInstruction or Sapiential Work A (Goff 2003; Harrington 2000: (p. 22) 425–6), which has numerous themes that emerge as central to the Community Rule, suggest that there well could have been another pre-Qumran sectarian setting for some of the scrolls which we do not yet fully understand.

So, by merely being willing to discuss the relationship between the scrolls and the site we are perforce opening up a whole series of closely related issues that will have to be discussed along with the archaeology of the site of Qumran and its environs. This will to some degree force us to reconsider the Essene hypothesis and its relevance to the material remains uncovered at the site, in the nearby caves, and even at the sites contemporaneous with Qumran along the shores of the Dead Sea.

Roland de Vaux's revised Schweich Lectures originally delivered in 1959 and published in French in 1961 are still the best place for any serious student of the archaeology of Qumran to begin their review of the literature (1973). And while we agree that it is important to have an open mind about various details of his excavation, the dating of loci, and overall interpretation, it is in that work and his previous *Revue biblique* articles where he lays out the fundamental issues that have come to divide the scholarly community. Matters of chronology and the interpretation of various architectural features are referenced below but it is worth noting at the outset that de Vaux's case for linking the scrolls with the site of Qumran was made most powerfully in that publication and it is precisely that linkage that led him to consider the Essenes as the most likely occupants of the site.

De Vaux was well aware that the chronological parameters of the dating of the scrolls at that time extended beyond the boundaries of the periods of occupation of the site (1973: 97–9). But he was also convinced that the scrolls were deposited intentionally in ancient times and noted that in caves 4, 5, 7, and 10 the scrolls and fragments had been deposited before the erosion or collapses of the roofs of the caves. And in the case of Cave 4 he noted that the tears or mutilations of the hundreds of scroll fragments had been done in ancient times 'before the ancient marl had invaded the cave and sealed them off' (1973: 100–1). He thus concluded, as Taylor years later confirmed (2006: 139), that the damage done to them was intentional and at the hands of Roman soldiers (1973: 101).

In taking this idea a step further, namely, by linking their deposition to the residents of the ruins of Qumran who, he claimed, lived in the caves as well as the site (1973: 105), he opened up a can of worms that has plagued the subject till today, namely, whether or not the sectarian community known as the Essenes was one and the same as the ones who deposited the scrolls either for safe keeping or to prevent their being destroyed or looted by the Romans (1973: 100–11). De Vaux went on to present the Essene hypothesis as the most likely explanation for connecting the caves and the ruin but said that only some manuscripts were copied in the *scriptorium* while others were possibly composed there, '[b]ut beyond this we cannot go' (1973: 104).

K. H. Rengstorf was among the earliest to suggest that the scrolls had nothing to do with the Essenes or any other Jewish sect but rather comprised the library of the (p. 23) Jerusalem temple that was moved to Qumran for safe keeping at the time of the First Jewish Revolt (1960). Norman Golb was at the head of a subsequent wave of scholars to suggest that the scrolls from the caves were most likely brought to Qumran from Jerusalem after the fall of Galilee in 68 CE, reasoning that they could have been safely hidden in the caves alongside the stronghold or fort (1985: 80). By offering this suggestion, however, he was committing himself to a view of the ruin as a fort rather than as any other sort of settlement. In addition, the near absence of legal and personal documents among the scrolls such as those found in the Wadi Murabbacat in his view supported the idea that the settlement could not have been one unconnected with the Jerusalem establishment because the Qumran inhabitants would have had to help in the act of hiding the scrolls. In his words: 'If the scrolls were originally located at the Qumran settlement, and if they were all gathered up in haste from the so-called scriptorium and elsewhere at the site when the Essenes learned of the Romans' approach, how could original documents such as letters and legal deeds have been so meticulously excluded from storage in the caves?' (1985: 75).

Golb presumably was thus compelled to tie the act of hiding the scrolls to the military people who inhabited the site of Qumran (Petersen 1998: 253–5). Golb's vigorous pursuit through the years of trying to separate the scrolls from the Essene hypothesis that links their composition or copying to the ruins of Khirbet Qumran has at the very least forced a re-evaluation by numerous segments of the scholarly community of the circumstances that led to the hiding away of the scrolls in the close vicinity of the settlement. While the general atmosphere in which de Vaux's original views (de Vaux 1973) had been received over the years has changed somewhat, it remains to be seen whether his overall views and interpretation of the data have been seriously challenged or disproved.

Of those who followed de Vaux all these years, most have assumed with him that the Qumran site was built on an older ruin and inhabited by the Essenes, who were the very ones responsible for composing some of the scrolls and copying and ultimately hiding them in the caves near the site. These Essenes were the very ones also known from the ancient sources Philo, Josephus, and Pliny. The fact of the matter is that when de Vaux was writing only a small fraction of the scrolls had been published, whereas today most have been published, including the smallest fragments. The plethora of new theories about the settlement, thus, may in part be viewed as a result of this new situation. As Galor and Zangenberg pointed out in their introduction to the important volume, *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, 'It is ironic that new ideas from textual

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research were needed to open up a new chapter in Qumran archaeology—the archaeology of the site has always stood in the shadow of textual research. This time, however, the texts have helped to emancipate archaeology’ (Galor, Humbert, and Zangenberg 2006: 2). It remains to be seen whether a new chapter in the archaeology of Qumran has been opened or whether what we are really witnessing (p. 24) are what we might call some subtle alterations to an older theory that had not adjusted to the new reality of a fully published corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls. In any case, in our presentation we will offer a few of these alterations in the hopes of strengthening the older consensus. We do not view the current state of Qumran Studies as being in ‘chaos’ as a recent reviewer of the above volume has suggested (Atkinson 2008).

Other Theories

One consequence of looking at the corpus of scrolls as possibly coming from different sources and hence places other than Qumran has been the multiplication of theories that attempt to view the evidence from the site in different ways. Golb's views in identifying the site with a fort have received unexpected and partial support from Magen and Peleg (2006: 55–111), who proposed that the site of Qumran was originally a military outpost that was responsible for maintaining the security of the Dead Sea shoreline (2006: 79–84), though from 63 BCE onwards they contended it functioned as a site for the production of pottery (2006: 99–101, 109–113). Rather than make any connection with the sectarians, Magen and Peleg sought to demonstrate that the site was very much a part of the regional economy of the Dead Sea region. They suggested also that the scrolls were brought to the nearby caves from Judaeen synagogues and were hidden there at the time of the Great Revolt. One of the major weaknesses with this theory is that it does not take into account the fact that provenance studies of selected pottery from Qumran have conclusively proven that the clays used at Qumran were from Jerusalem, and while the first report was published in 2001 surely the authors would have known about the results earlier (Yellin and Broshi 2001; Eshel 2001; Magness 2002: 74). The idea that the sediments collected at the bottom of the site's cisterns and reservoirs were suitable for manufacturing of clay vessels is simply not convincing, even though several loci have left decent evidence of sediments and silt that was theoretically suitable for production of some vessels. The fact is that the sediments had come a long way and were deposited in the lower pools (Loci 58 and 71 in Map 2) after random flooding at the site and were thus not a reliable source upon which to draw such major conclusions, and even these sorts of sediments have been deemed not suitable for the manufacture of pottery vessels by several scholars (Atkinson 2008; Zeuner 1960).



[Click to view larger](#)

Map. 2. Khirbet Qumran: Schematic plan and placement of Loci for Periods I and II. (c) The British Academy 1973. Reproduced by permission from *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* by Roland de Vaux (Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology)

As much as we appreciate the amount of work that went into the survey and excavation by Magen and Peleg, in the end we find their presentation to be unconvincing and untenable. The idea that only twenty to thirty individuals (p. 25) could have lived at the site does not take into account the possibility that others lived in the caves, which, when we have so many ritual baths and so many different sorts of rooms and only a few kilns (Locus 66), raises just one of a series of possible questions against their interpretation. As we have pointed out already, the excavators contended that refugees fleeing from the Roman armies hid their synagogue (?) scrolls (p. 26) in their attempt to save them from the struggle that gripped the nation. The sectarian documents could have come from Essene communities around Judaea as well. They came to Qumran and found a small community of potters whose cylindrical vessels were already made to store them, so the argument goes (Magen and Peleg 2006: 113). They would have come at night in a hurry and without any plan, so even Magen and Peleg in the end felt compelled to account for the scrolls; even though they felt so strongly that it was the link between the scrolls and the first interpreters of Qumran that misled two generations of scholars.

While Humbert was among the first to note the secular character of the building complex at Qumran in its earliest stage, even though he does not disavow the connection between the site in its later phases and the scrolls, let alone the Essene hypothesis (Humbert 1994), he was careful to take the archaeology as the primary datum for developing and defending a theory, which he concluded in respect to its latest phases: Qumran should be viewed as a 'religious center for a Jewish sect living around the Dead Sea' (Humbert 2006: 38). The distinctive character of the site of Qumran, in Humbert's view, required one to consider its religious character. It did not have anything like the palaces at Jericho, nor did it have the kinds of domestic baths and dwellings that we find at the settlement at Ein Gedi. And so he concluded that the Essene hypothesis for at least several periods 'remains the most likely explanation' (Humbert 2006: 19). Hence in its earliest phase Humbert believed the site was a country house and only in the middle of the first century BCE or a bit later did it become the seat of the Essene community. He based this primarily on the similarity between the plan of the site and some of the country estates in the region, something taken up by Hirschfeld a bit later (2004: 241–3).

Possibly as a result of Humbert's efforts to open up the discussion about the mundane character of Qumran on the basis of its material and architectural remains, the Belgian archaeological team of Robert Donceel and Pauline Donceel-Voûte first proposed in a 1991 Nova TV special (1994; cf. summary and critique by Broshi 2000: 738–9; Broshi and Eshel 2004: 166) that the site was a *villa rustica* or agricultural settlement, despite the fact that the soil in the immediate area is very salty and can hardly produce any vegetation; though the nearby and related site of Ein Feshkah with its spring of brackish water can support palm groves and other modest farming. The absence of mosaic floors, wall painting, stucco and a Roman-style bathhouse at the site, however, strongly militates against such an identification. P. Donceel-Voûte and R. Donceel also understood the so-called scriptorium or Locus 30 as a dining room and interpreted the tables found there as 'couches' (1994). These views have not found much of a following, though a small number of scholars has taken up the idea that Qumran was some sort of agricultural community (Broshi and Eshel 2004: 166), proposing that balsam farming as in Jericho was the main commodity grown. Qumran does not have the proper irrigation system for such a crop, which is what Jericho has in its favour (Magnez 1994). As much as the efforts of the Donceel team contributed subsequently to greater efforts to focus (p. 27) solely on the site and its finds, their sudden departure from the project did not help promote their ideas.

Crown and Cansdale introduced a related proposal to this in 1994, namely that Qumran was a commercial entrepôt, a customhouse, trading post, or caravanserai (1994: 24–36, 73–8). This theory is based on the idea that Qumran was situated along a major trade route, a suggestion that has been roundly rejected by Broshi and Eshel (2004: 166–7; Broshi 2000: 738). Broshi also contended that the water level of the Dead Sea of 395 metres below sea level meant that the water in antiquity would have reached the cliffs to the south of the site and therefore no road could have existed at that time or even for most of the twentieth century (1999).

Zangenberg, however, has revisited the notion of Qumran's isolation and has made a convincing case for understanding the site in a regional perspective, understanding trade networks in the light of boat traffic on the Dead Sea, which could have connected many of the sites there (2004: 174–5). Zangenberg also correctly pointed out that anyone living at Qumran or nearby could easily have trekked back to Jericho where they could connect with an important trans-regional route that led to Jerusalem to the west and Amman/Philadelphia to the east (2004: 174).

Making a case for regional contact between Qumran and numerous other Dead Sea sites, however, did not

vindicate the case for identifying Qumran as a commercial entrepôt or agricultural settlement. Nor did it eliminate the possibility that sectarians could have lived at Qumran, since their total numbers were approximately 4,000 souls, according to Josephus, who lived in numerous villages throughout the land, including Jerusalem (*War* 2.124). The usual estimate of individuals living at the Qumran site and in the caves is c. 150 people (Broshi 2000: 735; 1992: 113–14). What Zangenberg's thesis did suggest is that Qumran was not as isolated as previous generations of scholars might have thought. While such an insight helped greatly in assessing some of the archaeology, especially pottery and small finds, it did not eliminate the possibility that sectarians could have inhabited Qumran and simply went about their own way and at the same time utilized the resources of the region without compromising their own peculiar and strongly held views. We know that the movement we associate with John the Baptist was located in the vicinity of Jericho not far from Qumran and we do not necessarily conclude that there was a great deal of contact between his followers and the residents of Jericho or Qumran. In other words, the general region of the Dead Sea with its dry and hot conditions lends itself to a kind of selective isolation even with numerous settlements all around.

Another major contribution to the study of Khirbet Qumran is that of the late Yizhar Hirschfeld (2004). In his monograph on the subject Hirschfeld was quite clear in consigning the Essenes to various places in the Judaeen wilderness in the way that the followers of John the Baptist and some of the ascetics ultimately went to Ein Gedi, where they lived as hermits (2004: 230–40). As for the main site of Qumran, he built on the assumption that it was located on a major junction of the (p. 28) road from Jerusalem to Jericho to Ein Gedi and rejected the notion that the water level would have been too high to accommodate land travel. He proposed that the Hasmoneans originally built the site as a fort, taking his cue from Golb, as it were, and that the site with its multi-purpose structures provided safe passage for travellers along the main north–south Dead Sea route. He also suggested that the main site served as an administrative centre and stronghold 'for the safeguarding of royal revenues' (2004: 242). In the reign of Herod, until the onset of the Great Revolt in 66 CE, he maintained that the site was rebuilt as a fortified manor by one of the Herodian elites who had very close ties to the royal family. This idea is in part derivative of the Donceels' theory that the site was a *villa rustica*.

Hirschfeld went on to conjecture that the owner might well have been an affluent priestly family, which helps him to explain the apparent strict adherence to ritual laws at the site, as evidenced by the ritual baths and chalk-stone vessels (2004: 242). He did not seem to be bothered, however, by the absence of the trappings of patrician homes with requisite mosaics such as we find in the upper city in Jerusalem. He resolved the question of the relationship between the site and the scrolls by suggesting that Sadducean priests, in a convoy of pack animals, transferred the scrolls to the Qumran caves with the help of a close colleague of the same social status and the owner of the estate at Qumran (2004: 243).

In this scenario, thus, Hirschfeld posited that the Essenes would have been living on the fringes of the oases in the Dead Sea region, not far from the date palm and balsam plantations where some would have earned a living. The most ascetic among them would have lived near Ein Gedi as hermits in small cells. As attractive a theory as it may seem, in our view neither the layout of the site of Qumran, its small size of just about one acre or c. 4,500 square metres, nor the modest nature of the structures there allow such an elaborate explanation and can hardly qualify the 'community centre' as an 'elite' manor house. As we have said in regard to the idea that Qumran was a *villa rustica*, in the absence of mosaics, frescoes, and other physical items such as a Roman-style bathhouse that we would normally associate with elite establishments, it is difficult to compare Qumran with any of the manor houses in the Judaeen wilderness let alone some of the elaborate mansions in the city of Jerusalem from the end of the Second Temple period.

This brief overview of some of the most recent trends in the interpretation of the site of Khirbet Qumran should allow us to examine the archaeology of the site with new eyes. The discussions of the material, while often heated in some circles, have also produced a new flexibility in understanding a very complex set of data. But as this brief survey demonstrates, even if one attempts to stay focused on the material remains, it is very difficult not to address the question with which we started this essay: what is the relationship between the ruins of Qumran and the scrolls and caves in which the 900 different manuscripts were hidden or deposited? In the most recent history of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Weston Fields noted that de Vaux was most eager to buy a number of blank parchment scrolls, which had come (p. 29) on to the market from Caves 4 and 5, that he believed supported his thesis that some of the scrolls had been copied at the site (2009: 153 n. 31). Cave 4 for example contained approximately two-thirds of all the manuscripts, albeit in very fragmentary form, meaning that it is nearly

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impossible to reconstruct the conditions in which they were deposited. That there were some non-religious texts among the scrolls in Cave 4 also suggests that the community was not as isolated as previous scholars had once thought (Eshel 2001: 123–35).

Archaeology and Khirbet Qumran

To ignore the scrolls completely in a consideration of the site of the Qumran settlement, even if one believes that all of the scrolls or some of the scrolls were deposited in the nearby caves in connection with the Great Revolt against Rome, seems to me to be avoiding the obvious. The so-called cylindrical ‘scroll’ jars have been found both at the site and in the caves, even embedded in the floor of Locus 80, and we now know that they have been found at Jericho as well. The pottery from the caves dates to the same time span as the range of dates assigned to most of the scrolls, but we do not have to conclude that all or most of the scrolls were written or copied at the site of Qumran. To avoid them altogether, however, would be to affirm at the outset that they have nothing to do with the people who inhabited the site so close by. A serious investigator, therefore, must consider the relationship between these two bodies of evidence. As Jodi Magness puts it: ‘Why should we disregard the scrolls or use only part of the evidence instead of all of it—especially when...the scrolls and our ancient sources provide evidence that complements the archaeology? And as we shall see, archaeology establishes the connection between the scrolls in the caves and the settlement at Qumran’ (Magness 2002: 13). As for why no scrolls have been found at the site, the reader is to be reminded that Qumran was twice destroyed by fire, once in 9/8 BCE and in 68 CE (Magness 2002: 44), in which case they would have been easily consumed. De Vaux found virtually no organic material preserved at the site except for the layers of ash from the destructions. The caves on the other hand produced not only the scrolls but also other kinds of organic materials such as wooden combs and linen textiles.

In the course of our discussion it will become apparent that certain aspects of the alternative theories offered above actually can be applied to the settlement, though in periods other than the ones suggested. For example, de Vaux posited that there was an Iron II, or late Iron Age settlement at the site (8th–7th cent. BCE) based on the discovery of three eighth-century *la-melekh* stamped jar handles and on the observation that the site was similar to the Iron Age strongholds in the Negev and (p. 30) the Bugeia or Jordan Valley. The fact that Qumran in this period resembled a military outpost may have influenced numerous scholars in believing that the site was some sort of military base, or even an agricultural community (de Vaux 1973: 1–3). During this period de Vaux suggested that there was a large rectangular building or enclosure some 44 by 38 metres with a row of rooms to the east adjacent to a large courtyard. The enclosure to the west contained a large cistern (Locus 110) that collected run-off and remained in use till 68 CE. The Iron Age stronghold, he suggested, came to an end in 586 BCE. The next stage of occupation according to de Vaux’s chronology would have been Stratum Ia, 130–100 BCE, which would have meant that the site was vacated for four and a half centuries. Adopting the revised chronology of Magness with the beginning of Stratum Ia lowered to ca. 100 BCE means that the site would have been uninhabited for virtually five centuries.

Since so many scholars have accepted the lower chronology for the site, let me summarize the differences in tabular form and then briefly discuss them:

	de Vaux	Magness (2002: 68)
Period Ia	ca. 130–100 BCE	Does not exist
Period Ib	ca. 100–31 BCE	Pre-earthquake phase; from between 100–50 BCE to 31 BCE
		Post-earthquake phase: from 31 to 9/8 BCE or some time thereafter
Period II	4–1 BCE to 68 CE	same
Period III	68 CE to 73/4 CE	68 CE to 80s CE (Taylor 2006: 146)

De Vaux's suggested time for the founding of the communal phase has not held up through the years. Firstly, no coins have been found which are to be associated with Period Ia. Secondly, very few sherds that have been published or saved can be dated earlier than Period Ib or even distinguished from it. Given de Vaux's disposition to publish mostly whole vessels as against sherds, the whole vessels tend to come from the latest occupational phase rather than the founding phase. Magness has left open a tiny crack in the door for considering some sort of pre-100 BCE occupation (2002: 64) but since most of the published ceramic material is from the first century BCE and not earlier, the likelihood is that the first period of occupation after the Israelite period was c. 100 BCE.

Given the fact that the site occupies only a little more than an acre of land and that walls and spaces were reused over a very brief span of time, we can say that the site of Qumran, like so many ruins of the later periods, does not lend itself to easy stratigraphical observations. And in light of the way the publications have proceeded over time and how the early materials have been published, we would say that the only way for some of these disagreements over chronology to disappear is (p. 31) for the final reports, especially on the pottery, to appear. Father Humbert has been kind enough to show me the advanced mock-ups of the final pottery plates and I am certain that there will be a number of refinements of the stratification when they appear. As we have already noted Humbert has proposed that during Period Ia the site functioned as a non-sectarian agricultural community and only later after 57 BCE, when the site was destroyed by the Roman governor Gabinius, or in 31 BCE after Herod took control of the Dead Sea region and Jericho, did it change over to sectarian occupation (Humbert 1994; Magness 2002: 66).

Magness's case for lowering the chronology of Period Ib or the founding of the site centres on the hoard of Tyrian silver tetradrachmas in Locus 120, mostly dating to between 126 and 9/8 BCE (2002: 67). De Vaux associated the three pots of these coins with the reoccupation of the site in Period II whereas Magness linked them to his Period Ib. In her own words: 'It is reasonable to assume that the hoard of Qumran was buried because of some impending danger or threat, and remained buried because the site was subsequently abandoned for some time. For whatever reason, the hoard was never retrieved even after the site was reoccupied' (2002: 67). Most scholars agree that the site was not abandoned after the earthquake of 31 BCE but that the inhabitants made the necessary repairs right away and left some areas that were deemed beyond repair in ruins. The latest coins in the hoard, therefore, dating to 9/8 BCE, provide the *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of Period Ib occupation, supported additionally by the presence of a layer of ash, which indicates that fire led to its end. Though the latest coins in the hoard date to 9/8 BCE it is possible that the abandonment and fire could be associated with the end of Herod the Great's reign and the accession of Herod Archelaus in 4 BCE. The abandonment was quite short, judging from the depth of the silting up of the water system, which was readily cleared away along with other destruction debris. Magness suggested that the burial of the hoard belonged to the post-31 BCE period of Period Ib and that de Vaux's Period Ia materials should be reassigned to the pre-31 BCE phase of Period Ib (2002: 68).

The final period of occupation of the site by the original inhabitants of Period Ib, in Period II, thus, dates from c. 4 BCE to 68 CE when the Romans, led by Vespasian, destroyed the site (Taylor 2006: 133–6), a date arrived at by de Vaux on the basis of ninety-four coins of the First Jewish Revolt (1973: 38–41). Taylor relied on both coins and literary evidence to reconstruct the last days of Period II. She agreed that Vespasian's troops came and captured and burnt Qumran in 68 CE but that other nearby sites such as Machaerus and Masada survived beyond 70 till 71 and 73 CE respectively (2006: 137). While Ein Feshkah was also attacked at this time and partially destroyed, later coins, including a hoard of coins of Agrippa II dating from 78–95 CE, and a legionary brick indicate that there were non-local occupants there well after 70 CE. But Taylor agreed with de Vaux in supposing that the occupiers were probably labourers and gleaners who worked the date palms (2006: 139, 146). Taylor also suggested that getting control of the date and balsam (p. 32) plantations from Jericho down to Ein Gedi was among the most important considerations for the Roman army after 68 CE, allowing for the possibility that Qumran in Period III functioned as a military stronghold to guard the pass near Qumran 'and exploit whatever economic resources still existed' (2006: 145). Taylor also offered the very helpful explanation for the poor condition of the scrolls in Cave 4, which she understood to have been the result of the Roman attack on Qumran in 68 CE.

The Settlement and Community Centre

Having rejected most of the alternative theories for understanding the site, albeit being sensitive to more recent concerns regarding the archaeology and material remains as against an interpretive schema derived from the scrolls themselves, and taking into account that Qumran was not as isolated as it was once thought to be, it

becomes quite clear that the settlement is of a most distinctive kind and seems most suitable for accommodating a religious community of a smallish number. We are inclined to accept Broshi's estimate of the population of 150–200 but recognize too that the settlement is probably not large enough to accommodate that number unless we also accept the suggestion by Broshi and Eshel that some of the caves nearby were used for living quarters. Broshi put it this way: 'It seems quite certain that most of the members of the Qumran community resided in the artificial caves dug in the marl north and south of the Center' (Broshi 2000: 734; Broshi and Eshel 1999). Hirschfeld estimated the population at the settlement of Qumran to be around twenty, using a population coefficient of twenty for one-tenth of a dunam (2004: 65). On the probability that some members might have resided in 'the Center' itself Broshi offered that a dormitory might have existed above Loci 1, 2, and 4, where there is a staircase leading to a second storey that has not survived (2000: 735).

In any case, the pottery from the excavated caves together with that found at the settlement falls within the same chronological range and presents the same types of simple, undecorated wares that we find in both locations. The largest room at the settlement is the assembly hall/dining room, Locus 77, which covers an area of some 99 square metres (22 by 4.5 metres). It has been so identified on the basis of the pantry that adjoins it to the southwest (Locus 86) and which has provided more than one thousand pieces of kitchenware that collapsed to the floor in the earthquake of 31 BCE. Magness, disagreeing with de Vaux, suggested that the dining hall was moved to a second storey above Locus 77 after the earthquake (2002: 122). She also posited the existence of a second dining area to the north at Loci 130, 132, and (p. 33) 135, where a large cluster of animal bones was uncovered (2002: 124) and another second-storey one with a staircase above Loci 111, 120, 121, 122, and 123 (2002: 126).

At the northern end of the main building is the kitchen, Loci 38 and 41, with several fireplaces in it. The large hall, mentioned above, could accommodate between 120 and 150 individuals depending on how one measures capacity seating in rows. The presence of such a large space is nearly impossible to dismiss as having a communal function. Even Hirschfeld suggested that it was a dining room that served the labourers and slaves at the site (2004: 104). As for the large number of vessels found in the adjoining room he suggested that some of them would have been for commercial purposes (2004: 104). The point to emphasize here is the size of the room and its function, for dining, or assembly, or possible religious celebration. We will allow other aspects of the settlement to determine whether the inhabitants were communitarian or distinctively religious in any way. Nonetheless, Humbert, impressed with the unusual orientation of Locus 77 and Locus 86 with respect to one another, suggested that it was a special location for the celebration of the first fruits, or Shavuot, probably by the Essenes or possibly another Jewish sect living in the area (2006: 36). In reflecting on the large number of dishes in the adjacent pantry and the odd mixture of types; bowls, dishes, cups, and even their odd sizes, he suggested that they could have been used as containers for liquids, grains, and fruits, which would be consistent with identifying their use with the Feast of Shavuot (2006: 38).

It is also difficult to dismiss the public character of the so-called tower area near the entrance at the north of the main building. While the entryway here was unguarded and not too elaborate, its massive size, two-storey height, and well-built construction no doubt served a defensive purpose of some kind, with a revetment wall all around. The thickness at its base in the north and west is 4 metres and many scholars have identified this building as a key to understanding the site as a defensive stronghold or military outpost of some kind (Hirschfeld 2004: 60–72). Humbert and Chabon, judging from their plans (1994), dated its construction to Period Ia, which raises problems with the new and lower chronology of Magness (2002: 64). We await the final publication for further clarification. In any case, while it may have had a defensive purpose when it was constructed, possibly before 100 BCE, there is no reason why it could not have been converted to other purposes when the settlement was expanded or founded in what we have labelled the Ib period or c. 100 BCE.

Among the most compelling reasons for identifying the site of Qumran with the Essenes or another Jewish sect of the late Second Temple period, as Humbert suggested (2006: 36), is the evidence of the ten ritual baths found at the settlement. Having considered the problem of living and sleeping space at the site and concluded that the majority of those who used the buildings and spaces there would have had to live away from the site, the uniqueness of the number of *miqva'oth* (p. 34) cannot be ignored. When Broshi published his article in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* in 2000 he wrote that the ritual baths occupy 17 per cent of the site's total area and represent the highest density of immersion pools for any site in the country; moreover, he pointed out that the ten pools are larger than any others in the country (2000: 735). Even if we take into account the many pools subsequently discovered in Israel, though not published, the fact remains that the ritual baths of Qumran

represent a disproportionate amount of space and effort for the size of the settlement and point to religious practice as a central component of the life style of the occupants.

There are six other pools, cisterns, or water installations in addition to the aqueduct system and they can be readily distinguished from the ritual baths. All the immersion pools, except Loci 138 and 68, have staircases to enter with a demarcating line or ridge in the centre to identify who descends unclean and ascends clean or pure. The location of immersion pools does not appear to be random either: the baths are situated in places where purification might be required and where impurity might be incurred. So, for example, ritual baths are located near the entrances to the two dining areas, in front of the room with a toilet (Loci 48 and 49), and near the potters' workshop (Locus 71). The one located at the northern entrance, Locus 138, may simply be for those individuals who may have contracted an impurity outside the compound (Magness 2002: 127, 129); it may have served a similar function to the ritual baths near the southern steps of the Temple Mount, which was intended for the purification of pilgrims (Magness 2002: 129). I also agree with Magness that the immersion pools were enclosed and roofed with wooden beams covered with 'layers of rushes, reeds, and mud like other rooms in the settlement' (Magness 2002: 152). This observation accords well with the data from Sepphoris and other sites in the Galilee where some stepped pools are simply subterranean and carved out of the bedrock while others protrude into the domiciles in which they are located and have built structures around them (Meyers 2008: 191–3; Galor 2007).

De Vaux (1973: 131) and others were not convinced that the ten pools we have identified as immersion pools were used for ritual purposes or exclusively for immersion purposes, and some have suggested they could have had a multi-purpose function (Hidiroglou 2000; Miller 2007: 236). The idea that these stepped pools could have had a profane use along with a ritual use at Qumran, as suggested for other Jewish sites, is difficult in view of the fact that we do not have a 'normal' village or settlement at Qumran. Based on the parallels that have been provided from Jerusalem and other areas it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the stepped pools at Qumran served their community solely for the sake of ritual purity, which was a major if not central focus of the community. In our view the weight of evidence points to the Essenes, for whom excessive concern for ritual purity was a core belief (Magness 2002: 137–42, 158–62).

(p. 35) The unique character of the site is also reflected in the layout of the long perimeter wall that runs north-south, close to 140 metres, separating the settlement itself from the c. 1,200 burials in the cemetery to its east. In addition, there is a second wall, a kind of boundary wall that runs intermittently for 500 metres along the shoreline from the Wadi Qumran to the springs of Ein Feshkah. Humbert (2006) and Branham (2006) among others have convincingly argued that the inner wall acts as a kind of screening wall or device to demarcate what is impure and pure, what is sacred and what is profane, heralding the sacred space of the compound. This is not unlike what Magness said in reference to the northern entrance and the presence of *miqveh* 138 there, entering into an ideal and 'pure' Jerusalem so to speak. Humbert likened the walls to an *erub*, or wall that indicated the Sabbath limit: 'In the case of Qumran, the motivation for the extend wall was to include 'Ain Feshkah and the *khirbeh* within the same enclosure, because otherwise access to the springs in from the main settlement would have been prohibited on Shabbat' (2006: 28 and Fig. 1.3). Given the new and revised lower chronology adopted in this presentation and accepted by so many, the long wall and its extension southwards, the construction of the large cistern in Locus 71 in the settlement, and the cemetery are all contemporaneous with the founding of the community c. 100 BCE. Thus the main intent and purpose of the construction of the long wall was to separate the pure from the impure world of the cemetery to the east. Branham believed that a break in the wall of 2 metres to a point near Locus 63, which is a sort of vestibule leading to the large cistern Locus 71, might have served as a location for a burial party to enter by a fixed point of the settlement where a party of mourners could purify themselves (11QT 50: 4–8) (2006: 130).

The long low wall, which could not have served a defensive purpose, thus enabled the settlers at Qumran to identify themselves simultaneously in the two polar opposite states of pure and impure, the cemetery being the site of impurity and the settlement a site of purity. We find analogous situations in the Jerusalem Temple, the sectarian site of the Therapeutae in Egypt (Philo, *Cont. Life* 32–3), and in the many Jewish communities that used ritual baths from c. 100 BCE onwards. In the words of Branham: 'Interpreting the wall as a symbolic device of liminality, in turn posits Qumran itself as a liminal threshold for those seeking transition (spiritually or ritually) from an imperfect world to one more *halakhically* resolute' (2006: 131). Such a view of Qumran, in our opinion, comports well with the idea that recognizes that the regional context for the site was one that was overwhelmingly profane in character. Qumran was an island of purity within it that enabled the negotiation of the comings and goings of the habitants. Just as the Essenes lived in the real world and also apart from it, at least for certain members or groups of the

community, so also the sort of world in which the Qumran residents lived was not completely isolated. (p. 36)

The Cemetery and the Issue of Women at Qumran

A very vocal and emotional debate has arisen in recent years over the cemetery and who is buried in it. In particular, questions have arisen over the identity of the individuals buried there and their gender. The debate is to be understood in the larger context of recent attempts to separate out the archaeology of Qumran from the literary context of the sectarian scrolls discovered in the surrounding caves and the hegemony of the theory which identifies the occupants of Qumran and the surrounding caves with the sectarians known as the Essenes.

There are between 1,100 and 1,200 graves, the main ones located to the east of the settlement as pointed out above. There are more than 100 additional graves in subsidiary extensions in several locations nearby, one south of the Wadi Qumran, and a northern one some ten minutes by foot from the site (Schultz 2006: 195–7). Most individual graves are marked by small heaps of stones on the surface, often with two larger stones on either end, and are oriented north-south. Most are shaft graves between 0.80 and 2.50 metres deep. Often capstones or mud bricks are laid over the body 'on an angle in those tombs which include a loculus and horizontally in those that do not' (Schultz 2006: 198). Four tombs had multiple burials and three graves had reburials, probably to be dated to the modern era. Bodies were apparently wrapped in linen shrouds and some were buried in wooden coffins (Magness 2002: 168). Except for those found in the southern cemetery extension there were no burial goods in any other tomb. Though the manner of burial at Qumran is strikingly similar to others in the region and even in Jerusalem (Zissu 1998), namely Ein el-Guweir, Khirbet Qazone, Beit Safafa, and Hiam el-Sagha, it is noteworthy that at Qumran there is a higher degree of uniformity in the orientation of the inhumations than anywhere else (Schultz 2006: 198). Some scholars have suggested that the type of burial found at Qumran was characteristic of the poorer segments of the Jewish population (Taylor 1999: 311–13; Magness 2002: 173–5).

There has been renewed interest in the cemetery in recent years and it has been focused on several points. First is the issue of gender and age: how many of the burials are women and children? If the consensus of Qumran scholars was that the community was Essene and celibate, why were there female and children burials there? Second, did the number of burials support the existence of such a tiny community in so isolated a locale for such a short period of time? The real bombshell in the discussion came with Joe Zias' 2000 publication, identifying the east-west oriented burials as modern Bedouin and arguing that previously identified women and children in the cemetery were also Bedouin. The inclusion of Bedouin jewellery and in some cases textiles and their east-west orientation strongly support Zias' contention. There has been a flurry of subsequent research that has changed some of the numbers but not the overwhelming consensus of previous scholarship.

(p. 37) The absence of a final report of the small finds at the site is a continuing problem, since some artefacts such as spindle whorls, cosmetic tools, and jewellery would normally be associated with women, and only a few such items have been identified in all the excavations. In the absence of more than a handful of such artefacts, we have to conclude that there is pitifully little evidence of women at the site or in the cemetery.

The numbers provided by Schultz in his lengthy summary provide strong evidence for maintaining the dominant view that the cemetery was indeed the burial ground for an all-male or predominantly male Jewish sectarian group in the first centuries BCE and CE (2006: 218–20). He noted that of the forty-six excavated tombs thirty-two could be conclusively dated to the Second Temple period. Among these were thirty-three to thirty-five skeletons. He questioned a number of tombs either because they were not primary burials, or because they were not oriented north-south, or they did not have loculi. He also questioned the double burials and the wooden coffin burials and simply called them 'anomalous' (2006: 218). Taking a maximalist approach to the numbers, he concluded that there were five women and no children (2006: 219).

In view of the fact that the manner of inhumation is so different from the dominant pattern of family burial in rock-cut subterranean chamber tombs and ossuaries at this time, it is safe to conclude also that those who buried their dead at Qumran followed practices that were closer to the type of burial used in the Dead Sea region than in Judaea and other Jewish areas. The issue is whether the regional connection is sufficient as a reason for the adoption of this manner of inhumation, or whether this style of burial was a sign of lack of wealth, or whether it was related to the sectarians' belief in afterlife and resurrection (Nickelsburg 2000). The fact that we also find extensive use of this burial type in non-Jewish settings such as Khirbet Qazone, Ain Sekine, and even further south at Feifa and east at

Petra (Politis 2006: 218–19) leads us to urge caution in inferring too much from the cemetery and its style of inhumation about the nature of the settlement at Qumran. A further note of caution should also be said about Khirbet Qazone in that there was a significant Jewish population there in Roman and Byzantine times that has produced the recently discovered 'Gabriel Vision' in the earlier period and numerous burial inscriptions the later period (Meyers 2010; Tsafir, di Segni, and Green 1994: 263). Rather, we may take the absence of females and children as a much more important indicator, though even here caution is warranted in view of the limited number of skeletons that have been placed at the disposal of physical anthropologists.

Ceramics

Recent research on the archaeology of Qumran has logically seen a renewed interest in the subject of ceramics, especially the ceramics that have been traditionally identified as being distinctive to the Qumran community. Chief among the (p. 38) forms that have been frequently identified as 'scroll' containers are the cylindrical jars in which numerous scrolls had been stored in the caves (Magnez 2004: 157, n. 3). As we have noted already, these distinctive jars have been found both in the caves and at the Qumran site, though we know also that such jars have been found in the larger Dead Sea region, in particular at Jericho and Masada (Bar-Nathan 2006). Indeed, Bar-Nathan's major point is that there is a marked similarity 'in all aspects' between the assemblages of pottery at Qumran Ib and Hasmonean Jericho (2006: 277). Bar-Nathan's point thus reinforces strongly the issue successfully argued by Zangenberg (2004) that the site of Qumran, when viewed in the total context of other sites in the region from Jericho down to the Lisan on the southeastern shore of the Dead Sea, demonstrates close ties of the material culture. The larger issue is whether such connections can be corroborated by other aspects of culture, such as whether Qumran could have actually been a major regional 'player' in the commercial and economic life of the area and the degree to which its residents participated in such a life.

Magnez has adjusted her views in significant ways since the publication of Bar-Nathan's materials from Masada and Jericho, though their disagreements on other more substantive matters still remain. Zangenberg took the similarity in types of pottery found at the Dead Sea sites and elsewhere in the region to be evidence of local workshops, which supplied the sites on the western shore of the Dead Sea 'including the users of the caves in the vicinity of Qumran, the inhabitants of En Feshkah, En el-Ghuweir, Rujm el-Bahr and others with common wares' (2004: 176). Significant results, however, have been obtained for a rather varied selection of thirty-one pottery samples from Qumran, including four covers of cylindrical jars, and eight samples from Ein Ghuweir, which has shown that 'no differences exist in the local ware of the four Qumran groups, pottery found in the community center, the limestone caves, the marl plateau caves, and the encampment' (Eshel 2001; Yellin and Broshi 2001: 75–6). Moreover, this same study of provenance has shown that some of the pottery originated in Jerusalem and some of the Ein Ghuweir pottery was found to have a Jerusalem composition but no relation to Qumran (Eshel 2001; Yellin and Broshi 2001: 76). This conclusion certainly throws some doubts on Zangenberg's notion of local workshops. However, it does support the notion that the Qumran community was in closer touch with the outside world and in particular Jerusalem; it is a supposition that we support since the Essene community was very much a part of the larger world though opposed to aspects of it by virtue of their own peculiar belief system.

Bar-Nathan drew another important conclusion from her work on comparing Qumran pottery with that of Jericho, namely, that there is no imported ware, a feature that characterized all of Judaea (2006: 277). She went one step further in suggesting that the two sites could well have shared a common workshop and that the extensive similarities among the Ib late Hellenistic pottery do not support a theory of isolation or sectarian separation. She further stated that in the Herodian (p. 39) era and afterwards, Qumran II, with the influx of imported wares into Judaea in general, Qumran also had a modest influx of such wares including a small amount of Nabataean ware (Bar-Nathan 2006: 277). The implications of this, however, are disputed. In this connection we will consider Magnez's contention that the use of the cylindrical and ovoid jars is a clear sign of the users' concern for purity (Magnez 2004) and in this regard Bar-Nathan agreed that the peculiar shape of those vessels made them especially useful for archival storage.

One other matter of some importance that has divided the views of Magnez and Bar-Nathan is whether or not scroll jars from the caves can be dated to the Ib or late Hellenistic period (Magnez 2002: 80). Though most of the published examples are from the Herodian period, Qumran II, de Vaux reported that he found cylindrical jars in the earlier period. But until all the pottery is published it is difficult to say with certainty what the real situation is. In any

case, Bar-Nathan used this datum, which is by all accounts not established beyond any doubt, that the so-called cylindrical scroll jars must be dated to the Great Revolt (Bar-Nathan 2006: 275), to bolster her support of the idea that the scrolls were deposited in the caves before or during the Great Revolt and that there was no link between the jars found at the site and the caves in the Hasmonean (late Hellenistic) period: 'the jars were produced in several places, including Qumran, and may also have been brought from Jerusalem and Jericho' (Bar-Nathan 2006: 277).

Before briefly presenting Magness's view that Qumran usage of certain jar types is related to its views of extreme purity, let us also assess the implications of what pottery similarities can tell us about the people who used them. First, Bar-Nathan, Galor, Zangenberg, and others wanted to use these data to show that the Qumran community was not isolated and self-selective but rather part and parcel of its contemporary milieu. But, as we know from other contexts in contemporary Palestine, dissimilar groups can use similar pottery in their homes. For example, the pottery assemblage from Hasmonean Jericho is also similar to the assemblage of pottery from the same period at Sepphoris in Galilee. At Sepphoris, however, the population would seem to consist more of soldiers than the royal family and yet both communities had ritual baths, shared common pottery types, used Hasmonean and Tyrian coinage. But the two communities could not have been more different.

All this is to show that while we can say that in some respects the community of Qumran displayed aspects of the common material culture that united many of the different groups of Greco-Roman Palestine, other aspects distinguished it significantly from the surrounding culture. The disproportionate amount of kitchen wares, for example, and the lack of sleeping space at the site of Qumran for more than about twenty individuals and the presence of an assembly hall or dining room or two are some of the most powerful arguments for identifying Qumran as a place where communal activities for much higher numbers took place. With so much contemporaneous settlement on the Dead Sea shoreline up to Jericho how could Qumran be isolated in any other way but by virtue of the rules they obeyed and the (p. 40) beliefs that they held? In short, having similar pottery, whether it was made in Jerusalem, Qumran, or Jericho, does not allow the historian to conclude that the people in each place were alike except perhaps in their humanity.

Magness has laid out a powerful argument for relating the use of certain types of vessels, namely the cylindrical jar and the ovoid storage jar with the bowl-shaped lids, as an expression of the residents of Qumran's concern for ritual purity (Magness 2002: 73–89; 2004). To be sure she drew heavily on the scrolls and apocryphal literature to support her ideas but some aspects of her presentation are unassailable. Cylindrical jars are found in many loci at Qumran, e.g. Loci 2, 13, 34, 61, 80, 81, 110?, 120 (Magness 2004: 153–4). In addition two such intact jars were retrieved from Cave 1 along with fragments of scrolls and linen (Magness 2004: 146). Despite the fact that we find similar ones at Jericho they are in fact quite rare and are different from other storage jars of this period, that is Qumran Ib and II, late Hellenistic and early Roman to 68 CE, especially the more common bag-shaped storage jar, whose intended use, as even Bar-Nathan agreed, is for storing archival materials or scrolls as opposed to the more common bag-shaped ones that are intended for storage of foodstuffs. The cylindrical and ovoid jars, however, could be tightly covered with their bowl-shaped lid, and even tied down. Mindful of the sect's strict rules regarding purity and defilement from liquids, Magness collected the relevant literary sources that pertain to such rules and concluded that their peculiar shape, while suitable for storing sacred texts, was also fitting for storing pure food and drink (Magness 2004: 154–7). Whether the jars' presence at other sites, such as Jericho or Masada, means there were sectarians is quite another matter since pious Jews for whom ritual purity matters were major concerns inhabited both sites.

In the end, the pottery evidence leads us to conclude that the people of Qumran could be connected to the outside world by virtue of the vessels they used. On the other hand the same evidence could be used to bolster the view that they enhanced their standards of purity observance by the use of this pottery, as was the case with the chalkstone vessels (Meyers 2008: 188–91), which enabled them in turn to separate themselves from the world. So ceramics is another corpus of data that can really support both sides of the current debate, though we are strongly convinced by the arguments of Magness in favour of a sectarian preference for certain jar types.

There is a pottery connection to be mentioned in relation to Locus 30, the so-called 'scriptorium'. One of the samples of pottery selected for provenance study was an inkwell from this locus and its provenance has been identified as Jerusalem (Yellin and Broshi 2001: Table 1 and 66), or at the very least we can say that the clay from which the inkwell was made came from Jerusalem. It is a fair guess that the inkwell was made there as well. While

this may seem puzzling to some, it once again serves as an important reminder that even when it came to composing or copying scrolls at the site, writing tools from Jerusalem were probably used. Despite a lack of consensus on whether the benches in this locus were used for writing, reclining, or sitting (Magness 2002: 60–1; Hirschfeld 2004: 93, 96), for (p. 41) scrolls or secular business transactions, those who accept the Essene theory should be cautioned against thinking of the sectarians as living in total isolation from the world about them and the corrupt society they opposed in Jerusalem.

Conclusion

We have made it quite clear that there is a connection between the caves and the settlement of Khirbet Qumran. Although no scrolls have been found at the site, not surprisingly since the site was twice destroyed by fire, and the identification of Locus 30 as a scriptorium remains contested in some circles, to ignore the evidence of the artificially cut Cave 4, where approximately 500 different manuscripts were found and which is located not more than 500 metres from the settlement, not to mention Caves 7, 8, and 9, which are literally on the southern edge of the marl terrace on which the settlement is located and other caves, is to ignore the most unusual aspect of the physical situation of the site. Moreover, the pottery found in the caves and also found in the settlement is chronologically and typologically one corpus that is congruent with the stratigraphy of the site. In addition, the number of cylindrical and ovoid jars from both the caves and the settlement suggests a connection that is related to archival activities.

We now return to a question we addressed at the outset: how did the scrolls wind up in the caves? As our survey has demonstrated, there is strong evidence to support the idea that the majority of inhabitants from Qumran lived in the caves, and hence it would have been they who hid the scrolls from the advancing Roman armies either at the time of the first destruction of Qumran in 9/8 or 4 BCE or of the Great Revolt in 68 CE. Since some of the scrolls predate the founding of the Qumran community we cannot resolve the matter of how or precisely when those scrolls came to Qumran unless we assume that the first sectarians to settle there brought them with them. Recently, some scholars have proposed that members of the elite Temple establishment or the Judean synagogue communities fleeing the Roman armies wanted to save the scrolls of the Jewish community and deposited the scrolls in the Qumran caves. These theories would help us to understand the presence of so many biblical scrolls and even others, but it hardly helps us to account for the presence of so many sectarian documents among the manuscripts. The idea of hiding the Temple scrolls or synagogue scrolls perforce requires one to accept the view that the inhabitants of the settlement were allies or supporters of those who came to hide the scrolls; their activities could hardly have gone unnoticed by the local residents unless it happened after the destruction of the site in 68 CE. Joan Taylor has convincingly made a case that the scrolls had (p. 42) already been deposited in the caves when the Roman soldiers arrived (Taylor 2006: 139), an idea that she borrowed from de Vaux (1973: 100), and that the soldiers who destroyed Qumran went to the caves to look for refugees and booty and in the process of discovering some of the manuscripts in Cave 4 tore them up intentionally.

We have also come to agree with those who have insisted that Qumran must be viewed in the larger context of its regional environment from Jericho in the north to the southern shores of the Dead Sea. This broadened approach has opened up the possibility of understanding the ceramic repertoire of Qumran in a larger context and viewing the material culture of the site in a more realistic way as part of the Greco-Roman culture that had enveloped the Levant for centuries. But at the same time the modesty of the architectural remains, the absence of mosaics, Roman baths, and frescoes, clearly point to a group of settlers who embraced a communitarian lifestyle as represented in the public meeting and dining spaces and their focus on purity matters, as evidenced in the particular pottery types and large number of ritual baths found there. The Qumran participation in the larger cultural milieu and its material culture resembling aspects of the region in certain respects accord well with Josephus' description of the Essenes in *War* 2. 124–7:

They occupy no one city, but settle in large numbers in every town...they enter the houses of men whom they have never seen before as though they were their most intimate friends....In every city there is one of the order expressly ordered to attend to strangers, who provides them with raiment and other necessities. In their dress and deportment they resemble children under rigorous discipline.

From this and others passages we can hardly expect that the material culture of such a group of individuals, in so

far as we can identify them, would be significantly different from the surrounding culture. As John Collins said in his Foreword to Galor, Zangenberg, and Humbert's volume (2006: vii): 'it is important to keep in mind that regional contacts do not rule out the possibility of a sectarian settlement'. When viewing the site of Qumran in totality, and even if we take into account its connections to local and regional aspects of culture, its distinctiveness and mundane character shine through. To view it without referencing the 900 scrolls found in its backyard, so to speak, is to miss the big picture entirely.

Suggested Reading

The very best summary of the archaeology of Qumran with reference to the surrounding areas and which is committed to the Essene hypothesis of interpretation is Magness (2002). In order to place this work and other scholarship in a larger (p. 43) context de Vaux's summary volume is still recommended (1973). For alternative views and theories Hirschfeld (2004) and Galor, Zangenberg, and Humbert (*QSDSS*, 2006) are essential reading. For a handy reference to the scrolls and individual issues the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* is most helpful (*EDSS*, 2000).

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The Qumran Cemetery Reassessed

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Abstract and Keywords

The proximity of the cemeteries to Khirbet Qumran is strong evidence that they belong together and that the Qumran cemetery was a central burial place for the inhabitants who lived there. The graves in these cemeteries reveal a well-organized, carefully dug, and thoughtfully arranged system; the burials are usually solitary, one individual interred in each tomb, and are evidently not family tombs. The Qumran graves are shaft tombs and almost all of the excavated tombs contained individual burials. The form of the graves and the burial customs, as well as the proximity to the site, should be considered as essential factors concerning the identification of the Qumran community in the Second Temple period. The finds at the cemetery reinforce the thesis that the Qumran community was a specific religious group, a separate Jewish sect, who fashioned their own divergent practices as well as practising some typical Jewish customs.

Keywords: Qumran burial, shaft tombs, Essene settlement, Qumran cemetery, Second Temple, Jewish sect

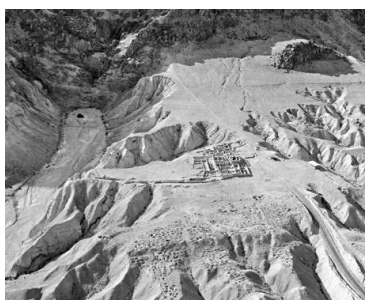
THE establishment of the archaeological site of Khirbet Qumran in the second century BCE and its subsequent development are debated topics. Jean-Baptiste Humbert argues that the original nucleus of the site was not an Iron Age fort, but a residential building from the Hellenistic period, consisting of a courtyard, surrounded by rooms, which might be 'attributed to the Hasmonaean or Herodian aristocracy' (2003: 432–36, fig. 1). He further maintains that this early residence was destroyed, but that dating it is difficult, and suggests that it may have occurred in 56, 40, or 31 BCE. The site was abandoned after an earthquake in 31 BCE (de Vaux 1956: 569, but see Humbert 2003: 436–7). Renovation was then carried out at the site by the Essenes, who repaired and rebuilt the site 'for the purpose of specific sect activities'. Khirbet Qumran was in continuous occupation from 40/30 BCE to 68 CE. Jodi Magness (1995; 1998: 60) maintains that the settlement of Qumran was established later, probably between 100 and 50 BCE according to the pottery evidence, and was sectarian from the beginning.

The identification of Khirbet Qumran with the settlement of the Essenes is disputed. However, the majority of scholars hold that: (1) Khirbet Qumran was an Essene settlement founded towards the end of the second century BCE and destroyed by the Romans in 68 CE, and (2) the scrolls found in caves 1 to 11 belonged to the Essene settlement at Qumran.

(p. 47) Alternatively, some scholars hold that Qumran was a *villa rustica*, a country estate of wealthy Jerusalemites who lived there during the winter (Donceel and Donceel-Voûte 1994; Hirschfeld 2004; 2006: 237, 239). Such an identification is difficult to accept as Qumran differs from other palaces and villas found at Jericho, Herodium, Jerusalem, and various other sites in Judaea. Moreover, no agricultural production could survive the harsh climate and the salty water was unusable (Magness 1994b: 416–19; Broshi and Eshel 2003; 2007: 27–8). Norman Golb interprets the Qumran site as a fortress (1994: 71–2). His view has been followed and developed by Yitzhaq Magen and Yuval Peleg (2006), who believe that Qumran was a military fortress during the Hasmonean period that later served as a centre for pottery production (see Magness 2006: 649–59 refuting these hypotheses).

Surveys of the Cemetery

The cemetery of Qumran located about 35 metres east of the settlement consisted of a Main Cemetery (figs. 1, 2), containing some 1,200 graves arranged in ordered, regular and neat rows, separated by two paths into three plots (figs. 3, 4). East of the main cemetery there are smaller groups of graves in the North Cemetery (or Hill) and the North, Middle, and South extensions (or Fingers). Moreover, there are secondary cemeteries: the North Cemetery, the South Cemetery, and Qumran North (now destroyed) (Humbert and Chambon 1994; Kapera 2000; Kapera and Konik 2000; Zangenberg 2000b; Eshel et al. 2002; Humbert and Chambon 2003: 73–9; Norton 2003).



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Fig. 1. Khirbet Qumran (aerial photo).

The Qumran Cemetery Reassessed

Charles Clermont-Ganneau was the first to excavate the tombs in 1873. He exhumed the ancient skeletal remains of two tombs; he sketched the layout of the cemetery and the plans of the tombs, but there is no data on the exact provenance in the cemetery of these tombs (Schultz 2006: 195, fig.1). Roland de Vaux excavated forty-three tombs between 1949 and 1956: Tombs T1–2 in 1949, T3–8 and T11 in 1951, T12–19 in 1952, T9–10 in the Northern Cemetery in 1955, T20–37 and S1–4 in the South Cemetery in 1956 (1953: 95–106; 1954: 206–7; 1956: 533–4, 569–75; 1973: 48–58; Humbert and Chambon 1994, I: 213–28, 346–52; 2003, I: 73–9; Humbert 2003, II: 429). Twenty-eight graves were excavated in the main cemetery (Tombs T1–8, 12–31), and seven more in the extensions (T11, 32–37). The North Cemetery contained a group of twelve tombs, similar to the tombs in the main cemetery, of which two were excavated (T9, T10). In Qumran North, tombs TA and TB were excavated (see Norton 2003: 108 for the difference between the North Cemetery and Qumran North). The South Cemetery consists of a group of thirty tombs of varying orientations, of which four (S1–4) were excavated. A total of (p. 48) fifty-six tombs were excavated (Tables 1 and 2), including the two by Clermont-Ganneau (1874, 1896), and ten or eleven by S. Steckoll (1968; see also Norton 2003: 107–9, 120–2; Schultz 2006: 196, nn. 13, 14).¹

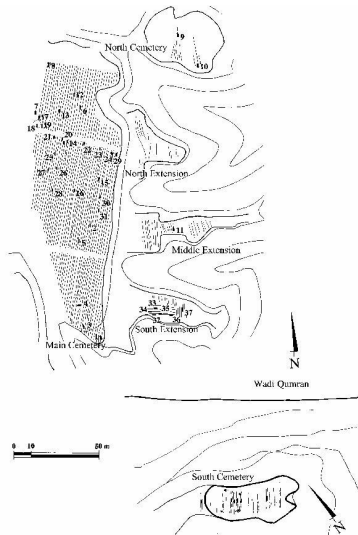
An important survey of the entire cemetery was conducted in 2001 by Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz (2002: 136, 141–3, n. 4, Map 1, Table II), published with a map prepared by Philip Reeder that includes graves identified by GPR (Ground Penetrating Radar) (Table 1, fig. 4). Eshel et al. (2002: 140–1) were able to identify only thirty-six of de Vaux's tombs and one of Steckoll's; other tombs appeared to have been opened by grave robbers. This survey confirmed de Vaux's estimate of about 1,200 tombs in the cemetery. Robert Donceel (2002: fig. 12) reconstructed the locations of nine of the tombs (QG2–10) opened by Steckoll: G2–G7 in the main cemetery, G8–9 in the middle extension, and G10 in the south extension (Donceel 2002: fig. 12).



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Fig. 2. Khirbet Qumran, caves and cemetery (after Humbert and Gunneweg 2003:XXII, Pl II).

Magen and Peleg recently excavated nine tombs at the Qumran cemetery (2007: 45–7; the data given are preliminary and meagre, no plans, no details); two on the Middle Extension/Finger (nos. 934 and 946) and seven at the South Extension/Finger (nos. 813, 823–27, 843; Schultz 2006: 200–1, n. 34), of which three are oriented east-west while the others are oriented on the north-south axis. Bones of adults aged between 25 and 60 were found in four of the nine tombs. One tomb (p. 49) had a wooden coffin and four tombs were without bones. In two of the graves, fourteen storage jars with lids dating to the second or early first century BCE were discovered; the jars may have contained date-honey. The excavators suggest that the jars, though sealed, became ritually unclean and were thus removed to these buried graves.



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Fig. 3. Plan of de Vaux excavations in Qumran cemetery (after Humbert and Chambon 1994, 214, pl. XXXII).

The Qumran Cemetery Reassessed

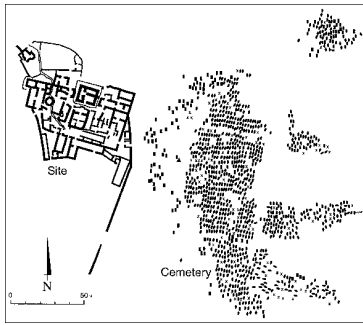


Fig. 4. Plan of GPR survey of Qumran cemetery (after Eshel et al 2002:139, Map.3).

At the eastern edge of the Middle Extension a square building (de Vaux's Point B Building) was re-excavated and labelled 'Tomb 1000' (Eshel et al. 2002: 147–53, Pl. III; Broshi and Eshel 2003: 31–3, 71). About 150 pottery sherds were found in it. The building is dated to the Second Temple period. Eshel et al. argued that it was a 'mourning enclosure' for the use of the Qumran community, similar to the one found at the cemetery in Jericho. The arguments for the Qumran 'mourning enclosure', however, are not convincing. The location of the building at the extreme (p. 50) (p. 51)

Table 1 Tombs in the Qumran cemetery				
	TOTAL	North-South Oriented	East-West Oriented	Identified by GPR
Main Cemetery	825	727	3	95
North Hill	81	58	1	22
North Finger	51	50	1	0
Middle Finger	129	122	6	1
South Finger	91	42	43	6
TOTAL	1177	999	54	124

(*) After Eshel et al. 2002: Table II

end of the middle extension, though on

higher ground than the rest of the tombs, does not make sense; it is very far and difficult to reach from the settlement or the Main Cemetery and there are no benches or any other indication of its use. Its comparison to the Jericho structure is deficient in other ways. The Jericho (p. 52)

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Table 2 Location and numbers of 63 excavated tombs

Location	No. of excavated tombs	Tombs' nos.	
Main Cemetery	28	T1-8, 12-31, G2-7	Norton 2003: 108
	7		Donceel 2002: fig. 12
North Cemetery (North Hill)	2	T9, 10	Norton 2003: 108
South Cemetery	4	S1-4	Norton 2003: 108
Qumran North	2	TA-TB	Norton 2003: 108
North Extension (Finger)	—	—	
Middle Extension (Finger)	2	T11, 1000	Norton 2003: 108
	2	G8, 9	Donceel 2002: fig. 12
	2	934, 946	Magen and Peleg 2007: 45-7
			Schultz 2006: 201, n. 34
South Extension (Finger)	7	T32-37, G10, 813, 823-27, 843	Norton 2003: 108
	7		Magen and Peleg 2007: 45-7
			Schultz 2006: 201, n. 34

(*) See Donceel 2002: fig. 12; Norton 2003: 108.

'mourning enclosure'

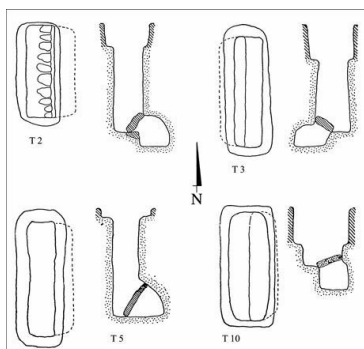
has benches and is built above a large, elaborate two-chamber tomb (Hachlili 1979: 58; Netzer 1999). The consequent conclusion that the Middle Finger was the burial place of important personalities seems untenable.

In the southern part of building 1000 at 20 cm depth, a pile of human bones identified as the remains of two women in a secondary burial was discovered. Their teeth were dated by carbon-14 test to the Second Temple period. Magen Broshi (2007: 30) suggests that the bones 'must have been thrown out of their grave (graves?) by Bedouins who wished to use their burial place' (but see Norton 2003: 122). Directly beneath this pile of bones (at about 1.10 m) a male skeleton buried in east-west orientation was found. A cooking pot was placed above the legs and a couple of stones protected the skull. The excavators date the burial of the two females and one male to the Second Temple period. Broshi and Hanan Eshel (2003: 31-3,71) identify the male skeleton buried in the building as the *mebaqqer* (overseer), an office referred to in the sectarian scrolls, but neither the east-west orientation of the burial nor the presence of the cooking pot is distinctive enough for this highly speculative identification. (p. 53)

Qumran Burial Characteristics

The cemetery is laid out in well-organized rows of single graves, usually oriented in a north-south direction (Table 3). The graves were marked on the surface by an oval heap of fieldstones and sometimes reused stone parts of buildings. The Qumran tomb architecture consists of a shaft, hewn as a rectangular cavity with a loculus at the bottom, usually under the east side of the shaft, frequently closed by unbaked bricks or by stones (fig. 5). They are about 1.00 to 2.50 m deep (de Vaux 1953, 1954, 1956, 1973: 45-8, 57-8; Humbert and Chambon 1994: 346-52; Hachlili 1993, 2000, 2005: 467-79; Eshel et al. 2002: 155-63, Tables IV, V; Norton 2003: Tables 1-9; Taylor and Doudna 2003: 202).

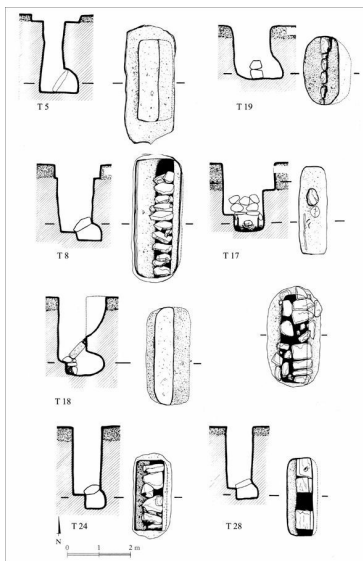
The dead were placed supine, but sometimes on the side, the head frequently oriented to the south or sometimes to the north, with a headstone or a footstone or small stones beside it. The arms were usually crossed on the pelvis or stretched down the sides of the body (fig. 7). The bodies were often covered by mud bricks or flat stones (fig. 5) (see tombs T3, 7, 9-13, 15, 18, 20-3, 28, 29; Humbert and Chambon 1994: 214, 346-50, figs. 458, 466, pls. xxxv, xxxviii).



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Fig. 5. Plans of Tombs (after de Vaux 1952: fig. 5).



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Fig. 6. Plans of Tombs (after Humbert and Chambon 1994).



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Fig. 7. A body in Tomb 7 (after de Vaux 1953: Pl. III).

(p. 54) (p. 55) Most of the excavated tombs contained individual, primary burials (de Vaux 1953: 102, Fig. 5, Pls. 4b, 5a–b; 1973: 46, Pl. XXV–XXVI; Steckoll 1968; Bar-Adon 1977: 12, 16, figs. 19–20), except for tombs T16 (two males), T24 (male and female), G6 (a woman and child), T35 (two female; the tomb is oriented east-west) (Table 3; Röhrer-Ertl, Röhrhirsch, and Hahn 1999: Katalog; Eshel et al. 2002: Table V).

Apart from the skeletal remains, there was not much else that was buried in and around the tombs (de Vaux 1956: 570–2; Humbert and Chambon 1994: 346, 350–2) (Table 3). There were some pottery vessels: in T4 a storage jar, and in T26 a Herodian lamp, both with remains of men aged 30–40. Pottery sherds were discovered in tombs T1, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, 27, 30, and G9. Broken store-jars (p. 56) were uncovered on top of the graves at Qumran and at 'En el-Ghuweir (de Vaux 1953: 103, fig. 2.5, Pl VI; Bar-Adon 1977: 16, figs. 21.1–3, 22–3).

As previously mentioned, at Qumran Burial 1000 a skeleton in primary burial was found with a cooking pot at the place of its legs (Broshi and Eshel 2003: 32). Other examples of cooking pots in odd positions were discovered in loculi-tombs in Jerusalem and Jericho. Some symbolic rite may well have been associated with the placing of cooking pots in the tomb. It is possible that the cooking pots may have been placed inside the tomb, next to coffins, or next to the deceased as a symbol of the commemorative meals (Hachlili and Killebrew 1999: 22, fig. II.42; Hachlili 2005: 382–3).

In the recent survey of the Qumran cemetery by the Israeli and American team, metal pieces (identified as zinc) deemed to be part of a coffin lid were discovered in a tomb (no. 978) on the eastern part of the Middle Finger. The use of zinc during this period was very rare. It has been suggested that the person buried in the zinc coffin was brought to Qumran from elsewhere (Eshel et al. 2002: 143–7).

Several remains of wooden coffins with male burials were uncovered in tombs 17–19, on the western margins of the Main Cemetery. The simple,

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wooden coffin without a lid discovered in T18 contained a skeleton (Humbert and Chambon 1994: 223, 349, photo 466). The grave was covered by a reused doorsill. The coffin is made of Mediterranean Cypress and is similar to wooden coffins found at Ein Gedi and Jericho (Lipshitz and Waisel 1999: Tables III.2–5). The radiocarbon dating of the wooden coffin in T18 is 'in the range of 165 BCE–53 CE (95%) and 92 BCE–20 CE (68%) by Waikato; 45 BCE–125 CE (95%) or 20 BCE–75 CE (68%) by Copenhagen/Groningen. In historic age it is 60 BCE–70 CE and 45 BCE–50 CE.' (Taylor and Doudna 2003: 203–4). The radiocarbon date of the wood of the coffin in T18 provides a *terminus a quo* for the coffin's use. But it does not do more than that: the coffin could have been made immediately after being cut or the wood could have been utilized much later or even reused. One other coffin was found in a grave recently excavated by Magen and Peleg (2007: 45). The data relating to the wooden coffins are insufficient for a proper description, but the wood fragments as well as the structure of the tomb indicate that the coffins were rectangular. They are similar to the coffins customarily used for primary burials in Jericho and Ein Gedi.

Brown dust in T32 and T33 may have been remains of the coffins (de Vaux 1956: 572; 1973: 46–7, 58, Tombs 17–19; Humbert and Chambon 1994: 222–4, 349; 2003: 76, 78; Steckoll 1968 reported burnt wood in tombs G3–6, 9–11). Recently, it was suggested that these are remains of Muslim burial shrouds (Zias 2000: 225, Schultz 2006: 210).

Iron nails were found in tombs T17 and one in T18 with an attached wooden fragment (Sheridan 2002: 220, 222, fig. 8). In size and appearance they are similar to the nails found with wooden coffin 113 at Jericho (Hachlili and Killebrew 1999: 67, 85–7, 140, figs. III.9, III.84; Hachlili 2005: 511–12).

(p. 57) Primary burials in wooden coffins were practised in Jericho and Ein Gedi in the first century BCE. In Jericho the coffins were placed in rock-cut loculi-tombs, each loculus containing one wooden coffin (Hachlili and Killebrew 1999: 167–71). The coffins found in Jericho were used only for primary and not for secondary burials, while some of the coffins at Ein Gedi were used for burying several bodies or for collecting bones. This type of burial in wooden coffins at Jericho was later replaced in the first century CE by the practice of secondary burial, the collected bones being entombed once again, as it were, in ossuaries (Hachlili 2005: 75–94; 517–18). As the primary burials in coffins at Qumran are similar to those in Jericho it is possible that the Qumran coffins were also used for primary burial in the shaft tombs during the first century BCE (but see Taylor and Doudna 2003: 204, who suggest that the burial in the coffins took place in the first century CE).

There is no proof for the assumption held by some scholars (Broshi 2007: 31; Kapera 1994: 108; Humbert 2003: 430) that the coffins were used for transporting the dead from elsewhere, or that the deceased were relatives of the Qumranians who had died and were brought over to the cemetery for burial. Jews did not begin to practice the custom of reinterment in the Land of Israel until the third century CE (Gafni 1981).

Jewellery was discovered in three marginal tombs oriented east-west. In T32 (in the south extension) beads, an earring, and a bronze ring were found with a 30-year-old female skeleton. Two earrings were discovered in T33 (in the south extension) with the skeletal remains of another 30-year-old woman. In S1 (in the south cemetery) thirty beads, an earring, and a bronze ring were found with a third 30-year-old woman. Christa Clamer comments that the three anomalous tombs show the same grave plan, orientation, and burial position as well as similar jewellery 'that would argue for an identical cultural background', which 'excludes [the possibility] that these burials were connected with a Jewish ethnic community' (2003: 175–7). They could, however, be connected to a Christian or Muslim group of traders or nomads. She further agrees with other archaeologists that the tombs discovered in the extensions of the cemetery formed no part of the original burial and were intrusive to the Essene tombs. For these tombs, she suggests a late date in the Late Roman and Byzantine period, perhaps the eighth to ninth centuries CE and not later.

The typical features of 'classical' Qumran graves and the form of their burial enable us to identify Second Temple period tombs at the Qumran cemetery (Table 3, see detailed data in Eshel et al. 2002: Tables IV and V; Schultz 2006: 212–20, Table IV; Norton 2003: 109–16, 123, Tables 1–9):

- North-south orientation of the tombs should be considered typical of the Second Temple period; Brian Schultz (2006: 213, Table A) considers T1000 and T4, though oriented east-west, to date to the Second Temple period. But Joe Zias (2000: 222, 244), who identified T4 as a Bedouin grave, and Jonathan Norton (2003: 113, 118) disagree with this assumption.

(p. 58)

Tomb No.	Tomb no. Reeder	Location	Orient.	Covering		Shaft	Locul.	Corpse		Finds	Skeletal remains		
				Stones	Bricks			Depth in m.	Position		head	gender	age
CG													
T1	777 ?	MC	NS		X	1.32		supine	S	Shards			
T2	428	MC	NS	X		1.8	E	supine	N	x			
T3	697	MC	NS	X		1.6	W	supine	S		M	adult	Sheridan
T4	661	MC	EW		X	1.8	N	supine	E	2 jars frags.	M	30–35	Sheridan
T5 [g]	526	MC	NS	X		1.7		supine	S		M?	Adult	Sheridan
T5 [r]											M	40–50	
T6	37	MC	NS	X			E	supine	S		M	35–45	Sheridan

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T7	749 ?	MC	NS					supine	S		M?	40–45	Sheridan
T8	—	MC	NS				E	supine	S		M	40–45	Sheridan
T9	1072	NC	NS		X		E	supine	S	Shards	—	—	Sheridan
T10	1085 ?	NC	NS		X	1.8	E	supine	S		M?	40–45	Sheridan
T11	959	ME	NS ?	X				Re-inhumation	S		M	adult	Sheridan
T12	23	MC	NS		X	1.7	E?	supine	S		M	30–35	Sheridan
T13	55	MC	NS		X	1.0		supine		pottery	M	40–45	Sheridan
T14	140	MC	NS		X	2.0	X	supine		Jar frag.	bones		Sheridan
T15	290	MC	NS		X	1.7	x	supine	S	jar	M	15–16	Sheridan
T16a	360	MC	NS		X	1.65	E	supine	S	shards	M	30–40	Sheridan
T16b											M	30–40	
T17	131	MC	NS	X			central	supine		coffin	—	adult	Sheridan
T18	130	MC	NS	X	X		E	supine	S	coffin	M	30–33	Sheridan
T19	129	MC	NS	X			E	supine	N	coffin	M	40–42	Sheridan
T20	135	MC	NS		X			Supine	S		M	30	Rohrer-Ertl
T21	133	MC	NS		X		E	supine	S		M	50	Rohrer-Ertl
T22	146	MC	NS		X		E	supine	S		F	50	Rohrer-Ertl
T23	108 ?	MC	NS	X	X		E	supine	S	Jar frag.	M	30	Rohrer-Ertl
T24a	151	MC	NS	X			E		S		M	50	Rohrer-Ertl
T24b									N		F	20–21	
T25	215	MC	NS		X		E	supine			M	50	Kurth
T26	274	MC	NS	X	X		E	Supine	S	lamp	M	30	Rohrer-Ertl
T27	281	MC	NS		X			Supine	S	Jar frag.	-M	30	Kurth
T28	341	MC	NS	X	X		E	Supine	S		M	20–22	Rohrer-Ertl
T29	149	MC	NS	X			E	Supine	S		M	30	Rohrer-Ertl
T30	375	MC	NS		X		E	supine		3 Jar frags.	M	30	Rohrer-Ertl
T31	368	MC	NS	X			E				M	40	Rohrer-Ertl

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T32	793	SE	EW					Left side	W	Jewelry, dust	F	25-30	Rohrer-Ertl
T33	812	SE	EW					Left side	W	Jewelry, dust	F	30-39	Rohrer-Ertl
T34	814	SE	EW	6 stones				supine	W		F	30-39	Rohrer-Ertl
T35a	794	SE	EW	6 stones		0.40		Right side	W		F	25-30	Rohrer-Ertl
T35b											F	20-22	
T36	808	SE	EW	X				Right side	W		girl	6-7	Rohrer-Ertl
T37	807	SE	NS			1.0		Re-inhumation			F	30-40	Kurth
TA		QN	NS	X				Supine	S		F	45-50	Sheridan
TB		QN	NS	X			central	Supine	N		M	60+	Sheridan
S1		SC	EW					Left side	W	Jewelry	F	50-59	Rohrer-Ertl
S2		SC	NS	X				Right side	S		boy	6	Rohrer-Ertl
S3		SC	EW					Right side	W		Boy	9	Rohrer-Ertl
											Child	7-9	
S4		SC	EW					Right side	W		boy	10	Rohrer-Ertl
G2		MC	NS	X		1.65	E	Supine	S		M	65	Rohrer-Ertl
G3		MC	NS		X			Supine	S	Burnt wood, palm leaf	M	65	Haas and athan
G4		MC	NS		X				S	Burnt wood, date seed	M	40	Haas and Nathan
G5		MC	NS		X	1.58	central	Supine	S	Burnt wood	M	22	Haas and Nathan
G6		MC	NS		X	1.65	E	Supine	S	Burnt wood	F 2 child	25	Haas and Nathan
G7	618?	MC	NS	X	X	2.5	E	Supine	S		F	14-16	Haas and Nathan
G8	977?	ME	NS						S		F	23	Haas and Nathan
G9	978?	ME	NS		X	1.93	E	Supine	S	Burnt wood, shards	M	65	Haas and Nathan
G10		SE	EW	X			S		W	Burnt wood	M	26-25	Haas and Nathan
G11		SE?	NS						S	Burnt wood	F	45-50	Haas and Nathan

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																		Haas and Nathan
BE2a, b Tomb 1000		ME				0.20	Re-inhumation				F		25-35					Nagar
											F		50+					

(*) For detailed tables see Eshel et al. (2002: 141); Schultz (2006: Table IV, V); Norton (2003: Tables 1–9); Röhler-Ertl Rohrhirsch, and Hahn (1999: Katalog); Sheridan (2006: Table 6).

(*) MC= Main Cemetery; SC= South Cemetery; NC= North Cemetery; QN= Qumran North; NE= North Extension; ME= Middle Extension; SE= South Extension.

(p. 59) (p. 60) (p. 61)

- The surface of the tombs is marked by oval heaps of fieldstones.
- A deep shaft with a side loculus is usually cut to the east side.
- Unbaked brick cappers are often present in tombs: CG, T1, T9–10, T12–15, T20–23, T25, and T27–30. Tombs G3–7, T16, and T19 found with decayed brick and pottery date to the Second Temple period.
- A single skeleton with body position supine and head pointing to the south should be considered typical of the Second Temple period.
- Pottery found in tombs T4, T26, and G9 and primary burial T1000 might date them to the Second Temple period; in T23, T27, and T30 the storage jars are dated to first century BCE/CE. The sherds found in T1–2 and T13–15, though not restorable, should also help date these graves to the Second Temple period.
- The wooden coffins found in T17–19 as well as the carbon-14 tests for the coffin in T18 and the teeth of the secondary burials in BE2a, b (T1000) are dated to the Second Temple period.

These key features, although not always present in the same tombs, offer important evidence for identifying the tombs of the Qumran cemetery. Norton (2003: 112, 123, Tables 4–6) maintains that the full standard features of the 'classical' Qumran burial form are evidenced in the middle section of the Main Cemetery, while most other features are found in the north and south sections. Tombs T9 and T10 in the North Cemetery and tombs TA and TB in Qumran North also conform to the 'classical' Qumran burial type in their main features.

The typical features of the 'classical' Qumran cemetery graves have some similarities with Muslim/Bedouin burials, and some features are even identical. The general features in tombs excavated in the South Cemetery (S1–4) and the Southern Extension (T32–37) are different, and might be considered Muslim/Bedouin (Norton 2003: 110–11, 118–20, Tables 1, 2; Schultz 2006: 214). These different traits include: (1) no consistent orientation, but mostly the tombs are oriented east-west; (2) unmarked graves or tombs, which are indicated by a circle of stones; (3) simple shafts; (4) the average depth of the tombs is shallower; (5) frequently these tombs have no loculi; (6) stones are usually used to build the sides and the cappers of the tombs; and (7) the body is on the left or right side and seldom supine. Norton claims that Zias' arguments that these burials are post-Byzantine Bedouin are consistent only for graves S1, S3, and S4, but not for S2; moreover, tombs T32 and T33, but not T34–37, have only some and not all of the features. Bedouins frequently intruded into the existing burial grounds and apparently some of their tombs have been found in the Qumran cemetery (Clamer 2003: 173, 176; Bélis 2003: 265).

Schultz (2006: 212–20, Table A) concludes that thirty-two out of forty-six excavated tombs could be dated to the Second Temple period, containing about thirty-three to thirty-five interred bodies. Of the fifty-six excavated tombs (including Steckoll's tombs), thirty-nine contain between forty-two and forty-four (p. 62)

	Main Cemetery	North Extension	Middle Extension	South Extension	North Cemetery	South Cemetery	Qumran North	No. of tombs
Pre-68 burials	T1–6, 8, 12–31, G2–7		BE2a, b (Tomb 1000), G8, G9	G10	T9–10		TA, TB	42
Problematic pre-68 burials	T7		T11					2
Possible Bedouin burials				T32, 33		S1, 3–4		5
Problematic Bedouin burials	T4			T34–37		S2		5

(*) See Norton (2003: 122 and Tables 1–9); Schultz (2006: Table A). The reference is to 54 excavated tombs (CG 1, de Vaux 43, Steckoll 9, Eshel & Broshi 1).

skeletons that date to the Second Temple period. This total does not include any secondary burials, as they may well have been introduced at a later time (Table 4).

Burial customs are mentioned in the Temple Scroll and they concern regulations concerning corpse impurity (11QT, col. 51: 10; see also 4Q512 col. 12;

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Yadin 1983, I: 321–36; Harrington 2000: 615). The discussion relates to: (a) burial grounds (col. 48: 11–14); (b) the house of the deceased (col. 49: 5–21); (c) impurity of a grave (col. 50: 5–9) (Hachlili 1993: 255–7). The scrolls that are concerned with purity and defilement do not add anything significant to the existing regulations about corpse impurity. They seem broadly to follow Jewish law, as Yadin (1983, I: 45.5–10) and Schiffman (1990: 138–52) observe. The scrolls do not explain the significance of some of the Qumran burial customs, such as their orientation, the marking of the graves by a heap of stones, the shaft grave, the stone under or beside the head of the deceased, or the reason for individual burials.

Human Remains

Research into Qumran skeletal remains has increased recently and remains controversial (Table 3; Taylor 1999: 298–310, Tables 1–4; Eshel et al. 2002: Table V; Magness 2002b: 91–5; Norton 2003: 117–22). The older study examined forty-three individual (p. 63) remains from graves excavated in different parts of the cemetery; the original anthropological analyses of the skeletal remains from the Qumran cemetery were performed by Gottfried Kurth and Henri-Victor Vallois (Vallois examined tombs T3–8; Kurth, T12–13, T15–19, TA–B; Haas and Nathan [1968] studied Steckoll's excavations, tombs G2–11). A reexamination of the skeletal remains was conducted by Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn (1999); Sheridan (2002); Sheridan, Ullinger, and Ramp (2003); Sheridan and Ullinger (2006); Röhrer-Ertl (2006); and Nagar (2002), who examined Tomb 1000.

Susan Sheridan recently reexamined the skeletal remains in the French and Jerusalem collections from tombs excavated by de Vaux (originally examined by Vallois and Kurth). In their report, Sheridan, Ullinger, and Ramp (2003; Sheridan and Ullinger 2006: Table 6) discussed the analysis of eighteen individuals belonging to graves in the Main Cemetery (T3–T19) and in Tombs A and B, probably from Qumran North (Norton 2003: 109). All skeletal remains were likely to have been male, the three in T5(g), T7, and T10 being the most probable. Only one, in TA, was certainly identified as female. Sheridan observes 'Only 39 exhumations have undergone modern anthropological analysis, representing approximately 3.5% of the total interred collection' (2002: 204). Sheridan and Ullinger emphasize that the number of graves excavated is too small and lacks many details, concluding that the analysis of the skeletal remains is unable to 'contribute to a conversation about the function of Qumran' (2006: 200).

Olav Röhrer-Ertl, Ferdinand Rohrhirsch, and Dietbert Hahn (1999; Röhrer-Ertl 2006) reexamined the skeletal remains from T20–37 and S1–4 (originally examined by Kurth). Röhrer-Ertl et al. identified nine adult males, eight adult women, and five children, but Zias disputed these results, suggesting that the three identified 'females' (from T7, T22, and T24a) were actually males on the basis of their height, which exceeds the height for females in this period (2000).

The data derived from the skeletal remains of the recently reexamined and published graves in the cemeteries reveal that the tombs contained sixty individuals, with thirty-three males, seven females, and six children (Table 3). Only a few tombs included two individuals (Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn 1999: 47, Katalog; Sheridan 2002; Eshel et al. 2002: Table V; Norton 2003: 117–23; Röhrer-Ertl 2006; Sheridan and Ullinger 2006: Table 6; Schultz 2006: 202 and n. 16). Of Steckoll's excavations (1968: 335), eleven skeletons were found in eleven tombs: six men, four women, and one or two children (Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn 1999: 47, Katalog; Norton 2003: 115, 120, 121, Table 9).

The ages of most men found in the main cemetery range between 30 and 45 years; exceptions include one interred aged 16 years (T15), two aged 22–23 (T28, G5), and one aged 50 (T25). Two men are aged 65 years (G9). Seven women (buried in the extensions of the Main Cemetery and in the South Cemetery) are about 30 years old (T22, T24a, T32–35 and S1). Two are 7–10 year-old boys and a further two are children, (p. 64) one six years old (T36, S2–4, and G6b) (Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn 1999: 47, Katalog; Eshel et al. 2002: Table V; Norton 2003: 123; Schultz 2006: 197).

Zias asserts that there are four shared criteria to categorize a cemetery as Essene: 'orientation, tomb architecture, demographic disparity and few if any personal grave goods' (2000: 244). He contends that skeletal remains of fifty-five individuals are Essene (thirty-five from Qumran and twenty from 'En el-Ghuweir). Zias argues that five tombs (T32–36) on the South Extension, oriented along an east-west axis, four anomalous tombs (S1–4) in the South Cemetery, and tomb T4 on the south section of the Main Cemetery with interment of men, women, and children, are chronologically intrusive and thus are Islamic burials (2000: 225–30, 242, 244, 248–53, Pls. 1, 2, Table 2). He bases his argument mainly on the orientation, the beads found in tombs S1, T32, and T33, the shallowness of the burial, and the presence of marking stones for the head and feet. Zias also challenged the female identifications of T22 and T24a by Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn and claims that the Qumran cemetery reflects a celibate community of males: 'The only deviation from Jewish burial norm is the strict orientation of the graves along the north-south axis' in the Main Cemetery, which could be explained by 'their opposition to the priestly class in Jerusalem whom they disdained' and by the fact that for the Essenes, Paradise and the New Jerusalem lay in the north (see Puech 1998: 29). But Jürgen Zangenberg disagrees and rejects Zias' conclusions (2000a: 65–76). He maintains that nothing in the anthropological data examined by Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn, which came from all parts of the cemetery, suggests two different ethnic groups, and to the contrary, all the bones share the same features.

Eshel et al., on the other hand, 'agree with Zias that fifty-four tombs oriented east-west should be identified as Bedouin tombs of the last centuries' (2002: 137–8, 140, 142). They assume that stone coverings from several earlier tombs were removed to cover over the later tombs.

Norton believes that the results of the survey by Eshel et al. and the argument of Bedouin burials by Zias correspond to de Vaux's inclination to distinguish the east-west graves, which generally appear only on the extensions, from the rest of the Main Cemetery. It also corresponds to the recent trend to consider the east-west oriented female graves to be chronologically and culturally distinct (2003: 118). He refutes the criteria Zias presented for identifying Bedouin graves. He maintains that the survey by Eshel et al. shows that some north-south tombs in the Southern Extension have been robbed and reused probably later, which in his opinion 'shows that intrusions into the Qumran cemetery are not a phenomenon limited to the Mamluk period or later, as Zias maintains'. Norton confirms that Qumran tombs of classical form contained both men and women. He argues that it is difficult 'to distinguish between pre-68 burials and later intrusions on the basis of grave typology alone' and that 'the notion that classical tombs are always oriented north-south and the non-classical graves are oriented east-west cannot be maintained' (2003: 122). (p. 65)

Women and the Cemeteries of Qumran

A small number of women and children were found, mostly in the Qumran extensions and secondary cemeteries (Tables 3 and 5). The interpretations diverge: some scholars argue that the finds attest to the celibate character of the Qumran community; others maintain that women were buried in all sectors of the Qumran cemetery (de Vaux 1973: 45–7; see Hachlili 1993: 251, bibliography in n. 9; Golb 1994: 58; Taylor 1999: 305–10 and catalogue; Zangenberg 2000a: 73–5; Magness 2002a: 163–87; 2002b: 93–5; Norton 2003: 119–21, 123; Hachlili 2005: 324–5, Anthropological Table 6). The evidence shows that in the western side of the large cemetery, three females were buried in the Main Cemetery in tombs T22, T24a, and TA oriented in a north-south direction. Eight women and one child were found in graves oriented east-west in the South Extension; one woman, three boys, and one child were identified in the South Cemetery. Two women of the Second Temple period were found in secondary burial in Tomb 1000 (Eshel et al. 2002: 150–1). Broshi argues that these bones 'must have been thrown out of their grave by Bedouins who wished to use their burial place' (2007: 30). Four

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women were identified in tombs opened by Steckoll (G6, 7, 8, 11 located recently by Donceel 2002: 103–5, fig. 12: G6, 7 on the western edge of the Main Cemetery, G8 on the Middle Extension; Norton 2003: 120–1).

The totals by gender are: thirty-four males (including uncertain and questionable identifications), sixteen females (including questionable identifications), six children, and six whose gender cannot be determined (Table 5).

Joan Taylor challenges the belief in the marginality of women in the Qumran community, based on the 'gendered' finds in the cemetery and the texts of the DSS (1999: 292–6, 319–21). She suggests that the gendered finds such as one spindle whorl and some bronze items from T24, three beads and fragments of a wooden comb discovered in the caves nearby, as well as the careful reanalysis of skeletons from Qumran and the study of the scrolls, might indicate women's presence in the communities of Qumran. Taylor explains the high number of males buried in the western sector of the main cemetery as a result of a massacre (1999: 323), a claim that is unproven (Hachlili 2000: 666–7). Taylor concludes that females and males are found in all segments of the Qumran cemeteries, though a higher percentage of males is buried in the main cemetery. Zangenberg (2000a: 74–5) argues on the basis of the original and current research that sixteen female and twenty-six male individuals are identified in Qumran, a female to male ratio that is common. By comparing the 'gendered' finds from Qumran with those found at Masada and the Judaean Desert Caves, Magness agrees with Zias' supposition and concludes that the archaeological evidence presented verifies that only a few females were buried at Qumran (2002a: 177–8; 2002b: 108). (p. 66)

Identification	Main Cemetery	North Extension	Middle Extension	South Extension	North Cemetery	South Cemetery	Qumran North	No. of interred
Female	T22, T24b		BE2a, BE2b	T32, T33, T34, T35a, T35b		S1	TA	11
Questionable female	G6a, G7	T37	G8		T9			5
Child	G6b			T36		S2, S3a, S3b, S4		6
Male	T3–6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19–23, 24a, 25–31				T10		TB	26
Uncertain male	T7							1
Questionable male	G2–5		T11, G9	G10				7
Unknown gender	CG1, T1, 2, 9, 14, 17							6

See also Norton (2003: 122).

(p. 67) Norton (2003: 122–3) maintains that Qumran tombs of classical form contained both men and women. He further argues that the gender diagnoses show that there is an unusual gender ratio at Qumran: 'The proportion of men compared with that of women and children exhumed at Qumran is nevertheless exceptionally high despite Röhrer-Ertl's following conclusion'. Röhrer-Ertl (2006: 193) contends that 'the examined individuals from the main and the southern cemeteries exhibit close or very close morphological similarities. In a sociological sense, this observation would probably mean that they were "genetically interrelated"'. He further concludes 'as a working hypothesis and invitation to further discussion that the examined Qumranites stem from a population that can be described sociologically as intermarried'.

Norton is right in noting that the Qumran/Essene hypothesis should not be based on the issue of the presence of women in the Qumran cemetery. It is apparent that women were present at Qumran, but few in number.

Schultz claims that 'the cemetery unequivocally points to a special treatment of women in an otherwise male-oriented community. The unusual character of the community is further confirmed by a total absence of any children...its total uniqueness, fits best with the majority opinion that Qumran was a community center for a predominantly male, Jewish sectarian group in the 1st century BCE and CE' (2006: 219). Broshi maintains that there are no more than three certain female burials in the Main Cemetery; all other female burials in the extensions are most probably Bedouin burials (2007: 30).

In sum, without doubt only a small number of women can be identified among the remains of the excavated tombs in the Main Cemetery. The identification of female burials in the extensions and the South Cemetery is uncertain and debatable. Even if the remains are in the future confirmed as Second Temple period burials, the evidence indicates that graves of women and children were allocated to a different area in the outskirts of the Main Cemetery. The small number of women buried at Qumran neither disproves nor confirms the Qumran-Essene hypothesis.

Comparable Burial Type in Shaft Tombs

Among the vast number of loculi-tombs in Jerusalem and Jericho, a few shaft tombs were found: two shaft tombs, for instance, were discovered in East Talpiot, Jerusalem (Kloner and Zissu 2007: 95, 704, fig. 233, no. 12–6).

At Beth Zafafa, Jerusalem, about forty-nine graves were noted, of which forty-one were excavated (Zissu 1998; Kloner and Zissu 2007: 95, 353–5, figs.

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248–9, nos. 13-[40-89]). The graves are hewn shaft tombs, some oriented north-south, others (p. 68) east-west; most are marked by stone tablets. In most tombs only one individual was interred. Forty-six interred persons were examined: twenty-seven men, sixteen women, and three children. The finds include thirty iron nails, two glass bottles, and a late glass bracelet. The tombs' form and size, as well as the custom of individual burial, are similar to those of the Qumran graves. The tombs date from the end of the Second Temple period to the Bar Kochba period (possibly some of the tombs were in use later during the Roman and Byzantine periods).

On the northern slope of the Jericho mound excavated by Kathleen Kenyon several shaft tombs were found among loculi-tombs; they were oriented east-west and dated to the first century CE. Two of the burials were in reused shaft tombs (Bennett 1965: 532–9, pl. 25): Tomb G2 is a reused Middle Bronze tomb, contained 7–10 burials, a jar, and two ossuaries. Tomb G81 is a reused Early Bronze–Middle Bronze tomb and contained two burials with coffins and pottery. Tomb G5 had a chamber and a shaft tomb, in which fragments of an iron brooch and wool were discovered. Tomb D20, dated to the Roman period, contained a group of beads, two bronze pendants, and two rings.

A similar burial type has been found at 'En el-Ghuweir (south of Qumran, see Map 1). Seventeen shaft tombs have been excavated (Bar-Adon 1977: 12–17). The tombs are orientated north-south, but one east-west, and a heap of stones marks each grave. In each tomb one interred individual lay supine. Remains of thirteen men, seven women, and one child were found, with some broken vessels and potsherds. Among them was a jar inscribed with the Hebrew name 'Yehohanan' in Tomb 18 (Bar-Adon 1977: 17, figs. 21.3, 23). The dating of these tombs is to between first century BCE and first century CE, thus contemporary with the Qumran cemeteries. Some features of the 'En el-Ghuweir tombs are similar to the Qumran tombs opened by Steckoll (Norton 2003: 120): there are remnants of ash in the earth above the loculus covering; a red dye stained the bones; and there is evidence of the use of caskets made from woven bulrushes.

At Hiam el-Sagha (Eshel and Greenhut 1993), a site located south of 'En el-Ghuweir (see Map 1), twenty shaft graves were discovered of which two were examined. Most of the tombs are oriented north-south and all are covered by stones. In one grave two children were found with necklaces of glass beads and a 25-year-old man was interred in a second (Reshef and Smith 1993: 262–3).

A remarkable similarity can be detected in the burial architecture between Qumran and the cemetery at Khirbet Qazone (at the southeastern end of the Dead Sea, see Map 1). The cemetery might have been linked to a settlement to the north, perhaps the harbour town of Mahoza in the Zoara region mentioned in the Babatha letters, possibly a Nabataean community. The Qazone cemetery consists of over 3,500 pillaged graves, most of them oriented north-south, and some east-west. Twenty-three undisturbed tombs were excavated in 1996 and 1997. Twenty more graves were unearthed in several trenches in 2004. The cemetery is (p. 69) dated to between the first and third centuries CE (Politis 1998: 612, fig. 3; 1999, 2002, 2006; Politis, Kelly, and Usman 2005).

The Khirbet Qazone graves were dug into the natural al-Lisan marls, consisting of a single shaft with a side loculus covered by mud bricks. A few were constructed of stone cists. Most graves had a single burial, except some with multi-burials and perhaps secondary burials (Politis, Kelly, and Usman 2005: 334–5, Tombs R1, R2, and double interment in Tomb W); the bodies were laid out with their heads pointing southwards or to the west. The interred included men, women, and children in equal numbers. The corpses were well preserved. Some evidence of reinterment was detected. Politis, Kelly, and Usman (2005: 336–7) describes several grave types: type A is the most common, consisting of a shaft grave oriented north-south with a loculus in the base east, sealed by adobe bricks; the interred were found with the skull oriented to the south; this type of burial is similar to the Qumran graves (Politis 2006: 218–19). Types B–F are variations of the east-west axis practice, type B containing multiple burials, while Tomb P with a stone sarcophagus is type E.

A most important find at the Khirbet Qazone cemetery was the unusually well-preserved, decorated leather shrouds, and reused textile shrouds in which some of the bodies were encased or wrapped (Politis 1998: figs. 6, 7; 2002: 27–8, figs 7, 8, 11; Politis, Kelly, and Usman 2005: fig. 10; Granger-Taylor 2000: 150, 160–1). About fifty-seven textile garments were identified (made of wool or linen), dated to between the first and early third centuries CE. Many of the textiles are Greek mantles and sleeveless Roman tunics; they are similar to textiles found in the Cave of Letters of the Judaean Desert and to the pictorial representation of dress in the wall painting of the Dura Europos synagogue. A high proportion of the textiles found was used for children or babies. Most of the textiles were pieces of clothing, which were reused as wrappings, but some were made specifically for burying the dead, such as the decorated leather shrouds.

Some grave goods were found in the Qazone tombs: pottery; jewellery (such as iron and bone bracelets, earrings, beads, a scarab); a wooden staff; a laurel wreath; a pair of leather sandals was found in an adult male grave. From the surface a few items were recovered: metal work, pottery, and glass fragments of the first to second century CE. Five funerary stelae from robbed-out tombs were discovered: four were engraved with rectangular signs (*betyles* or 'Dusares blocks') and one was inscribed in Greek. Two Greek papyri with Nabataean names were found by tomb-robbers (Politis 1998: 613, figs. 8–11; 2002: 27–8; 2006: figs. 10.5, 10.6).

The Khirbet Qazone cemetery, with the possibility of comparable period cemeteries at Khirbet Sekine, al-Haditha, and Feifa, might have belonged to the Nabataean communities living near the Dead Sea (Politis 2006: 218).

Konstantinos Politis identifies Khirbet Qazone as a Nabataean cemetery based on its location in Nabataea and on some finds like potsherds and the stelae. Hero (p. 70) Granger-Taylor maintains that people buried at Khirbet Qazone were ethnically mixed with no indication that they were part of a particular religious grouping, though the majority might have belonged to the local Nabataean population (2000: 150). No final report has yet been published. It would be doubtful that the excavation of 43 tombs out of 3,500 would be a representative sample from which one would draw far-reaching conclusions.

One interesting question that arises from this comparative discussion is whether any regional, ethnic, or cultural matter connects the Qumran and the Qazone cemeteries? The relationship between Jews and Nabataeans in this period is known. Nonetheless, it seems surprising that both Jews (Essenes?) and Nabataeans buried some of their dead in the same manner. The possibility that both burial sites were Essene or Nabataean is not sustainable. Zdzislaw Kapera and Jacek Konik maintain that 'the Qumran cemetery does no longer remain an extraordinary one; it is becoming a normal, common burial ground. There is nothing to enable us to say that it represents a special group of Judaean society at the turn of the era' (2000: 48). Zangenberg (1999: 214–17) believes that the single shaft tombs are used by different groups in the period with no proof that they are characteristically 'Essene'. Nor are they a regional feature, as this type of grave was found not only in the Dead Sea area but also at Beth Zafafa in Jerusalem (see also Zias 2000: 242–3). He further believes that different types of burial (single and multiple) were used at one and the same time in both Jewish and Nabataean context and that it is no longer possible to consider this type of burial as representing a single religious perspective.

The Qumran single shaft tombs cannot prove that the inhabitants were Essenes. Taylor maintains that the shaft graves reflect burial customs among the poor, which were adopted by the Qumran community (1999: 313; see also Magness 2002a: 96). Hirschfeld (2004: 162, 241–3) holds that Qumran was

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the centre of a rural estate, a fortified manor house, and the cemetery reflects a common burial practice of the period, the burial of simple folk, which perhaps served the permanent residents as well as other settlements in the region. Politis shows that single shaft graves are common at Petra and other cemeteries in Nabataea and are widespread between the first and third centuries CE in the Dead Sea area as a result of inter-communal influences (2006:219). Thus, shaft burials *as such* cannot help to identify either a particular ethnic group or a religious practice.

There is no evidence that the Qumran burial practices in single shaft graves are a result of inter-communal influences in the Dead Sea area as Politis assumes. Qumran is much closer to Jerusalem and Jericho than to the southeast part of the Dead Sea area. The inhabitants of Qumran must have had reasons for their choice of burial practices, which differed from those of their Jewish neighbours, but we are no clearer about what these are by studying the archaeological remains alone. (p. 71)

Assessing the Qumran Cemetery

The proximity of the cemeteries to Khirbet Qumran is strong evidence that they belong together and that the Qumran cemetery was a central burial place for the inhabitants who lived there. The graves in these cemeteries reveal a well-organized, carefully dug, and thoughtfully arranged system; the burials are usually solitary, one individual interred in each tomb, and are evidently not family tombs. Though the number of excavated tombs is small, it may be said that the Qumran inhabitants practised primary burial in individual graves during the Second Temple period. The organized graves seem to rule out the assumption held by some scholars that the tombs were dug in haste for a large group of people who died during the first Jewish revolt against Rome in 68 CE. This type of graveyard could just as easily have been designed on the Qumran community's laws and religious beliefs, which were noticeably different from those of ordinary Judaism of the period.

The evidence presented by archaeologists confirms that a large number of adult men were interred in the main cemetery while a small number of women and children were found in the extensions and secondary cemeteries. Scholars argue that this circumstance attests to the fact that the Qumran community was composed of adult males and possibly of a celibate character. However, the Qumran/Essene hypothesis would not stand or fall on this issue.

Recent research and reexamination of the bones have not resolved the controversy and riddle of the Qumran community, because of the small number of tombs excavated, and the even smaller number and poor condition of human remains. The recent excavations at Khirbet Qazone cemetery, with similar shaft tombs, add fervour to the debate.

The Qumran burial customs differ markedly from the acknowledged Jewish burial practices in loculi-graves of the Second Temple period practised in Jerusalem and its environment, Jericho, and Ein Gedi, sites that are much closer to Qumran than the eastern Dead Sea sites (Hachlili 1993: 257–61; 2005: 475–9). Burial customs in the Jerusalem and Jericho cemeteries are similar. The Jericho excavations indicate that typologically, chronologically, and stratigraphically the burial in loculi-tombs can be classified into two fundamentally different customs: (1) primary burial in wooden coffins, dated to the first century BCE (in Jerusalem, primary burials in wooden coffins did not survive owing to the poor preservation of organic material); and (2) secondary burials of collected bones, either placed in limestone ossuaries or piled up in the loculi or the tomb chamber, dated to the first century CE.² Grave goods were found in tombs with wooden coffins and ossuaries, (p. 72) consisting primarily of personal possessions, various pottery items, and other everyday objects, usually placed in coffins or in the tomb itself.

The Qumran graves, by contrast, are shaft tombs, and almost all of the excavated tombs contained individual burials. The burial practices of Qumran have only a few elements in common with those of the Jerusalem and Jericho cemeteries. Coffin burials at Qumran tombs T17–19 can be compared to those found at Jericho. The placing of vessels on top of the grave corresponds to the custom of placing storage jars outside the tombs at Jericho.

If Qumran had been a villa of affluent members of the ruling class in Jerusalem, a Jewish fortress, or a pottery production centre, the burial customs would have followed the Jerusalem-Jericho form of loculi-family tombs and their burial customs. That not even a single loculus-family tomb was found at Qumran is decidedly significant.

The variations evident in these burial practices indicate differences in attitudes to the dead and perhaps also in religious philosophy among the Jews of that time, and they reflect the separation of the Qumran community from the rest. The importance of the individual, rather than of the family, is indicated by the individual burials found in the graves at Qumran. There must have been an exceptionally significant reason for the Qumran community to choose a different practice of burial in single shaft graves, which did not facilitate family burial as did the loculi-tombs.

An argument was put forward that loculi-tombs (which are family tombs) are for the rich and affluent, while shaft tombs (which are individual burials) are for the poor. Taylor (1999: 312–13) maintains that the Qumran community chose to be buried as poor people, which is a significant fact in establishing their sectarian nature. Hirschfeld (2006: 239) believes that the inhabitants of Qumran were actually people of a lower class and were thus buried in shaft tombs. However, while it is true that they were buried simply, research on the skeletal remains suggests that the people of the cemeteries rather belonged to relatively high social class (Röhler-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn 1999: 13, 15, 19; Röhler-Ertl 2006: 193). Moreover, does the simplicity of the burial mean that not one of the Qumran community members *could have* afforded a rock-cut tomb plot for his family? Humbert remarks on the modesty of the tombs, the simple graves with no offerings. He further states: 'For the Essenes...one would expect some sign or name identifying the people buried' (2003: 431). As an aside, inscriptions are found inside loculi-tombs, typically engraved on ossuaries and sarcophagi and not placed outside as Humbert states (except for the Bnei Hesir tomb in Jerusalem). Hence, his conclusion—'clearly the intention of the Essenes to stress the anonymity of their members'—is flawed. Humbert concludes that 'it would be unreasonable to believe that all Essenes were buried in the Qumran cemetery, or that all the Roman cemeteries surrounding the Dead Sea are Essenes...Without saying that this type of tomb—with a lateral and sealed loculus—is Essene, we can at least say that (p. 73) contemporary people in the region practiced this burial method' (2003: 430). In short, 'the Qumran cemetery would indeed be for Essenes, but not exclusively for those who resided there' (see also Norton 2003: 123–4).

Some scholars explain the north-south orientation of the burial at Qumran as a function of the Essene belief that Paradise is located in the far north, and the dead will arise with their faces toward the north, walking on to the Heavenly Jerusalem, as described in the cosmology of the books of Enoch (Kapera 1994: 107 and n. 47; Puech 1998). Émile Puech, for instance, states that 'the practices of primary burial in individual tombs at Qumran show a marked disdain for impure Jerusalem...The Qumran burial practices are in full agreement with the Essene belief in the afterlife written in the manuscripts found in the caves...that the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran, who were Essenes, shared the belief in the afterlife, of the Pharisees...The Essene literature took over the same ideas and the Essenes adapted them to their everyday life, mainly to the burial practices' (2000: 519–20).

Avni (2009: 58–64) maintains that a comparison of the archaeological findings of the Qumran cemetery—the grave architecture, orientation, sex and age of the deceased—with the finds in other desert cemeteries indicates that the Qumran cemetery was used for a long time by different populations with debatable ethnic and religious identity.

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Humbert argues that the sophisticated organization of the tombs into sections and rows reveals superior planning and has no contemporary parallel in the region (the Khirbat Qazone cemetery is much less organized; 2003: 431). He further asks why this poorly organized Qumran community 'have bothered to arrange the tombs so meticulously?' Humbert proposes that this organization was 'religiously motivated...The tombs were arranged in rows reflecting standing in line for battle, the bodies oriented northward in the direction of their enemies...those who had died before the eschatological battle would now rise and be able to assist or participate in the victorious combat'. Humbert himself admits that this is an over-interpretation and moreover 'the presence of women does disturb the theory, without however invalidating it'.

The finds at the cemetery reinforce the thesis that the Qumran community was a specific religious group, a separate Jewish sect, who fashioned their own divergent practices as well as some typical Jewish customs. The separate and isolated cemetery and the burial practices, which deviate from the regular Jewish tradition of family-oriented tombs, show a distinctive attitude to death and burial customs. The old Jewish tradition of burying the dead with their ancestors was not followed by the Qumran community, where individual burial was the norm. The Qumran burial practice seems to indicate that it is the individual rather than the family that is important. The residents of Qumran did not think of themselves as families. They also did not practice secondary burial in ossuaries, a common custom in the first century CE as evidenced by finds in Jerusalem and Jericho. These divergent practices are consistent with the identification of Qumran with one of the Jewish sects of the Second Temple period.

(p. 74) The form of the graves and the burial customs, as well as the proximity to the site, should be considered as essential factors concerning the identification of the Qumran community in the Second Temple period. More excavations and further research are needed if these issues are to be better understood or even resolved.

Suggested Reading

For the archaeological data on the Qumran cemetery, see the studies by de Vaux (1973) followed by a final excavation report by Humbert and Chambon (1994). The new survey of the cemetery by Eshel, Broshi, Freund, and Schultz (2002) adds important and relevant evidence. Useful collected works are published in the volumes edited by Humbert and Gunneweg (2003) and by Galor, Humbert, and Zangenberg (*QSDSS*, 2006) that present recent analyses and insight by a number of scholars. Important anthropological analyses of the human remains at Qumran, gender evidence, and the resulting controversy are introduced by Taylor and Doudna (1999), Zias (2000, 2003), Sheridan (2002), Sheridan, Ullinger, and Ramp (2003), Sheridan and Ullinger (2006) and Röhrer-Ertl (2006). Valuable contributions are presented by Norton (2003) and Schultz (2006), reassessing the controversial studies on the archaeological evidence and the ethnic and religious burials at the Qumran cemetery.

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Notes:

(1) See Puech (1998: 31) and Zias 2000: 240, n. 56, for Steckoll's unreliability; but cf. Norton 2003: 120, who argues that Steckoll (1973–4) should be considered reliable as an 'observer' and 'describer' of the tombs he opened.

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(2) Norton's (2003: 123) reference, 'Hachlili and Killebrew (1983: 112–13) observe that two social strata were detectable by the quality of tombs at Jericho' is wrong. We did not make this comment.

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

Most of the Dead Sea Scrolls can be classified as religious documents of one kind or another, and all the studies since 1947 that have been devoted to their significance can be characterized as attempts to construct some aspect of ancient Judaism from them. Where agreement has been harder to achieve is on the centrality of the role to be accorded to the evidence from the scrolls in constructing a picture of Judaism in the last centuries BCE and the first century CE. Although the scrolls provide reason to believe that some sectarians believed that much was wrong with the Temple in Jerusalem, no text actually states that sectarians should avoid the Temple altogether. The question for the historian is whether the evidence from such texts should be enough to encourage the view that sectarian Jews with such beliefs would cut themselves off from the Temple.

Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, religious documents, Judaism, Dead Sea sectarians, Temple in Jerusalem, Second Temple, sectarian Jews

MOST—if not all—of the Dead Sea Scrolls can be classified as religious documents of one kind or another, and all the studies since 1947 that have been devoted to the significance of the scrolls can be characterized as attempts to construct some aspect of ancient Judaism from them. It is generally agreed that the result has been an increase in the understanding of long-known elements of Judaism in antiquity, such as bible interpretation, mysticism, law, and the calendar, and that the scrolls have also raised a host of new questions, such as the identity and role of the Teacher of Righteousness who played such an important role in the history of the *yahad* as understood by the members of the community. Where agreement has been harder to achieve is on the centrality or marginality of the role to be accorded to the evidence from the scrolls in constructing a picture of Judaism in the last centuries BCE and the first century CE.

Normal historical method would require the scrolls, along with other archaeological finds, to be themselves the main basis of historical reconstructions of the period when they were composed and copied, since all other evidence was either composed or preserved by later writers and thus may reflect the preoccupations and presuppositions of later periods. In practice, however, the lure of later Jewish (p. 82) and Christian traditions has generally proved too strong for the scrolls to be allowed to speak for themselves. In part this is simply a function of language, since terms such as ‘bible’, ‘apocalyptic’, ‘wisdom’, and ‘messianism’ inevitably carry over into the study of the scrolls some of the meanings and resonance that accrue to them in the later traditions. Thus, for instance, the collection of authoritative texts at Qumran collected by Martin Abegg, Peter Flint and Eugene Ulrich, and published as *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 2000), imports from outside the scrolls themselves both the notion that the sectarians would have recognized a specific identifiable collection of authoritative texts—that is, a biblical canon—and the assumption that Qumran fragments of literary works known from later biblical manuscript traditions can be assumed to come from those biblical works unless there is evidence to the contrary—this assumption indeed underlies the reconstruction of most of the fragmentary texts which survive. Such assumptions may often be correct, but they should always be recognized as what they are (i.e. assumptions), so that deductions based

upon them can only be provisional at best. And occasionally such assumptions may mislead, as the study which follows, most of which was composed originally for a conference devoted to putting the Dead Sea Scrolls into their historical context and focused on the specific issue of the relationship of the Qumran sectarians to the Temple in Jerusalem (Goodman 2010), may illustrate.

It is commonly asserted by specialists in the scrolls that the Qumran sectarians turned their back on the Temple in Jerusalem and constructed for themselves a new Judaism in which the life and prayers and sacred meals of the community took the place of the sacrifices performed by the priests (e.g. Schürer 1979). Such a separation is indeed taken so much for granted by many scholars that texts that profess a more positive attitude to the Temple are sometimes deemed to belong to an early period in the history of the sect simply for this reason (e.g. Schiffman 2000; Hempel 2010). This standard view is not, of course, without a basis in the scrolls themselves. Passages in sectarian scrolls refer to a time in the past when the (or a) community, or its leader (the Teacher of Righteousness), broke with a wicked priest (1QpHab 11: 4–6), and other texts refer to a time in the future when a corrupt priest or priests will suffer for their sins (1QpHab 11: 10–15; 12: 2–6). The texts also in some places describe the community as being itself in some sense now a sacrifice offered to God in atonement for sin (1QS 8: 4–6; 4QS^e; 4QS^e 2: 11–15). Plenty of texts suggest dissatisfaction with the way that the Temple is run (Gärtner 1965). Peshar Habakkuk suggests a radical disagreement over how the calendar should be fixed, which many have argued prevented the sectarians from acknowledging the validity of what the Temple priests did and encouraged their separation from the mainstream (1QpHab 11: 6–9; cf. Campbell 2002: 106–7). But although the scrolls provide much reason to believe that some sectarians at least believed that much was wrong with the Temple in Jerusalem, no text actually states that sectarians should avoid the Temple altogether. The question for the historian is whether the (p. 83) evidence from such texts should be enough to encourage the view that sectarian Jews with such beliefs *would* cut themselves off from the Temple.

At the heart of any answer to this question is the much wider question of the model of Second Temple Judaism against which the Qumran evidence should be interpreted. It is familiar that scholars on the scrolls occasionally complain that their colleagues stress too much either the Christian aspects of the texts (such as messianism, cf. Schiffman 1994), or the rabbinic (by describing sectarian rules as *halakhah*, cf. Strugnell 1994: 65–6), but if, as I suggested at the beginning of this chapter, historians should start with the contemporary evidence from before 70 CE, in principle neither Christianity nor rabbinic Judaism should provide the obvious model, since both religious systems developed out of earlier Judaism only during the first century CE, after the composition and writing down of many of the scrolls. Clearly the Dead Sea sectarians may have had a great deal in common with both Christians and rabbinic Jews simply because they shared texts which they all treated as in some sense authoritative, but, as is obvious from the differences between rabbis and Christians, the sectarians also might have evolved in quite different ways in the interpretation of those texts. In the study of other ancient religions, it is taken for granted that the use of later material to interpret earlier data is unhelpful—it is commonly recognized, for example, that there is no good reason to read into the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for Mithraism in the late first century CE, when it first started to spread through the Roman world, any of the sophisticated philosophical and syncretistic notions to be found among worshippers of Mithras in the fourth century CE (see e.g. Beck 1998; Claus 2000)—and in principle the same should be possible for the scrolls.

My suggestion, then, is that one should try to study the scrolls in the light of the evidence which has not been affected by either Christianity or rabbinic Judaism. This is not all that easy to achieve, but it is worth, as an experiment, asking what would be known about Second Temple Judaism if the only data available were archaeological and epigraphic remains, the comments of pagan authors who wrote before c. 100 CE, and (of course) the scrolls themselves. I shall take for granted that, although the evidence to be taken into account in this experiment will naturally include not only the scrolls themselves but the caves where they were found and the site of Qumran itself, it will be appropriate, in light of continuing uncertainties about the relationship between the scrolls, the caves, and the settlement site, to seek to understand each of these types of evidence separately before they are considered in the light of each other. It should not be controversial to argue that the site at Qumran needs to be examined in its regional context to see which aspects of the site encourage an interpretation as a settlement of religious sectarians; that a variety of explanations of the archaeological continuities between the site and the caves need to be explored before it can be assumed that they demonstrate that the people who used the caves lived on the site; and that arguments that the scrolls could have been brought from elsewhere before being (p. 84) deposited in the caves need to be taken seriously (Golb 1995). That is to say: an attempt needs to be made to

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understand the scrolls without archaeological as well as without historical preconceptions.

The rationale for attempting in this way to escape rabbinic and Christian categories in understanding the scrolls rests not simply on basic principles in the study of ancient religions but also, and more precisely, in the history of the interpretation of Judaism in this period. It is sobering to realize that even the Judaism of Philo was unknown to the world of rabbinic Judaism until the sixteenth century, when it was first published by Azariah de Rossi (Azariah de Rossi 2001); that most of the Jewish pseudepigrapha preserved in the Christian tradition either in Greek or in translations from the Greek were only recognized as what they are in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Charlesworth 1976); that the revolution in knowledge of early medieval Judaism brought about by the discovery of the Cairo Genizah occurred only at the end of the nineteenth century (Reif 2000); and that the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves have of course been known only for sixty years (VanderKam and Flint 2005). We can now be certain that if, for instance, a learned rabbi like Rashi believed, before the Renaissance, that he knew the nature of Second Temple Judaism from the rabbinic texts, he will have been wrong, but it would be just as naive for us now to believe that we have a full set of data from which to understand the nature of Judaism in this period. It is perfectly possible that new evidence will turn up, not least through investigations in the Judaeian Desert itself (Eshel 2005), and in the meantime it is essential for historians to recognize how much there will always be that we cannot possibly know.

It is crucial, for example, to recognize that one thing we do not know is the number of Jewish religious groups that were found in Judaea in this period (Goodman 2007a: 33–46). If only the rabbinic texts survived, we would know about Pharisees and Sadducees but not Essenes. If we relied only on the writings of Philo, we would know about Essenes but not about Pharisees or Sadducees. The New Testament texts say nothing about Essenes, but do refer to Pharisees and Sadducees. Only Josephus referred to all three groups, but there is no reason to suppose that he gave a full account of the extent of religious variety in his time: in his *War* and *Antiquities*, where he described the three ‘philosophies’ of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, he was writing history, not ethnography (Jos. *BJ* 2.119–61; *AJ* 18.11–22); and in his apologetic work *Against Apion*, he actually claimed that there are no divisions within Judaism of any kind, since all Jews (so he alleged) enjoy total unanimity in their notions both about God and about correct worship (Jos. *C.Ap.* 2.179–210, esp. 178–81). In light of this it is more probable than not that the sectarian scrolls were produced by a group or groups of Jews unattested in any of these later sources, and that any and all similarities between groups are to be explained through their common origin in early forms of Judaism.

From these remarks it will be clear that I think it particularly unwarranted to prejudge the meaning of the scrolls by reading them in the light of the Greek and (p. 85) Latin sources on the Essenes, as is still common in contemporary scholarship despite the legitimate concerns that have been raised about this procedure by a variety of historians in recent years (see Goodman 2007a: 137–43). This caveat is especially important in discussion of relations to the Temple, since passages in Josephus and Philo have been taken as evidence that Essenes either avoided the Temple or avoided sacrifices altogether, and if this were true, and if the Qumran sectarians were Essenes, this would naturally have a major influence on the way the sectarian scrolls are understood (Jos. *AJ* 18.19; Philo, *Q.o.p.* 75). As an aside, it is worth noting that in fact these passages in Josephus and Philo about the Essenes are ambiguous, and that it is in any case uncertain whether Essenes avoided the Temple (J. Baumgarten 1977; A. Baumgarten 1994; Taylor 2007: 11–14), so that the standard conflation of evidence about the Temple from the scrolls with evidence about the Essenes is doubly uncertain, but even in cases where the classical evidence about the Essenes is clearer, such as the accounts of their communal lifestyle, it seems to me that conflation with the evidence from the scrolls is unhelpful.

So, what happens to our picture of the Qumran sectarians if the later Jewish and Christian traditions are ignored? It is worth recognizing at the start that if none of the data preserved by later Jews and Christians had been preserved and we relied on pagan *testimonia* alone, we would have no hint of any variety of any kind at all within Judaism at this time: it is true that Pliny and Dio Chrysostom referred to Essenes, but they did so without any suggestion that these religious enthusiasts espoused any sort of Judaism (Pliny, *NH* 5.17.4 (74); Dio Chrysostom ap. Synesius of Cyrene, *Dio* 3.2), and pagan authors, who were well aware of the origins of *Christus* in Judaea, did not therefore seem to consider Christianity a type of Judaism—on the contrary, Christianity was accused by pagan Romans specifically of novelty (Tac. *Ann.* 15.44; cf. Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 1: 226). We would also be ignorant of the importance within Judaism of *halakhah* and *midrash* (since for pagan authors Moses was generally seen as the sole founder of all Jewish customs, cf. Gager 1972), and we would find quite baffling the Theodotos inscription from Jerusalem (Frey 1936, no. 1404), with its references to the synagogue as an institution, since the distinctive character of synagogue worship—its reliance on the reading of a text as the central liturgical action rather than

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sacrifice—seems (curiously) to have made no impact on the classical pagan writers who refer to the Jews (see Cohen 1987). Even the Jewish emphasis on eschatology would escape us: Roman authors knew that the Jews had an oracle which predicted that the ruler of the world came from Judaea, but they seem to have been unaware that this notion belonged to a much larger framework of Jewish expectation for the end of time, which explains the ease with which Jewish expectations were interpreted as divine foreknowledge of the accession to the principate of Vespasian while engaged in Judaea as commander of the Roman army in the war against the Jews (Suet. *Vesp.* 4.5; Tac. *Hist.* 5.13.2).

(p. 86) Of the characteristics of Judaism which *would* be familiar from the pagan evidence and the archaeology, most obvious would be the distinctive customs of the Jews (primarily their diet, their observance of the Sabbath—interpreted either as evidence of a philosophical bent or of indolence—and of male circumcision), and their obstinate refusal to worship the gods of others and to depict the divinity to whom their own worship was directed (see Goodman 1998: ch.1). But at the centre of Jewish worship would quite clearly be placed the Jerusalem Temple. Numerous pagan authors attested the significance of the Temple for Jews and the role of the High Priests and the priestly caste: worship through sacrifices and offerings by priests in a sanctuary was one of the aspects of Judaism which outsiders found quite easy to accept, since it accorded to the normal religious behaviour of others in the Hellenistic and Roman world (Goodman 1998: 10). What particularly distinguished the Jewish Temple was, as Hecataeus remarked in the early third century BCE (Stern 1974: 26–9), primarily its size and magnificence (a result, although pagans did not note this themselves, of the centralization of Jewish cult in one place, so that the Jerusalem building and its liturgy were financed not just by locals but by offerings from all over the extended Jewish world; Goodman 2007a: chaps. 4–5). And the impression that the Jerusalem shrine far surpassed other temples in the Hellenistic world in size and magnificence would be amply confirmed by the archaeological discoveries in the city (Avigad 1984).

Now, if this had constituted all our knowledge before 1947 of Judaism in this period, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls would not have challenged the impression of the centrality of the Jerusalem Temple to Jews but would have confirmed it. Prescriptions for sacrifices and references to the Temple are scattered widely through the biblical texts from Qumran (Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 2000). There are to be found sixty-three references to Jerusalem in the non-biblical texts (and few references to other cities) (Tov 2002: 232). Detailed rules are given in the Temple scroll for the Temple cult, building, and furnishings (11QT^a46-47 and *passim*). Calendars for the priestly courses are found in the *Mishmarot* (4Q320–330). There are frequent references in a variety of texts to priests and Aaron (e.g. 1QS8: 8–9; 4QS^d 6: 2–3; 4QS^e2: 16–18). And by no means of least significance would be the list of (apparently) Temple treasures to be found in the enigmatic Copper Scroll (3QCopper Scroll 11: 7).

From all of which evidence the obvious conclusion might seem to be that the Jews who produced the scrolls were indeed as much committed to the Jerusalem cult as other Jews. The helpful advice to be found in MMT on how to run the Temple undoubtedly reflects disputes among Jews as to how this should be done, but does not read like the polemic of a group which has cut itself off from the Temple altogether (4Q395: 3–9, and *passim*). It was perfectly possible to interpret the sacrifices symbolically without thereby implying that the sacrifices should not also be carried out in practice, as Philo insisted in his attack on extreme allegorists for suggesting the contrary (Philo, *De Migr. Ab.* 92): in a world in which sacrifices (p. 87) on altars were seen as the natural way to worship the gods (Petropoulou 2008), and within a religious system which relied on a sacred text which not only enjoined all Jews to perform such sacrifices but gave precise instructions, based on a divine mandate, as to how this was to be done (e.g. Lev 23: 1–21), the Temple cult was not lightly to be abandoned. The *Yahad* might see itself as pure and separate from sin, and its prayers as like sacrifices in the eyes of God (1QS 8: 4–6; 4QS^e2: 11–15; 1QS 8: 10; 4QS^d6: 4; 1QS9: 3–6; 4QS^d7: 4–6), but adoption of such imagery did not obviously encourage abandonment of the sacrifices which the Torah so explicitly enjoined.

It had of course proved perfectly possible for Jews in earlier generations to criticize a reliance on sacrifices by those who did not care also to keep the rest of God's commandments, without therefore advocating abstention from the sacrificial cult (Anderson 1987). Thus Amos declared that in his displeasure with Israel God would refuse the offerings brought to the altar because justice and righteousness mattered more (Amos 5: 21–4), and Isaiah, whose book was preserved in multiple copies at Qumran, asserted that the Lord does not delight in the blood of bulls, lambs, and goats when the hands of the people are full of blood (Isa 1: 11–15). But neither Amos nor Isaiah thereby implied that sacrificial offerings were irrelevant or to be shunned. Deuteronomy, the most frequently attested book of the Pentateuch among the biblical Dead Sea scrolls (Tov 2002: 167–70), provides the most explicit injunctions to

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participate in the pilgrimage festivals (Deut 16: 1–16; cf. 4QDeut^c for Deut 16: 2–3, 6–11, 21–2, and Tov 2002: 189–91). Similar injunctions are found, in detail, in the Temple Scroll (11QT^a 13–29). It may well be possible to find a number of different attitudes to the Temple expressed in the sectarian scrolls, and to suggest that these reveal either different stages in the development and changing use of Temple ideology and language about the Temple by sectarians or a number of different groups which related to the Temple in different ways (Brooke 2005; Kapfer 2007), but none of these attitudes should necessarily be taken to indicate the withdrawal from the actual Temple and Jerusalem which has so often been assumed.

I should stress that I do not mean to imply that those who wrote the scrolls were happy with the way that the Temple was being run in their day. We have already seen that there is much evidence for criticism of the Temple. But there are reasons to suppose that such dissatisfaction with the Temple was widespread in the late Second Temple period without dissatisfaction leading to withdrawal from Temple worship. According to Josephus, the priests in the Temple will have followed the rulings of the Pharisees with regard to prayers and sacrifices, since the Pharisees had greatest influence among the people in such matters (Jos. *AJ* 18.15–17). If this is true, a Sadducee High Priest like Ananus son of Ananus (Jos. *AJ* 20.199) will have presided over a cult in which the priests followed a process of purification which he himself viewed as invalid (m.Parah 3: 7). If the rabbinic sources which record the dispute between Pharisees and Boethusians on the counting of the *omer* are to be (p. 88) believed (m.Menahot 10: 3), and if Boethusians here are to be identified with Sadducees, and if Josephus was right, the pilgrimage festival of Shavuot will have been celebrated in the Temple on a day which Sadducees believed incorrectly calculated. And if Josephus was wrong, and the Temple followed Sadducean rulings, Pharisees will similarly have believed that the wrong calendar was being followed; so the Pharisees will have been peeved instead. But there is absolutely no reason to suggest that either Pharisees or Sadducees ever boycotted the Temple, and much evidence to the contrary: when, for instance, Jerusalem was on the verge of revolt in 66 CE, leading Pharisees were among those who urged the continuation of loyal sacrifices on behalf of the Roman empire (Jos. *BJ* 2.411–16); and Josephus' own career showed that it was possible to be both a Pharisee and a priest (Jos. *Vita* 1.10–12). The Sadducee Ananus had been High Priest only a few years before 66 CE (Jos. *AJ* 20.197).

It is right to imagine the Temple as a public arena for the expression of strong disagreement between different groups of Jews, not least about the conduct of the cult itself as, for instance, in the very public demonstration by Pharisees that in their view the stringency demanded by Sadducees in the purity of the priest who carried out the red heifer sacrifice was excessive (cf. Goodman 1994: 171–2). The Qumran sectarians will undoubtedly have become very upset by such issues—after all, the Damascus Document explicitly asserts that ‘no-one should send to the altar a sacrifice, or an offering, or incense, or wood, by the hand of a man impure from any of the impurities, so allowing him to defile the altar’ (CD 11: 18–21), and that those who have been brought into the covenant ‘shall not enter the Temple to kindle his altar in vain’ (CD 6: 11–12), but the emphasis of this latter passage, which cites Malachi 1: 10, is precisely the need to take care to worship properly as the law requires (CD 6: 13–7: 4), and the same must be true of the Dead Sea sect. No sectarian text threatens sectarians that they will suffer in some way if they enter the Temple, and, as has been seen, it would have been bizarre for any group of Jews to turn their back on the Temple in its magnificence unless, like the exiled High Priest Onias in Egypt in the second century BCE, they sought to set up a rival Temple cult elsewhere (Jos. *BJ* 7.426–32, esp. 431), of which the scrolls from Qumran give no hint whatsoever: the notion (still found quite frequently in the scholarly literature) that animal bones found on the Qumran site provide evidence of an alternative sacrificial practice is not at all plausible (Maggness 2002; cf. Brooke 2005: 429–30).

If the notion that the Dead Sea sectarians cut themselves off from the Temple would seem to us bizarre if we only had the pagan evidence and archaeology as the background to our understanding of the scrolls, and if such a reading is not required by a simple reading of the texts, it is not difficult to see why it has nonetheless enjoyed such widespread acceptance for so long. Both rabbinic Judaism and Christianity have evolved ways to worship God while professing to take seriously the sacred texts in which sacrifices are enjoined but without actually performing those sacrifices. Indeed Christians quite early in their history, and (p. 89) rabbinic Jews at a rather later stage, even managed to claim their lack of sacrifices as a virtue (Petropoulou 2008). But these developments, in both cases, occurred after the destruction of the Temple by Rome in 70 CE, and especially after it became increasingly and devastatingly apparent that the Romans would not allow the Temple to be rebuilt (Goodman 2007b, ch.12). Such a disaster would be impossible to imagine while the Temple was still standing—after all, although there had indeed been a catastrophic destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE, it had in due course been rebuilt, and if

disaster struck again, Jews might reasonably believe that it would again be rebuilt. To understand the Dead Sea sectarians through a perspective based on what was to happen after the sect had (so far as we know) ceased to exist is deeply misleading, and the analysis of sectarian attitudes to the Temple offered here may serve as a general warning about the dangers inherent in reading the scrolls through a rabbinic or a Christian lens.

Suggested Reading

Good studies of Second Temple Judaism which take account of the Dead Sea Scrolls include Sanders (1992), Schiffman (1991), and Cohen (2006). For a series of studies of the scrolls in their historical context, see Lim et al. (2000) and Hempel (2010).

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The Origins and History of the Teacher's Movement

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

Shortly after the first Dead Sea Scrolls came to light, scholars began trying to explain the ultimate origin of the deposits. This article suggests that the totality of the evidence now available offers only very uncertain support for the traditional form of the Essene hypothesis. The discussion focuses on the sectarian texts and their use in writing the history of the Teacher of Righteousness and his movement. This is proper method in the first instance, and so little has been said of the non-sectarian writings found among the scrolls. It would seem then that the non-sectarian texts tend to support the broad parameters of the reconstruction offered here, and tend to question the classical Essene hypothesis as originally conceived and often still propagated. The Teacher and his movement appear to belong to the first century BCE.

Keywords: Teacher of Righteousness, Dead Sea caches, Essene hypothesis, Dead Sea Scrolls, first century BCE, non-sectarian texts

Introduction

Shortly after the first Dead Sea Scrolls came to light, scholars began trying to explain the ultimate origin of the deposits. The Essene hypothesis, first proposed by Eliezer Sukenik (Sukenik 1948: 16) became the regnant view by the middle of the 1950s. As elaborated in the late 1950s, this form of the theory holds that Khirbet Qumran is the place where, in the reign of either Jonathan or of Simon Maccabee (i.e. in the period 161–135 BCE), a dissident group of Jews took up a monastic lifestyle. These Essenes had departed Jerusalem, under the leadership of 'the Teacher of Righteousness', in protest of the current High Priest. Six or seven generations followed them until a Roman army destroyed Khirbet Qumran in 68 CE (e.g. Cross 1958: 107–60; Milik 1959: 44–98; Callaway 1988). The scrolls represent the library of the Teacher's followers, hidden in the caves to forestall destruction at the hands of the enemy. This hypothesis is still supported by a broad consensus. Detailed histories of the site and of the people who lived there have been written in the years since the first discoveries—histories often conceived and labelled as 'histories of the Essenes'.

(p. 93) This consensus rests on a number of considerations. First is the question of the connection between the site of Khirbet Qumran and the scrolls found in the nearby caves. Initially none was assumed, but with the discovery of a 'scroll jar' at the site, the connection was established. The next question, the nature of the site and its inhabitants, was addressed in the 1950s by analysis of the first seven texts found, principally of the work known as 1QS, the 'Rule of the Community'. This text seemed to be an Essene work, based on a comparison of the scroll's contents with descriptions of the Essenes in Josephus (cf. Beall 1988). This inference found strong additional support in a passage written by the Elder Pliny, marvelling at celibate and voluntarily impoverished Essenes dwelling in the region of the Dead Sea. Pliny was understood to describe an Essene habitation lying somewhere between Jericho and Ein Gedi.

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Archaeological excavations of the site carried out between 1951 and 1956 under the leadership of Père Roland de Vaux then established the chronological parameters of the Essene history there. Several texts found in the caves aided in this understanding. An axiom of this combination between texts and archaeology was that the manuscripts found in the caves had all been composed or copied at Khirbet Qumran.

I want to suggest that the totality of the evidence now available offers only very uncertain support for this traditional form of the Essene hypothesis. In particular, two problems have arisen. First, the nexus between scrolls and site is under great tension. It cannot any longer be assumed. Accordingly, proper method requires that one examine the scrolls in isolation from the archaeology. Second, analysed in isolation, the texts accord poorly with the consensus history. In particular, the standard view for the time of the Teacher's rise can now be seen as ill founded, but profound questions also emerge concerning the movement in the first century CE.

The Connection of the Scrolls to the Site

The first link connecting the scrolls to the site in the 1950s was the claim that the pottery found at Qumran, to a significant degree unique to the site, presented the same profile as the pottery found in the caves. Here special emphasis was laid upon the apparent uniqueness of the so-called 'scroll jars'. But now significant arguments contesting the uniqueness claimed for the Qumran pottery have begun to appear. According to excavators, the pottery found at Jericho during excavations led by Ehud Netzer comprises an assemblage essentially identical with the Qumran pottery, including the various types of scroll jars, although the periods of usage for those types may differ slightly between the two sites (Bar-Nathan 2002). (p. 94) The scroll jars have also been found elsewhere in the Dead Sea region. According to Bar-Nathan, the archaeologist responsible for the publication of the Jericho pottery: 'The pottery from Qumran does not assist in differentiating the community at Qumran from that at other Judaeian sites, especially in the Dead Sea region. There is nothing to prove that the inhabitants of Qumran practiced a deliberate and selective policy of isolation nor that they manufactured ceramic products to suit their special needs and concerns with purity' (Bar-Nathan 2006: 277). If the pottery from the site is not unique, then the discovery of the same sorts of pottery in the caves holding the scrolls means nothing in particular.

Similarly, north-south oriented shaft graves with arcosolia, in the 1950s unknown elsewhere, have since proven exclusive to no ethnic or religious group. Similar if not identical graveyards have turned up elsewhere, in mainstream Jewish—and even non-Jewish—environs (Eshel and Greenhut 1993; Zissu 1998; Politis 2006). As with the pottery, here too Khirbet Qumran participates in the broader material culture of the Dead Sea region.

Or again, the notion of the 'refectory' with its clay bowls and plates, the erstwhile gathering hall of the consensus's 'Qumran community', is today questioned by some archaeologists:

At Qumran there is room for at most twenty to thirty people. Certainly no evidence has been found there for enough food or other necessities, such as ovens and cooking utensils, to have fed 250 people twice a day for 170 years. Nor is there any evidence that members of the sect lived in caves on the fault scarp (together with predators whose lairs the caves were) or in tents near the scarp (which would have been washed away in floods). (Magen and Peleg 2006: 110).

Estimates based on excavations elsewhere, such as Mt. Gerizim, suggest that thirty ovens would be needed to feed 200 men (Magen in Shanks 2006: 29). Only a few ovens were discovered at Khirbet Qumran. The notion of any sizeable habitation at the site is thus at issue, and the concept of a refectory yet more uncertain. A longer list is possible but unnecessary. Perhaps the best summary would be simply to state that the major archaeological conclusions of the old consensus are now all at issue, and seemingly for good reason (e.g. Galor, Humbert, and Zangenberg 2006). One cannot predict how these archaeological disputes will turn out, but already it is tolerably clear that the old views will not be tenable if unchanged. The link between site and texts provided by the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran appears more tenuous today than it has at any time in the history of Qumranology.

The evidence of the Elder Pliny has also been re-evaluated. The relevant passage reads:

On the west side of the Dead Sea, but out of range of the noxious exhalations of the coast, is the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world, as it has no women and has renounced all sexual desire, has no money, and has only palm-trees for company. Day by day

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the throng of refugees is recruited to an equal number (p. 95) by numerous accessions of persons tired of life and driven thither by the waves of fortune to adopt their manners. Thus through thousands of ages (incredible to relate) a race in which no one is born lives on forever: so prolific for their advantage is other men's weariness of life! Lying below the Essenes (Lat. *infra hos*) was formerly the town of Engeda, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm-trees, but now, like Jerusalem, a heap of ashes. Next comes Massada, a fortress on a rock, itself not far from the Dead Sea. This is the limit of Judaea. (*HN* 5.73; trans. H. Rackham, LCL; for the Latin text of Pliny, conveniently Adam and Burchard 1972: 38; Vermes and Goodman 1989: 32)

Milik insisted that although Pliny wrote his *Historia Naturalis* after the First Revolt (66–73/74 CE), the Roman author was not describing Qumran as it stood *post bellum*. Rather, for Milik, Pliny wrote of the site as it existed in the *ante bellum* period (Milik 1959: 45). He also put great weight on one particular understanding of Pliny's description of En Gedi as 'below' the Essene settlement (*infra hos*). 'It has been noticed', he explained, 'that in Pliny the preposition *infra* always means "down-stream" ...accordingly, Ain Gedi was "down-stream" from the Essenes' site', i.e. further down the coast of the Dead Sea (*ibid.*). The Essene site was also, logically, 'down-stream' from Jericho. No other ruins of any importance were known to exist between Jericho and En Gedi.

Despite Milik's presentation of the meaning of *infra* as 'always' meaning 'downstream', that meaning, while possible, is less frequent in Pliny than the topographical sense of lower elevation (Audet 1961). In the 1950s this exegesis supplied no likely sites to match Pliny's description. Today half a dozen other options for Pliny's site are known, although none has received measurable scholarly support. We certainly gain no reliable idea from the hyperbolic Pliny of how large the group he was describing may actually have been. His 'throng of refugees' (*convenarum turba*) can no more be taken seriously than can his 'thousands of ages' (*saeculorum milia*). The wonder was in the group's celibate continuity, not its head count.

A possible site if the group were small is located uphill from En Gedi about 1200 metres. The site is unimpressive, but En Gedi is directly *infra*. Here sit some twenty-five conventicles, served by a spring and bisected by a path leading to En Gedi. These small structures could have housed only one person each. The pottery assemblage from the site, excavated by Yizhar Hirschfeld, points to just two periods of occupation: the late first–early second centuries CE, and the Byzantine period (Hirschfeld 2007: 132–56). 'Late first century' equates with the post-war period, 70–100 CE, and so with the time in which Pliny wrote. For Hirschfeld, this is Pliny's site. Whether he is right or not, Milik's 'where-else-could-it-be' no longer works.

Whether Pliny's information is *ante bellum* is also now in question. Since the Hellenistic age, Palestine had been divided into administrative units called 'toparchies' (e.g. 1 Macc. 11: 28). In the Roman period this term remained standard (Jones 1971: 273). It has long been known that the two Roman period lists of Judaeian toparchies differ: the one in Josephus (*War* 3.51–8), the other in Pliny (*HN* 5.70), immediately preceding his description of the Essenes. The principal difference is (p. 96) that Josephus lists eleven toparchies, Pliny only ten: Pliny omits Josephus' toparchies of Idumaea and En Gedi, while including Jaffa (which Josephus lists in an appendix, as strictly speaking, it was not in Judaea). En Gedi and Idumaea are thus of the essence. Many scholars concluded that Pliny's source for the toparchies must have been, as his Essene source, *ante bellum*. (See Stern 1976–84, 1: 475–81.)

But the discovery of the archive of Babatha in the Cave of Letters at Naḥal Ḥever in 1961 shed new light on Pliny's list. One of the documents, now designated *P.Yad.* 16 (Lewis 1989: 65–70), mentions in passing that En Gedi had been incorporated into the toparchy of Jericho ('Babatha daughter of Simon...of the village of En Gedi in the district of Jericho in Judaea'). As Benjamin Isaac has noted, 'This may be taken as confirmation that Pliny's list reflects post-70 organization, rather than antiquated information, as assumed by some authors. It may then be assumed that Pliny's omission of Idumaea as a toparchy represents the reality following the First Revolt' (Isaac 1992: 68). If Pliny's description of the toparchies immediately preceding his Essene description was *post bellum*, then in all likelihood his description of Essenes near the Dead Sea was also *post bellum*. It follows that the Roman writer could not have placed the Essenes at Qumran, for that site lay ruined. The Dead Sea Scrolls were found near the ruin that Pliny's Essenes did *not* inhabit.

Thus neither pottery nor Pliny can safely be counted as positive evidence in favour of connecting the scrolls to Khirbet Qumran. Had the scrolls been studied without the Procrustean framework imposed by the archaeology,

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perhaps scholars would have perceived from the very beginning the physical clues that the scrolls themselves offer: they are not, cannot be, exclusively products of the site. The consensus theory has always assumed without argument that the non-biblical texts were written at Qumran. The biblical scrolls were mostly copied there. This geographic axiom gave licence to exegete texts, equate the results with life at the site, and call the emerging narrative the 'history of the Qumran community'.

But several phenomena point to the texts' origin outside of Khirbet Qumran:

(1) Of the biblical scrolls found near Qumran, no two demonstrably share an immediate prototype; neither did any manuscript give rise to identifiable daughter copies (Ulrich 1999: 148–62; Tov 2004: 29–30).

(2) The absence of autographic texts among the Qumran caches is conspicuous (Golb 1995: 56–7). With the exception of one or two manuscripts (e.g. 4Q175), none of the writings manifests the features diagnostic of ancient authorial originals. Expected features include use of cheap materials such as poor quality papyrus sheets or leather scraps, wax or wood tablets, or sherds, rather than expensive scrolls; rough handwriting and wide lines; failure to calculate space precisely, resulting in the need to write in the margins and on the reverse; and inept language, with much crossing out and reworking evident. In addition, much positive evidence exists to show that we are dealing with copies, in particular for the *pesharim* that have sometimes been claimed as autographs (p. 97) (on this point Tov 2004: 28–9). For practical purposes all of the scrolls are copies, whereas one would expect fair numbers of autographs at any site of extensive production.

(3) Also missing is the signature of a scribal school, those features-in-common characterizing any group of ancient or medieval books produced in one place over a few generations. On the contrary: these manuscripts manifest diverse techniques for preparation of skins and ink, correction of errors, orthography, treatment of the *nomen sacrum*, rubrication and *incipita*, paragraphing, etc., employing as well five different scripts: palaeo-Hebrew, standard 'Jewish' and three different cryptic scripts (Tov 2004: 57–124, 131–248).

(4) A disproportionately high number of individual hands appears among the scrolls. Of the 931 manuscripts, no more than sixty-five or seventy stem from the hands of scribes who copied one or more other texts as well (Golb 1995: 97–8, 151–2; Tov 2004: 20–4; Yardeni 2007). Hundreds of different scribes are represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls.

(5) The existence among the caches of numerous apparently non-scribal, personal copies—cheaply produced, sloppily copied, even opisthographic—alongside premier luxury editions such as the Temple Scroll (11Q19), together with the entire gamut running between these two extremes of ancient book culture, argues a diverse origin for the manuscripts (Wise 1994: 119–46; Tov 2004: 125–9).

These manuscript phenomena comport poorly with the hypothesis that these books were the product of a small sect dwelling on the shores of the Dead Sea. The facts seem to require that at least the great majority of the scrolls originated elsewhere, possibly in many different towns and villages throughout Palestine. If the scrolls do not come from Qumran, then they do not describe events at Qumran, at least not in any direct way.

Arguably the origins and perhaps also the entire history of the Teacher's movement are also elsewhere. At least initially it is the texts, not the archaeology, which we must use in tracing those things out.

The Consensus Views of the Rise of the Teacher

With the archaeology put aside, the consensus view loses a good deal of its chronological framework, but not all. This approach has always relied on two other elements for dating the Teacher and his movement. One has been literary analysis of certain texts. The other, dating by palaeographic analysis.

(p. 98) In his foundational treatment of the Jewish scripts published in 1961, palaeographer Frank Moore Cross established a typology based upon the observable fact that Hebrew and Aramaic scribal handwriting changed over time (Cross 1961). He also proposed a method for converting this typology to chronology. Cross assumed that the rate of change was generational, assigning each generation twenty-five years. This method has become standard in Dead Sea Scroll scholarship. Most editors in the DJD series, for example, cite Cross rather than pursuing independent palaeographic dating. Cross was merely suggesting an average, though a somewhat arbitrary one; the presumed generational rate of change has instead resulted in claims to be able to date scrolls within a twenty-five-year span. The flaw in this reasoning would seem obvious, since there is no reason to suppose that change really did proceed at roughly the same rate all the time, or that such a gradual rate, if it existed, would actually be

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generational. Why not rather postulate a palaeographic 'punctuated equilibrium', à la evolutionary theory, and suppose short, rapid periods of change followed by longer periods of relative stasis?

One way to arrive at a more realistic appraisal of the actual rate of palaeographic change would be to compare the Qumran scrolls with explicitly dated Hebrew and Aramaic literary hands, whether those hands derive from Qumran or elsewhere. This is the method of Greek and Latin palaeography, for example. The problem: for Palestine we have no dated literary *comparanda* at all. The situation for documentary hands is different. In that realm dated texts are available, and one can tentatively apply the known interplay between documentary and literary hands to help somewhat with the problem of dating the scrolls; but the subjective element in such a procedure is considerable. It is not hard to find in the literature greatly different scholarly estimates for the palaeographic age of the same manuscript (Wise 2003a).

Ada Yardeni, one of the two or three leading palaeographers now working in the field of Qumranology, has highlighted the imprecision and subjectivity of palaeographic dating in her own work. She does not follow the Cross twenty-five-year method, frequently allowing the more reasonable span of a century for a palaeographic date. She has suggested that the method is imprecise for other reasons as well:

The graphic development of [a] script does not always fit the chronological order of the documents. Thus, early representatives of developed forms may be found in early documents while archaic forms may be found in late documents. Each letter in the alphabetical system has its own tempo of evolution. There is also a difference in the tempo of evolution of the letters in various places where one and the same script style is in use. Therefore the dating of documents is often based on a relative chronology and is not precise. (Yardeni 2000 2: 159)

Note her wording: 'in various places'. Geographic differences are a basic factor in all palaeographic analysis, no less fundamental for categorization than is (p. 99) chronology. We know from the study of ancient and medieval manuscripts in general that scripts often changed at different rates in different locales. Yet the issue of geography was ignored by Cross and the consensus approach, because of the axiom that all of the non-biblical scrolls were written at Qumran. Today, compelling evidence indicates that many of the scrolls originated elsewhere.

The typology worked out by Cross and other skilled palaeographers is doubtless reliable *qua* typology, but its conversion to chronology is flawed on principle. But even Cross's dating of the manuscripts still fails to support the consensus chronology for the date of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Here the central sectarian writings, those most closely associated with the Teacher and preserved in multiple copies, are of the essence. The works that qualify are the Rule of the Community, the Damascus Document, the Thanksgiving Hymns, the *pesharim* (taken as a whole), 4QMMT, the War Scroll, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (although some scholars question whether this last work is a product of the Teacher's group).

As dated by their own editors palaeographically, the vast majority of the copies of these works (about 85 per cent) originated in the first century BCE. More specifically, more than half date to the final script phase or 'generation' of that century. A few date to the first century CE. Not a single one dates to the mid-second century in which the consensus chronology locates the Teacher, nor even to the second century as a whole (Wise 2003a). So whether one rejects or embraces palaeographic dating as practised, the method does not positively support the consensus chronology for the Teacher.

Thus we come back to the only reliable method for establishing the time of the Teacher's rise, literary analysis. In the first instance one will want to derive all possible information from the only texts that explicitly mention the Teacher: the Damascus Document and the *pesharim*. This has indeed been one approach of the consensus.

Virtually every advocate of the consensus chronology locating the Teacher in the mid-second century BCE has called into play one particular passage, CD 1: 3–11. It reads as follows:

For when Israel abandoned Him by being faithless, He turned away from them and from His sanctuary and gave them up to the sword. But when He called to mind the covenant He made with their forefathers, He left a remnant for Israel and did not allow them to be exterminated. In the era of wrath—three hundred and ninety years from the time He handed them over to the power of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon—He took care of them and caused to grow from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit His land and

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to grow fat on the good produce of His soil. They considered their iniquity and they knew that they were guilty men, and had been like the blind and like those groping for the way twenty years. But God considered their deeds, that they had sought Him with a whole heart. So He raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. (Cook in Wise, Abegg, and Cook 2005: 52)

(p. 100) James VanderKam's admirable introduction to the study of the scrolls, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, may serve to illustrate how this passage is typically applied to the problem of dating. He writes:

If one reads the numbers literally, then, according to the generally accepted chronology of ancient Israel, the 390 years would have extended from about 587, when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, until 197 BCE...The twenty years of groping would then follow, bringing us down to 177 BCE...Scholars often say that while one cannot press too literally the 390 + 20 years in Damascus Document column 1, they work out pretty well nevertheless. (VanderKam 1994: 100)

VanderKam and other scholars acknowledge that theoretically one should take the numbers with a grain of salt, but in practice the numbers 390 and 20 are subtracted from 587 BCE and the result is treated as straightforward internal evidence for dating the Teacher. Since the numbers are considered a little 'soft', scholars feel that they can adjust the date 177 BCE a bit, but they still end up with a mid-second-century Teacher. The numbers 'work out pretty well' largely because they are believed to accord with the archaeology of Qumran.

But no one in the time of the scrolls was quite sure how long the Persian period had been. The only evidence the ancients had on that point was the biblical books, which lacked the requisite data. Jews could not calculate directly the date when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem. They had instead to apply an indirect approach. Second Temple Jews calculated the length of the Persian period using the 490 years of Daniel 9: 24–7.

Josephus knew three separate chronologies for the Persian period, all based on Daniel 9: 24–7. He referred now to one, now to another, without apparent regard for the fact that they differed profoundly from each other. One system terminated Daniel's sixty-ninth week at the accession of Alexander Jannaeus in 103 BCE, thereby labelling that king's early reign as the time of the final week (*Ant.* 13.301). This understanding would imply a date for Nebuchadnezzar seventy-five years later than the modern understanding, and put the Teacher's rise in the year 102 BCE. Another of Josephus' chronologies equated the murder of the high priest Ananus in 67 CE with the death of the anointed one in Daniel 9: 26 (*War* 4.318). Operating with this chronology, the Damascus Document would put Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem in 416 BCE, and the rise of the Teacher in 6 BCE. In the system of the rabbinic chronograph *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the span of Persian dominion was short of the reality by 163 years; the rabbinic authors of the work dated Nebuchadnezzar to 423 BCE (Milikowsky 1981; Guggenheimer 1998).

None of the extant Dead Sea Scrolls illuminates the question of how the Teacher's group may have calculated biblical chronology. The only chronograph among the scrolls is the Aramaic work designated 4Q559 (Nebe 1997; Wise 1997; cf. VanderKam 1994). Unfortunately, the portions of this writing relevant to the question at hand have not survived. The author of the Damascus Document (p. 101) cannot be presumed to have posited the year 587 BCE for Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem. The only proper methodology for understanding CD 1: 3–11 is therefore to turn the usual approach on its head. One must first determine when the Teacher lived, then work backwards from that point to Nebuchadnezzar. Given the character of ancient Jewish chronography, the data the Damascus Document provides fit more or less equally well with any date for the rise of the Teacher between 200 BCE and the turn of the eras. Accordingly, this passage cannot be cited as providing positive evidence for the consensus dating of his rise.

A second literary passage has been nearly equally defining of the consensus dating of the Teacher's rise. This is a passage from the *peshet* to Habakkuk. As with all passages from the *pesharim*, this one is allusive and open to a variety of interpretations, so consensus conclusions on its meaning have ordinarily been buttressed by reference to the archaeology. The following words appear in column 8, explicating Hab. 2: 5–6:

The interpretation of it concerns the Wicked Priest, who was called by the true name at the beginning of his course (*bithillat ʿomdô*), but when he ruled (*ka'asher mashal*) in Israel, he became arrogant, abandoned God, and betrayed the statutes for the sake of wealth. He stole and amassed the wealth of the men of violence who had rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of peoples to add to himself guilty sin. And the abominable ways he pursued with every sort of unclean impurity. (1QpHab 8: 8-13; trans. Horgan

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1979: 17)

The Wicked Priest was a contemporary of the Teacher. Interpreters supporting the consensus position have usually noted the *peshet*'s division of the Wicked Priest's career here into two periods of different character: a good beginning, then a turn to evil with the rise to higher power. Much has been made of the idea that the Priest 'ruled' in Israel; often the text is seen as condemning the assumption of rule as in itself illegitimate. Accordingly, searching the history of the Jews in the second century BCE (the time indicated by the Damascus Document), eyes have fallen upon the reigns of Jonathan and Simon Maccabee. Jonathan became high priest at the hands of Alexander Balas of the Seleucids, replacing on one reading of history an unnamed Zadokite high priest—perhaps, it is suggested, even the Teacher himself. At any rate, as a non-Zadokite, Jonathan's assumption of high-priestly office was seen as wicked and improper (e.g. VanderKam 1994: 103–4). Hence the Wicked Priest was probably Jonathan or, a minority suggests, Simon.

Taken in the abstract this reading of the text is as possible as any other, although it requires debatable Hebrew locutions. But then, so does any other interpretation. But it is not conclusive. Discussing the Wicked Priest and the Teacher in light of this and similar portions of the *pesharim*, VanderKam comments: 'Who were these two men? The honest answer is that no one knows. It seems most likely, given the archaeological levels at Qumran, that the Wicked Priest was either Jonathan the Maccabee or his brother Simon' (VanderKam 1990: 103).

(p. 102) VanderKam appeals to archaeology to elucidate the *peshet*. I have argued against using the archaeology to write the history of the Teacher's movement. But does archaeology in fact support the consensus reading of the *peshet* to Habakkuk here? In a word, no.

Recent studies of the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran argue that the original investigator, Roland de Vaux, was mistaken in some of his dating for the site's habitation phases. He concluded that, after an initial Israelite period settlement, the site was reinhabited and expanded in the second century BCE, during the reign of Simon Maccabee or John Hyrcanus I (de Vaux 1973: 3–5). In reaching the latter conclusion, the French archaeologist relied upon a few coins of John Hyrcanus, placing far more weight on numismatics than the sparse findings for this earliest period could reliably bear. For as Magen Broshi has observed, 'a coin of John Hyrcanus cannot be used as a proof that the site was settled during his reign—coins can only be used as a *terminus a quo* but not as a *terminus ad quem*' (Broshi 2000: 737).

The detailed, recent reassessment by Jodi Magness, herself one of the stoutest defenders of the consensus theory, argues that the proper date for the refurbishing of Khirbet Qumran, the 'foundation date' for Stratum I of the Second Temple period, is somewhere between 100 BCE and 50 BCE (Magness 2002: 63–8). If her analysis is correct, then neither the Teacher nor anyone else lived at Qumran in the middle of the second century BCE. Neither archaeology, nor palaeography, nor literary criticism as prosecuted reliably supports the way that the history of the Teacher's movement has usually been written. It is time to consider a new approach.

A New Approach to the Teacher and His Movement

Today most specialists acknowledge, as was not the case in the 1950s, that the non-biblical manuscripts from Qumran include both sectarian and non-sectarian compositions. By 'sectarian' scholars mean works originating with the Teacher or his movement. Good historical method requires that one begin with the sectarian texts.

To isolate these writings, scholars have proposed a number of diagnostic criteria, including: a text's recognition of the Teacher's authority; mention or use of the organizational structures of the *Yahad*; awareness of that group's peculiar place within contemporary Judaism; and a variety of formal and terminological connections with writings established as sectarian by application of the other criteria (Stegemann 1983; Newsom 1990). Some scholars would further propose presence (p. 103) of the so-called 'Qumran calendar' as a sectarian indicator, but it is safer to leave that aside, because the calendar also characterizes works such as Jubilees and various Enochic writings—works which are non-sectarian according to the definition offered above.

It must be acknowledged that the process of isolating the sectarian texts is somewhat uncertain, because many are fragmentary. I have estimated elsewhere that approximately 110 of the non-biblical texts are certainly sectarian, i.e. 15–20 per cent of the non-biblical scrolls (Wise 1999: 330–3).

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Once the primary evidence, the sectarian texts, has been isolated, consideration can begin of what it says about the Teacher. The genesis of the movement would most reasonably be sought in the genuine writings of the founder, the Teacher of Righteousness, if such are available. I would argue that they are. Analysis of the *Hodayot* or Thanksgiving Hymns reveals them; therefore close analysis of the *Hodayot* is the proper starting point for historical investigation of the Teacher's movement. After considering the Hymns, one can then adduce at any given point the *pesharim*, the Damascus Document and other sectarian writings, classical authors such as Josephus, and potentially the non-sectarian scrolls.

Within a selection of the Hymns conventionally called the 'Teacher Hymns', a figure of great verbal power and remarkable knowledge of the Hebrew Bible is found, speaking in the first person. These Teacher Hymns are arguably compositions of the Teacher himself. Three separate approaches, taken together, constitute a strong case supporting that conclusion: literary criticism of the sort used in biblical studies generally; application to the Teacher Hymns of social scientific models of 'breach'; and close reading of other sectarian writings to show that the Teacher's own later followers believed these hymns to be his words.

Gert Jeremias was among the first to apply the techniques of literary criticism to the *Hymns*. Writing in 1963, he showed that two distinct levels of authorship are mixed together in the *Hodayot*, being distinguished in part by what lies behind the ubiquitous use of the first-person pronoun 'I' (Jeremias 1963). On one level, Jeremias observed, the 'I' of the *Hymns* stands for no single person, but rather for a group. At other times, however, the 'I' makes amazing claims of authority and distances himself from others. Jeremias went on to note that the 'authoritative' hymns also employ a vocabulary that is self-consistent, while different from that of the rest of the hymns. These hymns could therefore be isolated and assigned to a particular individual who made extraordinary claims of self-importance. Still, how could one know that this 'I' is the Teacher?

Jeremias advanced a telling argument:

It is completely inconceivable that in [a single movement] within a short span of time there could have been two men, each of whom came before the group with revolutionary claims to bring about redemption through his teaching, and that both men were accepted by the community. (Jeremias 1963: 176, my translation)

(p. 104) No group could accept two such singular personalities as leaders simultaneously. Moreover, had the group known two charismatic figures who lived at different times, evidence of that fact should be discernible in their writings, and it is not. This has convinced many, but not all. The Danish scholar Svend Holm-Nielsen devoted substantial portions of a monograph to the argument that the Teacher Hymns lack particularity, and are merely timeless expressions of religious sentiment (Holm-Nielsen 1960: esp. 301–16, 354–9). A significant minority of scholarship on the scrolls has rejected Jeremias' approach in favour of Holm-Nielsen's.

In recent years, however, there has been new support for Jeremias. In a 1998 doctoral dissertation, Michael Douglas advanced understanding with a more comprehensive study of the levels within the *Hodayot* (Douglas 1998). He substantially refined Jeremias' conclusions with a wealth of additional literary-critical data. But perhaps more important, Douglas applied Victor Turner's cross-cultural studies of social breach to the hymns, showing that the Teacher Hymns fit recognized patterns of conflict. Turner's four categories are first breach, then crisis, next redress, and finally either reintegration or permanent schism (Turner 1974; Douglas 1999). Douglas showed that each of these stages is apparent, and in that order, in the Teacher Hymns. The implication of this concord between model and literary order is that the Teacher Hymns are arranged more or less historically, in the order of the events as they unfolded, and, given as well their emotional intensity, that the hymns represent the Teacher's views near in time to the events. These hymns seem to present an actual historical situation of conflict. If so, they cannot be Holm-Nielsen's 'liturgical psalms'.

Yet further, both Douglas' literary criticism and the physical evidence of two recently published copies of the *Hodayot* from Cave 4 (4Q429, 4Q432) argue that the individual 'I' hymns were originally transmitted as a separate unit (Schuller 1994; 1999). They evidently formed a primitive core to which later sectarian editors or authors added materials fore and aft. This new physical evidence is unexpected validation of Jeremias' approach, as his theory would predict just such an original unity of the Teacher materials.

It has not often been observed that in their later writings, followers of the Teacher sometimes quoted and

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interpreted the 'anonymous' words of his hymns and discourses as his (observed by Davies 1987: 87–105, but taken in a different direction). They applied them to events in the life of a man they explicitly called the Teacher of Righteousness. It is possible by close analysis to discover a half-dozen examples of historical reading of the Teacher Hymns by the later disciples (Wise 1999: 313–16). This third line of evidence then supports literary-critical analysis and social theory as applied to the Hymns, and taken together the three approaches constitute excellent grounds for concluding that in the Teacher Hymns we do have the words of the Teacher. Accordingly, the historian who would start at the beginning of the movement's development is probably able to start with the founder himself.

(p. 105) The question of when the movement arose is closely intertwined with the reason why it did. The heart of the matter was apparently a new interpretation of biblical and ritual law that the Teacher promulgated. Among the Teacher's nine hymns are numerous statements suggesting this interpretation. All of these hymns are addressed to God; a selection of pertinent statements follows:

From the party of the Seekers of Accommodation (*dorshe halaqot*) have you rescued the life of the poor one whom they plotted to destroy, whose blood they planned to spill over the issue of your Temple service (*al^cavodatka*). (3rd hymn, 1QHa 10: 32–3; cf. 3rd hymn, 1QHa 10: 35–6)

They plot destruction against me, wishing to coerce me into exchanging your law (*toratka*), which you spoke so audibly within my mind (*'asher shinnanta bilvavi*), for Accommodation for your people (*behalaqot la^cammka*). (5th hymn, 1QHa 12: 10–11)

They stopped the drink of true knowledge from the thirsty and instead force upon them vinegar, whereby to gaze upon their error as they madly practice idolatry at their festivals (*bemo^cadeyhem*) and are trapped in their nets (*bimtsudotam*). (5th hymn, 1QHa 12: 11–12)

For you, O my God, have hidden me right before people's eyes, while concealing your law (*toratka*) within [my heart] until the time ordained, when you will reveal to me your salvation. (6th hymn, 1QHa 13: 11–12)

As the mysteries of transgression somehow permit, they are guilty of altering the very laws of God (*ma^case el*). (7th hymn, 1QHa 13: 36)

Those who once gathered to my testimony have been deceived by advisers of falsehood and turned their backs on the laws of right service (*ba^cavodat emet*)...they have slipped from the Way of your Heart (*midderekh libbeka*). (7th hymn, 1QHa 14:19, 21)

This selection should suffice to establish the basic claim that law was at issue between the Teacher and his opponents. Because the hymns are poetry, a variety of terms appears, but the semantics cluster about the concept of law. The Teacher uses the expression *dorshe halaqot* for his opponents, a phrase well known from the *pesharim* as well. Most scholars agree from its use there, and especially as it appears in the *Pesher Nahum*, that the expression references the Pharisees. The term *halaqot* was a kind of caconymous pun on the Pharisees' own term for their derived laws, *halakhot*. Thus one can evidently affirm from the Teacher's own writings that these were the people whom he viewed as his principal opponents. The Teacher speaks of issues involving the Temple service (only one possible understanding of his Hebrew term *avodah*, but the one most fitting, it seems, in the context (cf. Exod. 12: 25; Exod. 30: 16; Num. 3: 7; 1 Chr. 9: 28, etc.; Licht 1957: 62 n. 27; Yadin 1962: 267).

Several times in the Hymns the Teacher describes himself by allusion to Moses' appearance at the time when he received the tablets of the covenant from God, declaring 'you lit my face with your glory as I received your covenant' (cf. Exod. 34: 29–34). Just as Moses delivered a law and initiated a covenant, so too (the **(p. 106)** expression implies) did the Teacher. He refers to this covenant (*brit*) frequently as one that he mediated and that his followers entered.

A particularly telling expression as we seek to understand the issues appears in the Fifth Hymn: 'wishing to coerce me into exchanging (*lehamir*) your law (*toratka*), which you spoke so audibly within my mind, for Accommodation for your people'. The conflict with his opponents was about which version of Jewish ritual law ought to be established. Moreover, the reference to Accommodation (*halaqot*) makes pellucid that the option opposed to the Teacher's was that of the Pharisees.

In the Seventh Hymn, the Teacher writes, 'they are guilty of altering the very laws of God (*ma^case el*)'. The

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Teacher's expression suggests that he saw the matter as one of change from an established norm to a new and dangerous status quo: the Pharisees were 'altering' (*meshannim*) God's laws (*ma'asim*). That God would allow them to do so was a mystery (*raz*). Thus his movement was inherently conservative while, somewhat paradoxically, new in certain particulars. The term *ma'asim* was evidently the Teacher's movement's equivalent for the Pharisaic *halakhot*. It appears in other sectarian writings (4Q174 1–2 i 7; 1QS 6: 18), and is especially prominent in the work known as 4QMMT, which name is a modern acronym derived from a repeated legal expression that work employs, *Miqsat Ma'asê Ha-Torah*, 'some of the laws of the Torah' (cf. Qimron and Strugnell 1994: 139). Thus the Teacher's movement fought with the Pharisees about both legal precepts and the attendant *termini technici*. The more we investigate the terminology of the Hymns, the more difficult it becomes to deny that they portray a conflict with law at the centre of it.

A final point here, regarding the expression 'the Way of your Heart' (*derekh libbeka*): the Teacher several times uses it to describe his legal teaching as a whole. This was perhaps the most characteristic of his personal expressions. His later followers summarized his role most vividly using it: 'But God considered their deeds, that they had sought him with a whole heart. So he raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of his heart (*Jehadrikhem bederekh libbo*)' (CD 1: 11; Broshi 1992). It was the Teacher's claim to provide this divine instruction that created his movement. Further, that claim was made as a response to the Pharisees, and matters were so serious, as his Hymns depict them, that his life was at stake.

If one asks whether the sectarian scrolls other than the Teacher Hymns contain echoes of this capital conflict about the law and the Temple service, the answer appears to be yes. One possible echo reverberates from the *Pesher* on Psalm 37 (4QpPs^a ad Psalm 37: 32–3). Here the later followers of the Teacher recall an event in his life, seemingly the violent attack depicted in his Hymns. The relevant lines read as follows:

(p. 107)

This portion refers to the Wicked [Pri]est who spied out the [Teach]er of Righteous[ness and sought] to have him killed [because of the legal pre]cepts and the law that the Teacher had sent him. (Reconstruction after Qimron and Strugnell 1994: 120)

Unlike the Teacher Hymns, which name the Teacher's foe no more precisely than to reference the *dorshe halaqot* or Pharisees, the *Pesher* specifies that the attack came from a priestly quarter, directed by a leader known to the Teacher's followers as the Wicked Priest. We seem to learn here, too, that the Teacher had sent a legal writing to this Priest and that the contents, or perhaps the social dynamics involved with the challenge implied by sending it, roused this man to seek the Teacher's life.

Any priestly authority moved to attempt homicide because of a document containing 'precepts and law' would have to be one whose personal authority was considerable, as he would presumably have to be powerful enough to carry out the act without reprisal. In Jewish society in the general period of the scrolls, most likely these factors of law and power implicate a high priest. Moreover, the combination of a high priest, a document containing laws addressed to him, and a time of controversy involving law and Temple praxis recalls 4QMMT.

As preserved, 4QMMT lacks its beginning and, possibly, its conclusion, hindering precise identification of genre. Nevertheless, it appears to be either a letter, or a manifesto, somewhat akin to a Hellenistic philosophical treatise, but in Jewish dress. 4QMMT presents a cogent argument replete with illustrations and a closing exhortation. The basic thesis is simple: the wrong laws are now governing the Temple. The Temple is therefore being desecrated by impurity, whereby the nation's well-being is gravely menaced. Two dozen examples of problems and solutions detail this argument.

4QMMT addresses itself to a figure perceived as both understanding the legal issues, and able to do something about them. He is called simply 'you'. The laws currently in place in the Temple, evidently with this figure's permission, are those characterizing a third party, referred to throughout merely as 'they'. Since the Temple laws were within the purview of the high priest, it is most natural to infer that one or another high priest was the recipient of the work. Search for identification leads almost unavoidably to one of the Hasmonean priest-kings. Moreover, study of the laws contained in the work over against rabbinic literature suggests that the 'they' under attack are the Pharisees, while the laws being urged are those of priestly circles (Sussmann 1994). We are thus dealing with a high priest under profound Pharisaic influence, at a time when that degree of influence was still new enough to be seen as change, and provoke a crisis pitting certain priestly views against Pharisaic.

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Only one known period of dramatic legal shift in the years under consideration matches all of these specifics. This historical match then provides us with the approximate period of the rise of the Teacher. It was the time when rule of the Jews passed from Alexander Jannaeus to his wife, Alexandra: the mid-70s BCE.

(p. 108) In the middle of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), a civil war broke out among the Jews; the forces arrayed against Jannaeus included, according to Josephus, the Pharisees. His principal supporters included priestly groups. As the war began to go badly for the Pharisees, they invited the Seleucid king Demetrius III to mount a military campaign against Alexander (88 BCE), a fact mentioned by the sectarian *Pesher on Nahum*. When the revolt failed, they were severely punished by the victorious king. Josephus reports that Jannaeus crucified 800 of the Pharisee leaders, another event to which the *pesher* apparently alludes, favourably, as commentary on Nah. 2: 12:

This refers to the Lion of Wrath [...ven]geance against the Seekers of Accommodation because he used to hang men alive, [as it was done] in Israel in former times, for to anyone hanging alive on the tree (Deut. 21: 22), [the verse applies: 'Behold, I am against [you], sa[ys the Lord of Hosts']. (Cook in Wise, Abegg, and Cook 2005: 245–6; for the restoration 'as it was done', Yadin 1971; cf. 4Q167 2 1–7 and Kister 1992: 31)

This passage is important for several reasons. For one, it shows that the consensus view that the Teacher's movement hated all the Hasmoneans, beginning with the Wicked Priest, for the mere fact of their rule, cannot be correct. For here the writer clearly favours Jannaeus, applauding his actions against the Pharisees as representing God's judgement. Accordingly, it becomes very unlikely that the group originated in a dispute concerning the high-priestly succession in the mid-second century BCE. And second, the text suggests that the Teacher's movement identified in important ways with the priestly supporters of Jannaeus, not with the Pharisee-led opposition in the civil war.

Although Jannaeus defeated the Pharisees and their faction in the civil war, in the years that followed they went from strength to strength. Josephus reports that on his deathbed Jannaeus, recognizing this reality, advised his wife and successor, Alexandra (76–67 BCE), to 'yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees, for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favourably toward her' (*Ant.* 13.401, LCL Marcus). This was a naked political calculation, which if followed would require Alexandra to turn her back on the priestly dominated coalition that had fought alongside Alexander during the recent civil war. Alexandra followed his advice, and so brought the Pharisees into power:

To them, being herself intensely religious, she listened with too great deference; while they, gradually taking advantage of an ingenuous woman, became at length the real administrators of the state, at liberty to banish and to recall, to loose and to bind, whom they would...If she ruled the nation, the Pharisees ruled her. (*War* 1.110–12, LCL Thackeray)

Josephus specifically mentions here the fact that the Pharisees sent certain people into exile, a point we shall consider shortly with regard to the exile of the Teacher that he laments in his Hymns. Immediately prior to this portion, Josephus had already noted of Alexandra that, 'She was the very strictest observer of the national traditions and would deprive of office any offenders against the sacred laws' (*War* (p. 109) 1.108). One can scarcely doubt that her understanding of those legal matters was precisely the lever that the Pharisees used to wield power; accordingly, as they began to avenge themselves against the erstwhile supporters of Jannaeus, those who espoused legal systems different from theirs would be most vulnerable. Moreover, the Pharisees will now have moved to ensure that their understanding of ritual law was instituted in the Temple. Indeed, a passage from the *Pesher Nahum* refers to the 'rule of the Seekers of Accommodation (*memshelet dorshe halaqot*)', i.e. their hegemony through Alexandra (4Q169 3–4 ii 4–6). This, I suggest, is the historical setting for 4QMMT.

Alexandra, being a woman, could naturally not be high priest as her husband had been. She would have to content herself with the monarchy; she appointed her eldest son, John Hyrcanus II, as high priest. That he was the addressee of 4QMMT therefore seems highly likely. Further, I would argue that he was the man in view in 1QpHab 8: 8–13 (cited above). Some of what is said in that passage is just calumny. But the reference to Hyrcanus as being 'called by the true name at the beginning of his course' alludes to the fact that when he first appeared on the national scene (*bithillat cōmdō*), at the court of his father Jannaeus when that king was still formidable, Hyrcanus naturally espoused his father's official line regarding ritual law: he followed priestly interpretations. For the Teacher

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and his followers, these interpretations were 'true' (*emet*). 'When he ruled' or 'exercised authority' (*ka'asher masha*l), the pesherist went on to say, Hyrcanus 'betrayed the statutes': adopted the legal ways of the Pharisees. He put that group's laws into effect in the Temple when he became high priest. Thus this passage from the *pesher* fits well with the interpretation I am offering.

Another passage often cited in regard to the Wicked Priest also fits Hyrcanus well, if one makes due allowance for orotund expression. This is 1QpHab 9: 1–2, which reads 'striking him on account of wicked judgments. And horrors of evil diseases were at work in him, and acts of vengeance on his decaying flesh' (Horgan 1979: 18, slightly modified). According to Josephus (*Ant.* 14.366), during the civil war that ended up placing Herod the Great on the throne, Herod's opponent, Aristobulus, cut off Hyrcanus' ears, a mutilation guaranteeing that Herod's ally could never be the high priest again. Jewish understanding of the relevant biblical passages required that the high priest be fully sound of body. The pesherist believed that this mutilation represented retribution for the priest's 'wicked judgments'.

Before leaving the Pesher Habakkuk to return to the Teacher Hymns, a general scheme of the former work is worth noting. The writer interpreted the biblical prophet's Chaldeans as the *Kittim*, 'who are swift and mighty in war... attacking and pillaging the cities of the land...from far away they come, from the seacoasts, to eat up all the peoples like an insatiable vulture' (1QpHab 2: 12–13; 3: 1, 10–12). Scholars are agreed today that the term 'Kittim' refers to the Romans, and that the advent of the Roman armies in the 60s of the first century BCE led to the highly coloured account of the commentary. There seems to be no good reason why the (p. 110) personalities of the commentary, including the Teacher and the Wicked Priest, should be drastically separated in time from the Roman invasion, as required by the consensus theory. The Roman invasion and subsequent predations are portrayed here and elsewhere in the *pesharim* as a punishment for the sins of the Wicked Priest and his followers. This suggests that the Wicked Priest was active in the first decades of the first century BCE. Moreover, John Collins has shown that the several other critical *pesharim* passages on the Wicked Priest fit Hyrcanus II, too (Collins 2006: 220–3).

The remaining highlights of the history found in the Teacher Hymns may be summarized in three words: exile, apostasy, death. The predicate for all of these negative nouns is the Teacher. All of them find resonance in sectarian writings outside the Teacher Hymns as well.

The first reference to his exile appears in the Fifth Teacher Hymn. At this point Turner's first two steps, breach and crisis, lay in the past, and his third step, redress, was in the offing. The Teacher's exile was a form of redress visited upon him by his enemies. He wrote:

I have been rejected by them, and they have not esteemed me when you manifested your mighty power through me. Instead, I have been exiled from my country (*yaddihuni me'artsi*) like a bird driven from its nest, and all my allies and kinsmen have distanced themselves from me. They account me a broken vessel. (1QHa 12: 8–10)

A passage in the Pesher Habakkuk also refers to the fact of the Teacher's exile, using commentary on Hab. 2: 15 to describe an attack upon the Teacher and his group:

This refers to the Wicked Priest, who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to destroy him in the heat of his anger at his place of exile (*abbet galuto*). At the time set aside for the repose of the Day of Atonement he appeared to them to destroy them and to bring them to ruin on the fast day, the Sabbath intended for their repose. (1QpHab 11: 4–8; trans. Cook in Wise, Abegg, and Cook 2005: 87)

A second passage from the *pesher* perhaps references a public trial of the Teacher that preceded his being exiled. This description interprets Hab. 1: 13b:

This refers to the family of Absalom and the members of their party, who kept quiet when the Teacher of Righteousness was tried (*betokhahat moreh ha-tsedek*), and did not help him against the Man of the Lie, who had rejected the law in the presence of their entire [company]. (1QpHab 5: 9–12; trans. Cook in Wise, Abegg, and Cook 2005: 83, slightly modified)

Many of the biblical uses of the noun *tokhehah*, here rendered contextually as 'trial', but more generally meaning 'reproof', carry overtones of punishment following upon or threatened with the rebuke (e.g. Ezek. 5: 15, 25; 17;

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Prov. 6: 23, 29: 1). The 'family of Absalom' may refer to an uncle of Hyrcanus II by that name, the brother of Alexandra, who had, according to Josephus, allied himself with the (p. 111) priestly rather than Pharisaic side (*Ant.* 14.71). If this man is the *pesher*'s referent, he might naturally have been expected to support the Teacher, an erstwhile member of the priestly status quo ante. His silence and that of his family was then seen as treachery. The Man of the Lie is generally recognized by scholars as a leader of the Teacher's opposition, distinct from the Wicked Priest, most probably a leader of the Pharisees. He is here said to reject the Teacher's law (*ma'as 'et ha-torah*), reflecting the origins of the Teacher's crisis in violent disagreement over Jewish law.

The consensus view has generally held that the Teacher's exile was a voluntary withdrawal from Jerusalem and that his place of exile was Qumran, even though the Damascus Document calls his location in exile, 'the land of Damascus'. Hence, a few words about the nature and location of this exile.

First, it is unlikely to have been a quiet, voluntary retreat into the desert. The Teacher says that he was driven out, using the Hebrew verb *nadah*, a term that normally means 'drive away' or 'expel' in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Deut. 30: 1; Jer. 8: 3, 16: 15; Dan. 9: 7; note especially 2 Chron. 13: 9, of priests and using the preposition *min*, as the Teacher does here). And we have already observed that under Alexandra the Pharisees exiled their opponents over issues of law and politics (*Ant.* 13.409). Josephus specifically reports of Hyrcanus that he employed this method against political enemies (*War* 1.195–9). Consequently, the Teacher's exile is best seen as a political punishment.

'The exile who left his native land was expected to encounter poverty, shame, dishonor and hostility' (Roisman 1986: 24). The Sixth Teacher Hymn uses many images and allusions to portray the Teacher as facing hostility, in grave danger: 'You have protected my life from destruction'; 'You have made me a fugitive'; 'Their plans to capture me are deadly'; 'You have saved the poor one in the lion's den'. In the Greco-Roman world, exile was a punishment reserved for the elite. Frequently it was applied to the elite convicted of hatching intrigues against the government. Lower-class people convicted of the same crimes suffered forced labour or death. Exile often entailed perpetual expulsion and loss of citizenship and all property. Unauthorized return from exile frequently carried the death penalty (on ancient political exile, Roisman 1986).

As to the location of the Teacher's exile, two considerations tell against the consensus location at Qumran. First, political exile required the criminal to leave the country, passing beyond its borders; and in the Fifth Hymn the Teacher explicitly says that he has been forced 'from my country' (*me'artsi*). If one returns to the archaeology and, with Magness, sees Qumran as first inhabited about the time we are arguing for (between 100–50 BCE), this requirement creates a problem. For Qumran was manifestly within the borders of the Hasmonean kingdom in these years (boundaries described at *Ant.* 12.395–7)—indeed, it had been within those boundaries even in the mid-second century BCE, when the classic Essene hypothesis places the Teacher. As noted, the Teacher refers to his location in a foreign land in the Sixth Hymn, outright declaring that he is among Gentiles: 'You (p. 112) have not abandoned me while I sojourn among a [grim]-faced people' (*beguri be'am pene [oz*; 1QHa 13: 5; for the meaning as specifying foreigners, Deut. 28: 49–50; Dan. 8: 23–4); 'The wicked of the Gentiles (*rish'e ammim*) rush against me with their afflictions' (1QHa 13: 17).

Second, the Damascus Document repeatedly asserts that the Teacher and the followers who accompanied him into exile forged a covenant in 'the land of Damascus' (*erets dammesheq*; CD 6: 19; 7: 15, 19; 8: 21 and 19: 34). In that land, we are told, they 'swore to a sure covenant, that is, the New Covenant' (CD 20: 12). This is presumably the covenant mentioned so frequently by the Teacher in his Hymns. In the Damascus Document his group is called 'the repentant of Israel, who went out from the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus' (CD 6: 5). If one reads the texts apart from the archaeology, there is no reason not to take this geographic reference straightforwardly. It has been read as a cipher for Qumran largely because of a prior conviction that this was what it must mean, since, the consensus argues, that is where the Teacher actually was. But the straightforward meaning, the region of which Damascus was the capital city, is clear and makes sense historically. It so happens that during the years from 95 to 64 BCE, overlapping the time proposed for the Teacher, Damascus was the capital of a small kingdom known as Coele-Syria. Both before and after, this kingdom was swallowed up within larger Syrian political entities, but for this brief window of time it stood on its own. The steppe desert to the southeast of Damascus was precisely the region known in ancient times as the Wilderness of Damascus (1 Kgs. 19: 15). Here the Teacher could be very close to Jewish territory—right across the border—yet still be in 'the land of Damascus'. From here he might hope to continue influencing events back in Jerusalem, the sort of meddling that

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could have provoked the attack of the Wicked Priest described in the Peshar Habakkuk above. The writings of his later followers persistently connect their foundational period to a time 'in the wilderness' (e.g. 1QS 8: 13, 14, 9: 20; 1QM 1: 2, 3). The Wilderness of Damascus would be an excellent place for a refugee exile to seek safety and hide himself.

The Seventh Teacher Hymn finds the Teacher facing a new and very difficult problem: apostasy. Members of the group that had accompanied him, not themselves political exiles, were returning to Jerusalem, where they helped to inform authorities about the Teacher's activities and, quite likely, his whereabouts. They also revealed secret aspects of his teachings. We are at Turner's stage four: reintegration/permanent schism. Some of the Teacher's followers were reintegrating into Judaeen society; others remained, most of them probably now in permanent schism from the greater polity. The Teacher writes:

Because of the iniquity of all who judged me, I have become a source of jealousy and fury among those who entered my covenant. They who had assembled to me all murmur and grumble; even those who share my bread have turned insidiously against me. All those who joined my council have played me false and spoken perversely. The men of my (p. 113) [covenant] have rebelled and go about grumbling. They have traitorously gone to the children of destruction and defamed the mystery that you had hidden in me! (1QHa 13: 22–5)

The Damascus Document, composed by a later generation looking back at the Teacher's time, speaks of the apostasy of that time as follows, addressing as well the general problem of failure to persevere in the movement:

So it is with all the men who entered the New Covenant in the land of Damascus, but then went back and played the traitor, and so turned away from the fountain of living water. They shall not be reckoned among the council of the people, and their names shall not be written in their book...Such is the fate for all who reject the commandments, whether old or new, who have turned their thoughts to false gods and who have lived by their wilful hearts; they have no part in the House of Law. They will be condemned along with all their companions who went back to the Men of Mockery, because they have uttered lies against the correct laws and rejected the sure covenant that they made in the land of Damascus, that is, the New Covenant. Neither they nor their families shall have any part in the House of Law. (CD 19: 33–5, 20: 8–13, trans. Cook in Wise, Abegg, and Cook 2005: 60–1, slightly modified)

Apostasy is a common feature of movements such as the Teacher's, which sociologists of religion call 'high-tension' movements. The tension register measures the degree of social separation between a movement or religious group and the larger society. The higher the degree of social separation, the higher tension a movement is. High-tension movements typically have difficulty retaining all those who join. The cost of belonging is very high, and the greater part of the expected reward is deferred. For this reason, 'substantial numbers of long-term members of [high tension] new religious movements leave of their own volition' (Bainbridge 1996: 235).

The number of the Teacher's immediate followers into exile was probably never very large, simply because of the immense personal cost involved. Now, after significant apostasy, it is hard to believe that even half remained. A hint of the group's size appears in the Seventh Hymn: 'For I know that you will raise up a small group (*mits'ar*) of survivors among your people, a remnant within your inheritance' (1QHa 14: 8). Furthermore, literary criticism of one of the principal sectarian texts produced by the Teacher's followers after his death, the Community Rule, arguably suggests that the group numbered at its low ebb no more than fifteen men and their families. The 'Original Manifesto' that lies at the heart of this work was a foundation document. It begins, 'The Society of the *Yaḥad* (*ʿatsat ha-yaḥad*) consists of twelve men and three priests, blameless with respect to all that has been revealed from the law...these men having come together in Israel, the Society of the *Yaḥad* is hereby constituted in truth' (cf. 1QS 8: 1–16 and equivalent portions of 4Q258 and 4Q259; Wise 1999: 328–30 nn. 25–7).

This ultimate low ebb for the group probably followed not just the apostasy described in the Seventh Hymn, but also the unexpected death of the Teacher. Of course, this event is not described in his Hymns, but the metaphors of the ninth (p. 114) and final Hymn may perhaps be read as describing serious illness and the accompanying depression. The Teacher does seem to indicate straightforwardly here that he is now an old man: 'Even in hoary age you provide for me'. He had probably already been elderly when the crisis that propelled events broke upon him, for one senses that no more than a few years separate the earliest of his Hymns from this last. If, as suggested, that crisis occurred more or less immediately with Alexandra's assumption of the monarchy in 76 BCE,

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then we are probably still within the late 70s BCE with the Teacher's death. The event is referred to more than once in the Damascus Document:

Now from the date that the Teacher of the *Yahad* was gathered to his fathers until the perishing of all the warriors who went back to the Man of the Lie will be about forty years. And during that foreordained period God's anger will burn against Israel. (CD 20: 13–16; cf. 19: 35–20: 1)

We see in this passage one strategy the group used to cope with the pivotal loss: the claim that it was foreordained, always in God's plan. Though perhaps necessary, that would not be a sufficient strategy, and much more group adjustment would be needed.

The Teacher had predicted that he would be vindicated:

[I my]self, because I have held fast to you, shall be restored. I shall rise against those who hate me, my hand shall be against all who despise me. (5th Hymn, 1QHa 12: 22)

Surely you shall ring in the guilty verdict against all my adversaries, and so by me (*bi*) separate the righteous from the wicked! (8th Hymn, 1QHa 15: 12)

You shall exalt my horn above all who despise me; the remnant of those who waged war against me and prosecuted me (*ba^cale rivi*) shall be scattered like chaff before the wind, and I shall rule over my house, fo[r you], my [G]od, have helped me. Thereafter you shall exalt me on high, and I shall blaze with a light of sevenfold brilliance by the very lig[ht that] you have [es]tablished as your glory. (8th Hymn, 1QHa 15: 22–4)

The Teacher believed that he would one day return to Jerusalem and take power. God would judge his adversaries in the process. He was convinced that his followers would one day carry out a kind of restoration of Israel, including the conquest of foreign powers. He believed himself a central figure in God's plans for the Jews. He had arisen with special knowledge given by God; he was an eschatological figure of immense importance, not unlike the first Lawgiver, Moses, who also brought a law and inaugurated a covenant. He fully believed that he was the pivot-point of divine judgment: 'By me (*bi*) (you will) separate the righteous from the wicked'. What the Teacher meant, doubtless, was that a person's response to himself and his law determined whether that person was, in Gospel terms, a sheep or a goat. And this was the way that his followers understood him, to judge from a passage in the Peshet Habakkuk. Commenting on Hab. 2: 4, 'But the righteous shall live by their faith', the pesherist explained:

(p. 115)

Its true import concerns all the Doers of the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from damnation because of their true works and faith in the Teacher of Righteousness. (1QpHab 7: 17–8: 3; cf. Brownlee 1979: 125–30 and Nitzan 1986: 175–6 for issues of translation)

Thus the Teacher's group was a special sort of high-tension movement: it was a millenarian movement, focused on a kind of prophetic figure. His followers needed him to understand God's teachings and demands; the pesherist at 1QpHab 2: 3 spoke of 'the words] of the Teacher of Righteousness that came from the mouth of God'. And now the Teacher was dead.

Two possible paths now led from the founder's demise. One was extinction; the other, reinterpretation. At the crux stood his prophecies, declarations of the future course of events contained in his Hymns. All depended on how these would now be explained, for taken at face value, his death had clearly falsified them. He would never rule in Jerusalem, nor be vindicated in this life, triumphing over his enemies while his followers took power. It was not true that he would, as predicted, 'rise against those who hate me, my hand...against all who despise me'. Yet for the followers to conclude that the Teacher was false would also mean casting profound doubt on their own ideas about God and the meaning of their lives, for those things had been defined for them by the Teacher and their relationship with him.

As have many crisis cults down through time, the Teacher's group chose to deny disconfirmation, opting for reinterpretation. They began to reconsider the Teacher's writings in light of the passages in the scriptures with which those writings interacted, triangulating to arrive at new meaning that could guide the way forward. It seems

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likely that during this process and for a number of years the group struggled to maintain itself. And then something happened that they saw, according to their writings, as a literal godsend. The Romans came.

The importance to the scroll writers of the coming of Rome is hard to overstate. Including the tumultuous aftermath of the 50s BCE, this is without question the complex of historical events most central to the Dead Sea Scrolls as a whole. More than half of the historical references and allusions identifiable in these texts, whether one speaks only of the sectarian writings, or of the scrolls as a whole, probably or certainly pertain to this watershed (Wise 2003a).

The ability to claim true prophecy for the Teacher aided the followers immensely, firming up their own lingering uncertainties about the Teacher in light of his death, and providing a message with which to bring in new members. For if the Teacher had been proven correct on this central tenet of his teaching, then had one not better pay attention to the rest of what he taught?

To suggest that the Teacher's movement now began to grow because of the Roman invasion is admittedly a matter of subtle and indirect evidence. Yet it survived the potentially fatal blow of the Teacher's death for some reason, and thereafter grew notably, and this tentative explanation makes analogical and (p. 116) historical sense. The mere fact that we possess the sectarian scrolls is sufficient evidence of survival. The later in the century we go, the more copies there are in total (old ones evidently still being read, new ones produced). For whatever the absolute dates for the copying of the sectarian manuscripts may have been, we can place the great majority of them roughly in the first century BCE (125 BCE–25 CE), safely granting palaeography the ability to date within a century (fifty years from a given midpoint). The script phases then indicate that copying activity progressively increased as time passed.

A passage of the Damascus Document can serve as a convenient segue to the question of how the Teacher's movement came to an end. The passage must be read against its informing biblical portion:

for forty years the children of Israel travelled in the wilderness, until the perishing of all the people, the warriors who came out of Egypt who did not listen to the voice of Yahweh. (Josh. 5: 6)

Now from the day that the Teacher of the Yahad was gathered to his fathers until the perishing of all the warriors who went back to the Man of the Lie will be about forty years (CD 20: 13–16).

The italicized terms establish the relationship. The author of this portion typologically equates his own present with the forty years of Hebrew wandering in the desert. The death of all unbelievers in both the Mosaic generation and the writer's own terminates the period of wandering. The time of testing and purification lasting forty years is in both generations a response to unbelief. For the sectarian writer, in the time of Moses this was a matter of historical fact. In his own time, it is a matter of confident expectation—in fact, a prediction. The Teacher's followers are to 'take the land', i.e. take power as he had predicted, but only some forty years after his death. Notably, Moses never entered the promised land; neither did the Teacher. Our author implies that equation. Thus once again one notes a homology between Moses and the Teacher, the 'prophet like Moses', a homology that, as we have seen, the Teacher claimed for himself in his Hymns.

The prophecy of the 'forty years' was based on more than homology: it had exegetical underpinnings as well, deriving from a reading of Dan. 9: 24–7 (Wise 1999: 232–52; 2003b). The prophecy became a fundamental claim of the Teacher's group. The centrality of the notion became a problem, however, for the prophecy failed to come true. This became apparent about 30 BCE, when the End failed to arrive as predicted.

The explanation the sect offered, such as it was, appears in the Peshar Habakkuk, and is the last roughly datable entry in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Wise 2003a). The words are as follows (lemma, interpretation):

'For a prophecy testifies of a specific period; it speaks of that time and does not deceive' (Hab. 2:3a).

(p. 117) This means that the final period will extend, even beyond all that the prophets have spoken, for the mysteries of God are wondrous.

'If it tarries, be patient, for it will surely come and not be late' (Hab. 2: 3b).

This refers to the Men of Truth, Performers of the Law whose hands will not grow weary of doing the truth when the final period is extended, for all the periods of God will come as established for them, just as he

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has decreed for them in his mysterious wisdom. (Cook in Wise, Abegg, and Cook 2005: 84, revised)

The author admitted the disconfirmation of the group's prophecy, and further admitted that nothing could account for that failure but the mysteries of God. Yet these mysteries were precisely what the group claimed to understand, that being their *raison d'être*. To concede now that they really did not understand them undermined their entire reason for existing.

The notion that the Teacher's movement either dissipated or shrank to essential invisibility, beginning late in the first century BCE, finds strong support in a phenomenon that, while not unknown, has nevertheless received little scholarly attention. Whereas one can discover at least thirty-five allusions to historical persons, processes, and events for the years antedating approximately 30 BCE among the scrolls, not a single such allusion exists for the first century CE. The writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls, whether sectarian or non-sectarian, have nothing to say that one can identify for the entire century 30 BCE–70 CE. This silence requires explanation.

After all, it is not as though nothing of importance happened during that century. From a modern standpoint, these years were among the most tumultuous in all of Jewish history. Yet the scrolls contain no recognizable reference to any of the signal events of Herod the Great's reign, for example—although Josephus portrayed that period as a watershed in his people's history. Herod's building of a Greek theatre and amphitheatre in Jerusalem; his reconstruction of Samaria; his dismantling of the Hasmonean Temple in Jerusalem to replace it with his own: none of these events appears. Other matters during these years that go unmentioned include the War of Varus; appointment and dismissal of high priests; planned installation of the image of Caligula in the temple at Jerusalem, leading to widespread rioting; the reign of Herod Agrippa I, a firm follower of the Pharisees; various freedom fighters, prophets, and millenarian leaders described in Josephus, including John the Baptist; high priestly families battling in the streets of Jerusalem in the years 62–64 CE; the outbreak and events of the First Revolt itself.

These are events of identical character—involving temple purity, political leadership, war, and foreign invasion—to those that compelled the writers of the first-century BCE sectarian texts to put stylus to leather. Yet in the first century CE, so far as we have evidence, the writers respond not at all.

(p. 118) One might suppose, as has sometimes been suggested, that the Teacher's followers ceased to write such works as the *Pesharim* because their eschatological views evolved. Did the Teacher's movement dull the sharp-edged expectations found in such works as the *Pesher Habakkuk*, beginning in the reign of Herod to prefer an open-ended wait on the millennium? If so, comparative millenarian evidence would lead us to expect them to write new texts nevertheless, to explain the new ideas and explain away the old. At least some such texts ought to be discernible among the scrolls. None are. To propose that for some reason, not apparent to us, followers preserved only the older, now 'invalid' writings is special pleading. If the group still lived, newer writings should signal the fact.

The most natural conclusion from the silence in the scrolls is that by the beginning of the Common Era the Teacher's movement had lost vitality, perhaps even died out altogether. Judging from the scrolls, at most a rivulet survived to flow into the first century. If so, then the Teacher's movement was a phenomenon essentially confined to the first century BCE.

Final Considerations

The foregoing discussion has focused on the sectarian texts and their use to write the history of the Teacher of Righteousness and his movement. This is proper method in the first instance, and so little has been said of the non-sectarian writings found among the scrolls, even though these far outnumber the sectarian manuscripts. Would it be proper at this juncture to return to the excluded materials and fold them back in, as ancillary sources? The answer to this question hinges on what one believes the Dead Sea caches represent as a whole.

One option would be to see the texts as gathered elsewhere and deposited near Qumran by a group or groups unrelated to the Teacher and his movement. Perhaps these people would be refugees fleeing Jerusalem at its fall in 70 CE; or perhaps they would be freedom fighters moving the war out into the desert at that point. Presumably, if this were the ancient reality, one would need to understand the Teacher's group and their writings as presenting useful and important ideas that the later readers wished to appropriate.

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Another option that is possible in the light of the foregoing is that the Teacher's movement did survive, though only in such small numbers that any literary issue they may have had, being exiguous, failed to survive among the scrolls we possess. After all, we know that not all of the manuscripts originally placed in the caves survived. If the later writings were truly few in number, then their odds of surviving would be correspondingly lower than the works of the earlier movement, (p. 119) numerous as they were. Historical reality is generally more complex than we can conceive. In the case at hand, it is entirely possible, indeed perhaps likely, that neither scenario is straightforwardly correct, and that the reality, while unknowable *in se*, was some *tertium quid* that appropriates elements of both options in proportions mixed and impenetrable. For example, perhaps some caves represent sectarian collections, some the libraries of other groups (thought-provoking here are Pfann 2007; Stökl Ben Ezra 2007).

In any case, it must be noted that among the non-sectarian texts are nearly a decade of references to historical figures by name. All seem to come from texts written within a generation of the time implicated by the figure. And, arguably, all of these figures fit in the first century BCE, the time I am proposing for the Teacher. Thus: Alexander Jannaeus (*Yonatan ha-melekh*, 4Q448 [*bis*]); Alexandra (*Shelamtsion*, 4Q331, 4Q332); Hyrcanus II (*Yoḥanan/Hurqanos*, 4Q331, 4Q332); Aristobulus (Ari[stovlos], *olim* 4Q323, quite uncertain); M. Aemilius Scaurus (*Amelyos*, 4Q333 [*bis*]), and Peitholaus the Jewish general of the mid-first century BCE (*Peitlaos*, 4Q468e). Only a single non-sectarian writing both dates from the second century BCE, and alludes to historical figures of that period by name. And that writing, 4Q245, likely included mention of Aristobulus I (104 BCE), and itself dates early in the reign of Jannaeus, right on the cusp of the first century BCE; hence it is no real exception to the pattern of the other named references (Wise 2005).

It would seem then that the non-sectarian texts tend to support the broad parameters of the reconstruction I have offered, and tend to question the classical Essene hypothesis as originally conceived and often still propagated. The Teacher and his movement appear to belong to the first century BCE.

Suggested Reading

The approach suggested in this chapter is new. Consequently, limited bibliography exists explicitly supporting or arguing against its ideas. A good way to begin assessing the suggestions is to read some of the best arguments offered by the older consensus: Cross (1958) and Milik (1959), together with de Vaux (1973) and, for an updating of the latter, Magness (2002) and Eshel (2008). One might then read a strong attack on the entire fortress of the Essene hypothesis to get a sense of where some breaches of the structure have been attempted (Golb 1995). With this background in place, several explicitly interactive or supportive writings might make better sense: Collins (2006, 2010), Douglas (1999), and Wise (1999; 2003a). Lingered evidential perspectives to consider in assessing the complex of issues regarding the Teacher and his movement include the nature of the cave (p. 120) deposits—unitary or not? (Pfann 2007; Stökl Ben Ezra 2007)—and the unity or diversity implied by the scribal phenomena (Wise 1994; Tov 2004).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The question of women in Qumran is a recent one. The interest in, and awareness of, women on the site and in the scrolls was slow in coming, and associated with the emergence of intellectual feminism, which put as its chief goal the discovery of women where none had previously been noted. This external phenomenon was bolstered by two internal developments, strongly connected with Qumran research: 4QMMT, with its apparent similarity to Sadducee *halakhah*, created doubt with regard to the Essene hypothesis; the belated publication of all the documents from Qumran in the 1990s and 2000s made the cumulative presence of women in them ever more evident and difficult to ignore. This article presents an overview of women's appearance in the Qumran texts and discusses their history and state of research. It follows the conventional structure of dividing the Qumran library between biblical texts, apocryphal texts, and unique Qumran-sectarian texts.

Keywords: Qumran women, Qumran-sectarian texts, apocryphal texts, 4QMMT, Essene hypothesis, intellectual feminism, Sadducee halakhah

History of Research

The question of women in Qumran is a recent one. When the scrolls were discovered sixty years ago, it was assumed that their authors were the celibate Essenes of Philo and Josephus. The first excavators of Qumran were influenced by early Christian monasticism, and identified Qumran as a site similar to a Christian monastery, and its inhabitants as celibate males. The interest in, and awareness of, women on the site and in the scrolls was slow in coming, and associated with the emergence of intellectual feminism, which put as its chief goal the discovery of women where none had previously been noted.

This external phenomenon was bolstered by two internal developments, strongly connected with Qumran research: (1) 4QMMT, first brought to the public attention in 1984, with its apparent similarity to Sadducee *halakhah* (Qimron and Strugnell 1985), created doubt and confusion with regard to the Essene hypothesis; (2) the belated publication of all the documents from Qumran in the 1990s and 2000s made the cumulative presence of women in them ever more evident and difficult to ignore. True, 1QS, which was almost the first sectarian document to be discovered, and which inspired E. L. Sukenik in his identification of its members as (p. 124) Essenes, is silent on the issue of women, but one cannot say the same for CD, which was known long beforehand from the Cairo Genizah, and never considered Essene until the discovery of the DSS. Indeed, Solomon Schechter designated it 'a Zadokite Fragment', associating it with the Sadducees (Schechter 1910). One of the reasons for this failure to identify Essene characteristics in CD was probably that the work does not reflect a celibate society. And indeed, additional fragments of this document, which were discovered in Qumran itself (J. Baumgarten 1996), but which have no parallel in the document discovered in the Cairo Genizah, only magnified the role women play in it (Wassen 2005: 45–89; 107–12; 171–97).

Women in Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls

The presence or absence of women in the DSS remains one of the most important factors for determining the character of the Qumran community. If they are not the Essenes but some other sect (e.g. a Sadducean offshoot, so Schiffman 1994: 83–95), women pose no problem. If they are the Essenes, then women constitute a major obstacle. Philo, Josephus, and Pliny describe the Essenes as a celibate male congregation (Philo, *Apologia* 14–17; Jos. *BJ* 2: 120–1; Pliny, *NH* 5.17.4 [73]). If they are identical with the Dead Sea Sect, women need to be explained away. One way of doing this is by recourse to Philo's Therapeutai. This is a sect described by Philo, which was active in Egypt in the first century CE. It too was celibate, but unlike the Essenes, it counted celibate women among its members. The question whether the Essenes and the Therapeutai are two branches of the same movement or completely separate entities must have a bearing on the question of women in Qumran. If the two groups form one and the same movement, women present among the DSS could be considered as celibate members. However, scholars who thought the two groups belonged to the same movement did not bring the women question into their discussion (e.g. Vermes and Goodman 1989). On the other hand, Joan Taylor, who devoted an entire book to the women question among the Therapeutai, does not think the two belonged to the same movement (Taylor 2003). For her the Therapeutai are first and foremost representatives of Jewish-Hellenistic Alexandria, and not Greco-Roman Palestine, to which both the Essenes and/or the DSS belonged.

Not long after 4QMMT became a factor in the determination of the character of DSS, Eileen Schuller published her first influential article on women in Qumran (Schuller 1993), in which she claimed that the Dead Sea Sect tolerated marriage, and suggested tentatively that there were perhaps women members in it. Obviously such a suggestion could not have been possible while the hegemony of the Essene hypothesis was incontrovertible.

For a while the Sadducee hypothesis gained supporters, sometimes even replacing the Essene one. This allowed women to enter the Qumran consciousness, albeit mostly as good wives and mothers (Schiffman 1994: 127–43). It also allowed Schuller's theory of women's Qumran membership to gain supporters (Elder-Bennet 1994; Cansdale 1994), and opened the question of women's presence at the site and their burial in the cemetery. German physical anthropologists, who (p. 125) reexamined skeletons from the cemetery preserved in the German University of Göttingen, identified among them many female ones (Röhler-Ertl, Rohrhirsch, and Hahn 1999; and see also Taylor 1999).

However, the Essene hypothesis soon righted itself. Although the developments in the understanding of the Qumran texts as inclusive of wives and marriage could not be overturned, new suggestions were put forward about how to harmonize these women with the Essenes of Josephus. The new consensus that developed (influenced by the earlier work of Vermes 1974) runs as follows: at the end of his discussion, Josephus mentions a group of Essenes who do marry, although under strict conditions (*BJ* 2: 160–1); 1QS was interpreted as referring to the celibate Essenes, CD as describing the marrying ones. A pericope in CD was utilized to develop this theory: CD 7: 4–9 reads, 'All who walk in these [ways—TI] in the perfection of holiness according to all the instructions of the covenant of God in loyalty, they shall live for a thousand generations'. These words were interpreted to refer to the celibate Essenes. The text continues: 'And if they dwell in camps according to the rule of the land and took wives and bore sons, they shall walk according to the Torah and the rule of the law of the instruction and the rule of the Torah, as is written between a man and his wife and between a father and his son'. These refer to Josephus' marrying Essenes (see Qimron 1992; Bernstein 2004; Shemesh 2006). The celibate Essenes resided in Qumran. Members of the entire sect were male. Either they lived in Qumran and were celibate, or they lived elsewhere and took wives. Contrary to Schuller, the women of the Essenes were wives or daughters or mothers, but not members.

This hypothesis is supported, according to Jodi Magness, by archaeology, which failed to provide evidence of women at Qumran (Magness 2002: 182–5). On the assumption that jewellery and cosmetics are generic to the presence of women, the failure to find them convinced her that no women resided at the site. There are, however, problems with such an assumption, because if the sect was ideologically opposed to the use of jewellery and cosmetics, one may assume that women members of the sect would refrain from using them too. In a similar vein, physical anthropologists explained away the female skeletons found in Qumran. Joe Zias claimed that all female skeletons, save one, found at the site should be interpreted as late Bedouin burials (Zias 2000). Susan Sheridan claimed that in the French skeleton collection, aside from one doubtful case, there were no female specimens (Sheridan 2002). Yet the issue is not decided. Shortly after these publications, Eshel et al. published the results of further excavation at the Qumran cemetery, which yielded the burial of two women (Eshel et al. 2002). In light of these, Albert Baumgarten commented that absolute claims, like the one about the Essene identity of the Qumran sectarians, do not tolerate exceptions such as these, and explaining them away, while being the normal method

adopted by scholars, does not solve the problem (2004: 179–85).

(p. 126) The new consensus, of married male members and women who are mere wives, has also to contend with some texts that do not quite confirm it: 1QSa 1: 11 speaks of women testifying against their husbands; 4Q502 mentions women elders (4 ;תונמאQ159 and 4Q271 both mention trustworthy women (תונמא), appointed by the overseer, who perform gynaecological examinations on prospective brides; and 4Q270 mentions mothers (אמא) parallel to fathers of the community, who generate respect (on all these see below). These phenomena do not support the new consensus of male members and their non-member wives. Scholars who choose to privilege these texts, still support Schuller's theory that women may have been members in the *Yahad* sect.

In the following sections I present an overview of women's appearance in the Qumran texts, and discuss their history and state of research. I follow the conventional structure of dividing the Qumran library between biblical texts, extra-biblical (apocryphal) texts, and unique Qumran-sectarian texts.

Biblical Texts

Usually one would leave biblical texts out of the discussion of women in Qumran, because the assumption is that these texts are constant, pre-Qumranic, and the women in them can be discussed elsewhere. However, next to LXX, the biblical texts from Qumran serve as vital witnesses for the textual history of the Hebrew Bible (Tov 2001: 117). Although for the LXX a full-blown feminist commentary has not been attempted, there is little doubt that such a study is possible and fruitful, as Schorch in his study of Genesis was able to show (2008). He maintained that there are many differences between the presentation of women in LXX and in the masoretic text, and that some of these were already found in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX, while some are due to the latter's unique worldview. A similar Hebrew *Vorlage* may have been used in Qumran and similar differences may be expected there. Here are three such examples that have been noted by scholars and discussed in the literature:

(1) Exodus 2: 3. In 4QExod^b, in the rendition of this verse we find not just Moses' mother placing the baby in the bulrushes, but also her female slave (שפחה—Ulrich and Cross 1994: 87). This woman is not present in the masoretic text and one may well wonder how she made her way into this text. In his study of this passage Alexander Rofé demonstrated that a similar phenomenon is evident in LXX, albeit for other texts. Eli's slave, unknown from the masoretic text, suddenly shows up in LXX to 1 Samuel 1: 14, and reprimands Hannah for being drunk in the sanctuary, instead of Eli doing so. A hitherto unattested slave also appears in LXX to 1 Kings 12: 24k, sent by the blind Ahiah of Shilo to (p. 127) speak to Jeroboam's wife, instead of doing so himself (Rofé 2002). The gender of the slaves in LXX is unknown. The word used to describe both of them is the gender-neutral Greek *paidarion*. Yet, if the additional slaves here, as Rofé claims, are of the same order as the slave in 4QExod^b, we may assume that in an original Hebrew *Vorlage*, they were female. Why this is so is not a question that interests Rofé, but a collection of such examples in order to assess their meaning could be helpful for the study of biblical women.

(2) Exodus 15. The editors of DJD did not consider 4Q365 as a biblical text, but rather as a 'Reworked Pentateuch' (Tov and White [Crawford] 1994), described by the editors as a selection of pentateuchal verses, with short exegetical notes. However, it is now more generally recognized as a proto-masoretic biblical text, with exegetical additions (Segal 2000: 393–5). One addition in this text is much more significant than a short exegetical note. In Exodus 15: 21, after the mention of Miriam, Aaron's sister, leading the Israelite women in song and dance, Miriam's song was inserted, a seven-line poetic composition, supplementing the biblical text, which only presents the song of Moses. The editors unanimously view the song as an exegetical addition, but the view is not argued, except in general terms—it is harmonistic in character, intended to fill a gap that seems to be found in the masoretic version. However, since with issues pertaining to women the tendency is usually the opposite, namely to omit rather than expand (see Ilan 2006), this judgement may not be the final word. The significance of this text for the issue of women and their voice has been emphasized by Joan Taylor (2003: 329–30), who integrated it into her discussion of women in the Jewish-Egyptian sect of the Therapeutai (see above). However, a reading of this song in connection with the position and presence of women in Qumran is still lacking.

(3) Malachi 2: 16. This verse, in first person, voices God's disapproval of divorce with the words: חלשאניכי (for I hate divorce). In a Qumran scroll (4QXII^p, col. 2) this verse reads חלשהתנשמיכי, which could be translated as 'for if you hate her, divorce (her)' (Ulrich and Fuller 1997: 224). A similar textual variant is also found in LXX

and Targum Jonathan. The variation is slight, but the meaning it conveys could not be more different. The masoretic version denigrates divorce but the other condones and even recommends it in certain circumstances. Obviously, the two versions come from two competing schools. Which one did the Qumranites support? Brin (1997) uses this text to bolster his argument that the Dead Sea Sect tolerated divorce. Whether he is right or not is hard to decide, but this is an example where a Qumranite biblical text variant was used to reconstruct the sect's gender ideology. There is, however, no sectarian text from Qumran that cites this verse in this form or otherwise.

In this context it is important to note what was not found in Qumran. Despite early and late attempts to prove otherwise (Fink 1961; Talmon 1995), not a single scrap that could be identified with the Book of Esther has been discovered in (p. 128) Qumran (White Crawford 1996). This is significant for the study of women because, as is well known, the heroine of this text is a Jewish woman who married a foreign king. Is the absence of the scroll in Qumran intentional or accidental? And if it is intentional (as claimed for example by Talmon 1995: 264–7), has the feminine heroine anything to do with this? In a previous study, I had claimed that it is noteworthy that not only Esther but Judith and Susanna (i.e. books with feminine subjects) were also absent at the site (Ilan 1999: 140–1). Although this can be considered no more than an *argumentum ex silentio* (particularly in Qumran where the survival of a book may be purely accidental), it may still be significant for feminist research, which is often about the silencing of women in patriarchal texts.

Apocryphal Texts

Aside from biblical texts, the Qumran library also yielded a large repository of non-biblical fragments; some of them (such as the Book of Jubilees) were known before the discovery of the Qumran corpus, and some of them (like the Genesis Apocryphon) were new. The question, what exactly a non-biblical (or apocryphal) text is, is in the context of Qumran not easy to answer. Some compositions, like 4Q365 (Song of Miriam, just cited), demonstrate that the boundaries between biblical and non-biblical texts are fluid. For the issue of women this could also be very pertinent. For example, Allegro (1968) designated 4Q179 as 'Lamentations', although it is clear to anyone who looks at this text that, despite verbal and topical similarities, it is not a fragment of the biblical Lamentations. The text has not been extensively discussed and no one has noted that most differences between it and the biblical text are based on gendered language. While in the masoretic Lamentations 1 Jerusalem is described as a mourning, widowed woman, and in Lamentations 4 as a heartless, whoring mother, the text takes pains to emphasize the metaphoric quality of these designations. In 4Q179 the difference between metaphors and real women is more blurred. Fragment 1 is verbally similar to Lamentation 4, but while in the masoretic text, 'the daughter of my people' is described with the masculine verb as ruthless (רַחֵם, Lam. 4: 3), and speaks of the 'dear sons of Zion' (4: 2), 4Q179 maintains the feminine (הַיְרֵחֵם) and refers to 'the gentle daughters of Zion'. The same is true for Fragment 2, which is verbally similar to Lamentations 1. In the masoretic text Jerusalem is described as a widow (1:1 הנמלא, and perhaps as a menstruant (1:8 הדין). In 4Q179 she is described as neither, but rather as a deserted woman (הבן[ו]זענהשאהממוש), barren (הרקע), and bitter (מִיְהוּרַמַּת שֶׁא). In masoretic (p. 129) Lamentations 1: 16 her sons are deserted (מִיִּמּוּשׁ) and she weeps for them. But in 4Q179 she weeps for her daughters, who are repeatedly mentioned as deserted (תוֹבוּזַעַת) and mourning (תוֹלְבָא). It mentions no sons. In sum, gender is an excellent tool for the proper discussion of this text and its relationship to the canonical Lamentations (Ilan 2008).

The following is a summation of the various genres of apocryphal literature present at Qumran, and how they contribute to the study of women in Second Temple Judaism and in Qumran.

Wisdom Literature

Wisdom literature is typically represented by the biblical Proverbs, and literature of the same genre is usually designated wisdom literature. Following Proverbs 1–9, two feminine stereotypes are familiar to the biblical scholar—the personification of wisdom (designated in short 'Lady Wisdom') and the strange, sexually alluring woman (often designated 'Dame Folly'—White Crawford 1998). Scholars have increasingly investigated the recurrence of this theme in apocryphal literature. Some Qumran fragments have contributed to the debate. For example, White Crawford inquired to what extent does one find independent Qumran fragments of these two types, and in what context can we situate them. She identified three relevant compositions (4Q184–folly; 4Q185–wisdom, and 4Q525–wisdom) and concluded that they do not represent 'a "Qumranian" phenomenon but occur broadly in Second

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Temple literature. This would lead to the conclusion that these texts are not “sectarian”...’ (White Crawford 1998: 365).

Yet curiously, White Crawford refers only to wisdom texts mentioning these figures, which were found only in Qumran. In her discussion she all but ignores the only two Qumranic texts derived from Ben Sira, which also refer to ‘Lady Wisdom’ (2Q18 and 11QPs. col. 21). Ben Sira is famous for his negative attitude to women, and elsewhere he had claimed that this was its chief attraction for the rabbis of the Babylonian Talmud. While in the book of Ben Sira verses referring to real women constitute only 7 per cent of the book, in the Babylonian Talmud they constitute 40 per cent of all the verses cited from it (Ilan 1999: 155–74). Here I would like to demonstrate that the interest in this book in Qumran was evidently different.

It should be noted that five sections in Ben Sira describe a person's striving for wisdom, personified as ‘Lady Wisdom’ (1: 1–18; 4: 11–20; 6: 17–40; 14: 21–15: 10; 51: 36–54), constituting 87 out of c. 1,700 verses in the book, which is slightly more than 5 per cent. In Qumran, no more than nineteen verses of this book have been preserved, all of them from these eighty-seven verses. 2Q18 (Ben Sira 6: 20–31) is so badly preserved that it is hard to say anything about its context, but 11QPs col. 21 clearly preserves Ben Sira 51: 36–44. This acrostic poem on the merits of courting ‘Lady Wisdom’ is incorporated into a composition other than Ben Sira—an (p. 130) eclectic, perhaps unique Qumranic collection of apocryphal psalms, some of them known from the Syriac Psalter, others quite new to Psalms scholars. Thus, we find two fragments of Ben Sira in Qumran, both taken from Ben Sira's discourse on ‘Lady Wisdom’, and at least one of them within a context other than the Book of Ben Sira. All this would suggest that the Qumranites were not interested in Ben Sira and his approach to women (of which they preserved no fragment), but were interested in his feminine personified wisdom. These texts should certainly be added to White Crawford's discussion of ‘Lady Wisdom’ in Qumran. I would conclude with her that ‘these texts are not sectarian’ but would limit such comments to the authorship of the pieces, not to the collectors of the sectarian library.

With White Crawford I note that not only ‘Lady Wisdom’ of Proverbs, but also its counterpart ‘Dame Folly’ is preserved in Qumran. In the 1960s John Allegro (1964) published ‘The Wiles of the Wicked Woman’ (4Q184), and immediately opened a lively discussion of the meaning of this metaphoric figure, obviously based on the strange woman of Proverbs 7. Scholars suggested that the woman mentioned there is either a personification of the sect's ideology of the two ways—reflecting the way of evil (Licht 1971; Moore 1979–81) or an allegory (or *peshet*) for one of the sect's enemies (Rome–Gazov–Ginzberg 1967; the Hasmonians–Burgman 1974), or a demon (J. Baumgarten 1991), or the heterodoxy that threatens the Sect (Aubin 2001), but not a warning against real women. It seems, in light of the interest the DSS show in ‘Lady Wisdom’ of Ben Sira, but not in his real ‘wicked’ women, that this is quite likely.

More enlightening on the question of real women and advice on the way the Qumranite sectarians should treat them is the hitherto unknown wisdom text Musar le Mevin (4QInstruction), discovered in fragments of seven separate scrolls in Qumran (Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin 1999). This text personifies as female neither wisdom nor folly, and it has a completely different ethical approach to the question of women from Ben Sira. This is perhaps because unlike Ben Sira, which is aimed at the upper echelons of society, the Musar le Mevin is addressed to a poor scholar. It gives concrete advice (and warnings) about women (wives, daughters, mothers), in a patriarchal and patronizing but not misogynistic fashion.

According to the Musar le Mevin, the right order of the world is that a daughter is to leave her father's house and reside with her husband. A husband should rule over her, as her father had done beforehand, annulling her vows and protecting her as his property (4Q416 fr. 2). If she leaves him, he has charge of the children (4Q415 fr. 11). It is his duty to marry his daughters off fairly, avoiding any deceit (4Q415 fr. 11). Yet despite this clearly hierarchical social concept, the addressee of the Musar le Mevin is enjoined to honour his mother exactly as he honours his father (4Q416 fr. 2).

Many of these teachings are based on the Eden story (4Q416 fr. 2; 4Q432; see also Wold 2005). This biblical intertext, however, is not treated as evidence that women are intrinsically evil, as we find in Ben Sira (25: 24) and in early Christian renderings (p. 131) of this story. It even designates mankind as ‘Sons of Eve’ (4Q418 fr. 126 i–ii). At one point Musar le Mevin addresses women directly in second person, making them the recipients of wisdom's teachings. In this text the hierarchical rule of husband over wife is maintained, and the woman is enjoined

to honour her husband as a father. She is also warned against a female enemy, although the text is too fragmentary to decide who this enemy is (4Q415, fr. 2, col. 2). This text was characterized by Wright with the words: 'I know of no other Jewish wisdom text in which the addressee is a woman' (Wright 2004: 252). He thinks that this text is based not on 'Lady Wisdom' of Proverbs, nor on 'Dame Folly' of the same composition, but rather on the 'Woman of Valour' of Proverbs 31, who represents an ideal of a real woman, rather than a metaphor for something else.

Rewritten Bible

With some of the compositions known as rewritten Bible, particularly the Book of Jubilees, scholars were acquainted long before the discovery of the DSS. Many of these contribute significantly to the study of Second Temple women. Unnamed biblical women receive names; others receive additional characteristics and additional stories. The Qumran library has enriched this literature with a variety of hitherto unknown compositions and has enriched our portraits of some biblical women. Perhaps the most significant contribution of the Qumran literature to this genre is the almost complete scroll of the Genesis Apocryphon. As noted by Nickelsburg, the scroll provides us with two lengthy episodes which feature women (Noah's mother, designated Bitenosh–1Q20 2–3; and the biblical Sarah, who is described as exceedingly beautiful and pious 1Q20 19–20). He assumed that both these extensions address male anxieties about control of wives and paternity (Nickelsburg 1998). The names the Genesis Apocryphon provides for Lamech and Noah's wives (Bitenosh and Emzara) place it squarely within the Jubilees tradition, which provides the same names for these women (see Ilan 1993: 6–7).

Aside from the Genesis Apocryphon, other compositions also add to our post-biblical history of biblical heroines. The Testament of Naphtali provides Bilhah and Zilpah with an elaborate genealogy and named female ancestors (4Q215; Halpern-Amaru 1999a). The Visions of Amram provides Miriam, the sister of Moses, with a husband—Amram's brother, Uziel (4Q543 fr. 1; 4Q545 fr. 1a; 4Q549 fr. 2). A careful study of all these texts can provide us with additional information of this nature.

Other Apocryphal Texts

A number of texts identified as apocryphal are not directly associated with the Bible, and usually describe post-biblical times. Scholars in the past have noted that (p. 132) this sort of literature is particularly interested in female protagonists (Wills 1995). This sort of text is attested in Qumran mainly by the Book of Tobit, known from the Apocrypha in Greek and from Qumran both in Hebrew and Aramaic. The women of Tobit are well known from previous scholarship, and their appearance in Qumran contributes little to our knowledge of Second Temple women. Tobit, it should be noted, is a composition mild in its judgement of women and their roles in society, unlike two other apocryphal works named after women—Judith and Susanna—of which, as mentioned above, no traces were found in Qumran. Whether this is significant or accidental is an open question.

Sectarian Texts

The Qumran community produced texts usually defined as sectarian. These texts are characterized by their use of unique terminology and display sectarian concerns. These include first and foremost 1QS, 1QSa, CD, 1QM, 4QMMT, and the *Pesharim*. Just as a clear distinction between biblical and apocryphal texts in Qumran is not possible, so it is difficult to answer the question of what constitutes a sectarian document. For example, the Book of Jubilees, mentioned above, known from elsewhere outside of Qumran, displays many features unique to the Qumran sectarian literature. One of them is especially pertinent to the question of women. Jubilees 3: 8 explains why Leviticus 12: 2–5 prescribes a different purification period for a mother who gave birth to a boy and one who gave birth to a girl. The explanation is based on the creation order—man was created first, and therefore requires a shorter purification period. The same tradition is found in 4Q265, which has been given the name Miscellaneous Rules, and described by Joseph Baumgarten as a cross between 1QS and the CD (1994: 3). García-Martínez (2007: 71–2) understood this fragment as sectarian, indicating that the Book of Jubilees served as a source for the sect's halakhic approach here. Himmelfarb (1999: 25), on the contrary, took 4Q265 as a source used by Jubilees. If her reconstruction is correct, we must conclude (with other scholars) that Jubilees is a sectarian document produced in Qumran.

A similar issue may arise from an observation of the wisdom text *Musar le Mevin*, mentioned above. Unlike Jubilees, this text was not known prior to the Qumran discovery. The seven separate manuscripts at the site indicate just how popular it was in the Dead Sea Sect. However, as mentioned above, its similarity to other wisdom texts has led scholars to define it as non-sectarian. At least one phrase in this text, which is associated with women ('All her [i.e. his daughter's] deformities he [i.e. the father] will tell him [i.e. the future husband]'- (p. 133) 4Q415 fr. 11), is repeated verbatim in a segment of CD (4Q271; see Wassen 2005: 72-3), a clearly sectarian composition. So, who borrowed from whom? And what is *Musar le Mevin*'s relation to CD? We simply do not know.

In this context, the character of the Temple Scroll is intriguing. It is a complete scroll, and many parallels between it and sectarian documents can be shown. This is particularly true for issues pertaining to women, as discussed by Schiffman (1992). He demonstrated that like CD, 11QT probably rules against polygyny; and that also like CD, 11QT prohibits marriage with a niece. 11QT also holds stringent rules about menstrual and seminal impurity following intercourse and the permitted entrance into the 'Temple City', which is variously interpreted as the entire City of Jerusalem or the Temple Mount alone (Schiffman 1992: 210-12; Japhet 1993). Yet all other pericopes which mention women (the beautiful captive woman; the accused virgin; adultery; the seduced virgin and other incest laws) are clearly non-sectarian, and so he concludes that 'for the most part he [the author of the scroll] echoes... the simple meaning of the biblical text. There is no hint here of any ascetic or celibate tendencies' (Schiffman 1992: 228). So, was the Temple Scroll composed in Qumran, or was it composed elsewhere and inspired the Qumranites? We cannot tell.

In the following lines I will summarize the portrayal of women in the undeniably sectarian documents and review the state of research. I shall begin with CD.

Damascus Document (CD)

CD is probably the Qumranic text that best lends itself to a gender analysis (Grossman 2004). Cecilia Wassen (2005) analysed all passages associated with women which appear in CD and concluded that it is a product of a patriarchal, totalitarian society (which she identifies as the Essenes), which nevertheless counted women as members, albeit of a lesser order. The following issues are the most decisive and most divisive in CD.

Polygyny/Divorce

CD 4: 20-1 is one of the most often discussed texts in the entire Qumran corpus. It describes one of the 'nets of Belial', into which the opponents of the sect have fallen, as 'taking two wives in their lifetime'. Even before it was apparent that the members of the Dead Sea Sect condoned marriage, this text became a bone of contention. What is condemned here? Is it polygyny? Is it divorce? Is it remarriage after divorce? In his article in 1974, Vermes summarized the scholarly debate at that time, showing that all the above options had been raised. He concluded that, in light of a pericope from the then newly published Temple Scroll concerning the king ('He may not take another wife in addition to her, for she alone shall be with him all the days of his life. But if she dies he may marry another' 11QT 57: 15-19, see Yadin (p. 134) 1972), the issue at hand was polygyny. He concluded that the Qumran sect forbade polygyny (Vermes 1974). This conclusion seems quite straightforward, in light of the arguments raised in its support in CD: 'The foundation of creation is "Male and female he created them" (Genesis 1: 27) and those who came into the ark, "two by two they came into the ark" (Genesis 7: 9) and of the king it is written: "he shall not multiply wives for himself" (Deuteronomy 17: 17)' (CD 4: 21-5: 2). Even King David's polygyny is explained away with the words: 'And David did not read the sealed Book of Torah which was in the ark, for it was not opened in Israel from the deaths of Eleazar and Joshua...and the revealed law was hidden until the days of Zadok'. Daniel Schwartz claimed that this sort of argumentation is based on 'nature' and 'reality'. Monogamy is the 'foundation of creation', i.e. justified by nature itself. He assumes that this is what makes the *halakhah* of the DSS priestly (Schwartz 1992: 230-1).

Nevertheless, this text from CD continued to be discussed, even after it became the consensus opinion that it condemned only polygyny. Several variations on the theme were put forward. Gruber suggested that the prohibition of polygyny declared by this text is not just supported by the biblical verses Genesis 1: 23; 7: 9 and Deuteronomy 17: 17, but is actually based on Leviticus 18: 18 ('do not take a woman along with her sister so as to create rivalry, to reveal her nakedness in her life time'). He thinks that 'sister' here means 'fellow woman' and that CD paraphrases this verse when it reads: 'taking two wives in their lifetime' (Gruber 2001, and see also Barzilai

2005).

Shemesh suggested reading this text together with another from CD (4Q271). This text states that a father should only give his daughter to one to whom she is intended, and that if she is a virgin or a widow, suspected of infidelity, she should be examined by experts before she can marry. From this text Shemesh concluded that in the view of the Qumran Sect a woman who had sexual intercourse with another is considered his legal wife, and the one to whom she is intended is the one with whom she has already cohabited. Sexual intercourse makes a man and a woman into one flesh, and this bond can only be broken by the death of one of the partners. Thus, Shemesh concluded that CD not only forbids polygyny, it also forbids remarriage as long as the other partner is alive, even if the two are no longer living as man and wife (Shemesh 1998).

As opposed to these, Fitzmyer (1978) believed that CD 4–5 proscribes both polygyny and divorce. In order to make this argument, Fitzmyer placed special emphasis on 11QT 57: 15–19: 'He may not take another wife in addition to her, for she alone shall be with him all the days of his life', which he interpreted as proscribing divorce. If, Fitzmyer claims, this is the law even for the king, surely it is also the law for the commoner.

However, Fitzmyer's view remained the minority opinion. Several scholars refuted it, bringing additional evidence that divorce was sanctioned in Qumran. Brin (1997) cited the Qumranic variant reading of Malachi 2: 16, mentioned above, which recommends rather than condemns divorce (as opposed to the Masoretic text, which does condemn it). Holmén (1997–8) supported the same view with reference to another paragraph in CD–13: 17—which includes the word שרגמל and which Holmén read as speaking of a man divorcing his wife. This text was known to Fitzmyer, but he had read the word שרגמ as a noun describing a plot of land, and not to a verb describing divorce. Holmén used new manuscript evidence from Qumran to show that Fitzmyer's reading is not possible. Noam (2005) accepted the conclusions of these two scholars, but with reservations. She suggested reading the Qumran divorce texts together with early rabbinic law on divorce, as represented by Beit Shammai, and thus qualifying its universality. The school of Shammai viewed divorce as permissible only in cases where the wife was discovered to have committed adultery. Noam uses 4Q271, referred to above, in order to bolster her argument. In 4Q271 the word רבד is used as a euphemism for sexual relations, exactly as one finds in the mouth of Beth Shammai in the Mishnah (b. Gittin 1: 1). She thus agrees with Fitzmyer that the King was indeed forbidden to divorce his wife, because the wife of the king was expected to be a paragon of fidelity, and it is unlikely that she would commit adultery. She also agrees with Shemesh that a divorced woman was ineligible for second marriage, but not because she is still physically attached to her first husband, but rather because she is considered an adulteress.

Thus, this passage is repeatedly discussed in the scholarly literature, although its meaning does not seem to be contested any more (Wassen 2005: 114–18).

Marriage with Niece

A second net of Belial into which the enemies of the Qumranites fall is marriage to a niece. Here CD states that, while it is true that this prohibition is absent from the list of incestuous relationships recorded in Leviticus 18, the mirror opposite, marriage to an aunt, is, and 'The rule of incest is written for males but refers equally to women' (CD 5: 9–11). From the point of view of reading for women and gender, this is a very interesting exegesis of biblical male language. CD asserts here that male language does not necessarily imply male referents. Schwartz, however, noted a different aspect of this implied exegesis, and maintained that it too, like the prohibition of polygyny, relies on 'natural' rather than legal reasoning, and makes this ruling priestly (Schwartz 1992: 231).

The prohibition on marrying one's niece is voiced by two further Qumran compositions, making it one of the most often stressed aspects of sectarian *halakhah*. One reference is found in 1QT 66: 15–17, where the prohibition on marrying one's niece is incorporated into the list of biblically forbidden unions (Leviticus 18), as though it was part of scripture. Thus, although CD assumes that (p. 136) one can deduce this prohibition from the other, prohibiting marriage to an aunt, the Temple Scroll finds it necessary to spell it out.

The same technique of explicitly incorporating the prohibition on marrying a niece into a list of forbidden unions is repeated in a small halakhic fragment–4Q251 (fr. 17). This text begins with the words תוירעהלע ('about incest'), which is followed with the prohibition formula 'A man shall not take'. Unfortunately this is where this fragment leaves off. It picks up again in the next line, which reads 'his brother's daughter and his s[ister]'s daughter', listing the prohibition we are interested in here. I suspect that the entire list is intended to repeat Leviticus 18, but also to fill in

gaps in it. Thus, in the last preserved line of the fragment, we read: 'A man shall not take his daughter'. This line has been completed with the words 'to a non-priest' by the editor, who explains this decision as follows: 'This appears to be a law against marrying off one's daughter to a non-Jew or against a priest marrying his daughter to a non-priest' (J. Baumgarten 1996: 45–6). Yet this explanation is forced. The verb 'take' (לקח) is used in this fragment with reference to a man taking a wife and not giving one away. And it should also be noted that in the list of forbidden unions in Leviticus 18 it is not just the niece who is absent. The daughter too is not mentioned, even though the mother is. This list may be intended to complement the missing pieces of Leviticus 18, and this line prohibits nothing less than marriage (or sexual relations) between father and daughter.

The contested union between uncle and niece, much more than the issue of bigamy, seems to have constituted grounds for one of the most prominent polemics between the Dead Sea Sect and their (Pharisee?) opponents, as Schremer in his discussion of the issue in rabbinic literature shows. He suggested reading CD 5: 9–11 in conjunction with the text in CD 4–5 which prohibits polygyny and argued that rabbinic literature too demonstrates that marriage to a niece, combined with polygynous practices, brings about the real danger of incest, particularly in cases of levirate marriage. Precautions were necessary in order to avoid it, and the rabbis formulated elaborate rulings for this purpose. The Qumran sect sought to avoid it by prohibiting polygyny and marriage to a niece, and designating them both 'fornication' (זנות) (Schremer 2000).

That the issue was polemical is obvious also from other contemporary literary compositions. As shown by Halpern-Amaru, the Book of Jubilees, which (as demonstrated above) was much revered in Qumran, although it recommends endogamous marriages and praises the forefathers of Israel for adhering to it, can contemplate a brother-sister union (such as that of Abraham and Sarah) but never envisions a niece-uncle marriage (Halpern-Amaru 1999b: 23). Similarly, Segal showed that rabbinic *midrash* made Sarah into Abraham's niece (and Esther into Mordechai's wife), for the purpose of showing those who rejected marriage with a niece that there are biblical precedents for such a practice (Segal 1991–2). Thus, the prohibition of uncle-niece marriage can serve as a good indicator for identifying a sectarian document in Qumran. If, as suggested by Halpern-Amaru, Jubilees could (p. 137) be considered sectarian because it adheres to this prohibition, the Visions of Amram, found in Qumran, which describes the marriage of Miriam, Moses' sister, to her uncle Uziel (4Q543 fr. 1), is probably not.

Oaths

In Numbers 30: 4–16 a husband is instructed concerning the vows of his wife and given permission to annul them under certain circumstances. According to the usual reading of this text, CD 16: 10–11 restricts this right of the husband only to cases where the female vows constitute a transgression of the commandments. If the vows she utters concur with the commandments he may not annul them. In this CD does not agree with the Temple Scroll (11QT 53: 16–54: 5; see Schiffman 1991) or with the wisdom text Musar le Mevin (4Q416 fr. 2.4: 8–10), both of which adhere more closely to the biblical text. What this means about the sectarian/non-sectarian nature of the last two remains contested. I have used this text in the past to show how, when a biblical-patriarchal legal principle clashes with sectarian loyalty, CD prefers the latter (Ilan 1999: 42). Wassen uses this text to argue that the sect was patriarchal but tolerated female members (Wassen 2005: 90–3).

Physical Examination of Prospective Bride

4Q271 was identified as an additional fragment of CD. In it we learn that, as part of a marriage arrangement, if a woman was slandered as having been unchaste, trustworthy women (תוננות) should physically examine her. The same women are also mentioned in 4Q159, although as Tigay showed, in that fragment they perform the examination after intercourse and not beforehand (Tigay 1993; cf. Shemesh 2001). These trustworthy women must have had a professional standing within the sect, enforcing its patriarchal norms concerning the value of virginity (Wassen 2005: 87–8).

Mothers

Another CD fragment, 4Q270, is the most interesting statement concerning women in the sect in the entire composition. We read that '[whoever comp]lains about the fathers [will be expelled] from the congregation and never return [and if (he complained)] about the mothers, he shall be punished te[n] days for the mothers have no *rqmh* within [...]'. The importance of this text is that it positions men with honorary titles—fathers—in comparison with women who bear honorary titles—mothers. Both were apparently appointees of the community. This further

bolsters Wassen's thesis of female membership in CD.

Yet the fathers obviously have something called *המקר*, which the mothers lack. Most of the discussions of this text have concentrated on the meaning of *rqmh*. While noting that *המקר* in Hebrew means embroidery, Elwolde interpreted this term in light of *יתמקר* in Psalms 139: 15, *המקרה* of Ezekiel 17:3 and *מתמגר* of Psalms 68: 28, (p. 138) all translated in LXX as indicating some form of authority (*hypostasis; hegema; hegemones*), and suggested that the mothers in Qumran actually had no authority (Elwolde 2000). Hurowitz, on the other hand, derived the word from an Akkadian legal term *ruggumû*, which means, rather similarly, 'legal claim' (Hurowitz 2002).

Although they derive the source of this term differently, both agree as to its meaning—women with the title 'mothers' are insignificant in the sect's hierarchy. Brooke alluded to the mention of the root also in other texts from Qumran, especially the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q402–3) and the War Scroll. In all of these he identifies the term as describing a piece of clothing embroidered with many colours. He concludes that this *rqmh*, which the mothers do not have, is some piece of clothing, which identifies its bearer as a figure of authority (Brooke 2003). However we decide to translate this word, obviously it refers to the fathers' higher status in the community, supporting Wassen's assertion that the community reflected in this document, while recognizing female membership, and even leadership, was primarily patriarchal (Wassen 2005: 196–7; and also Grossman 2004: 227–8).

In association with the 'mothers', one may mention another long but very fragmentary Qumran document which mentions women, as figures of authority or at least of honour. The document is 4Q502, and its fragmentary character precludes the possibility of identifying it definitively as sectarian or otherwise. When it was published in 1982, Baillet designated it 'Rituel de Mariage' (Baillet 1982: 81). This was probably because the text speaks of 'the man (or Adam) and his wife' (fr. 1). Very soon after, Joseph Baumgarten suggested that one should rename the text 'Golden Age Ritual' (Baumgarten 1983). This he concluded because the text mentions twice *תונקזוּמִינְקָא* (frs. 19, 24), which could be translated as 'old men and women'. Against this translation, Schuller suggested that *מִינְקָא* could likewise be translated as 'elders', a title of authority and leadership in antiquity, and that *תונקָא* should consequently be translated as 'women elders' (Schuller 1994: 122). Taken together, the women elders of 4Q502, the trustworthy women of CD and 4Q159, and the mothers of CD suggest that some hierarchy and a social and professional division among the women of Qumran, parallel to the hierarchy among its male members, must have existed.

Serekh ha-Edah

1QS_a, the rule of the congregation, describes an assembly of the entire congregation as well as some of its institutions (like the council), perhaps but not indisputably, in the end of days. When described, this assembly is explicitly said to include women and children (1QS_a 1: 4). For the council (*הצנע*), also described in this (p. 139) document, the question of gender inclusion remains open, since the manuscript in 1: 27 reads that 'women' (*מישנ*) were enjoined to gather to the council, but editors have consistently emended the text to read 'men' (*מישנא*, see Ilan, forthcoming). 1QS_a also describes an education system, and the question whether it includes daughters as well as sons has been answered in the affirmative by Wassen, because its description of what one learns between the ages of ten and twenty follows closely (1: 8–9) on the inclusion of children (of both sexes) in the assembly (1: 4) (Wassen 2005: 141–2).

There is some justification in considering the entire document as speaking of members of both sexes. This is especially justified in light of the recent insight gained by most scholars in relation to 1QS_a 1: 9–11. The text reads as follows: 'he (i.e. the member of the sect) shall not go near a women to know her in the manner of male intercourse before he is twenty years old and knows the difference between good and evil. And she shall receive (*לבקת*) upon herself to give evidence against him and to stand up in court hearings'. The first scholar to approach this text in 1957 was Richardson, who commented on how surprising it is to find a document from antiquity that sanctions the evidence of women (Richardson 1957). Very soon, however, scholars suggested emending the text so as to remove the women. Baumgarten suggested reading *לבקי* (he shall receive) (Baumgarten 1957) and Licht suggested *לבקתי* (Licht 1965: 257). For thirty years these emendations were accepted by all. Yet recently, this view has come under criticism. Scholars who read these texts with new concepts of gender can no longer accept the unjustified emendation. Davies and Taylor suggested that the text should not be emended but limited. They think that, because a member of the sect was supposed to be punished for committing sexual transgression, such as cohabiting with a menstruating woman, the wife was allowed to testify against her husband in case he acted in this

manner, because she was the only one who had access to such information (Davies and Taylor 1996). Yet this limited interpretation has now also been challenged. Rothstein suggested that the wife, a member's constant companion, could also testify against him if he slandered the community or committed other transgressions within the confines of his home (Rothstein 2004). Does this mean that the Qumran community was more egalitarian than other Jews of the days? A new consensus is developing, which suggests that the wife's evidence against her husband should not be viewed as an indication of the gender equality, but rather as an indication of the sect's totalitarian character. In this community the wife's loyalty to the sect was supposed to override her loyalty to her husband (Ilan 1999: 38–41; Wassen 2005: 205). (p. 140)

The War Scroll

The War Scroll (1QM) describes the apocalyptic war between the sons of light (the sect) and the sons of darkness (everyone else). Only one paragraph in it is relevant to women, namely 1QM 11: 3–6, where they are expressly excluded from participating in this apocalyptic war. In the patriarchal understanding that war is men's business, the sect concurs with other opinions current in its day. The reason why this paragraph is of particular interest to the scholar of women is because it reflects similar lists of exclusions found in CD (15: 15–17, cf. 4Q266) and in 1QSa (2: 3–9), in which women are not mentioned. Shemesh paid particular attention to these lists, discussing and explaining the reasons for the minute differences between them (Shemesh 1997). However, interestingly, with regard to women, he concluded (without bringing any conclusive proof) that their absence in two of the lists indicates neglect on the authors' part, since the prohibition against their presence was so self-evident, that it required no mention (Shemesh 2006: 541). However, this conclusion is flawed in light of women's explicit inclusion in the 1QM list. If the absence of women should be self-evident anywhere, it is in the camp of war. Furthermore, at least one additional Qumran fragment, 4Q265, explicitly excludes women and children from partaking in the Passover sacrifice. Thus, one may conclude, with Wassen, that in contexts other than the war camp, where women are not explicitly mentioned, they were included in the community and its institutions (2005: 144–54 and also Ilan, forthcoming).

4QMMT

4QMMT is a halakhic letter in which the members of the sect express their views on various halakhic issues, and explain why they disagree on them with their opponents. The importance of this halakhic letter is in the glimpse it affords us of issues that were doubtless disputed between the sect members and other Jews of their day. One text in MMT is relevant to the issue of women—B 75–82. These lines forbid certain sorts of marriages, comparing them to forbidden mixtures between seeds, textiles, and beasts:

And on fornication that is committed among the people, and they are of the holy seed of whom 'holy Israel' is written, and of his pure beasts it is written, that it should not be bred in mixture, and of his clothes it is written, that it should not be a mixture of wool and flax, and his field should not be sown mixed within his vineyard, because they are holy and the sons of Aaron are holy of holies. And you know that some of the priests and the people are mixing and rendering the holy seed impure.

Because the text is extremely fragmentary, scholars disagree about the subject of the forbidden unions implied here (see already Qimron and Strugnell 1994: 171, n. 178a). Hayes (1999: 25–35), following J. Baumgarten (1999), thinks these are the (p. 141) unions between Israelites and gentiles. However, there is a problem with this interpretation, because there is nothing polemical about such a prohibition. Other Israelites would readily agree that intermarriage with gentiles is forbidden. It is true that marriage with converts is allowed in Jewish circles outside of Qumran, and if the members of the Dead Sea Sect rejected converts, this could have been disputed territory. Hayes claims that the language of this pericope is reminiscent of Ezra 9, which indeed excludes the option of conversion, but the Dead Sea Sect was not averse to accepting converts as CD 6: 21 and 14: 4–6 imply. Therefore Shemesh (2001) developed the original editors' idea that the forbidden unions are between priests and regular Israelites. As the text is formulated polemically, this seems a more plausible explanation. The rest of Jewish society would have found the idea that priests should only marry other priests bizarre. Yet the idea of such strict endogamous marriage of priests may already be voiced in the Aramaic Levi Document, as preserved in Qumran, where Isaac, having learnt that Levi is a priest, instructs him: 'marry a woman from my family and do not mix your seed with harlots, since yours is a holy seed' (6: 4—see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004). The terminology in this

document is strikingly close to that of MMT.

Pesharim

The *Pesharim* are interpretations of biblical books as prophecies referring to the days of the Qumranites themselves. They quote verses from prophetic biblical books and the Psalms and apply them to events of their own day and age, thus making their relevance as prophecies timeless. Our ability to comprehend these texts is often hindered by our lack of understanding of code-words and names that the sect used when applying the prophecies to their times. Although there is but little in these texts that is relevant to women issues, at least one—*Pesher Nahum*—seems of some relevance.

The Sect's main enemies were the reigning Hasmonean dynasty. Most of the code names used by the sect refer to the heads of this dynasty. In the 70s and 60s of the first century BCE the Kingdom of Judaea was ruled by a Hasmonean queen—Shelamzion Alexandra—who was just as bitter an enemy to the sect as all her predecessors. Her name—שְׁלִמְצִיּוֹן—actually shows up in two calendrical Qumranic texts (4Q331; 4Q332), but they are so fragmentary that very little can be made of them. The most extensive reference to this queen is probably to be found in 4QpNahum. In col. 2 of this text 'The Lion of Wrath', who is definitely identified with the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, is mentioned as hanging members of a group designated 'seekers of smooth things' alive. This action is universally identified as the crucifixion of the Pharisees described in Josephus (*BJ* 1.97; *AJ* 13.380). In col. 3, which describes chronologically the events that follow those of the rule of Jannaeus, we are informed of 'the government of those who seek smooth (p. 142) things'. If 'those who seek smooth things' whom Jannaeus crucified are to be identified with the Pharisees, their government in the next column obviously refers to their incorporation into the administration of Jannaeus' successor—his wife, Queen Shelamzion Alexandra. The rule of the seekers of smooth things is described with the help of a verse from Nahum where the city of Nineveh is personified as a whore. Although the queen herself is mentioned neither by name, nor by code-name, one may infer that the use of this negative biblical feminine image alludes to her and demonstrates how unsympathetically her regime was judged by the Dead Sea Sect (Ilan 2001).

Conclusion

A careful consideration of the above will have by now shown that reading for gender can be performed much more fruitfully than has been previously done, or even considered possible, and that its late blossoming results from previously preconceived notions about the nature of women and gender. While we are now in a position to read all the documents from Qumran, and I have drawn attention in the above to many aspects which have hitherto been ignored, I have no doubt that I myself have fallen prey to similar preconceived notions. Much more about women and gender in Qumran will certainly come to light in the future, as scholars, more conscious of their own prejudices, will study these texts with open eyes.

Suggested Reading

The formative piece on women in Qumran remains Eileen Schuller's article from 1993. In this article Schuller discusses the main texts of CD and 1QSa that I have elaborated upon in this article, and it demonstrates how tentatively and carefully the issue of women's membership in the sect was first broached. Following this study, the issue of women in Qumran is best treated in those essays that are devoted to one document, or genre. This approach was initiated by Lawrence Schiffman (1992) for the Temple Scroll, and has now been taken up by Grossman (2004) in a programmatic article on CD and by Wassen (2005), who has devoted an entire well-ordered and clearly written book to the topic. Ilan (forthcoming) has applied (p. 143) similar techniques to 1QSa. The most comprehensive and thoughtful essay on women in the wisdom literature of Qumran was produced by Wright (2004). In this study, Wright enumerates all the Qumran wisdom texts that describe women, categorizes and analyses them.

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Abstract and Keywords

It has been customary to speak of 'the Qumran community'. This community is usually identified as an Essene settlement, and is widely assumed to have been celibate. However, this article contends that, regardless of the Essene identification or of the issue of celibacy, the custom of referring to 'the Qumran community' is misleading, for several reasons: The Damascus Rule found at Qumran, which envisions multiple settlements of people who married and had children; The Community Rule, or *Serekh*, which also explicitly allows for multiple communities; and there is also no clear reference to a settlement at Qumran in the scrolls.

Keywords: Qumran community, Essene settlement, celibacy, Community Rule, Damascus Rule, multiple communities, Serekh

FROM the early days of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls it has been commonly assumed that the scrolls constituted the library of a community that lived at Qumran, and that this community was described in the Rule of the Community (*Serekh-ha-Yahad*). Hence it has been customary to speak of 'the Qumran community' (Knibb 1987). This community is usually identified as an Essene settlement, and is widely assumed to have been celibate, although both of these assumptions have been disputed repeatedly in recent years. The contention of this article, however, is that regardless of the Essene identification or of the issue of celibacy, the custom of referring to 'the Qumran community' is misleading, for several reasons:

- (1) The Damascus Rule, of which several copies were found at Qumran, envisions multiple settlements, called 'camps', of people who married and had children. The Damascus Rule, at least, does not refer to 'the Qumran Community'.
- (2) The Community Rule, or *Serekh*, also explicitly allows for multiple communities, with a quorum of ten (Collins 2003, 2005). It should be noted that the Essenes were also said to be dispersed in many places. (p. 152)
- (3) Multiple copies of the *Serekh* have been found at Qumran, and there is some significant variation between them. The question arises whether they were all in use in the same community, or whether they may have been in use in different communities and only brought to Qumran to be hidden.
- (4) There is no clear reference to a settlement at Qumran in the scrolls. The most famous presumed reference, in 1QS 8, explains the retreat to the desert allegorically, although this does not necessarily rule out a literal interpretation. A reference to Qumran is possible, but not certain.
- (5) There is ongoing controversy about the site of Qumran. While it was almost certainly a sectarian site in the first century CE when the scrolls were hidden in the nearby caves, it is less certain whether it was so already in the Hasmonean period. The view that the site was a sectarian settlement from the time when it was reoccupied in the Hasmonean period has not been discredited, and entails fewer difficulties than the rival hypotheses. But in view of the uncertainty on this matter, the interpretation of the scrolls, and of the sectarian community, should not be linked too closely to that of the site.

The Differences between the D Rule and the Serekh

While scholars have always been aware of differences between the Damascus Document and the Serekh, it was nonetheless assumed that the two were closely enough related that information from CD could be used to supplement the Serekh. In 1955, Millar Burrows wrote:

The form of the organization and its rules are found in the Damascus Document and the Manual of Discipline. We have seen that these two documents have a great deal in common, though there are sufficient differences to show that they do not come from exactly the same group. They may represent different branches of the same movement or different stages in its history, if not both. (Burrows 1955: 230)

J. T. Milik supposed that the Rule of the Community was the work of the Teacher, and 'gave its special character to Qumrân monastic life in the first phase of strict Essenism'. The Damascus Rule was drawn up later for 'a fairly important group' who 'left the community at Qumrân and settled in the region of Damascus, without, however, abandoning the priestly character of the movement's theology, and remaining in communion with the "mother house"' (Milik 1959: 87). Frank Cross also argued that 'all evidence points to the assumption that the Teacher led (p. 153) his flock into the desert, and certainly our earliest sectarian documents presume the existence of the settlement in the wilderness' (Cross 1995: 97).

Cross further argued that 'the term *yaḥad*, "community," seems to apply to the community *par excellence*; i.e. the principal settlement in the desert. The Qumrân settlement is probably unique, not only in being the original "exile in the desert," the home of the founder of the sect, but also in following a celibate rule.' He allowed that it was 'possible, but not probable,...that more than one community could be termed the *yaḥad*' (Cross 1995: 71). He claimed that in CD the term *yaḥad* was reserved for the community of the founder, while the term 'camp' was used for other settlements, with a standard quorum of ten. He further allowed that 'in IQS 6.2–8 one may recognize in prescriptions for a quorum of ten, etc., provision for more than a single *yaḥad*. I think that in fact, however, in the development of Essenism, the term *maḥaneh* replaced *yaḥad* for all but the desert settlement' (Cross 1995: 71 n.2). Perhaps the most widely accepted explanation of the difference between the two rules was formulated by Geza Vermes: the Damascus Rule was a rule for 'the marrying Essenes', while the Serekh was the rule for a celibate community that lived at Qumran (Vermes 2004: 26–48). All these authors assumed the identification of the sect, reflected in both rule books, as Essenes.

The Damascus Rule

Philip Davies' monograph on the Damascus Document in 1982 marked a turning point in the discussion, insofar as he insisted that the Damascus Rule not be assimilated to the Serekh, but be studied in its own right.

Davies argued that CD substantially derived from the 'parent community', which existed before the coming of the Teacher (CD 1) and the move to Qumran. His argument depended heavily on his reading of CD 6: 3–11, which referred to the figure who laid down the statutes for the movement as 'the interpreter of the Law', and also to a future figure 'who will teach righteousness in the end of days' (Davies 1982: 124; 1988). Davies argued that CD 6 dates from a time when the Teacher was still expected. Passages that refer to the Teacher in the past tense (CD 1: 11; 20: 1, 14) come from a later 'Qumran recension'. This argument has been widely criticized. The 'Interpreter of the Law', who appears here as a figure of the past, appears as a future, eschatological figure in the Florilegium. The Damascus Document as we have it envisages two Teachers, one of whom was dead at the time of the final redaction and one who was still to come. It would seem, then, that Teacher and Interpreter are interchangeable titles, that could refer both to a figure of the past and to one who was expected in the eschatological time. It is gratuitous to multiply (p. 154) Teachers without cause, by identifying the Interpreter of the Law as yet a third figure who preceded the historical Teacher (Knibb 1990; Collins 1994). Davies' work had a lasting impact on the discussion, however, insofar as he assumed that CD reflected an earlier stage of the movement than what is described in the Serekh, and raised the possibility that some of the material may derive from a time before the advent of the Teacher of Righteousness.

The latter possibility was exploited successfully by Charlotte Hempel in her work on *The Laws of the Damascus Document* (Hempel 1998). A clear distinction can be made between laws that are intended for all Israel and regulations for the specific community of the new covenant. It is now apparent that the reasons for the formation of

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a new covenant, and the separation of this community from the rest of Judaism, lay in disagreements about the interpretation of the Torah. It is, of course, quite possible that the sectarian community continued to formulate laws that would apply to all Israel (Fraade 2007), but it is very likely that at least some of the divergent interpretations were formulated before the group felt the need to separate. Consequently, at least some of the laws for all Israel are likely to have originated before the formation of the sectarian community. Hempel notes that these laws are 'on the whole, free of overt polemics' (Hempel 1998: 72). They cover a wide range of issues and incline to a strict interpretation that goes beyond the letter of the law. So, for example, the law of the Sabbath in CD 10: 14–11: 18b forbids frivolous talk, any discussion about matters of work, and decisions about matters of property. Even if a man falls into a body of water, it is forbidden to use a ladder or a rope to pull him out. Even if these interpretations are presented in a non-polemical way, however, they contain the seeds of division, as they are not shared by all observant Jews.

The distinctive interpretations are presented in a more polemical form in the Admonition (CD 1–8). Here we find a polemic against 'the three nets of Belial': fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple (CD 4: 12–5: 15). The exposition rests on a strict interpretation of scripture. So, for example, 'Taking two wives in their lifetime', whether by polygamy or remarriage, counts as 'fornication', because 'the principle of creation is "male and female he created them"'. Moreover, the Admonition claims to have a special revelation about the cultic calendar:

for those who held fast to God's ordinances, who remained of them, God established his covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them hidden things in which all Israel had strayed: his holy Sabbaths, the glorious appointed times, his righteous testimonies, his true ways, and the desires of his will, which a person shall do and live by them. (CD 3: 12–16)

If all Israel erred in the observation of the festivals, it would be difficult to remain in the same worshipping community.

In fact, the D rule clearly makes provision for a separate community, devoted to the correct observance of the Law and based on a 'new covenant'. This was potentially a covenant for all Israel, even proselytes (CD 15: 5). One who joins it (p. 155) 'must impose upon himself to return to the law of Moses with all his heart and soul' (15: 12). He must also impose the oath of the covenant on his son, when he reaches the age of enrolment (15: 5–6). The swearing-in is supervised by an official who is called *mebaqqer*, or inspector. Members, or at least some of them, 'live in camps according to the order of the land and marry and have children' (CD 7: 6–7). It is, then, a family-based movement, not the kind of quasi-monastic community usually inferred from the Community Rule.

The 'camps' in which the members live seem to be conceived on the model of the organization of Israel in the wilderness, as described in the Book of Numbers. 'The rule for the assembly of the camps' (CD 12: 22–3) specifies that the members 'shall be ten in number as a minimum to (form) thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens'. Wherever there is a quorum of ten, there should be a priest 'learned in the book of Hagi...and by his authority all shall be governed'. The inspector has wide-ranging control over the community. No one may bring anyone into the congregation without his permission. Members cannot engage in trade without his approval, and they need his permission to marry or divorce. Even marital relations are regulated, as evidenced by the famous, or notorious, provision about 'fornicating' with one's wife (4Q267 fr. 9 6: 4–5; 4Q270 fr. 7 i 12–13). The inspector is empowered to discipline the children of members. He enforces a strict separation from outsiders. Members are required to contribute at least two days' salary per month to a common fund (CD 14: 12–13). From this common fund they care for the needy and the elderly, for 'everything is the task of the association'.

In addition to the local 'camps', there is provision for an assembly of all the camps (CD 14: 3–18a). There is a priest at the head of the 'Many' and an Inspector, who must be knowledgeable in all the regulations of the law. Those who reject the rulings of the movement, or do not abide by them, are subject to expulsion, as is made clear in the conclusion of the text in 4Q266 11: 5–8. It is not entirely clear whether the members of the new covenant refrained from participation in the temple cult, but this would seem to be implied in CD 6: 11–12: 'But all those who have been brought into the covenant shall not enter the temple to kindle his altar in vain.' (The uncertainty lies in the possibility that they may have continued to use the temple following their own 'correct' procedures).

The Serekh, or Community Rule

The rules in the Serekh have some features in common with the Damascus Rule. Here, as in CD, the person joining the community must 'swear a binding oath to return to the law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with his whole (p. 156) heart and whole soul' (1QS 5: 8–9, compare 4Q256 fr. 5: 6–7; 4Q258 fr. 1 1: line 6). Both rules portray the association on the model of Israel in the wilderness, organized in 'thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens' (1QS 2: 21–2; cf. Exod. 18: 21; Deut. 1: 15). As in CD 13, the association is organized in communities with a minimum number of ten members (1QS 6: 3.4). Both have strict disciplinary codes. Nonetheless, it becomes apparent that a different kind of community is envisioned in the Serekh. There is no mention of women or children, and there is a greater degree of communal activity. The members are said to eat, bless, and take counsel together. They also relieve each other interpreting the Torah, night and day, and keep watch together for one third of each night. Members apparently are required to turn over all their possessions to the inspector, although they are still credited to their accounts (6: 19–20). This greater cohesiveness and tighter community structure is reflected in the designation for the community, *yaḥad* (יחד), which means 'union' or 'togetherness'.

It is apparent that there is some relationship between the Serekh and the D rule. As we have seen, Milik and Cross believed that the Serekh was prior, and this view has recently been championed by Eyal Regev (Regev 2003; 2007: 163–96). Nonetheless, a comparison of community structures strongly favours the view that the D rule preserves the older, simpler form of community structure, while S is more developed (Davies 1982: 173–201; Knibb 1994; Hempel 1998: 101, 150; Hempel 1999; Hultgren 2007: 233–318). In CD, the admission process requires only a simple oath. This simple process is also found in 1QS 5: 7c–9a, but it is followed by a much more elaborate, multi-year process in 1QS 6. Whereas the D community required the contribution of two days' salary per month, the Serekh envisions fully communal property. The D rule places restrictions on sexual activity. The Serekh does not speak of women or children at all. The Damascus Rule is critical of the Jerusalem temple; the Serekh imagines the community as an alternative temple. Each of these cases suggests that the line of development was from the more primitive kind of organization found in D to the more elaborate provisions of S. It is apparent that D was not simply superseded. It continued to be copied throughout the first century BCE. Equally, there is no evidence that the differences between S and D were due to a schism. Rather, it appears that, within one broad movement, some people opted for a stricter, more demanding form of community life (Collins 2007).

Different Recensions

The understanding of the rule books has been greatly complicated by the publication of the fragments of Cave 4, which show that both the D rule and the Serekh (p. 157) existed in different recensions and that both were copied repeatedly during the first century BCE. In light of this, it is apparent that one rule-book did not simply replace the other. Moreover, there are significant differences, even contradictions, between different copies of the rules, and even between different sections of the same manuscript in some cases. Sarianna Metso has made a convincing argument that some later copies of the Serekh preserve earlier redactional stages, while the most developed edition, 1QS, is found in the earliest manuscript: 'two different lines of tradition, both of which are older than that of 1QS, are represented by the manuscripts 4QS^{b,d}(4Q256, 258) and 4QS^e (4Q259)' (Metso 1997: 152; for a contrary view see Alexander 1996). These manuscripts, however, are dated later than 1QS on the basis of palaeography. If Metso is correct, then it would seem that older forms of the text were not simply replaced by newer ones, but continued to be copied. This phenomenon raises questions about the nature and function of the Serekh.

Philip Davies has questioned whether the rules reflect actual community practice at all: 'if the "rule" is a rule, there can be only one version in effect at any one time. The paradox obliges us to reconsider our premises: is 1QS a "community rule" at all?' (Davies 1996: 157). But as Metso has argued, 'it was not academic interest which motivated the Qumranic scribes in their editorial work but rather the changes which had taken place in the life and practices of the community' (Metso 1999: 310). In her view, 'the purpose of the document was not to serve as a prescriptive lawbook in the modern sense, but rather as a recording of different judicial decisions and a report of oral traditions' (Metso 2007: 70). Philip Alexander suggests that it was a manual of instruction to guide the Maskil, the presiding figure in the community (Alexander 1996: 439). We will return below to the divergence between different editions of the rule books, but we proceed on the assumption that they do indeed reflect actual community life.

They do not, however, reflect the life of a single community.

Multiple Communities

This point is quite obvious in the case of the Damascus Document. The 'rule for the assembly of the camps' (CD 12: 22–3) specifies that the members 'shall be ten in number as a minimum to (form) thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens', on the model of the organization of Israel in the wilderness. The D rule also refers to those who 'live in camps according to the order of the land and marry and have children' (CD 7: 6–7) This is a family-based organization (Sivertsev 2005) not unlike the covenant instituted by Nehemiah (Neh 10: 29). The members are (p. 158) subject to community discipline, but this is by no means the kind of monastic community that has usually been imagined in the case of the supposed 'Qumran community'.

There is one passage in CD 7 that suggests that not all members married. The argument has been outlined as follows by Joseph Baumgarten:

CD 6.11–7.6 contains an extended list of duties incumbent upon adherents of the sect identified as 'they that walk in these in the perfection of holiness'. They are given the promise that 'the covenant of God shall stand faithfully with them to keep them alive for thousands of generations' (7: 6; 19: 20). This is immediately followed by the provision 'And if they dwell in camps according to the order of the land and take wives and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law' (7.6–7)...The only valid conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the editor of CD placed this provision after the promise to those who walk in perfect holiness quite deliberately. Its adversative formulation beginning with the conditional 'And if' indicates that the previously mentioned aspirants to perfect holiness did not dwell in scattered dwelling places in the conventional manner of the land, did not take wives, and did not beget children. (Baumgarten 1990: 18; compare Qimron 1992: 290–1)

This argument has been criticized by Cecelia Wassen (2005: 125–8). She argues that the comparison in CD 7 is between two groups, those who 'walk in perfect holiness' and 'all those who despise' in 7: 9, who will be subject to judgement and will not live for a thousand generations. The reference to those who live in camps in CD 'does not form a part of this overall comparison', and 'looks out of place'. Elsewhere in CD expressions similar to 'all those who walk in these in holy perfection' do not allude to a separate group within the community, but to the entire congregation. Wassen may well be right that the reference to the camps is added secondarily, and she is also probably right that the people in the camps are viewed as a subgroup of those who live in perfect holiness, in the sense that they too are contrasted with the sinners. But she does not explain the 'adversative formulation beginning with the conditional "And if"', on which Baumgarten based his argument, which implies that not all members lived in camps and married and had children. Rather than contrast the two groups, the intention of the passage seems to be to reassure those who marry and have children that they too can walk in perfection. There is no other hint of an unmarried group in the Damascus Rule. If this passage is indeed a secondary addition it may reflect a later stage in the development of the movement, when the perfection of holiness came to be associated with the celibate life style of the *yahad*, and it was necessary to add that faithful married members would also be delivered from the judgement. (p. 159)

Multiple Communities in the *Yahad*

The *yahad*, however, cannot be identified simply with one settlement in the wilderness, 'the Qumran community'. We read in 1QS 6:

In this way shall they behave in all their places of residence. Whenever one fellow meets another, the junior shall obey the senior in work and in money. They shall eat together, together they shall bless and together they shall take counsel. *In every place where there are ten men of the council of the community*, there should not be missing amongst them a priest...And in the place in which the ten assemble there should not be missing a man to interpret the law day and night, always, one relieving another. (1QS 6: 1c–8a; also attested in 4QS^d)

Sarianna Metso and Charlotte Hempel regard the reference to communities with a quorum of ten as a relic of older legislation (Hempel 2003: 63; Metso 2006). It is indeed likely that this provision was carried over from the Damascus Rule. The question that concerns us here, however, is not so much the source of this passage as its function in the Serekh. Metso and Hempel regard it as an anachronism, not a reflection of the community

organization presupposed by the Serekh. The 'Rule for the assembly of the many' that begins in 1QS 6: 8b seems to envision a large community, with multiple priests. But this is not incompatible with the continued existence of multiple smaller communities. The assembly may be conceived in the same way as 'the assembly of all the camps' in CD, or, alternatively, it may be the rule for any assembly of *yahad* members, on the assumption that large communities were the norm. The provision that members could meet in small groups with a quorum of ten is never contravened in the Serekh, and there is no reason to regard it as anachronistic.

A different line of argument questions the relationship between these smaller groups and the supposed larger community at Qumran. It is often noted that the word for 'their places of residence' (סוּחֵי יְדֵי הַמְּנַבְּלִים) 'suggests a more or less temporary lodging' (Leaney 1966: 180; Leaney assumed that the following passage, which is introduced as 'the rule for the session of the Many' relates to 'the larger community at Qumran'). 1QS 6: 3 refers to 'every place where there shall be ten men *from* the council of the community' (רִבְּוֹת יְהוָה תִּצְבְּעוּן). Metso takes the preposition 'from' in a locative sense, and spins out a scenario of 'traveling Essenes': 'members of the יְהוָה (i.e. members *from* the council of the community, רִבְּוֹת יְהוָה תִּצְבְּעוּן) while they were visiting areas outside large Essene settlements such as the one at Qumran, and would have been in contact with Essenes living in towns and villages and lodging in settlements small enough that gathering the quorum of ten would have been an issue' (Metso 2006: 225). She refers here to the account of the Essenes in Josephus, *JW* 2.124: 'They have no one city, but many settle in each city; and when any of the sectarians come from elsewhere, all things they have lie available to them'. But Josephus clearly assumes that Essenes, apparently of the same order, live in many (p. 160) cities, so the parallel lends no support to the view that only the visitors were members of the *yahad*. It is surely easier to accept that the preposition 'from' is partitive, and that members living in villages and towns, in smaller communities, were just as much members of the *yahad* as those in a larger community such as the one commonly supposed to have lived at Qumran. This is in fact what we should expect if the *yahad* is to be identified with the Essenes, who were said to live in 'no one city'. This assumption also frees us from the need to suppose that the passage in 1QS 6: 1c–8a is only a fossil of an earlier time, and not reflective of the community described in the rest of the Serekh.

The view that the *yahad* was an association dispersed in multiple settlements may also explain why different editions of the Serekh continued to be copied, and why the more primitive form found in 4QS^d was not simply superseded by the more developed edition found in 1QS. Not all the scrolls found at Qumran were copied on site. Some were certainly copied before the site was reoccupied in the early first century BCE. Some may have been brought there from different settlements of the *yahad*, which may have been operating with different editions of the Community Rule (Schofield 2008a, 2008b). In short, the different forms of the Serekh may not have been copied side by side in the same community, but may have been in effect in different communities at the same time. On this hypothesis, scrolls from various communities would have been brought to Qumran for hiding in time of crisis. While this explanation of the diverse redactions of the rule scrolls remains hypothetical, it is attractive. It undercuts the question raised by Davies as to whether the Serekh was a community rule at all, and renders superfluous attempts to formulate an abstruse hermeneutics whereby different rules could be regarded as authoritative in the same community at the same time.

An Elite Group?

The Serekh, then, assumes that the *yahad* has multiple places of residence. Does it provide any evidence for a specific community, such as has usually been supposed to have existed at Qumran?

Needless to say, the text never indicates a specific location. It does, however, speak of a group that is to go to the wilderness to prepare there the way of the Lord. From the early days of scholarship on the scrolls, scholars have seen here a specific reference to the settlement by the Dead Sea, and the reference is still assumed in recent publications (Hultgren 2007: 315).

The passage is found in 1QS 8. The opening section (8: 1–4a) announces that there shall be 'In the council of the community twelve men and three priests, (p. 161) perfect in everything that has been revealed from all the law' (8: 1). This section is followed by three paragraphs, each of which begins with the phrase, 'when these are in Israel'.

The first of these, beginning in 8: 4b, claims for the sectarian group the function of atonement, which was traditionally proper to the temple cult. The second paragraph begins in 8: 12b: 'when these are a community in

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Israel [The word *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, a community, is inserted above the line and appears to be missing in 4QS^d]...they shall be separated from the midst of the dwelling of the men of iniquity, to go to the wilderness to prepare there the way of Him, as it is written, "in the wilderness prepare the way of * * * *..." This is the study of the law, which he commanded by the hand of Moses...' The third paragraph, beginning in 9: 3, reads 'when these are in Israel in accordance with these rules in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal ...' This passage is not found in 4QS^e, which lacks 8: 15–9: 11. The paragraph beginning in 9: 3 seems to duplicate 8: 4b–10, and may be a secondary insertion (Metso 1997: 72).

In the early days of scrolls scholarship, the twelve men and three priests were understood as an inner council (Milik 1959: 100). It is not apparent, however, that they have any administrative role. In an influential article published in 1959, E. F. Sutcliffe dubbed them 'The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community' (Sutcliffe 1959). In this he was followed by Murphy-O'Connor, who labelled the passage 'an Essene manifesto' (Murphy-O'Connor 1969). This view has been widely, though not universally, accepted. Michael Knibb spoke for many when he wrote:

This material thus appears to be the oldest in the Rule and to go back to the period shortly before the Qumran community came into existence; it may be regarded as reflecting the aims and ideals of conservative Jews who were disturbed by the way in which the Maccabean leaders were conducting affairs, and whose decision to withdraw into the wilderness was motivated by the desire to be able to observe strictly God's laws in the way that they believed to be right. It probably dates from the middle of the second century BC. (Knibb 1987: 129)

Despite its popularity, however, this view does not withstand a close analysis of the text.

'In the council of the community (there shall be) twelve men and three priests' (1QS 8: 1) can be read in either of two ways. The twelve men and three priests can be taken to constitute the council of the community, or to be a special group within it. It is possible to take the verse to mean that the twelve men and three priests are a special subgroup within the council of the *yaḥad*. (The council of the *yaḥad* is simply the *yaḥad* itself.) This is in fact how they are understood in 1QS 8: 10–11: 'When these have been established in the fundamental principles of the community for two years in perfection of way, they shall be set apart as holy within the council of the men of the community'. They are not, then, a council in the sense of an administrative or executive body. Rather, they are an elite group set aside for special (p. 162) training. The establishment of such a group is necessary for the completion of the *yaḥad*: 'when these exist in Israel the council of the community is established in truth' (8: 5). The group in question cannot be taken to constitute the whole *yaḥad*, at any stage of its existence. Rather, as Leaney already saw, 'the community or movement out of which it arose must have been represented by groups dispersed throughout the land' (Leaney 1966: 210–11). The elite group does not break away from the *yaḥad*, nor does it found a separate organization. It may be said to found a new community, but it is a community that is an integral part of the broader *yaḥad*.

The ideal of the *yaḥad* is summed up again in 1QS 9: 5–6: 'At that time the men of the community shall separate themselves as a holy house of Aaron, that they may be united as a holy of holies, and as a house of community (*רֵהוּ יְהוָה*) for Israel, as those who walk in perfection.' 'The men of the community' are the entire *yaḥad*, and walking in perfection is required of the entire *yaḥad* elsewhere in the Serekh (Metso 2006: 230). So, for example, in 1QS 1: 8 'all those who devote themselves' are 'to walk perfectly before him' (cf. 1QS 2: 2; 3: 9, etc). The combination of perfection and holiness, however, only occurs four times in 1QS, all in cols. 8–9 with reference to the elite group (see Berg 2007: 171). It is the whole *yaḥad*, not just the elite group that constitutes its pinnacle, which constitutes the holy house. But 1QS 8: 10–11 says quite clearly that certain people who have been established in the community for two years will be set apart as holy in its midst. In the extant text, the antecedent is the group of twelve men and three priests. Metso claims that this passage is 'more naturally understood as a reference to the period of two years of probation that is required of all new community members' (Metso 2006: 230). But this would require that the statement in question is out of context, and that this section of the Serekh is a collection of statements that are only loosely related. A reading that posits coherence in the passage should be preferred. It seems to me, then, that 1QS 8 does indeed posit the existence of an elite group within the *yaḥad*, which is said to consist of twelve men and three priests.

Unfortunately, we do not know what part this group played in the history of the movement. The numbers have symbolic significance, referring to the twelve tribes and three priestly families (Milik 1959: 100), and we cannot be

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sure that this group ever came to be. Moreover, the command to prepare in the wilderness the way of the Lord, is taken from scripture, and is interpreted allegorically in the text:

As it is written: In the desert prepare the way of ****, in the wilderness make level a highway for our God. This is the study of the law which he commanded through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit.

Symbolism does not preclude literal enactment (Brooke 1994), and the fact that this text was found beside an inhabited site in the wilderness is hard to dismiss as mere coincidence. Accordingly, the suspicion persists that the retreat of this pioneering (p. 163) group to the wilderness marked the beginning of 'the Qumran community'. If so, it should be noted that it did not arise from a schism in a parent group, and did not by itself constitute the *yahad* but was part of a larger whole. It would also, of course, have to have grown in size. But while the identification of this group with the founding of the Qumran community is attractive, it is by no means certain.

It is true, as Metso has argued, that the aims of this group can hardly be distinguished from those of the broader *yahad*. All were supposed to walk in perfection of the way; all were supposed to pursue a life of holiness. But to say that the entire *yahad* was consecrated to a life of holiness is not to deny that different degrees of holiness were possible. As Carol Newsom has observed, with reference to this passage, 'As a description of the most dedicated and highest form of community life, it serves not merely as yet one more account of community procedure but rather as an expression of its highest potential and its telos' (Newsom 2004: 93).

If the passage in 1QS 8 does indeed refer to the beginnings of the settlement at Qumran, then that settlement would appear to be an offshoot of the main association, or perhaps a kind of retreat centre where people could devote themselves to the pursuit of holiness to an exceptional degree. There is nothing to suggest that this settlement would become the headquarters, or 'motherhouse' of the sect. The fact that the scrolls were hidden at Qumran may be due to its remote location rather than to the importance of the local community. The passage in 1QS 8, in any case, is too enigmatic and its historical value too uncertain to permit us to infer much about a settlement in the wilderness.

A Sectarian Movement?

The scrolls clearly attest a voluntary association, clearly separated from the rest of Judaism, with procedures for admission and expulsion. This association clearly satisfies Max Weber's definition of a sect: 'a religious community founded on voluntary membership achieved through qualification' (Chalcraft 2007: 27, 33). If a sect is defined with Rodney Stark and W. S. Bainbridge (1987: 121–8) as 'a deviant religious organization', which is in tension with the socio-cultural environment, then again this movement clearly qualifies (see further Regev 2007). The antagonism of the members to outsiders, who are regarded as 'the sons of the pit', is evident on every page of the sectarian writings. Whatever theoretical difficulties may attend the broader discussion of sectarianism in early Judaism, the sectarian status of this movement is hardly in dispute. Like many sects in Christian history, it was a 'greedy' organization that allowed its members little (p. 164) privacy, made absolute claims to truth based on special revelation, and was intolerant of outsiders. Comparison with other sects is interesting and illuminating, and has heuristic value, but it does not allow us to make inferences about the history or organization of this particular sect.

The Identification with the Essenes

A more difficult question concerns the identification of this sect with the Essenes known from Philo, Josephus, and Pliny. This question is addressed elsewhere in this volume. Here it will suffice to say that the organization of the movement as described in the scrolls is compatible with such an identification. Both Philo and Josephus say that the Essenes had multiple settlements. In his treatise *Quod omnis*, 76, Philo says that the 'Essaeans' flee the cities and live in villages. In the *Apologia* cited by Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 8.6–7) he says that they live in many cities and also in many villages. Josephus says that they have no one city, but that many of them live in every city (*JW* 2.124). Pliny writes about an Essene settlement near the Dead Sea because he happens to be giving an account of that geographical region. He does not indicate any awareness of other Essene settlements, but the Essenes are incidental to his account. None of these authors suggests that any one location took precedence, or

that any was considered to be a motherhouse. All three claim that the Essenes were celibate, although Josephus allows that one branch of the sect married and had children (*JW* 2.160). As we have seen, some distinction is drawn in the Damascus Rule between those who marry and those who do not, and the Community Rule or Serekh does not refer to women and children at all. Since celibacy is never required, however, the issue remains contentious.

The Greek and Latin accounts correspond more closely to the rule of the *yahad* than to the Damascus Rule. Josephus describes a multi-year process of admission. All three note the lack of private property. The alleged celibacy of the Essenes is compatible with the Serekh but not with the D rule. The correspondence is not complete. The Greek and Latin authors do not appear to know about the priestly leadership of the sect, and they give at best a very incomplete account of its beliefs and ideology. If the scrolls in fact derive from the Essenes, we should assume that Josephus, like Philo and Pliny, did not write from personal experience of the sect but as an outsider dependent on sources, whether oral or written (see further Collins 2010, chapter 4). As far as communal organization is concerned, however, the similarities are extensive, and the Essene identification remains plausible. (p. 165)

Qumran

In light of what we have seen, the attempt to correlate the ruins of Qumran with the life of the sect known from the scrolls appears hazardous. The common assumption in older scholarship that the Teacher 'led his flock to the desert' is unsubstantiated. If 1QS 8 is indeed a reference to 'the move to the desert', then presumably the *yahad* had been in existence for some time before that happened. The only clue to the date of this passage is provided by the palaeographic date of the manuscript of 1QS, which has been estimated at 75 BCE, plus or minus twenty-five years, and falls within the same range as Jodi Magness's date for the founding of the settlement at Qumran (Magness 2002: 68). This coincidence, however, only keeps open the possibility of a reference in 1QS 8. It does not establish its probability.

There has been raging controversy as to whether Qumran should be considered a sectarian site at all (see the contribution of Eric Meyers in this volume.) The sheer proximity of the caves, especially Cave 4, to the site, weighs heavily in favour of the view that the scrolls were related to the site, as does the fact that a jar identical to the ones in which the first scrolls were found was embedded in the floor of one of the rooms. It seems overwhelmingly likely that Qumran was a sectarian settlement at the time when the scrolls were hidden.

This does not necessarily require that it was always a sectarian settlement. Several archaeologists have tried to reconstruct the development of the site from its architecture. They regard the roughly square structure in the centre of the complex, with the tower at its northwest corner, as the original nucleus of the settlement. Jean-Baptiste Humbert (2003) regards this structure as a residence. Yizhar Hirschfeld (2004: 60) and Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg (2006) regard it as a fortress. All these scholars assume that the nature of the site changed after the Roman conquest, when the Hasmoneans were no longer in a position to fortify the area. Humbert allows that it became a sectarian settlement in the later phase of its occupation. Whether in fact the square structure was the original nucleus of the site, however, remains hypothetical.

While some of the suggestions about the nature of the site—rustic villa (Donceel and Donceel-Voûte 1994), pottery factory (Magen and Peleg 2006)—border on the ridiculous, the idea that it might have been a fortress is not inherently implausible. It is agreed that there was a fort there in the pre-exilic period. It was evidently destroyed by military assault in 68 CE. Roland de Vaux (1973: 42) believed that the Romans maintained a small garrison there after the site was destroyed in 68 CE. He noted that 'from the plateau of Qumran the view extends over the whole of the western shore from the mouth of the Jordan to Ras Feshka and over the whole southern half of the sea'. The view that Qumran was also a fortress in the Hasmonean period has also been proposed especially by Norman Golb (1995).

(p. 166) The view that the ruins at Qumran are those of a Hasmonean fort finds its main support in the location of the site. In the Hasmonean era there was a chain of fortresses in the general area of the Dead Sea. Most of these were built in the wake of the expansion of the Hasmonean state under John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and Alexander Jannaeus. The northern end of this chain was Alexandrion-Sartaba and Dok, near Jericho (where Simon Maccabee was murdered by Ptolemy, son of Abubus). The fortress of Kypros protected the main road to Jerusalem. There

were fortified docks at Rujm al-Bahr and Khirbet Mazin, south of Qumran. Inland from Qumran was Hyrcania. Far to the south stood Masada. On the Jordanian side of the Dead Sea was the fortress of Machaerus, built by Alexander Jannaeus as a bulwark against the Nabataeans. Magen and Peleg (2006: 82) argue that 'Qumran was, thus, an integral element in the chain of fortifications and early warning stations along the Dead Sea'. They recognize that 'this was not a fortress capable of withstanding the assault of an attacking enemy, but rather a forward observation and supervision point which controlled land and sea traffic along the Dead Sea coast'. It would be surprising if the Hasmoneans had allowed a group that was bitterly critical of them to build an establishment in the middle of this area.

Against this, however, one must consider the nature of the ruins. The cemetery with predominantly male burials could conceivably be explained on the hypothesis that the site was a military fort, although the high number of graves (about 1,200) would be surprising, since we do not know of any major battle at the site. It would be more difficult to explain the great number of stepped pools. Of sixteen pools at the site, Ronny Reich (2000) has identified ten as *miqvaoth*, pools for ritual immersion, of a type that became common in the last century before the turn of the era. Some of these have small partitions on the upper part of their stairs, presumably to separate the pure from the impure. The Qumran pools are considerably larger than most contemporary *miqvaoth*, a fact that may have been necessitated by the desert location and by the size of the community using them. These pools occupy approximately 17 per cent of the site of Qumran. A similar density of *miqvaoth* has been found in private houses in Jerusalem, but Reich suggests that the abundance of these in Jerusalem was due to the high proportion of priests in the vicinity of the temple. The analogy supports the view that the inhabitants of Qumran were priestly, and greatly concerned with purity. It would be difficult to explain the presence of such a high number of ritual baths in a military fort.

Some of the archaeologists who deny that Qumran was a religious settlement date the construction of the pools after the end of the Hasmonean period when the site was supposedly converted to a new purpose (Humbert, Magen, and Peleg). But clear stratigraphic evidence of the date of construction of the pools is lacking. No evidence has yet been adduced to show that the stepped pools were constructed late, or indeed that the square building was the original core of the settlement. Moreover, we do not know what the Hasmoneans thought of the *yahad*. The conflict between the Teacher and the Wicked Priest surely loomed larger from a (p. 167) sectarian than from a Hasmonean perspective. The rulers may not have perceived the sect as a threat at all. In short, there is enough uncertainty about the history and nature of the site to cast doubt on the long-established view that the site was constructed by the Teacher and his followers, but there is not enough evidence to establish the view that it was a Hasmonean fortress that underwent a major change after the Roman conquest. If the site was a military outpost, or served some other non-religious function in the Hasmonean era, then the famous passage in 1QS 8: 13–14, about going to the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord, could not be a reference to the settlement at Qumran. But the view that the site was a religious settlement from the beginning of its occupation in the Hasmonean period has not by any means been discredited. The site was surely a sectarian settlement in the first century CE, and it is probably still easiest to suppose that it was already such in the Hasmonean period. Accordingly, the supposed reference to Qumran in 1QS 8 remains possible, even if it is by no means certain.

But at most, Qumran was one settlement of the *yahad*. It was never the *yahad* in its entirety. There is no consensus as to how many people lived at the site. The high estimate, however, is in the range of 150–200 people (Broshi 1992; the low estimate, of 10–15 people, was offered by Humbert 1994: 175–7). There is no good evidence that it was the headquarters or motherhouse of the sect. Even the Community Rule (*Serekh ha-Yahad*) was not written specifically for a community at Qumran, although it may have applied to that community among others. The *yahad*, and still more the new covenant of the Damascus Rule, was not an isolated monastic community, as has sometimes been imagined, but was part of a religious association spread widely throughout the land.

The Rule of the Congregation

Finally, something must be said about the so-called 'Rule of the Congregation', 1QSa. This short rule book is introduced as 'the rule for all the congregation of Israel at the end of days'. Accordingly, it is usually taken as a rule for a future, messianic age (Schiffman 1989). Hartmut Stegemann, however, has argued that the authors of the sectarian scrolls believed they were living in 'the end of days' and that this was not a rule for a future time but rather 'an early rule-book for the Essenes' (Stegemann 1996: 488; 1998: 113). He appeals to the thorough study

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of the phrase *aḥarit hayyamim* by Annette Steudel (1993). Steudel shows that the phrase can refer to events that are already past and to time continuing in the present, but she adds: 'In addition to all previous implications, there are also events which are expected within the *aḥarit hayyamim* as lying in the future. First of all, this (p. 168) concerns the coming of the messiahs, who are still awaited ...' (Steudel 1993: 230). Stegemann's contention that the Rule refers to the present time of the author is disproven by the explicit references to the messiah in 1QSa 2: 11–22. In no other text from Qumran is the messiah said to be actually present. This is a rule for a future age that has not yet come to pass. In part, Stegemann is misled by his presuppositions of what a messianic age must entail. 1QSa addresses problems presented by the presence of people with various blemishes and impurities. But the messianic age is not the new creation. It is an intermediate era, which is utopian in some respects, but in which the conditions of the old order still obtain.

Charlotte Hempel has offered a more sophisticated variant of Stegemann's proposal. The Rule of the Congregation is messianic in its present form, but it includes an early nucleus that was intended as the rule for a community in the present, which should be associated with the community behind the Laws of the Damascus Document, which she takes to go back to 'the Essene parent movement of the Qumran community' (Hempel 1996: 253–69). The most obvious point of affinity is that both 1QSa and the Damascus Rule presuppose family life and provide for women and children. Other points of affinity adduced by Hempel include the use of 'all Israel' terminology, the term 'congregation' (עדה), which occurs seven times in CD, reference to the book of Hagu (1QSa 1: 7; CD 10: 6; 13: 2), and the exclusion of those who suffer from disabilities from the congregation.

That there is some relationship between 1QSa and the Damascus texts cannot be doubted, but there is also an important link between 1QSa and the Community Rule. This is the mention of 'the council of the community' (הנהלת העדה) three times in 1QSa 1: 6–2: 11), as well as a variant, 'the council of holiness', which is found once. This terminology is familiar from the Community Rule, and is not found at all in the fragments of the Damascus Rule at Qumran, and is only reflected in Ms. B of CD. The 'council of the community' is not coterminous with the congregation in 1QSa. Those summoned to it are 'the wi[se men] of the congregation, the learned and the intelligent, men whose way is perfect and men of ability', together with the chiefs and officials (1QSa 1: 28–9; trans. Vermes). These, we are told, are 'the men of renown, the members of the assembly summoned to the council of the community in Israel before the sons of Zadok the priests' (1QSa 2: 2). It is from their assembly (1QSa 2: הלה להנהל : the assembly of these) that those smitten with any human uncleanness are excluded: 'none of these shall come to hold office among the congregation of the men of renown, for the angels of holiness are [with] their [congregation]' (1QSa 2: 8–9). It is with this group that the messiah shall sit and eat (2: 11). The rule for the assembly in the presence of the messiah in the latter part of column 2 applies whenever there is a quorum of ten, and the messiah is present. The reference is not to a single 'messianic banquet', but neither is it to any gathering of ten Israelites.

In short, 1QSa, like the Damascus Rule and the Community Rule, sets some people aside as more holy than others. This elite group is called 'the council of the (p. 169) community', which is the name of the sect in the Community Rule, and is also identified with 'the Sons of Zadok and the men of their covenant'. The usual assumption that this rule is intended for all Israel at a future time is quite correct, but fully half of the document relates to the special role that 'the council of the community' retains in 'the end of days'. The concern of the text for 'all Israel' must be seen in context. The author hoped for a time when all Israel would live 'according to the law of the sons of Zadok the Priests and of the men of their covenant who have turned aside [from the] way of the people, the men of his council who keep his covenant in the midst of iniquity, offering expiation [for the land]' (1QSa 1: 2–3).

We should expect, then, that the rules for all Israel in the future would to a great degree correspond with the rules of the new covenant in the present, at least for those members who married and had children, as envisioned in the Damascus Rule. The affinities between the Rule of the Congregation and the Damascus Rule, however, must be balanced by an appreciation of the role in 1QSa of 'the council of the community', which continues to enjoy a special place in 'the end of days'. The fact that women and children are present in the eschatological 'congregation' does not carry any implication about their presence in the *yaḥad* in the time before the coming of the messiah, nor indeed in the 'council of the community' in the eschatological time.

Suggested Reading

A full discussion of the issues discussed here can be found in Collins (2010; summarized in 2009). Classic

treatments of 'the Qumran Community' can be found in Cross (1995), originally published by Doubleday in 1958, Vermes (1977), and Knibb (1987). Important contributions to the debate in recent years include Hempel (1999), Metso (1999, 2006), Hultgren (2007), Regev (2007), and Schofield (2008a, 2008b).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The nature of groups named in classical sources as ‘Essenes’ was considered in scholarship of Second Temple Judaism long before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but discussion of the Essenes has intensified greatly during the last sixty years. This article reviews the classical sources on the Essenes. It notes propositions on how the Essenes may relate to the scrolls communities and considers how variant opinions may be resolved, with particular reference to the *Serekh*.

Keywords: Second Temple Judaism, Serekh, Dead Sea Scrolls, Essenes, scrolls communities

THE nature of groups named in classical sources as ‘Essenes’ was considered in scholarship of Second Temple Judaism long before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (see Wagner 1960; Riaud 1987; Hempel 2001), but discussion of the Essenes has intensified greatly during the last sixty years. In this chapter, the classical sources on the Essenes will be reviewed. We will then note propositions on how the Essenes may relate to the scrolls communities, and consider how variant opinions may be resolved, with particular reference to the *Serekh*.

The Essenes in the Classical Sources

Principal sources on the Essenes have been collected and translated in the German edition of Adam (1972) and in a less extensive English edition by Vermes and Goodman (1989). The following summary includes material to the end of the (p. 174) fourth century CE, excepting Martianus Capella, c. 398–400 CE, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii (Satyricon)* 6.679, which is a short version of Pliny.

Philo

The prolific Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo (c. 20 BCE–40 CE) used the Essenes (*Essaioi*) as an example of the excellence of the Jewish religion in his writings at least three times. Two passages describing the Essenes have been preserved: *Quod Omnis Probus liber sit* (‘Every Good Man is Free’) 75–91, and part of the *Apologia pro Iudaeis*, ‘Apology for the Jews’ (as in Eusebius’ *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8: 11.1–18), a work usually considered a portion of an apologetic treatise, the *Hypothetica*. Philo mentions the Essenes briefly also at the beginning of *De Vita Contemplativa* as being the subject of a lost, preceding treatise on the active life of philosophy (Taylor 2003: 49), within a work called *On Virtues*, designed to show the excellence of Judaic religion (Taylor 2003: 31–46).

The account of the Essenes in *Probus* 75–91 is introduced by a geographical placement, which follows a reference to the fact that ‘land and sea are full of wealthy, distinguished, and pleasure-seeking people, but small is the number of the wise, righteous, and decent’ (*Contempl.* 72). Philo then notes examples in Greece (the Seven Sages whose maxims are inscribed on the Temple of Delphi), Persia (the Magi), India (the Gymnosophists), and thereafter

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he expounds on the Essenes from Syria Palaestina. There are over 4,000 Essenes, a name which Philo associates with Greek *hosiotes*, 'holiness', because they are devout attendants of God (*therapeutai theou*) by sanctifying their minds, as opposed to being the kind of attendants—priests—who offer animals for sacrifice in a temple (75). Noteworthy here is that the Essenes do not call themselves *Essaioi* as a self-reference, but others call 'certain people among them by the name' (*Prob.* 75, so also in Philo, *Hypoth.* 11: 1 they 'are called' such, cf. Josephus, *JW* 2.119).

Philo proceeds to describe the lifestyle of the Essenes, emphasizing their simplicity and their concern with love of God and ethics (76–91). There are many examples of standard philosophical perfection here (Taylor 2007a, cf. Mendels 1979). The pooling of possessions was advocated by Plato for the guardians of the city (*Republic* 3: 416d, 5: 462c) and was practised by Pythagoreans (Iamblichus, *De Pyth. Vita* 167–9). Other elements are common to all Jews: going to synagogue on the Sabbath, studying the law, practising virtue, and so on (*Prob.* 80–1). Nevertheless, distinctive features appear: the Essenes do not own slaves (*Prob.* 79; cf. *Ant.* 18.21); they practise allegorical exegesis, according to an ancient tradition (*Prob.* 82; cf. *Ant.* 18.11, 20); they do not swear oaths (*Prob.* 84, cf. *JW* 2.135); they maintain purity (*Prob.* 84, cf. *Ant.* 18.19; *JW* 2.129); they live in communities (*Prob.* 85; *Hypoth.* 11.1, 5; *Ant.* 18.21); they have common clothes and meals (*Prob.* 86, cf. 91; (p. 175) *Hypoth.* 11.4–5, 10, 12; *Ant.* 18.20; *JW* 2.122, 129–32); they look after their sick and elderly (*Prob.* 87; *Hypoth.* 11.13, cf. *Ant.* 18.21).

Despite the inference often drawn from Philo's description (e.g. Bilde 1998: 35), Philo does not say that the Essenes spurned animal sacrifices, but rather obedience to God's law is prioritized (Marcus 1954: 158; Beall 1988: 118), an emphasis consistent with prophetic literature (Isa. 1: 10–16; Amos 5: 21–3; Jer. 7: 21–6; 1 Sam. 15: 22). Philo distinguished between what priests do in the Temple (offer animal sacrifices) and what Essenes do in terms of their service (preparing their minds for God, cf. *Her.* 184), identifying Essenes as alternative servers of God, though it does not mean that no Essenes were priests (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.22; *JW* 2.111, 131). Philo could not have meant to state that his model of excellence within Judaism spurned the entire sacrificial system of the Jerusalem Temple, since Philo believed there should be a balance between outward action and inner meanings and advocated both, including Temple sacrifice (*Migr.* 92; *Her.* 123; *Ebr.* 87), even though Philo accepted that the real and true sacrifice was bringing oneself to God (*Spec.* 1.269–72) by piety (*Mos.* 2.107) because 'God takes pleasure from altars on which no fire is burned, but which are visited by virtues' (*Plant.* 108). Philo's words in *Probus* 75 are therefore consistent with what we find elsewhere in his work, where the true spiritual sacrifice of obedience to God is emphasized, without invalidating the need for actual sacrifice (see Taylor 2007a).

Likewise, Philo's emphasis on the kinds of products Essenes make (78) has led to an assumption that they were pacifists, though here Philo states only that Essenes have nothing to do with making instruments of war, but even less to do with products for peace, because they avoid the latter as inducements towards what seems to be a greater evil than war, namely greed. In spurning the business of peace, let alone war, Essenes do not even dream of commerce (78). By means of this rhetoric Philo characterizes the Essenes as the antithesis of the wealthy, highly-regarded, and pleasure-seeking people he initially defines as filling the world (72). The Essenes instead live in villages, rather than cities, and earn wages from rural or artisanal labour, which they put into a communal fund (76, 86, cf. *Hypoth.* 11.4, 8–10).

That Philo writes of the Essenes as being *autonomos* (91) is significant (especially given a preamble that stresses with much emphasis how terrible the rulers of Syria Palaestina were) since in Philo's writings it carries the sense of 'self-governing' or 'independent of outside rule' (*Somn.* 2.100, 293; *Jos.* 136, 242).

The *Hypothetica* is found only in a quotation in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, and therefore its accuracy is not guaranteed (see Inowlocki 2006: 290–3). *Praeparatio* is designed to counter pagan accusations that Christians have abandoned ancestral religion for a barbarian innovation, and the Essenes are configured as an ancient philosophical elite who prefigured Christianity, especially by their use of allegorical interpretation (Inowlocki 2006: 127, 254–62). Interestingly, this is not the only mention of the Essenes in *Praeparatio*; Eusebius elsewhere cites Porphyry's account of the Essenes (rather than Josephus', since Porphyry was far more esteemed), to show how the Greeks admired the Jews (*Praep.* 9.10.6).

(p. 176) The passage about the Essenes in the *Hypothetica* differs from *Probus* in style and in content, and correlations with Josephus, *Ant.* 18.18–22 have been used to argue that Philo and Josephus both used a common

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Hellenistic Jewish source (Smith 1958; Bergmeier 1993: 66–107; Argall 2000). However, since Josephus wrote *Antiquities* some fifty years after Philo, it is equally possible that he found useful material in Philo's treatises (Rajak 1994).

As far as can be determined from Eusebius' quotations, Philo's *Hypothetica* repeats some of the features of the Essenes in *Probus*, with particular emphasis on *koinōnia*, the 'life in common' or 'fellowship', including sharing property, clothing, and money (11.4–5, 10–12). He notes the antiquity of the Essenes, their large number, the origin of their name, their manual labour, and that great kings esteem them. Philo here emphasizes the maturity and elderliness of Essenes (11.1, 3, 7), which coheres with his own views on adopting a philosophical life: it is not for the young (*Fug.* 30–38). Property acquired prior to communal living is put at the disposal of all, but no wives are brought into the community: 'for none of the Essenes leads a wife' (11.14). Philo himself strongly believed that it was important for men to fulfil the commandment of God to multiply (*Det.* 147–8, cf. Gen. 1: 28; *m.Yeb.* 6: 6; *b.Yeb.* 63a): 'all genuine attendants (*therapeutai*) of God will fulfil the law of Nature for the procreation of children' (*Praem.* 108–9). He therefore implies that these elderly men have mostly fulfilled this obligation, leaving their wives behind in order to join a communal, male, lifestyle. Not all have had children, for he writes that 'even if the older men, however, happen to be childless' they are looked after when sick as if they were fathers to the others in the community (*Hypoth.* 11.13). He does not indicate that the Essenes join the communal life at an early age and forever remain celibate and childless; quite the opposite: they are old, have property, and have probably left behind wives and children (see Taylor 2007a).

When Philo gives the number of Essenes as being over 4,000 (*Prob.* 75, as *Jos. Ant.* 18.20), the emphasis is on just how very many of them there were, a *homilos*, 'throng' (*Prob.* 91). In *Hypoth.* 11.1 Philo writes that Moses trained 'multitudes' of his pupils for a life of community, namely the Essenes, and 'they dwell in many cities of Judaea, and many villages, and in great and much-populated throngs' (*Hypoth.* 11.1, cf. 11.5).

Philo's description of the Therapeutae has caused considerable discussion as being a group possibly related to the Essenes (see Riaud 1987: 1241–64; Vermes and Goodman 1989: 15–17, 75–99; Bilde 1998: 65–6). In *De Vita Contemplativa*, Philo praises them as exemplifying the virtues of the contemplative life in accordance with Stoic concepts. This is probably not the only time he wrote about the Therapeutae. He notes at the beginning of *Probus* that it was the second part of a work, with the first part being titled 'Every Bad Man is a Slave', presenting another exemplary group (Taylor 2003: 49). Since Philo mentions the Essenes briefly also at the beginning of *De Vita Contemplativa* as being the subject of a lost, preceding treatise on the active life of philosophy, it is possible that the exemplary group (p. 177) described in 'Every Bad Man is a Slave' was the Therapeutae, with Philo keeping to the same pairing of different Jewish groups to describe different Stoic tenets.

While Philo uses language common to all Greco-Roman philosophical schools in his descriptions, the Therapeutae are not linked to the Essenes. In describing the two groups, Philo clearly defines them as different, in noting that the Essenes live in Syria Palaestina/Judaea while the Therapeutae live just outside Alexandria, at one particular location close to Lake Mareotis. The Essenes are numerous while the Therapeutae are very few. Philo's Essenes are *only* (mostly elderly) male, whereas the Therapeutae include both men and women, who have left their families behind to live an ascetic, semi-communal, meditative, and spiritual existence. They give away their belongings before coming into the group, rather than putting them into communal use. The Essenes work in artisanal crafts, whereas the Therapeutae spend all their time inside small huts meditating and studying scripture, apart from holding synagogue services (like all Jews) and a common meal every forty-ninth day, when they spend the night in sacred singing and dancing. There are no purifications mentioned among the Therapeutae. The Therapeutae are to be associated with the traditions of Alexandrian Judaism and the allegorical school of exegesis in Alexandria to which Philo himself belonged (for further see Taylor 2003: 68–72; Taylor and Davies 1998).

In Philo's writings as a whole (as in contemporaneous Greek), the word *therapeutai* generally refers to 'attendants' of God, or gods, engaged in divine service; not at all to 'people engaged in therapeutic practices' as one may think on the basis of contemporary usage of the English word 'therapy'. The specific group Philo describes 'are called' by this name, but in his writings he uses this term mostly of priests and Levites, including Moses (for references see Taylor 2003: 57–61), thus Philo can refer to Essenes as being 'attendants' of God in terms of their service, by dedicating their lives (see above). Philo also plays on a double entendre by suggesting that the *therapeutai* of *De Vita Contemplativa* 'attend to' diseased souls (*Contempl.* 2). Geza Vermes has defined *therapeutai* as meaning 'healers', and then connected this with the probable meaning of the word *Essaioi* or *Essenoi* (in Greek) as deriving

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from the Aramaic term for 'healers' (Vermes 1960), since 'āsē was a standard term for 'physician' or 'healer' in Aramaic dialects (e.g. Exod. 15: 26, 'for I, the LORD, am your healer', is translated in the Peshitta as 'āsē). But Philo himself makes no suggestion at all that there is any correlation of names between the two groups, and, as noted above, suggests instead that the word *Essaioi* derives from Greek *hosiotēs*, 'holiness' (*Prob.* 75).

Josephus

Josephus wrote two lengthy works designed to explain aspects of Jewish history to a Greco-Roman audience. The *Jewish War* was written around the year 75 CE, (p. 178) designed to explain the causes of the Jewish revolt against the Romans in 66–70 CE. *Antiquities* was completed around the year 93 CE, providing a summary of Jewish history from its origins to the present time. Josephus was of wealthy priestly descent and states that he undertook instruction by all three Jewish schools while he tried to choose which of these he should accept as authoritative for rulings in his own active civic life (*Life* 10–12), though he also experimented with an alternative lifestyle by becoming the zealous disciple of an ascetic teacher named Bannus. In undertaking instruction by various teachers, this does not at all mean that he became either a Sadducee, Pharisee, or Essene (he does not claim this). The source of his information may have been from personal knowledge and instruction, but also it may derive from written material such as the huge history by the pro-Herod scholar Nicolaus of Damascus (Wacholder 1989; Schwartz 1983).

Josephus' main descriptions of the Essenes (*Essaioi* or *Essēnoi*) are found in *JW* 2.119–61 and *Ant.* 18.18–22. The similarities and curious differences between *JW* 2.118–61 and Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.18–29 (see below) have led some scholars to propose that Josephus' descriptions of the Essenes here may not have derived from his own observations but rather from a Hellenistic Jewish source or sources (Black 1956; Smith 1958; Leytens 1962; Bergmeier 1993: 66–107, though for critique see Zeitlin 1958–9; Burchard 1977). Mason has argued that Josephus reworked his material so thoroughly to cohere with his own style and themes that these passages are fundamentally his own composition (Mason 1994; 2000; 2008).

Apart from his main descriptions, for which see below, Josephus mentions the Essenes at various points of these historical narratives (see Mason 2000). They appear first in chronological order in a discussion about Jonathan Maccabeus (ruling 152–143/2 BCE) who sought independence from Seleucid control, and who was attacked by the armies of the Seleucid king Demetrius II. He writes that 'at this time there were three [juridical/philosophical] schools of the Judaeans/Jews', naming them as Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The *genos*, 'people', of the Essenes make Destiny the 'mistress' of everything, because nothing happens unless it is decided by Destiny (*Ant.* 13.171–2, cf. *Ant.* 18.18). Josephus' identification of Judaeans/Jews being divided into these three schools in the middle of the second century BCE may be a significant chronological pointer in terms of the history of the Essenes (see A. I. Baumgarten 1997: 20–1, noting corroboration from *m. Abot* 1 and *Abbot de Rabbi Nathan* 5), though their absence from the books of the Maccabees is puzzling. Alternatively, Joseph Sievers (2001) has argued that the passage concerning the three schools is pasted over what was a letter to Areus of Sparta found in 1 Macc. 12.19–23, since the passage in question, before and after the description, paraphrases 1 Macc. 12.18 and 12.24. Nevertheless, it must have been considered an appropriate paste; that is, Josephus believed that the schools were in existence already in the mid-second century BCE. Nowhere in Josephus is there a suggestion that the schools arose during recent centuries; they simply enter the narrative as fully formed entities. In fact, Josephus states that the practices of the (p. 179) Essenes were 'from ancient times', *ek palaiou* (*Ant.* 18.20), i.e. long before the time of the Hasmoneans. This coheres with what Philo states in *Hypoth.* 11.1 that Moses trained throngs of his pupils for the life of *koinōnia*. Both Philo and Josephus believed that the origins of the Essenes were very long ago indeed.

Essenes (*Essēnoi*) are mentioned in passing in the reign of John Hyrcanus, who supports the Sadducees (*Ant.* 13.298). Josephus then notes that during the reign of the Hasmonean High Priest/King Aristobulus I (105–4 BCE), an old man named Judas, an Essene skilled in foretelling the future, predicted the death of Antigonos, Aristobulus' younger brother (*JW* 1.78–80; *Ant.* 13.310–14). It is stated that Judas was with students of this predictive art when he saw Antigonos passing through the Temple [court] (*JW* 1.78; *Ant.* 13.311). This is important because Josephus situates an Essene teaching in the Temple, and identifies prediction (prophecy) as a skill that was communicated to students. The predictive interest of this Essene correlates with Josephus' comments concerning the importance of Destiny (including predestination) in the Essene philosophy.

In *Ant.* 15.371–9 Josephus recounts how Herod the Great insisted on an oath of loyalty from his subjects, but 'those

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among us called Essenes' (*Essaioi*) were excluded from this, and he then defines them as living the same way of life as revealed to the Greeks by Pythagoras (which in antiquity was understood to be a careful attention to religious ritual and dietary restrictions, among other prescriptions of lifestyle; see Burkert 1972: 177, cf. Justin Taylor 2004). Josephus states that Herod honoured the Essenes (*Essēnoi*) and had an opinion of them greater than one would expect given they were mere mortals (i.e. he honoured them like gods) because of an Essene named Manaemos who held a knowledge of the future (cf. *JW* 2.159). Manaemos, seeing Herod as a boy on his way to tuition with a teacher (in Jerusalem), addressed him as 'King of the Judaeans/Jews'. When he became powerful, Herod sent for Manaemos and asked him about the duration of his rule. Initially the Essene was silent, but eventually said that there could be twenty or thirty years and he put no limit to the end of the appointed time. Herod then showed him respect and gave all Essenes 'honour', though Josephus notes that this may well seem *paradoxa*, 'beyond belief' (given Herod's character, in contrast to the virtue of the Essenes).

In *War* 2.112–13 and *Ant.* 17.345–8 the ethnarch Archelaus is warned of his impending doom by Simon the Essene (*Essaios*), who interpreted a dream in which he saw nine (or ten) fully grown heads of corn eaten by oxen as indicating the years of Archelaus' rule, meaning he was soon to be deposed. This indicates that Josephus considered the Essenes adept at dream interpretation as a means of predicting the future.

A certain 'John the Essene' (*Essaios*) is noted as a revolutionary commander of the toparchy of Lydda, Joppa, and Ammaus (*War* 2.567), and he is identified as one of the leaders of the attack on Ascalon, where he was killed in battle (*War* 3.11, 19). Mason (2000: 428–9) has questioned whether the reference here is to John as an (p. 180) Essene, or as a man from Essa, namely Gerasa, since this city is called Essa in *Ant.* 13.393 (for Gerasa in *War* 1.104), but since the city is found absolutely nowhere else with this name it is probably a manuscript error. The two other people mentioned with John here are from well-known general regions: 'Niger the Peraean' (the man from Peraea), and 'the Babylonian Silas', and John should be identified likewise by some broad categorization, not one city. Being an Essene would have been the most significant feature of his identity.

A Gate of the Essenes (*Essēnoi*) is noted by Josephus (*War* 5.145) in the First Wall, probably towards the southwest, associated with Bethsoa, which may be a latrine region (Yadin 1976; Pixner 1986; 1989). That it was the name of a gate in the oldest wall of Jerusalem indicates that the Essenes were situated in the ancient sector of Jerusalem. It is not known how early this gate was called after the Essenes, but it was clearly called this at the time of the Revolt.

In *War* 2.119–61 Josephus gives the Essenes the most detailed description of all the three schools of Judaism he defines: Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. Given his statement in *Ant.* 15.373–9 (and so also Philo, *Prob.* 89–91; *Hypoth.* 11.18) that Herod greatly esteemed and honoured the Essenes, this lengthy section may indicate he had access to a discussion of the Essenes by the pro-Herod Nicolaus of Damascus. There is a curious comment at the beginning that indicates some kind of sourcing has occurred: after introducing the three schools as elsewhere with the statement, 'For among the Judaeans/Jews philosophy takes three forms' (*War* 2.119), Josephus then repeats himself: 'They are called Essenes, while being "by descent" (*genos*) Judaeans'. As noted above, however, whatever was his source here, the passage should be considered his own work rather than a paraphrase, since in many ways it coheres with language and themes found elsewhere in his work, with Essenes representing ideals he espouses (Mason 2000). The information he gives is extraordinarily detailed in places, and assembled with care (Mason 2008: 87–90).

As Mason (2008) has shown, in *War* 2.119–61 the Essenes (*Essēnoi*) appear after a description of the inadequacies and errors of Herod's heirs (2.1–118) and the Essenes provide a strong moral contrast, with emphases and characteristics designed to highlight what Josephus has just discussed. In addition, Mason demonstrates how the Essenes are examples of Judaeans virtue, self-control, and 'manliness' at a time Romans doubted Judaeans had such qualities and, for this reason also, the language Josephus uses is redolent of an austere martial order.

The Essenes here are described as seeming to practise great religiosity/gravity. Josephus interrupts his general description to give an account of their daily routine. He then describes the entry of someone who wants to join the school and live in community with the Essenes. He is on probation for a year, adopting the same lifestyle. After a year he is allowed to share purer water (for purification) and then he has another two years' probation before he is a full member of the *homilos* ('throng', 'multitude') (138). They are divided into four 'parts' from junior to senior, the

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junior imparting impurity to a senior (150).

(p. 181) There is another order of Essenes who do marry for procreation, and are otherwise exactly the same as the others. They have wives who have had three years of probation (like the men) including three purifications (following menstrual periods) to show fertility. The women wear a linen wrap in the bath—while the men wear a loin-cloth (160–1).

In *Antiquities* 18.18–22 there is a much briefer treatment of the Essenes (*Essēnoi*), correlating in part with Philo's *Hypothetica* (see above).

Josephus states that 'while sending (votive offerings) to the Temple, they (the Essenes) perform sacrifices with very different purifications, which they hold as a custom and because of this they perform the sacrifices by themselves, keeping away (*eirgomenoi*, read as Middle rather than Passive, contra A. I. Baumgarten 1994) from the common precincts' (see Matthews 1988; J. M. Baumgarten 1977) (*Ant.* 18.19). A variant has led to some scholars doubting this reading. The earliest extant manuscript of *Antiquities* 18 (A, the Codex bibl. Ambrosianae F 128 at Milan) is from the eleventh century, but this is one of a family of manuscripts that Niese (1885) considers less reliable than what is available for chapters 1–15. Because of this, attention has focused on the epitome (E) used for the *Chronicon* of Zonaras (twelfth century) and the Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus in the fifth–sixth centuries, in which it is stated slightly nonsensically that Essenes 'do not sacrifice' with very different purifications (18.19) (see Feldman 1965: 16–17). However, all Greek manuscripts indicate that they do so (Beall 1988: 115). It is hard to read even in the Latin version that the Essenes do not sacrifice at all, and in fact it would be perverse to credit that Josephus' eulogy of the Essenes as the optimum Judaic school would contain any suggestion that they either rejected the Temple or refused to sacrifice.

The sending of special presents to the Temple indicates that, for Josephus, they wished to honour it (and had the communal money to do so in terms of sending votive gifts). In his view the Essenes kept away from the common precincts, the Court of the Gentiles where most people were permitted, and possibly also the Court of the Israelites, but nevertheless not the Temple proper where priests were permitted, indicating that Essene priests engaged in sacrifices separately to one side of the main altar. The main point was that the Essenes had particular practices of purification/purity that entailed some kind of separation from others; given that Josephus had already indicated in *War* 2.150 that a senior Essene could be rendered impure from contact with a junior Essene, contact with non-Essenes would clearly have been considered polluting.

There is space here only for a few comments. Josephus states that the Essenes had their own court to decide verdicts, even a sentence of death for blasphemy (*War* 2.143–5), the implication possibly being that they did not accept the authority of the High Priest's court, just as they did not accept the purity arrangements in the Temple (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.19), which were also under the authority of the High Priest. This curious anomaly and independence may be associated with their (p. 182) (paradoxical) protected position under the Herodian dynasty. Josephus writes that Herod exempted them from an oath of loyalty and honoured them more than one might expect mere mortals to be honoured (*Ant.* 15.371–9), stressing that in terms of reputation they are deemed virtuous and seem to practise great religiosity/gravity (*War* 2.119). At the time of Herod, Essenes apparently avoided criticizing rulers, accepting that all rulers were placed in power by God (*War* 2.140). This parallels directly what is found in Philo: that despite Judaeen kings being impious and violent, the rulers honour and praise the Essenes (*Prob.* 89–91; *Hypoth.* 11.18). In other words, in not directly criticizing the Herodian dynasty, the Essenes appear to have enjoyed exemptions and benefits.

That there are 'more than 4,000' Essenes (*Ant.* 18.20) agrees with Philo, *Prob.* 75. Josephus notes comparatively that there are 'over 6,000' Pharisees (*Ant.* 17.42), and 'a few' Sadducees (*Ant.* 18.17), giving a total number of men participating in the (juridical) schools as a little over 10,000. It is noteworthy that entrance procedures and requirements are found only in Josephus' descriptions of the Essenes, but this does not mean that these requirements were only found among the Essenes. To participate fully in any of the schools—who appear in Josephus to comprise an elite class in terms of religious authority—surely required instruction, approval, and admission, and separation from common society: the Hebrew word *perushim* 'separated ones' (Pharisees) clearly indicates this.

Josephus does not imply that the Essenes—his prime example of Jewish excellence—avoided the Temple, Jerusalem, or the public life of Judaism. The association between all three philosophical schools and the potential to

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assume public office (with its Temple ramifications) is found in *Ant.* 18.17, regarding the Sadducees, where it is stated that when they assume rule, they still have to do 'what the Pharisee says', because of the Pharisees' influence over the masses. The Essenes make vows at entry to the school (or 'order', *tagma*) that on taking public office they will not be superior in their manner, will be truthful, expose liars, not gain from their position, and will keep faith with the school (*War* 2.140–1). Josephus investigates the three schools before deciding which of them he will follow as a priest from a wealthy family engaged in public life (*Life* 10–12), implying all three were options for this route. Nothing in Josephus implies Essene alienation from involvement with civic authority, and they are found within many Judaeen cities.

This then raises the question of whether Josephus means to imply that all the schools (or orders) are largely subclasses of the body of priests, whom he defines as the holders of positions in public life. Josephus writes that there were 18,000–20,000 priests and Levites (*Apion* 2.108), of which 1,500 received a tithe to administer public affairs (*Apion* 1.188). The High Priest governs 'with his associates' (*Apion* 2.194); it is the body of priests who deal with the Law (*Ant.* 4.304), try cases, and punish wrong-doers (*Apion* 2.165). The nation is ruled by priests (*Ant.* 14.41), though clearly some expert non-priestly Pharisees could also be among the authorities (*Life* 196–8) (Sanders 1992: 170–1). Josephus mentions priests (p. 183) specifically among the Essenes in terms of saying a blessing over meals (*War* 2.131), and being elected for community positions (*Ant.* 18.22, cf. *War* 2.123) but this would then not be meant to indicate that these were the *only* roles for priests among the Essenes but rather that—even though there are non-priests among them—priests compulsorily had to hold such important positions in their societies.

Pliny

Pliny (c. 23–79 CE) makes mention of the Essenes (*Esseni*) in the context of a description of the extent of Judaea which focuses on the remarkable water of the region, from the source of the Jordan in the north of Judaea to the termination of Judaea, and the water, at the southern part of the Dead Sea. Since the passage is short it can be given in full (*Hist. Nat.* 5.15, 4/73):

On the west [of Lake Asphaltitis] the Essenes flee all the way from the shores which are harmful, a people alone and in all the world strange/remarkable above the rest, [being] without any woman, abdicating all sexual acts, without money, companioned by palms. Daily the throng is renewed with equal multitudes, filled with huge numbers of those, wearied of life and the fluctuations of fortune, who keep to their ways of life. So through a thousand ages—incredible to say—it is an eternal people, in which no one is born, so fecund is this dissatisfaction (or: repentance) of life in others. Below these (*infra hos*) was the town of Ein Gedi—second only to Jerusalem [= Jericho] in fertility and groves of palms, now another ash-heap—then Masada, a fortress on a rock, and this not far from Asphaltitis.

This description is very different from those of Philo and Josephus, which have numerous correspondences. As a non-Jew, Pliny must have been dependent purely on what he had heard or read about Essenes (who are not defined as Jews), and it has been suggested that Pliny's source was possibly a lost work by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (Goranson 1994) or C. Licinius Mucianus (Kokkinos 2002: 729–30; from Klotz 1906: 160). Unlike Philo or Josephus, he does not praise the Essenes, but rather characterizes them as an oddity. Despite their celibacy, they survive on an influx of people who are weary of life, living in a grim landscape where palm trees are the only signs of life. They are a wonder, in Roman eyes, in that, despite being men who have renounced sex, they keep on existing throughout the ages (from antiquity: 'a thousand ages') because there are so many dissatisfied people who join them (see Taylor 2009).

This characterization is essentially an exaggerated caricature, with only some very superficial correlations with Josephus and Philo (e.g. male celibacy, their antiquity, large numbers). The most important possibly reliable information here is Philo's placement of the Essenes to the west of the Dead Sea with both Ein Gedi and Masada 'below these'. The geographical placement has been the result of much debate, with arguments that *infra hos* means 'downstream' as elsewhere in Pliny (Laperrousaz 1962; cf. Burchard 1962; de Vaux 1973: 133–7; Vermes and Goodman 1989: 3 n. 19; Stern 1984: 1, 480–1; Collins 1992: 620), inland and further west than Ein Gedi or 'above' it in height (Audet 1961; Kraft 2001; Hirschfeld 2004: 231–3), or that his evidence is inaccurate (A. I. Baumgarten 2004, rejected by Broshi 2007: 29). Given that Pliny is essentially following a movement of water north to south, the 'flow' of an Essene location, Ein Gedi and then Masada, makes perfect sense, despite objections.

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There is no suggestion, however, that the Essenes were located in one small site, Khirbet Qumran, and most commentators on Pliny prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls believed he referred to a wide region of the Judaeian wilderness proximate to the Dead Sea, to the borders of Ein Gedi town (see citations in Taylor 2009).

However, this placement of the Essenes, if correct, needs to be understood in terms of Pliny's rhetoric. He presents the life-denying Essenes next to a life-denying lake, an association that magnifies this peculiar characteristic of their paradoxical existence through the ages. His exaggerated ('without money!') and rather critical vignette cannot be used to suppose that Essenes lived only by the Dead Sea; it simply indicates that Pliny had heard of an Essene presence here.

Dio Chrysostom

Comments on the Essenes (*Essēnoi*) by the celebrated philosopher Dio Chrysostom (c. 40–120 CE) were made in a lost discourse. Dio, from Prusa in Bithynia, was a contemporary of Josephus and in Rome at around the same time. Much influenced by Stoic notions of the ideal, virtuous city, Dio wrote on the Essenes as a model society, but reference to his comments is only found definitively attested by the fourth-century North African bishop Synesius, in his essay on Dio, *Dio, sive de suo ipsius instituto* 3.2. Here Synesius eulogizes Dio to his unborn son, with an eye to the very erudite philosophical circles he mixed with in Alexandria, who also would have known Dio very well, and there is then little reason to question the accuracy of his summary:

Furthermore, he somewhere [else] praises the Essenes, an entire happy city (*polis*) beside the dead water in the interior of Palestine, lying somewhere near the [place of] Sodom itself.

It has been assumed that Dio, in situating his Essenes close to the Dead Sea, is reliant on the evidence of Pliny, but in fact there are no substantive overlaps in terms of language or theme, but rather a completely opposite assessment. Synesius notes how Dio praises the Essenes (like Philo and Josephus), in a work designed to 'admonish humanity' by pointing to the Essenes as an example of philosophical excellence, as Dio pointed to a simple Euboean shepherd as such. Pliny, on the other hand, cites the Essenes only as an example of something strange, and rather odd. There is nothing in Pliny's short note that defines the Essenes as 'happy', or that they had a *polis* (see Taylor 2010). Dio cannot therefore have gained his (p. 185) information on the Essenes from Pliny. In addition, Dio does not use the name 'Lake Asphaltitis' as found in Pliny, but rather just 'dead water in the interior of Palestine', a descriptive term not corrected by Synesius to 'the Dead Sea' in accordance with later nomenclature. The evidence of Dio is independent testimony to the Essenes having a settlement (*polis* implying independent jurisdiction as well as a sizeable region of settlement) by the Dead Sea. Dio is presumably then drawing on a (Roman?) curiosity tale of Essenes by the Dead Sea, also drawn upon by Pliny, but using it in a radically different way. There is no suggestion in Dio that the Essenes were Jews, and Dio may likewise have found the imagery of the Dead Sea locality useful in terms of the portrayal.

Hegesippus

In his *Church History* 4.22, Eusebius notes that Hegesippus (fl. c. 170), earlier (than he) refers to the 'schools' (of thought) among the Jews, quoting from the *Hupomnemata*, 'Memoirs': 'There were different judgements the circumcision in respect to children of Israelites, regarding the tribe of Judah and of the Christ, as follows: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees, Pharisees'.

Essenes (*Essaioi*), may be noted here on the basis of second-century realities. The evidence of Hegesippus does not add anything then to what is known already in terms of the varieties of schools within first-century Judaism.

Hippolytus

Hippolytus of Rome wrote about the Essenes (*Essēnoi*) in a work known either as the *Philosophoumena* or *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 'Against All Heresies' (c. 230 CE). Here the focus is on denouncing a range of Christian heresies, after an initial chapter reviewing Greek philosophy, but there is a short section in which various Jewish groups are also included (9.13–28) as part of an argument designed to show how Judaism was as divided as Christianity. As noted above, there were propositions that Josephus and Hippolytus used the same source independently (Black 1956; Smith 1958), but thanks to the refutations by Burchard (1974, 1977) and lately also by

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Mason (1994, and see also Rajak 1994), the view has prevailed that Hippolytus was simply paraphrasing Josephus, with some additional material included, not drawing on an original Hellenistic Jewish source from which Josephus likewise drew. An alternative theory is that the paraphrasing is not Hippolytus' innovation but rather derives from an intermediate Christian source, whom some have identified as Hegesippus (Zeitlin 1958–9; Marcovich 1988: 144–55). Hippolytus did not provide exact accuracy in all of his sources (cf. Osborne 1987) (p. 186) and can Christianize the Indian Brahmins (Marcovich 1988: 149), so it is not impossible he himself modified Josephus.

The most extensive alternative passage in Hippolytus is material on the Zealots and the Sicarii which seems to be inserted into a paraphrase of *War* 2.150–1. The material on these groups parallels various comments made elsewhere by Josephus, but the Zealots and Sicarii are considered by Hippolytus to be *Essenes* (*Haer.* 9.26), a stunning mistake that is hard to attribute to any first-century Jewish source. It may be that, even with his paraphrasing, Hippolytus was drawing on an alternative manuscript of Josephus but, if so, it is different to that of Porphyry (below). A. I. Baumgarten (1984) has suggested that Hippolytus' source was a modified Josephus manuscript incorporating pro-Pharisaic material.

Some of the differences over against Josephus may be explained as Christianizing. These include the claim that the Essenes believed in the resurrection of the body, as also the assertion that Essenes will pray for those who injure or curse them, and abstain from anger, or even praise God with a hymn at the beginning of the day rather than turn to the sun. The reference to the 'law and the prophets' or to 'things offered to idols' again give us Christianizing modifications. There are also intensifications, that Essenes cannot even bear to hear of desirous acts, or will not get up from a couch on the Sabbath. The substantive changes amount in fact to very little if such Christianizing tendencies or intensifications are omitted.

Porphyry

The Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry wrote about the Essenes (*Essaioi*) positively in his pro-vegetarian work *On Abstinence from Killing Animals* (*De Abstinentia* 4.11–13, ca. 263). Here he mentions descriptions of Essenes by Josephus in 'many of his writings', viz. *War* 2, *Antiquities* 18, and 'in the second of the two books he wrote *To the Greeks*'. As regards the latter, no description of the Essenes is found in manuscripts of *Against Apion*. Porphyry seems to have ascribed Philo's *Apologia* (= *Hypothetica*) to Josephus, given that *Philo's* account of the Essenes (i.e. *Hypoth.* 11.1–13) is in the second part of the work Eusebius refers to as 'Apologia on Behalf of the Jews' (*Praep. Evang.* 8.10.19); adding 'to the Greeks' to this title would not be inappropriate. He uses the terminology of Philo in calling the Essenes *Essaioi* when the passage in Josephus has *Essēnoi*.

At any rate, Porphyry gives a fairly accurate rendering of Josephus, *War* 2.118–61 (Burchard 1974; Patillon and Segonds 1995: 18–23), without any major interpolations from other writings, though there are small modifications of word order and language which may represent a slightly different manuscript version of Josephus. Notably, Porphyry writes that the food of the Essenes was 'sacred and pure' (4.12, addition to *War* 2.131). Additionally, Porphyry misses pieces out, though the longest omission is the section *War* 2.134–6, a section that does not neatly follow 2.133, so that in Porphyry (p. 187) the passage continues more appropriately with 2.137, leaving it open to where this section was in fact placed in the manuscript he read. But Porphyry also misreads Josephus when he states that the Essenes *only* defecate seven days after they have eaten food, on the Sabbath, and for this reason they have acquired a great power of endurance—the very reason why they could endure torture by the Romans (4.13, cf. *War* 2.147, 152), all because of the frugality of their regime: a theme dear to Porphyry (*Abstin.* 1.45, 47; 4.2; see Patillon and Segonds 1995: xxxii).

Solinus

Little is known of Julius Solinus and even his dates are debated, though it is likely he wrote his collection of wonders and geographical snippets in the late third century or middle of the fourth. He used Pliny in his account of the Essenes living by the Dead Sea, in *Collectanea* 35.9–12, but into this account he wove an important second source, which—extracted—reads as follows:

[In] the interior of Judaea [is a city(?)] the Essenes hold. [They are those] who, possessed by a remarkable discipline, retreat from the universal observance of people, to this way of excellence supposedly destined by providence. The place itself is dedicated to virtue, into which none is admitted, unless he is

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accompanied by merit, with continence, trust and innocence. For whoever is guilty of even a small thing, however much he wants to advance, is removed by the divinity.

The emphasis is on a lifestyle dedicated to philosophical excellence. Striking is the note on destiny (cf. *Ant.* 13.171–2; 18.18) and the admission of people to the group on merit (cf. *War* 2.137–8; *Prob.* 76–7; *Hypoth.* 11.2). Solinus tended to make loose quotations and paraphrase, but it is clear that these references are not renditions of Josephus or Philo. In fact, mention of the removal of those guilty of even a small thing is the opposite of what Josephus says; he states that they are only removed for serious sins and sometimes brought back when they are near to starvation (*War* 2.143–4). The important factor here is that, unlike Pliny, the source praises the Essenes. The reference to the Essenes being located ‘in the interior of Judaea’ parallels Dio’s reference to ‘in the interior of Palestine’, and the statement that the Essenes ‘hold’ their place would naturally demand that there was a ‘city’, since it was cities that were ‘held’, and the description assumes an autonomous legal entity (*civitas*, or in Greek, *polis*). Entry to this city is permitted only to those of merit, and one can be expelled for small wrongdoings. Since there is otherwise nothing exactly paralleling what we have in Philo or Josephus, it is possible that Solinus derived his information ultimately from a Latin version of Dio, his description of the Essenes still being known at the time that Solinus was writing (Taylor 2010). As such, it is an important source that should be included in the first-century testimonies to the Essenes.

(p. 188) Epiphanius

The fourth-century bishop Epiphanius of Salamis places people he calls *Ossaioi* on the other side of the Dead Sea within the regions of Nabataea and Peraea (*Pan.* 19.1.1; 19.2.2; cf. *Pan.* 53.1.1). According to Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.32, Epiphanius was born Jewish, in a village named Besanduka of the huge city territory of Eleutheropolis in Palestine (which included Ein Gedi and the shores of the Dead Sea) and, after his conversion to Christianity, he founded a monastery in this vicinity where he lived for thirty years. His provenance and the local polemics in which he was involved mean he is an important source on religious groupings in fourth-century Palestine. *Panarion* (ca. 375 CE), ‘medicine box’, is written as an antidote to those bitten by the snake of heresy. Epiphanius’ source is a ‘tradition’ (*paradosis*) that the *Ossaioi* were Jews living in regions east of the Dead Sea, their name meaning ‘strong people’ (*stibaron genos*), which would mean their name derives from Hebrew *ʾatsomim*. Apparently they were corrupted at the end of the first century by Elchai (*Pan.* 19.2.2), thereby being dubbed Elchasites and Sampsaeans. There may here be some small historical resonance regarding the Essenes, but these could also be other Jews. The Essenes are noted also as a Samaritan sect (*Pan.* 10.1.2; 10.9.1).

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Early on in the history of scrolls research the identification that this was an Essene library was made. The *Serekh* (1QS) was found to fit with Josephus, in particular, so much so that Millar Burrows recorded in his diary for 19 March 1948 that he worked on the ‘Essene manuscript’ at the American School (Burrows 1956: 279). The Essene hypothesis was most persuasively presented by André Dupont-Sommer (1956, 1961), and became the consensus view (Campbell 1999: 813; Collins 1992: 623; Charlesworth 2002: 54–5). However, different interpretations were also proposed, notably by both Cecil Roth (1965) and G. R. Driver (1965), who advocated that the scrolls should be associated with the Zealots who ruled Jerusalem during the revolt of 66–70 CE and also made their way to the Dead Sea: importantly to Masada and to various caves of refuge. The importance of the *Serekh* documents for the identity of the group responsible for the scrolls has been confirmed by their wide distribution, since these have been found in Caves 1Q, 4Q, 5Q, and 11Q (Metso 2007: 2–6), and therefore this will be the focus of discussion here.

(p. 189) The correlations between Josephus’ descriptions of the Essenes and the *Serekh* texts have been thoroughly explored by Beall (1988), who identifies twenty-one parallels. VanderKam (1994: 86) has noted that readings can set up discrepancies when there are none, for example the entrance procedure of 1QS 6: 13–23 does indeed indicate a three-year probationary period. Nevertheless, Steve Mason (2000; 2007) has questioned these correlations. In particular, the priestliness of the *Serekh* community seems contrary to what he reads in Josephus, though in fact—as noted above—Josephus’ Essenes (as all his ‘schools’) may implicitly be configured as being quite priestly and involved in public life. Josephus assumed that the priests were in charge, and there is no reason to suppose he thought them any less in charge among the schools/orders he defines.

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It has been argued above that both Philo and Josephus present the Essenes as a highly respected and admirable stream of Judaism in this period, with the 'school' or 'order' comprising those who have separated off from common people in order to form a kind of exclusive educated society with potential authority, whenever public office is assumed, a group that enjoys special favour from royal rulers and insists on special purity, hierarchy, study, and codes of practice. These people share possessions and live together, binding themselves together by means of a meal before which everyone must be purified. Porphyry's version of Josephus even includes the term 'pure meal'.

In the *Serekh* documents, there are numerous ways of referring to what appears to be a strict elite group who make laws governing their behaviour, binding themselves together by sharing possessions, purifying themselves before a pure meal, defining a hierarchy, emphasizing Torah study and specific codes of practice. This group calls itself the *yaḥad*, the men of the *yaḥad*, the council of the *yaḥad* (*ʿaṣat ha-yaḥad*), the council of God, the men of the Law, the men of holiness, the council of his holiness, the sons of light, and *ha-rabbim* (usually translated as 'the many'). *Yaḥad* derives from the root *yḥd* 'join together': in Jer. 48: 7 princes and priests are literally joined together in chains going into captivity, and in the *Serekh* they are joined in individual communes (either of ten men within which there is at least one priest, 1QS 6: 304, 60, or else twelve men and three priests, 1QS 8: 1) under a disciplined rule of life in which men aim to be 'perfect in everything' (1QS 8: 1). These people separate themselves particularly from their opposite: men who are defined as 'men of the Pit', or 'men of injustice'. The term 'council' or 'counsel', *eṣah*, implies a body focused on Law, who are also required to eat, bless, and give counsels together (1QS 6: 2–3), with a third of every night together reading, studying judgement, and saying benedictions (1QS 6: 7–8) and someone always studying Torah, in relay (1QS 6: 6–7). In addition, the use of Hebrew—at a time when Aramaic was the *lingua franca*—combined with this emphasis on scholarship would indicate that these people were learned, unlike grassroots movements such as the Nazoraeans (Christians), or perhaps even ascetic Bannus-followers.

(p. 190) In terms of their identity, it is not as if we have in Second Temple Judaism an array of highly educated Jewish schools/orders from which to choose, i.e. men whose main goal was to be an elite, to separate from wider society and study 'the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do what has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit' (1QS 8: 13–16), who also happen to share possessions, be governed by a strict rule, have special entrance procedures, organize themselves hierarchically, purify themselves beyond the purity of wider society, and eat a pure meal together. Unless one insists on inventing a group attested nowhere else, the Essenes are an obvious choice.

Since Philo, Josephus, and Pliny all indicate the antiquity of the Essenes, it is worth noting that there are no chronological pointers at all in the *Serekh* text, and it remains unknown when the original version first arose: the composite nature of 1QS appears to indicate evolutions over a lengthy period of time, i.e. long before the scroll was copied, with no single, legitimate version (Metso 2007: 69). The fundamental mentality of the *Serekh* text in all its variants owes much to concepts manifested in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Metso 2007: 65; cf. Davies 2007: 138). In Ezra and Nehemiah 'the community of the exiles' (10: 8) who are permitted to eat consecrated food must prove themselves worthy (Neh. 7: 61–5; Ezra 2: 63), and there was an emphasis on separation from the 'filthy practices of the people of the land' (Ezra 6: 21, cf. 9: 11) under the guidance of Ezra who as a scribe was devoted to 'studying the law of YHWH in order to put into practice and teach its statutes and rulings' (Ezra 7: 10). All the people are gathered together in assembly (Neh. 8: 2–3), as in the annual covenant renewal ceremony of the *Serekh* (see 1QS 2: 19), after which they eat and drink (Neh. 8: 12).

The council of the *yaḥad* as an elite group would nevertheless correlate with the requirement for men to engage in Torah study and religious responsibility, and could have developed from the kind of body defined in Ezra and Nehemiah as being constituted by priests, Levites, and '[male] heads of families' (Neh. 8: 13, cf. Ezra 1: 5, 2: 68, 3: 12; 4: 3; 8: 1) who 'gathered around the scribe Ezra to study the words of the law', as found also in CD 14: 3–6.

Eyal Regev (2008) has questioned whether the *yaḥad* constituted a celibate group, since this type of asceticism is never explicitly mentioned. Indeed, that there may be families hidden behind the text is implied in the statement that the rewards to the sons of light will be 'fruitful offspring' (1QS 4: 7 cf. 1QSb 3: 3–4), while, in contrast, the wicked will be destroyed, 'and there is not a remnant or survivor to him' (4: 14, cf. 4QBerakotf 4). Importantly, this section of 1QS is considered an addition, since 4QS^b begins with the equivalent of 1QS 5: 1–7, which brings to mind Josephus' statement that one order of Essenes did marry for procreation, though they lived in every way like the non-marrying Essenes (i.e. communally, with possessions in common). Often these married Essenes have been

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equated with the communities described in the Damascus Document, but Josephus does not indicate that there were any differences whatsoever in lifestyle in (p. 191) terms of married and non-married Essenes ('they are likeminded in lifestyle, customs and laws'; *War* 2.160). During women's pregnancy, these men too must have been celibate. Importantly, that women are described as wearing a linen wrap in the bath, given that the bath is only described by Josephus in terms of preparation for meals (*War* 2.129), would imply that women also participate in pure meals, even if not in all aspects of Essene activities. Nothing is said by Josephus regarding children among the married Essenes.

J. M. Baumgarten (1990) has suggested that the Damascus Document itself points to an alternative celibate group, in that 'those who walk according to these matters in holy perfection' were celibate, when there is another option: 'and if they live in camps in accordance with the rule of the land, and take women and beget children...' (CD 7: 3–10), though Regev (2008: 255–59) and Wassen (2005: 124–5) find no distinction in this. However, the lifestyle of people in CD has none of the distinctive communality of the *Serekh*, and no pure meal, even though some terminology and ideology are shared. Taken separately, there is nothing distinctive to connect the community of the Damascus document with the classical descriptions of Essenes. Here there are clearly families, living as was usual, constituting the remnant of Israel (CD 3: 19), founded after the exile when the covenant was renewed (CD 6: 2, cf. 3: 13). Women and children appear also in a number of other related *yahad* documents, such as 1QSa and 4Q265, and also 4Q502 (so Regev 2008: 277–82), and other material that has been examined by Jensen (2001), Crawford (2003), Schuller and Wassen (2000), Cotton (2000), and numerous others. This has caused some scholars to challenge the 'celibate male Essene' model. 4QMMT's character in particular has led Lawrence Schiffman to argue that the scrolls community was Sadducean, with no interest in promoting celibacy (1990; 1992; 1994).

That in the *Serekh* texts 'Israel' appears not to be coterminous with 'the council of the *yahad*' is shown in 1QS 6: 13, where the heading concerns 'one who willingly offers himself from Israel to join the council of the *yahad*'. The *yahad* is constituted by Israelites (2: 19–22), but Israel is not only the *yahad*. The *yahad* is a holy centre, a virtual Temple, 'a house of truth in Israel', designed to 'lay a foundation of truth for Israel' (1QS 5: 5–6; 4QS^b 5: 5; 4QS^d 1: 4; cf. 1QS 8: 5), 'the tested wall, the costly cornerstone...a most holy dwelling for Aaron...a house of perfection and truth in Israel' (1QS 8: 7–9; 4QS^b 5: 5–6; 4QS^e 2: 12–16; cf. 1QS 9: 6) but it is not Israel in its entirety any more than the Temple (with its all-male priesthood) constitutes Israel in its entirety. Like the priesthood, this group atoned for Israel (1QS 5: 6–7), making 'expiation for the land' (1QS 8: 10; 4QS^d 2: 1: 1; 4QS^e 2: 13). Israel would normatively be composed of men, women, and children.

In terms of archaeology, the Essene hypothesis has long been subject to numerous critiques which detach the site of Qumran, the scrolls, and the classical descriptions of Essenes from each other (for which see Broshi and Eshel 2004), with the most serious challenge on the basis of archaeology made by Yizhar Hirschfeld (2004, but see Taylor 2007b). The proposal that Pliny did not mean to refer to the northwestern coast of the Dead Sea has been made, but, in general, prior to speculations about Ein Gedi's caves in the nineteenth century, Pliny was read precisely to indicate this area, especially to indicate a wide region, which may stretch as far south as Ein Gedi (see Taylor 2009). Additionally, that Dio also associates the Essenes with the Dead Sea is important (Taylor 2010); two independent witnesses to the Essenes being located here is—in terms of ancient evidence—very weighty.

Until the present time, no one has sought to define, on the basis of the classical sources, an archaeological repertoire one would need to find in order to identify a site as 'Essene'. For example, while purificatory baths (*miqva'oth*) or assembly rooms/synagogues would define a site as Jewish, Josephus' insistence on all Essenes having a small trowel for their defecations would mean that remains of such artefacts would be important defining items within an Essene archaeological context. Until the full publication of artefacts, however, the presence of such items is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, the site of Qumran contains rooms suitable for communal meals, baths suitable for ritual bathing, and industrial installations that connect well with the classical evidence for Essene crafts and occupations.

Scrolls were found on the site of Qumran itself, if the site is defined not only narrowly in terms of structures but in terms of the total context of its grounds. Caves 4Q–5Q, 7Q–10Q are artificial caves cut into the marl cliffs, only accessible from Qumran by rope ladders and steps. Further afield, in caves 1Q and 11Q, scrolls were placed in unusual cylindrical jars that are very rarely attested anywhere else, but thirteen whole examples have been found at the site of Qumran. That scrolls were found in such jars already in antiquity is confirmed by mention of scrolls

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discoveries in such *pithoi* in ancient sources: according to Eusebius, Origen (who wrote his *Hexapla* between the years 228 and 254) wrote in this (largely lost) text that he had the use of a (Greek) version of the Psalms that was found 'in a *pithos* near Jericho at the time of Antoninus the son of Severus' (Caracalla, 211–17; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* 6.16.3). The finding of the manuscripts in *pithoi* (plural) is reported by Pseudo-Athanasius in his *Synopsis* and by Epiphanius, who writes of the discovery being 'in the seventh year of Antoninus, son of Severus' (217 CE). Both Athanasius and Epiphanius specify that the *pithoi* contained 'manuscripts of the Septuagint, as well as other Hebrew and Greek writings' (Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.* 17–18; *PG* 43, cols. 265–8; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis PG* 28: col. 432). Scrolls, cylindrical jars, and the region of Qumran are linked.

However, given the complexity of the *Serekh* and Damascus texts, the notion that there was a 'Qumran community', indicated by the *Serekh*, which was responsible for creating all the scrolls, seems unlikely. Various 'communities' have been identified (see Hempel 2006, 2008; Dimant 2006; Wassen and Jokiranta 2007), so that any simplification of a single 'Qumran community' residing only at Qumran and (p. 193) generating all the scrolls is now seen as untenable (see Collins 2003; 2006b; 2007). It is also problematic to link the origins of the scrolls communities (evidenced in the *Serekh* and Damascus texts) with the archaeological chronology of Qumran, the resettlement of which dates only from the late second century BCE.

A nuancing of the Essene hypothesis has been presented in the form of the 'Groningen Hypothesis', first presented by Florentino García Martínez (1988) and then by García Martínez and van der Woude (1990), which suggests a separation between a dissenting Qumran group and the wider Essene school. The origins of Essenism are placed within the late third or early second century BCE, just prior to the Maccabean revolt, in an apocalyptic tradition represented by the books of Enoch and Jubilees. Gabriele Boccaccini concludes that the scrolls community was 'a radical and minority group within Enochic Judaism' (1998: 162), which was itself essentially Essene by 200 BCE. Argumentation here includes the identification of a series of Wicked Priests (rather than one) in the Habakkuk Peshar, referring to the sequence of Hasmonean rulers, though against this see Lim (1993). Moreover, interpretation of both the Damascus texts and the *pesharim* in terms of any historical resonances they may provide for community formation have been fraught from the beginning, and Wacholder (2007) has recently suggested that use of the present and future in these texts imply not past references but indeed future events.

Various issues involved in the Essene dimensions of the Groningen Hypothesis and critiques are presented in Boccaccini (2005: 329–417), but there is no widespread acceptance of this theory. The attempt to correlate a type of Judaic apocalyptic *thought* with Essenism as defined in the sources may be questioned, since Essene belief in the immortality of the soul, or heaven and hell (*War* 2.154–7; *Ant.* 18.18), is so common in Second Temple Judaism (cf. *War* 2.157; 3.372, 374; Mason 2000: 444–5) as to make an 'Essene' definition almost meaningless. The more particular definitions of the Essenes as believing in Destiny/Fate (*Ant.* 13.171–2; 18.18) would narrow the field slightly, as would also the notion that they believed in the destruction of the body (not resurrection, if we discount the Christianization of Hippolytus, contra Puech 1993; see Collins 2006a).

In summary, the hierarchy, rules, pure meal, purity regulations, communality, and sharing of possessions found in the *Serekh* documents are highly comparable to features described in the classical sources on the Essenes. While all kinds of revolutionary and prophetic movements existed in Second Temple Judaism, there were really only the Essenes who demonstrate the kind of concerns and lifestyle appropriate to the *Serekh* texts. This is not to say that all the distinctive texts of the scrolls are Essene, only that a core text appears to be so, and it is found in an area apparently occupied by Essenes in the Second Temple Period. As a whole, the distinctive multilingual library of the scrolls corpus would be appropriate to the learned enterprises of the Essenes, who would apparently make a living by engaging in rough manual labour, practising an austere lifestyle, while yet being (p. 194) very focused on such study and interpretation. The peculiarity of Essene manual labour coinciding with elite erudition is exactly the curious combination we find at Qumran.

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Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism¹

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

Scholarly reflection on the people behind the Qumran documents has been coloured by the use of the term 'sect' from very early on, ever since the first announcement of the discovery of the scrolls was made in 1948. However, more and more scholars have also made an effort to be sociologically informed when hypothesizing about the Qumran movement and its nature. This article discusses the prospects of using the sociology of sectarianism in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The emphasis is on sociological approaches, even though some social-psychological perspectives are also referred to. The aim of sociological approaches in biblical studies is, in the end, to 'challenge, to broaden and to reformulate the methods of historical criticism', as well as to understand those processes of social life that cannot be unravelled or reconstructed without the aid of sociological concepts and imagination.

Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran movement, sectarianism, sociological approaches, historical sociology

SCHOLARLY reflection on the people behind the Qumran documents has been coloured by the use of the term 'sect' from very early on, ever since the first announcement of the discovery of the scrolls was made in 1948. The term was and continues to be widely used in a loose sense, without any explicit sociological pre-understanding, almost equal to 'a (religious) group/subgroup' (yet it carries implicit sociological assumptions). However, more and more scholars have also made an effort to be sociologically informed when hypothesizing about the Qumran movement and its nature. Here I discuss the prospects of using the sociology of sectarianism in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The emphasis is on *sociological* approaches, even though some social-psychological perspectives are also referred to.

What constitutes a 'sociological approach' to the study of antiquity in the first place is a matter under discussion. Certainly, a sociological approach assumes a (p. 201) certain link between ideas and beliefs on the one hand and social forms and material factors on the other hand, but the link is not mechanistic or deterministic. Sociology illuminates the social conditions within which human action takes place but also allows for particularities (Horrell 1996: 9–32; cf. Wilson 1973: 502). Historical investigations cannot do without theoretical assumptions of the 'social'. Moreover, *historical sociology*, which studies past societies, is different from contemporary sociology in that by necessity it makes use of methods other than questionnaires and fieldwork (Berquist 1995: 242).

Some scholars employing the social sciences in biblical studies distinguish social-scientific approaches from socio-historical ones, and argue that the explicit articulation of 'models' ('social-scientific') is better for avoiding anachronism (Elliott 1993; Esler 1995; on the use of 'models', see discussion by Esler 2000; Horrell 2000; and Luomanen, Pyysiäinen, and Uro 2007: 18–20). These various opinions partly arise from sociology itself. There is a difference, for example, between 'interpretative' and 'positivistic' trends, between 'imagination' and 'science,' between understanding society in terms of meaningful individual actions and analysing society as an objective entity (Chalcraft 1997: 16; Mayes 1989: 118–20, and see Mayes' helpful introduction of both 'conflict tradition' and

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'structural-functionalist tradition' in sociology, identified with Max Weber and Emile Durkheim respectively).

Biblical scholars would do well to reflect on theoretical assumptions and to become more familiar with sociological theorizing, but also to cultivate a sociological way of thinking. Heuristic tools are not insignificant. It should be accepted that their benefits are not always guaranteed, nor immediately obvious. The aim of sociological approaches in biblical studies is, in the end, to 'challenge, to broaden and to reformulate the methods of historical criticism' (Horrell 1996: 30) and to understand those processes of social life that cannot be unravelled or reconstructed without the aid of sociological concepts and imagination.

Two Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism

No one agreed definition of 'sect' exists. Sociological studies on sectarianism do not provide any ready-made set of hypotheses about sects that could then be tested against the ancient material. Each sociological study on sects has attempted to answer specific questions in a particular setting. Many sociologists, perhaps Max Weber most notably, have been keen on explaining the influences of sects on the wider social and cultural environment, e.g. seeing the belief systems of sects as one important factor in, if not a cause for, changes towards modernity. In biblical (p. 202) studies, such 'classical' theorists are often referred to in passing, and biblical scholars have tended to focus on the work of more recent sociologists, Bryan Wilson in particular. Familiarity with differences between the work of sociologists and the kinds of concepts used is needed in order to establish the foundation on which biblical scholars can make informed choices between sociological approaches. In the following, two sets of questions are discussed in order to illustrate the particular frameworks characteristic of different sociologists: first, Max Weber and the formation of sectarian personality with its societal impact, and second, types of sects and lifecycles of sects, especially the work of Bryan R. Wilson, Rodney Stark, and William Sims Bainbridge and their reformulations of the 'sect' within twentieth-century societies.

Type of Character and Societal Impact

Weber and Ideal Type

Max Weber's (1864–1920) conception of 'sect' remains important because of its 'ideal typical' nature and its use as a methodological tool. Commentators explain that Weber's philosophical starting point is to be found in the view that reality is too complex to be understood in the mind in its totality; abstractions and simplifications are needed in order to comprehend it. Many of the concepts of the social sciences are neither 'individual' (describing individual events) nor 'general' (formulating universal laws) but rather 'typical': they are a 'one-sided accentuation' of those aspects that are culturally significant (Hekman 1983: 18–26; Gerhardt 2001: 236). In Weber's words (1949: 90): 'An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct'. Ideal types are intentionally unreal extremes (e.g. the ideal types of 'bureaucracy', 'economist', 'Calvinist'). The characterization of the 'Calvinist ethic', for example, was derived from several pastoral and historical writings of Calvinists. It did not summarize all of the points in common in them but accentuated features that were considered of value to the topic of the inquiry, the formation of the capitalist spirit (Giddens 1971: 141–2; Kalberg 2005: 14–22). Ideal types, then, can help organize research and offer suggestions of where to look for explanations about human behaviour as well as to make the reality more comprehensible to us (Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock 1995: 133–4; Chalcraft 2007c: 206).

(p. 203) Weber insisted that the ideal type is not found in any single concrete case. It cannot be proven 'wrong' by cases that do not 'fit' since it is not a comprehensive description of a single social institution or process but is rather a means towards the proposition of causal hypotheses. Ideal types are historically defined and are subject to change (Hekman 1983: 36). Weber himself studied historical cases, traditional Chinese, Indian, and ancient Israelite societies, in comparison to modern Western society, thus making theoretical concepts serve historical case studies (Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock 1995: 135–41). Ideal types are not the *ends* of scientific inquiry but the *means* to facilitate analysis of the subject to be explained (Giddens 1971: 139–44).

'Sect' and 'church' can serve both as descriptive concepts and as ideal typical concepts (Giddens 1971: 142). As

a descriptive concept, sect presents a synthesis of those features that are common to certain empirical cases and are distinct from church. As an ideal typical concept, sect accentuates certain culturally significant features. What is viewed as culturally significant will change according to time and the interest of the inquiry (Bruun 2001: 156). For Weber, sect was a conceptual tool for investigating those features that influenced the rationalization of modern culture (Chalcraft 2007b). Weber sought to identify the value-orientations in a society that contributed to rational, systematic forms of conduct (in contrast to irrational, random forms). In his theory, such values were characteristic of modern societies and capitalist economy, and through their systematic, disciplined conduct Protestant sects were for their part contributing to the formation and expansion of such values. Weber's use of 'sect' was free of value judgement, and, for Weber, sects could be of many kinds (religious, 'aesthetic', even scientific—Weber mentioned Freudian circles): 'Specific, firmly articulated ideals can be brought into life in no way other than in the founding of a sect whose enthusiastic followers strive to realize them fully, and who therefore unite with one another and set themselves *apart* from others' (Weber 2002b: 206–7).

Weber and Virtuoso Personality

In Weber's work, the accentuated feature of a sect was a *voluntary membership based on some merit or qualification*. A key for Weber's understanding of sect is his idea about associational life (*Vereinswesen*), voluntary membership in all kinds of associations, 'from a bowling club to a political party' (Weber 2002b). The archetype of associational life was the Protestant sect but associational life could characterize a whole society—Weber identified North America as a 'sect-like society'. Associations select and cultivate their members, making them channels of change. A member has to qualify, 'to assert himself', and, once qualified, the member will be disciplined according to the group's norms. Self-monitoring becomes a habit, both because of internal competition within a sect and external (p. 204) competition between sects (Kim 2002: 196). Weber was fascinated to find that sect membership functioned as a moral certificate in American society, e.g. in obtaining loans and credit. Sect membership meant that a person had qualified, passed an examination, and 'asserted' him/herself both externally and internally. Sects developed individual personalities, *virtuosos*, in ways that had an impact not only on the lives of the individual members, but on society as a whole.

Virtuoso mentality combined with certain religious ideas had an influence on the formation of modern capitalism. In his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 2002a), Weber identified 'the spirit of capitalism' which was to work well, to make a profit, and to use one's time wisely. The Protestant ideal was to fulfil one's God-given task in the practical, *secular* life (Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock 1995: 100–1; Kalberg 2005: 24–7). The calling of Catholic monks into an other-worldly life was replaced by the inner-worldly asceticism of Protestant sects (for the development of Weber's ideas about sects, see Chalcraft 2007b). Which underlying beliefs enforce this type of character formation? For Weber, it was the predestinarian beliefs in the Calvinist tradition that were seen to have the most effect in the creation of rational, secular asceticism. According to Calvinist teaching, people's eternal fate was predestined by and known only to God. There was no external proof whether one was among those predestined for eternal life or not. This uncertainty, however, caused salvation anxiety in people's minds and a need to ascertain one's status. Such anxiety led people to carry out the spirit of capitalism in their everyday life—working hard, making wise investments, being efficient—in order to assure oneself that one's lot was among those predestined for salvation, or at least to clear away doubt.

In wider terms, 'rationalization' meant the tendency to systematically organize, plan, and conduct one's affairs—this was expressed, in particular, in the areas of science and business (Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock 1995: 96). 'Disenchantment' referred to the process by which the world became a less magical place and more governed by predictable rules (Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock 1995: 121). Although Weber saw a clear connection between the Protestant sects and the new rational, capitalist spirit, he also recognized roots of rationalization going further back in time, to ancient Israel and Greece (Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock 1995: 119–20). By rejecting magic and demanding an ethical way of everyday life, pre-exilic biblical prophets contributed to inner-worldly action. Rationalization in ancient settings was exemplified by systematization of laws, the existence of publicly verifiable norms, trained experts, and abstract rules as well as by economic 'asceticism', the idea that trustworthiness goes together with the best possible profit (Mayes 1989: 22–5). However, the post-exilic period was, in Weber's view, characterized by the decrease of this tendency, by the social segregation of the Jewish people, and the observance of concrete norms rather than abstract principles (Schluchter 1989: 165–8).

(p. 205) Case Study I: Weberian Character Formation in the Qumran Movement

One central feature to be investigated in the Weberian tradition is the formation of the virtuoso personality in sects. The sociologist assumes that people strive for a sense of worth about themselves and thus look for ways to be 'heroic'. One channel to carry out values esteemed in the society is provided by sects, especially when other, perhaps more traditional channels are blocked (Chalcraft forthcoming).

In his *Ancient Judaism*, Weber says little about the Greek, the Hasmonean, and the Roman periods as such but includes a lengthy discussion on the Pharisees and the Essenes (note that Weber did not know the Qumran material). For Weber, the Hasidim were the forerunners of the Pharisees: the Pharisees gave the movement an order by making devotion to proper purity a rule. Gradually, the status of priests was degraded 'in favor of personal religious qualification as proven through conduct' (Weber 1952: 386). The Pharisees were an inter-local sect who lived in the same purity as priests and thus claimed equal holiness to priests. The opposition between these ritual virtuosos and the *'am ha-'arets* was intensified. Weber denies that the self-control found in the observance of purity rules had any major impact on developing ascetic ways of life similar to later Christian cases. But here Weber notes the existence of Essenism: '[The] pursuit of purity could vary in intensity. Normally it led the Pharisees to become increasingly exclusive and systematically ritualistic. This correctness as mentioned did not require separation from workaday life. But the principle could also be pushed beyond the demands of inner-worldly morality. This was the basis of Essenism which, from this point of view, was merely a radical Pharisaic sect' (Weber 1952: 406).

Even though the connection between the Pharisees and the Essenes perceived in this way is historically false, their sociological resemblance might well be significant in this period. Both Pharisees and the Essenes, as well as the Qumran movement,² are examples of social groups that bred 'virtuosos': members who sought ways to assert themselves and who came to view the world in particular ways and themselves as disciplined and qualified, fulfilling certain norms. Asceticism is not only to be linked to systems which see the body and the soul as separate and deny the former; rather it is perfection, training, and attainment of higher goals that characterize these ascetic practices. If asceticism is understood in such a broad sense, as a means through which theological beliefs were internalized and the new (p. 206) interpretation of life was experienced, the Qumran movement also developed such practices.

What type of personality did the Qumran movement form and esteem? What kind of perfection did they attempt to achieve? The investigator should look for values that contributed to an ideal personality. Here the highly idealized passage in the beginning of the Community Rule (1QS 1: 1–15), for example, provides suitable clues: the language is value-oriented (using the preposition *le* plus the infinitive) and it describes actions and sentiments to which the group aspired. We learn that the members are to tune their lives according to the divine will: their 'knowledge, strength, and wealth' (1: 11–12) as well as their time (1: 14–15). Firmness and exactness are also praised: one should not turn away because of 'any fear, terror, or persecution that may occur during the time of Belial's dominion' (1QS 1: 17–18), and not to err 'to the right or the left' (1: 15). The personality fashioned in this way is able to love or hate other persons according to the degree they deserve to be loved or hated (1: 9–11; cf. 9: 21); one identifies with other 'volunteers' of God.

The Damascus Document likewise supports the observation that a central value in the movement had to do with knowledge: education, guidance, and 'exact interpretation' (CD 2: 3; 6: 14; 13: 7–13). A valued person, a 'hero', would be one who invested his/her time in studying (and was enlightened by the insights from God) and was thus able to follow the correct timings and take proper notice of holy space in harmony with the structure of the world. Knowledge was not to be kept to oneself but to be shared among the proper circle (1QS 8: 11–12, 17–18). A very similar value-orientation can be found in the rules about admission: the door into the movement opened when a person was determined to turn to the Law as it was revealed and taught in the movement (Jokiranta 2007). By contrast, accumulation of wealth, for example, was by no means desirable; on the contrary, it was associated with wickedness (CD 4: 17; 6: 15–17; 1QpHab 6: 1; 8: 10–12; 9: 4–5). A fuller analysis could take account of the types of human values present (see Schwartz 1994; 2001). It is noteworthy that some values might contradict each other: for example, control over people and personal achievement could clash with conformity and submission.

Louise Lawrence (2005) highlights virtuoso mentality and vocabulary in the Community Rule. Perfection was achieved through exercise, which takes place, most of all, in regular communal meals and gatherings, sharing of

property, and through various rules that also controlled the body. In comparison to this document, the Hodayot contain, in Lawrence's opinion (2005: 97), 'low anthropology', which prevents the cultivation of virtuosity mentality. Confessing one's sins and acknowledging human frailty do not fit well with the ideas of perfection and insight. However, the very same confessional element is found at the beginning of the Community Rule as well as its final hymn, and can be seen to be one central part of the social identity of the movement: this was the group that had heard the divine word, confessed its sins, and turned to God to overcome them. In human (p. 207) relationships, the virtuoso personality has the role of a master, whereas in the relationship to God, one displays humility, sensitivity, and receptivity (cf. major study on the creation of the sectarian self by Newsom 2004).

The formation of the virtuoso personality in the movement was effected in many other ways. Commonly shared stories of 'hero' figures are often necessary for the group to maintain positive self-esteem in the face of opposition. In the *pesharim*, the Teacher is perceived in a prototypical way (Pietersen 2005; Jokiranta 2006). This figure represented the maximal difference to out-groups: he was in conflict, rejected by the out-groups. At the same time, the portrayal of the Teacher crystallizes the similarities amongst in-group members: they were the possessors of divine revelation, persecuted but vindicated in the end. Social identity is never complete in the sense that group boundaries are constantly being rebuilt (Jokiranta 2005; 2007).

Segregation and separation as such are not unique to the groups of 'virtuosos'. Every group has social boundaries but the nature of these boundaries varies (instead of 'boundaries', Rambo [1993: 104] speaks about 'encapsulation strategies' common to all groups wishing to teach something new; Chalcraft [forthcoming] uses the term 'social closure'). Groups of 'virtuosos' can choose (although not completely freely) to be more or less open to outsiders in their organization. The advantage of a great exclusivism is the efficiency in the creation of virtuoso personalities: one is surrounded by models which all support the correct behaviour. The disadvantage of strong exclusivism is the risk of becoming less attractive to potential members and the loss of influence on the wider environment, perhaps also frightening some members out. Lawrence (2005) highlights the way in which the polemics in 1QS tends to concentrate on *dissenting* members rather than negatively defined out-group members: 'virtuosos' mostly tend to disapprove of those who come close to succeeding but fail.

In comparison to the Pharisaic groups, one difference in the virtuoso mentality of the Qumran movement—besides differences in specific interpretations of law and underlying theological beliefs—could be an aspect of collectivism. The ascetic perfection in the Qumran movement did not focus on pulling an individual member higher and higher up the ladder; it was rather the perfection of the collective that was the goal. Lawrence (2005: 90) states on the collective aspect of asceticism: 'The person initiated into the society envisioned in 1QS was forced to surrender spiritual, material and moral independence'. The 'ascetic' training did not happen in solitude but was built into a system in which the member could not cope alone.

Case Study II: Weberian Impact on Society

The next question concerns the way in which the virtuoso personalities formed in the Qumran movement might have had an impact on the wider society. David (p. 208) Chalcraft has shown initiative in this area, suggesting that, in a Weberian sociology (2007d: 76):

The Qumran materials can be approached with questions relating to the manner in which the Qumran sects selected and bred particular types of character and personality and how these transformations impacted in general on social, cultural and economic life.

Weber used the concepts 'inner-worldly' and 'outer-worldly' asceticism: world-affirming and world-rejecting attitudes. In his *Ancient Judaism*, Weber claimed that 'inner-worldly asceticism' was not a lasting phenomenon in Judaism because of its ethical dualism, different ethics for insider and outsider relations (Weber 1952: 343; Schluchter 1989). In other words, the following of God's orders and will did not make an impact within the world but was withdrawn from the world since it was directed towards the insiders (in contrast to later Protestant Puritans who, for example, claimed superiority to other business dealers because of their trustworthiness; Weber 1952: 344). Proving one's piety lay in different matters from 'mastering the world'. According to Weber (1952: 382), the form of piety in the Maccabean times was, similarly, 'stripped off' from earlier forms of prophetic charisma.

Weber's famous thesis was that the predestination doctrine among Calvinists would produce 'salvation anxiety',

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insecurity about whether one was among the saved or not, and then 'inner-worldly' asceticism in order to prove worthy (see above). In other words, deterministic beliefs are likely to have social consequences.

The existence of deterministic beliefs in the Qumran texts justifies an investigation of a similar correlation. Deterministic beliefs in the scrolls could have motivated the members of the movement to 'assert' themselves in order to prove worthy. Dualistic language is one obvious indicator of deterministic beliefs: the world is divided between the forces of light and darkness, between the lot of God and lot of Belial, between truth and deceit (1QM 1: 1; 1QS 1: 9b–11a; 2: 1b–10; 3: 13–4: 26; 4Q266 1a–b i, 1). In the most pronounced way, the Discourse on Two Spirits in 1QS 3: 13–4: 26 expresses deterministic beliefs, proclaiming that 'they fulfil their destiny, a destiny impossible to change' (3: 16) and 'All people walk in both wisdom and foolishness—God has granted them (i.e. the spirits) dominion over humanity, so imparting knowledge of good [and evil, de]ciding the fate of every living being by the measure of which spirit predominates in [...] visitation' (1QS 4: 24–6). Each person has a predetermined portion in the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. The spirit of truth is recognizable in the works of righteousness, and the spirit of deceit is seen in the works of injustice and wickedness. People follow a due course, finding a reward or a punishment in the end.

The language of election is also common. The passage in CD 2: 1–13 addresses those who turn from their sins, but those who 'despise the statute' are determined to perish: they are not chosen by God, and before 'they were established' God knew their works. On the other hand, the (priestly) members are the 'chosen ones of (p. 209) Israel, those called by the name, who stand in the end of days' (CD 4: 3–4). Similar pattern of refusing-to-turn-and-perishing and being-chosen-and-protected is found, for example, in the Psalms Peshier (4QpPs^a 2: 1–5).

In applying the idea of 'predestination' to the Qumran movement, however, caution is needed (cf. Chalcraft 2007d: 78): determinism, which is found in the Discourse on Two Spirits, is not found in a similar precision in other sectarian scrolls, and the scrolls' understandings of the after-life differ from Christian conceptions. In the Community Rule, the Discourse is a distinct section in this tradition, and not part of all the manuscripts (4QS^{b,d}, see Metso 1997). Such systematic, deterministic beliefs can be a secondary justification of the segregation that had already taken place on other grounds (e.g. because of cultic and purity matters), and an attempt to hold on to the members who were in danger of losing their motivation. The underlying message conveyed through the Discourse is basically the following: the world is divided between good and evil, and one must choose one's side. Those who have chosen their side can still err or even be proven to be on the side of evil. On the one hand, the message justifies the setbacks within the 'righteous community': they are not yet completely purified and perfect but the reason for this imperfection is known and controlled by the community. On the other hand, the Discourse motivates the members to submit to the community discipline in order to prove that they are among the chosen ones (cf. Newsom 2004: 127). In the end, God is said to destroy the spirit of deceit (1QS 4: 19). Some ambiguity or even tension is accepted as to whom the final purification applies: on the one hand, 'God shall then purify *all human* deeds, and refine *some of humanity*' (1QS 4: 20); a few lines after this, it is clearly 'those following the perfect way' (1QS 4: 22) to whom the purification applies.

Such deterministic (even secondary) beliefs easily lead, not to a relaxation that there is nothing one can do in order to be 'saved' but to anxiety about whether one belongs to the lot of light, and thus to a tendency to reduce that anxiety (Chalcraft 2007d: 80). However, Chalcraft (2007d: 79–80) suggests that those kinds of deterministic beliefs which do not create a community of equals but rather a hierarchical community (with different portions of light, for example) can work against such a tendency or cause further sectarian developments where an inner, holy circle is further elevated above others. According to Weber, sects can transform individuals but this transformation does not extend to social and cultural change if the sect cherishes other-worldly asceticism (in contrast to the inner-worldly asceticism that was characteristic of Protestant sects which transferred the ascetic life from monasteries to secular life). Hierarchy and control are, according to Weberian reasoning, forces that work against the self-assertion tendency.

Nevertheless, further analysis might reveal mechanisms that would support the self-assertion tendency and its wider impact on forms of behaviour in the society. Hierarchical order was reestablished probably on an annual basis (1QS 5: 24) and (p. 210) could thus be surpassed. In the Weberian sociology, economic standing is one of the major objects of interest in reducing feelings of insecurity. 'In situations where the qualities esteemed by the sect relate to economic abilities as indications of moral standing it is clear that economic behaviour will be affected' (Chalcraft 2007d: 83). Judging from those passages where one's property (besides one's spirit and deeds) played

a crucial role in the admission process (1QS 1: 13; CD 13: 7–13) and from the penalties imposed for lying about property (1QS 6: 24–5; CD 14: 20), economic issues were very much part of the agenda of the sect and its functioning. Yet, as noted above, individual wealth was not esteemed, but rather righteous redistribution of wealth.

A double ethic was operative: different rules applied to outsiders and insiders. The members gave up full rights to their property when entering the community and were careful not to share with the outsiders (1QS 5: 15–17; CD 13: 14–16; 12: 6–11). The minimum assumption is that the members would at least draw attention from outsiders because of their regulated economic exchange with them. It is possible that local groups formed a network that provided maintenance for travelling members—the sect could thus contribute to mobility and trans-local exchanges and, possibly, wider social change (Chalcraft 2007d: 85–8). Furthermore, the character of the *maskil* can be interpreted as an ideal sectarian personality, and the authority that he practised in economic matters most certainly included choices that were relevant also to outsiders (cf. 1QS 9: 21–4). Catherine Murphy (2002: 40–4, 83–4) has suggested that redeeming slaves and indebted persons would have been one activity on the basis of the duties of the *maskil* in CD 13: 9–10. In other words, the individual members did not triumph in the society by means of their economic prosperity but could assert themselves with their authoritarian decisions and knowledgeable economic choices in everyday life: which items to ban, which shopkeepers to trust, which relations to accept. Hierarchical order played a role in the movement but did not completely exclude opportunities for self-assertion as a ‘knowing’ personality.

In wider terms, the educative influence of the Qumran movement could have been substantive (cf. Chalcraft 2007d: 91). The cultivation of scriptural study, the emphasis on precise meanings of scripture, even a playful attitude towards the written word, distinctive scribal practices, creation of new literature—all of these matters transformed the personality of the members, attracted new members and possibly set standards for other sectarian groups to follow or to compete with. The type of personality they formed would have valued knowledge as well as the investment of time and effort in gaining this knowledge and the disciplined life that followed from it. To what extent sects were a response to the growth of literacy and competing interpretations of scripture, and to what extent sects contributed to ‘rationalization’ and more systematic forms of interpretations are questions to be kept in mind.

(p. 211) Types of Sects: Identifying the Group's Stance in Society

The other approach into sectarianism to be illuminated here has been much more popular in biblical studies. According to this approach, the focus is not on the individual personality formation and its influence on society but on the interplay between the sect and the society and the types of sects emerging in different societies and settings. In one way, this perspective often views the sect in more responsive/reactive (rather than active/affirmative) ways: the sect is a protest against values or practices in society, and sects offer different solutions to the perceived problems. In the following, a few central theorists are introduced and their insights are used in three case studies.

Troeltsch and Historical Christianity

Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) was a German theologian and philosopher, whose studies are not directly useful for Qumran scholarship because of their strongly Christian framework. Yet, the Troeltschian attributes of sect and church have played a role in sect discussions (see Jokiranta 2001), and it is necessary to understand his approach to the sociology of sectarianism.

In his work *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (1981), Troeltsch wanted to find out to what extent Christianity is sociologically conditioned and to what extent Christianity is itself an actively formative sociological principle (Troeltsch 1991: 372). Troeltsch contrasted the sect and the church as two distinct types of religious organization in the medieval period. Both of them were based on primitive Christianity and were partial representatives of it. A general distinction occurred in their attitude towards the world/state/society: the church desired to dominate all human life, whereas the sect, being organized in small groups, was indifferent, tolerant, or hostile towards the world. In the church, the Kingdom of God incorporated and controlled the state; in the sect, the Kingdom of God was in opposition to all secular institutions (for polarities, see Jokiranta 2001: 226–7). The sect type corresponded to the teaching of Jesus and the church type corresponded to the teaching of Paul.

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The contrast between church and sect became more complicated in the era following the medieval period. Protestantism, although in line with the church type, modified the conception of the church: it relied on the state for influence and uniformity but, at the same time, sought to make the faith more subjective (Troeltsch 1981: 477, 1007–8). Troeltsch (1981: 348) recognized a mixed type, 'mysticism', which manifested itself sociologically as unorganized, individualized religiosity.

(p. 212) Sects and Pluralism

In the past century, the sociology of sectarianism was confronted with the emergence of 'new religious movements' as well as secularization and religious conflicts, and the different conceptions of sect were modified accordingly. Not only were the characteristics of sect reconsidered but also its corollary of church was questioned. Postmodern Western societies did not have an established state-approved church that enjoyed a monopolistic position. Pluralism prevailed instead. Consequently, sects needed to be seen in a wider socio-cultural setting: their desire to withdraw was not from some orthodox teaching but from the world in general. In the American context, Niebuhr (1929) suggested that sects last only for a short time; within a generation they turn to a more denominational stance. Instead of the opposing types of 'church' and 'sect', some sociologists suggested taxonomies of religious organizations (e.g. Robertson 1972: 123; McGuire 1997), and 'cult' emerged as a new, frequently used category (e.g. Wallis 1975).

Alternatively, sociologists continued to use church–sect typology but modified the defining criteria or reduced them to one, placing it on a continuum. Johnson (1963) was among the first to emphasize the relation to the social environment as the defining criterion: church accepts the social environment in which it exists; sect rejects the social environment in which it exists. Many later studies adopted this view: sect was in tension with its socio-cultural environment (for an overview of the church–sect theory and its modification, see Bainbridge 1997: 38–42).

Wilson and Sectarian Subtypes

Bryan Wilson (1926–2004) stated that he was refining the ideal type construction of Troeltsch (Wilson 1973: 11–12). According to Wilson (1990: 46–7), sects stand in *tension* to their socio-cultural environment but are not necessarily otherwise similar to each other in their doctrine, organization, origins, and so on. The ideal typical character is most obvious in Wilson's typology of sectarian 'responses to evil', which, according to Wilson (1970: 35; 1982: 105), were not found in pure forms. These sectarian subtypes, however, helped to analyse the great variety of 'new religious movements'. Originally, Wilson formulated four subtypes of sects (four 'types of mission') in contemporary Christianity (1967). Later, he expanded this to seven (Wilson 1970); and to non-Christian contexts ('responses to evil'; Wilson 1973; 1982). The typology was thus designed to facilitate comparative study, although the starting point was within the Christian context.

'Responses' are various kinds of religious answers to perceived evil. It is noteworthy that the 'evil' is not defined. 'Introversionists' seek a purified community; 'conversionists' seek a transformed self; 'manipulationists' seek a transformed perception of evil; 'thaumaturgists' seek specific dispensations and miracles; 'reformists' (p. 213) seek to reform or change the world; 'revolutionists' seek a world transformed (by God); and 'utopians' seek a reconstruction of the world (by humans). In addition to these seven sectarian responses, the eighth, the dominant response in society, is acceptance of the world (Wilson 1973: 21–7). Wilson (1970: 13) sought to explain the conditions in which these types were most likely to arise, how they developed, and what influences they had in non-Western cultures. In a Weberian fashion, he was interested in explaining rationalization: once people come to the view that their ills were not caused by spirits or their own actions alone but by deficiencies in social structures, they could expect a communal transformation in these structures. When the expectation of the transformation was not fulfilled, people turned again to their own 'effort to work out salvation', but the experience could be the forerunner of more rational ideas about opportunities for structuring the new world (Wilson 1973: 7, 348–9).

In a similar way to Weber, Wilson identified in religious sects the disciplinary, collective impact but saw it to a *varying extent* in different types of sects, depending on *varying conditions* and as *persisting* for a varying period of time. For example, conversionist sects put more weight on the inner change of members than on a collective reworking. They emerged in individualistic societies and often became denominationalized, and thus endured for a long time. Revolutionist and introversionist ideas emerged as the result of a longer-lasting deprivation and they were very radical in their demands. Revolutionist sects were usually short-lived and thus did not make much of an

impact.

The reader of Wilson's work might find the understanding of sect both as a schismatic, heretical offshoot from the church—at least, Wilson recognized this as a common, traditional understanding of Christian sects—and as a non-schismatic protest group which was in tension with the wider society (see Wilson 1970: 15–16, 26). In later studies, Wilson tended to work without any subtypes and instead developed the sociology of 'new religious movements' which protested against modernity (Wilson 1990, esp. 47; for Wilson's relation to Weber, see Chalcraft forthcoming). The 'responses' typology, however, has continued to enjoy great popularity in biblical studies.

Case Study III: Sectarian Types and Changes

Various scholars have identified in the Qumran corpus different sectarian 'responses to evil', following Wilson's (1973) typology of sectarian responses (e.g. Baumgarten 1997a; Grabbe 2007; Piovanelli 2007). The types are not, in my view, suitable for labelling ancient movements as such (see Jokiranta 2009; and cf. Craffert 2001). The concepts may, however, be used heuristically to pose questions about the nature of sectarianism and to see correlations or disconnections more clearly. Which response was more likely to be the primary one for the (p. 214) Qumran movement, if any? Did the movement's response change in the course of its history? Asking these questions requires that the responses are not just forms of rhetoric (cf. Robbins 1996, who uses responses as forms of social discourse) but identifiable social forms and behaviours.

Shemaryahu Talmon (1987) seemed to make a case paralleling Wilson's model from the revolutionist response to the introversionist: the first group was disappointed in its expectation of the imminent onset of the 'millennium' and only the emergence of a cohesive group around the Teacher of Righteousness signified the onset of the Qumran sect (in Talmon's terminology: 'community of renewed covenant'). Eyal Regev (2007) makes the case for the reverse. Even though we find eschatological expectations, periodic view of history, and calculations of the end in the Qumran documents, the separation was not explained by millennial disappointments. Instead, the separation in itself was a successful response to the evil experienced in the world: it met the members' immediate need for an environment where salvation could be realized. However, such separation was not easy to maintain in the long run, and the idea that this separation was temporary was a logical consequence. Regev claims that, 'while it is possible to point to millennial movements that did not withdraw from the outer society, it is more difficult to identify introversionist movements who develop no expectations about the future'. While this may be true, it is uncertain whether the apocalyptic and eschatological expectations ever developed into a full-blown urgent revolutionist response or rather remained as a living but non-specific sense of the end. Taking a closer look at Wilson's two types may illuminate the issue.

Wilson's typology suggested that introversionist and revolutionist responses emerge in very different cultural conditions. A revolutionist response is found frequently in less-developed societies whereas introversionism usually requires the idea that religion is a private commitment. An introversionist response seeks to maximize withdrawal from the world. Holiness is characteristic of both individual members and the community life; individual holiness depends on community holiness. History is preordained, and the world can no longer be saved. Outsiders and potential converts are treated suspiciously and as potentially contaminating. Those introversionist sects that had not withdrawn into colonies insulated themselves by other means: rules about associating with outsiders, distinctive dress, manner of speaking, endogamy, and particular professions.

The worldview and operation in the revolutionist response are characterized by a sense of urgency (often triggered by cultural change or oppression): the culmination of time is coming, and the truth must be proclaimed before this. Some of the sects Wilson studied had precise predictions of the end, others were more vague about the eschaton. The imminent coming of the saviour prevented any major attempts to change the world as such. Evil in the world was seen as a marker of the fulfilment of time.

(p. 215) It is noteworthy that, according to Wilson, the introversionist response among less-developed peoples may not display similar exclusivism as among modern Christian sects but rather borrow from tribal or ethnic structure. It can be a secondary response, following the revolutionist, after a disappointment. But it can also occur independently: 'It may be withdrawal from the wider society of a group of people who share a similar sense of disenchantment with the world'. Often it then relies, in Wilson's view, on a prophet who has a compelling message but who does not colour this with a sense of urgency and makes no promises of an imminent, miraculous change.

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The investigator should thus pay attention to the relationship between beliefs in the coming eschatological turn (revolutionist response) and beliefs in a 'pure' community (introversionist response) as providing resolution to the evils in the world in the Qumran texts. Periodization of history is typical of all apocalyptic literature, and Qumran apocalyptic texts make no exception—as such, it cannot be interpreted as a marker of a revolutionist response. Scholars differ in their view of whether figures like the '390 years' of the Damascus Document (CD 1: 5–6) should be interpreted as reflecting exact expectations of the time of divine intervention or rather as more vague, symbolic language drawing on biblical pre-texts and contributing to a particular worldview. The War Scroll is an example of a vivid expectation of a ritually pure and orderly battle in the end of times (following similar models of eschatological war, see Erho 2009), but hardly a text attempting to convince people that the end is at hand and they must choose their side. Even though the war is divided in periods of years (forty years altogether), the time of the commencement of the war is not reported to the reader; the reader only learns that the set times are known by God and revealed to the chosen ones (1QM 13: 14; 11: 7–8).

Closest to exact expectations of the end in the rule texts comes the passage of the Damascus Document where the final period is seen to start from the death of the Teacher and last about forty years until the adversaries are dead (CD 20: 13–22). However, this is clearly not the belief on which the movement was founded; rather it seems a secondary development, to motivate the members to stay alert in order to avoid the coming judgement. Even here, the figure of forty years carries symbolic connotations, and the prediction allows for many possible interpretations (e.g. whether only adversaries of the Teacher will die, or whether the divine intervention means a wider judgement).

Evidence for the introversionist response in the Qumran texts is much more overt: the community is the means to overcome evil. God chose them, revealed his truth to them and atones for them: 'God in his wonderful mysteries atoned for their iniquity and forgave their sin and built them a sure house in Israel, such as never stood from the earliest times until now' (CD 3: 18–20). They are perfect in holiness. Communal purity and individual purity are closely linked, and the outsiders are cursed: 'And this is the judgement for all those who entered the (p. 216) congregation of the men of perfect holiness but recoiled from doing the regulations of the upright: he is the man "who has melted in the midst of a furnace"' (CD 20: 1–3; cf. 1QS 8: 20–9: 2). Community building goes together with separation: 'This is the rule for the men of the *yaḥad* who volunteer to turn from all evil and to hold fast to all that He, by His good will, has commanded. They are to separate from the congregation of the men of injustice. They are to come together with respect to Law and wealth' (1QS 5: 1–2). Even the War Scroll sees the chosen ones as the locus of truth (1QM 13: 9–13).

Introversionist ideas and language are everywhere in the rule texts but we should not draw hasty conclusions about their sociological significance. When we turn to other genres, the sense of a pure community as the resolution to evil becomes less clear. In many hymns of the *Hodayot*, the speaker negates himself for the glory of God; human nothingness is contrasted with divine wisdom, and a community is hardly mentioned as a locus of salvation (e.g. 1QH^a 5: 20–3; 11: 19–21; 18: 3–7; see Newsom 2004: 239–40, 273). The speaker is alone and persecuted (12: 9) but his distress reveals God in his might (10: 20–30). The community envisioned is the heavenly community (11: 21–3).

On the other hand, the *Hodayot* where a leader figure plays a role actualize his leadership, *creating* a community of disciples (1QH^a 12: 24–9; 15: 10; cf. Newsom 2004: 299). Furthermore, in some community hymns, the speaker who has acquired new insight is brought closer to other, similarly enlightened individuals (1QH^a 6: 18). Yet, it is not the community but the knowledge and new perception about the human state and divine righteousness that are highly regarded—they are presented as keys to overcome evil (1QH^a 8: 20–1). The exception is perhaps the *hodayah* in column 14, which has strong remnant theology: the 'men of Your council' are a distinct group among 'children of men' (14: 11) and have all truth and glory. The significance of this human community, however, is not limited to insiders: they are the mediators of divine truth to the world (14: 15–16).

The *Hodayot* and the rule texts do not necessarily contradict each other or represent different responses. The best sectarian can be made by the creation of the 'self' that is totally committed to the divine agent whereas the individual is, in fact, completely dependent on the sect (cf. Newsom 2004: 296–7). Therefore, sentiments such as those found in the *Hodayot* could be interpreted within the scope of an introversionist response.

On the other hand, it is possible to identify factors that rather suggest a *utopian* response, perhaps at an earlier

stage, before a full introversionist response, or as strands within the movement. In the utopian response, humans rebuild the world themselves. According to Wilson (1970: 40), the utopian response is neither withdrawal from the world nor a desire to overturn it but to return to the basic principles by which the creator intended people to live. This response seeks to 'rediscover the model for the way of life for all men', and thus the community is not a defence mechanism for preserving its own piety. The community is not so (p. 217) much a location for salvation as an agency for salvation. In comparison, introversionist sects want to get away from the world.

Two passages in the Community Rule that state the purpose of the community, 1QS 5 and 1QS 8, are illuminative from this perspective. 1QS 5: 6 defines the task as 'to atone for all those who volunteer for holiness in Aaron and for the house of truth in Israel and those who join them in *yahad*' whereas, according to 1QS 8, which may preserve an earlier formulation of the 'programme' of the movement, they are 'to preserve faithfulness in the land with self-control and a broken spirit, atoning for sin by working justice and suffering affliction' (8: 3–4; cf. 8: 6; 9: 4–5). In the first passage, atonement concerns the inside members, whereas the latter formulation reflects the belief in the wider importance of the movement: in the time of wickedness, they uphold the covenant (8: 10) and preserve the God-given rules, for the benefit of the land. Their withdrawal is preparing for the way (the model of living to be realized in the eschatological era), not isolation for its own sake. Other evidence could also be interpreted from this point of view. For example, the emphasis on the ability to love what God loves and to hate what He hates (1QH^a 6: 18–21; 1QS 1: 3–4; 3: 26–4: 1; 9: 21) means the ability to establish sound moral (and ritual) principles of what is right and wrong in society.

If this suggestion is valid, it is conceivable that a utopian response and the excitement of building the new world turns into an introversionist response and inverted concern of the members' holiness when time passes and the movement does not receive recognition, or when a leadership emerges that demands a stronger denial of previous commitments. One marker of a stricter degree of exclusivity are those passages that begin to regulate, in clear terms, contacts with outsiders (1QS 5: 10–20) and matters of apostasy (1QS 8: 20–9: 2). In other words, qualification and motivation to be in the movement were not sufficient, one had to show commitment by denying former contacts.

What is the benefit of such an analysis of sectarian responses to 'evil'? A study of societal conditions where each response is likely to emerge would require a fuller appreciation of Wilson's work, but as it turns out he did not pay equal attention to all responses in order to provide sufficient comparative data—and transferring his observations to the ancient setting would be very difficult. Nevertheless, such conceptual responses facilitate hypothesizing about the primary and secondary forms in the Qumran movement.

Stark and Bainbridge and the Idea of Movements

There is wide acknowledgement among scientists of religion of the role of *innovation* in religious traditions. Religions always contain conflicts, small groups, and novel beliefs that challenge them to reform, renew, and reinvent. Religious movements are (p. 218) rightly called *movements*: they are part of a constant and ongoing movement in religions whereby religions react to and effect cultural changes.

On these assumptions, Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge's (1985; 1987) built their theory of religion in the 1980s. The theory is an exchange theory (or a 'rational choice theory'): it assumes that religion arises 'through social exchanges in which individuals seek rewards and attempt to avoid costs' (Bainbridge 1997: 404; for a critical view on the rational choice theory, see Beckford 2003: 167–71). Since rewards exist in limited quantity, people accept *compensators*, explanations that are treated as rewards. Religion is 'a system of general compensators based on supernatural assumptions' (Stark and Bainbridge 1987: 39; but see the slight reformulation of the theory and the language of compensators in Stark 1999).

Stark and Bainbridge's ideas on sects belong to this theoretical perspective and are also based on empirical studies of religious bodies (1987: 153). According to the theory (Stark and Bainbridge 1985: 49; Bainbridge 1997: 24), a 'sect movement' is a deviant religious organization with traditional beliefs and practices. A 'cult movement' is a deviant religious organization with novel beliefs and practices. A 'church' (or denomination) is a conventional religious organization. Deviance, or tension, means that a group develops or maintains a culture at variance with the dominant culture of society, incurring costs for those who maintain it. That is, at the low-tension end, we find 'religious institutions', which are close to or nearly identical with the socio-cultural environment (social structures,

roles, norms, values, and activities of the society). Institutions adapt to change. At the high-tension end, we find 'religious movements' (sects and cults), which attempt to cause or prevent social change. Religious groups are thus always related to their context; no 'essence' can be presented of either religious institutions or religious movements.

In their *Future of Religion*, Stark and Bainbridge (1985: 48–67) outline three elements that can be empirically used for measuring tension. The first is *difference*: the extent to which the behaviour and practices of the members are different from the majority, or from the standards of the powerful members of the society—sectarians follow deviant norms. The second is *antagonism* towards other religious groups or society, usually expressed in particularistic beliefs denying the legitimacy of other competing groups, and resulting in rejection by them. The third is *separation*, restriction of social relations and contacts mainly to in-group members. In a later study, Bainbridge (1997: 42–7) speaks of 'aspects of tension' that can be measured: these are variations in beliefs, behaviour, and social relations (corresponding roughly to Rambo's [1993: 106] 'physical, social and ideological encapsulation'). The three elements/aspects are in close interplay and each one of them adds to tension, usually by strengthening one or both of the other elements/aspects as well.

Once a movement is classified as being at the high-tension or at the low-tension end, one can proceed to analyse other questions, such as the social class of the members and its correlation to the degree of tension. The results suggest that (p. 219) high-tension groups generally attract people who suffer from 'relative deprivation,' i.e. deprivation of some valued reward, relative in the sense that the lack of rewards is judged in comparison to something else, e.g. to close associates or one's standard in the past. High-tension movements offer specific *compensators* that substitute for wealth, power, and status, whereas low-tension groups tend to offer concrete *rewards*. The higher the tension, the greater the number and perceived value of the compensators (Stark and Bainbridge 1985: 142–9; Bainbridge 1997: 50–9).

Case Study IV: Sectarian Tension in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document

Whereas Wilson's work focused on the type of religiosity (type of response), Stark and Bainbridge's work directs one to understand groups on a continuum with a varying degree of 'sectarianism' or tension. Group boundaries sociologically perceived are not only ideological but often materialize in social forms. Therefore, observing ideological tension in texts (deviant beliefs, polemic language, dualistic ideology) is not sufficient to demonstrate that a group existed which viewed itself as a distinct social group and which was in tension with the surrounding society—social boundaries are needed too. Stark and Bainbridge's elements of tension provide a useful conceptual tool for analysing social boundaries as regards to their degree of tension: a sectarian group is one in which antagonism is strong, social norms deviant, and social relations restricted. Surely, at the same time, a sect in tension can also capture some core values of the larger society (cf. Ling 2004: 242–3). Being in high tension does not mean that the sect is in open conflict with the surrounding society.

The greatest advantage of the *tension with* perspective comes from the context-dependent nature of sectarianism. A sect is not a sect as such but in relation to other entities and societal change. Whereas some scholars have stressed the basic difference between the Judaism of the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, seeing in them full 'systems' (e.g. Davies 2000), Stark and Bainbridge's perspective takes both documents and views their evidence in interaction with the assumed societal context.

From this point of view, the sectarianisms as reflected in the Damascus Document and the Community Rule were much closer to each other than often thought, as argued by Cecilia Wassen and Jutta Jokiranta (2007). Both documents reflect a relatively high tension in their environment. First, they express antagonism towards outsiders and include particularistic beliefs, which occasionally were very harsh: the world was seen to be divided in the lots of good and evil, and the dividing line went between the members and the non-members. Second, judging from the available evidence of Second Temple practices, as well as using an (p. 220) informed imagination of a range of existing possibilities, the Qumran *halakhah* was, in many respects, different from others: strict Sabbath observance, a special calendar, expansion of purity rules, ban of polygamy and uncle–niece marriages, restrictions concerning the temple cult, and the like. High ideals and goals brought along other deviant practices and corresponding norms: communal property and business management, study sessions, meals in purity, oaths, surveillance and reproof, new hierarchical order and responsibilities. Third, social separation occurred when members avoided contacts with outsiders and mingled mostly with insiders. The Damascus Document testifies to

specific forms of separation without any evidence that the groups behind them would have lived physically apart. For example, the leaders in the movement controlled marriage contracts and economic exchange.

Defining the degree of tension is in no way unproblematic and any definition must take careful note of the counterpart, the socio-cultural environment (see further discussion by Jokiranta 2005). Rather than assuming an 'essence' of sectarianism or postulating a monolithic Judaism against which the sects protested, it is more useful to examine the groups' reactions to societal change and their degrees of tension.

Case Study V: 'Conversion' and Persistence

Two further points of sociological interest are: What attracted people into the Qumran movement? And who would have been a potential initiate? These two questions are related and provide macro- and micro-perspectives into the phenomenon of 'conversion'. The first question seeks to find the societal conditions where sectarianism was possible and where sects were seen to address certain societal needs. From a Weberian perspective, for example, sects provided a means to live out heroism in the Maccabean era. Many scholars have emphasized that the emergence of sects belonged generically together with those developments that took place earlier in the post-exilic period (Talmon 1987: 606; Blenkinsopp 2005: 10–11). The loss of the king-state generated a hunger for divine intervention. Similarly, Sheldon Isenberg's (1974) study on millenarianism in Greco-Roman Palestine took the Qumran sect as one among other dissatisfied groups that emerged when a millenarian prophet convinced the group of a new solution. Others have stressed the importance of the new situation in the Hasmonean era (Baumgarten 1997a) and the social stratification in Judaea (Ling 2004: 244–9). Various scholarly reconstructions of the origins of the Qumran movement can receive support from various sociological theories: for example, Duhaime (1993) applied C. Y. Glock's theory of five kinds of deprivations to view different theories of the Qumran sect.

(p. 221) The second question enjoys a long tradition of research into understanding the process of joining a new religious movement and the minimum requirements for a full conversion to take place. 'Conversion' is a good example of both the problems and prospects of using modern research in the study of ancient phenomena. The concept of 'conversion' can lead the interpreter of ancient texts astray if it carries connotations belonging to modern religious traditions, quite alien to the antique world. Yet, the phenomenon exists, and conceptualizing it in the study of antiquity can be fruitful (cf., Crook 2004, who has argued that Paul's conversion is better conceived in terms of changes in loyalty in a patron–client relationship).

Along these lines, we first need to specify what we mean when we think of joining the Qumran movement. According to Lewis Rambo (1993: 12–14), there are various types of conversion. *Apostasy* is repudiation of a religious tradition; *intensification* is the revitalized commitment to a faith with which the convert has had previous contact; *affiliation* is the change from no or minimal religious commitment to full involvement with an institution or community; *institutional transition* is the change from one community to another within a major tradition; *tradition transition* is the change from one major religious tradition to another.

The rule documents include no specific data about how a potential convert was first introduced to and then became fascinated with the movement (cf. economic and educational attraction above). Three of the above-mentioned conversion types are most likely: intensification, affiliation, and institutional transition (tradition transition would apply to proselytes into Judaism who then became members). (1) Intensification is clear in the way the texts speak about 'returning': membership has to do with the core values of the wider religious tradition (e.g. covenant). Also the keen interest in the purity rules is intensification of otherwise familiar rules: new converts would have learned to commit themselves in an intensified way. Children of the members would also fall into this category. (2) Affiliation in the sense defined above could apply to members who, in their earlier life, were ignorant of the various types of laws or did not have access to them—such a population is often in the Second Temple setting construed as the 'people of the land'. Hodayot conceive of 'simple ones' who receive knowledge (1QH^a 5: 2; 10: 9). The Nahum Peshier and the Habakkuk Peshier also mention the 'simple ones' who were led astray (4QpNah 3: 5; 1QpHab 12: 4). The passage in 1QS 2: 11–3: 12 is a polemic against artificial conversion, suggesting a sort of person seeking personal benefit or other things deemed undesirable. (3) Institutional transition is conceivable as movement from one sect to another: the Pharisees were perhaps the closest competitors and a flow from one movement to the other was likely. However, membership in such voluntary associations was not 'institutional' in the modern sense of the word; rather one could imagine a teacher with a following or a tradition of practices among families and elites (Sivertsev 2005).

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(p. 222) Scholars of conversion have comprehended it as a process with several stages. For example, according to Lofland and Stark (1965), seven stages are necessary and sufficient for conversion:

The converts must (1) experience enduring, acutely felt tensions (2) within a religious problem-solving perspective (3) that leads them to define themselves as religious seekers, (4) encountering the new group at a turning point in their lives, (5) wherein an affective bond is formed with one or more converts (6) where extra cult attachments are absent or neutralized (7) and where, if they are to become deployable agents, they are exposed to intensive interaction.

Can such a modern model facilitate the understanding of ancient people and their social movements? George Brooke (2005) is clearly aware of the problems involved with such an enterprise. He reads the Qumran evidence heuristically in light of Lofland and Stark's theory of seven stages but does not investigate directly the conversion process as such. Rather, he draws attention to a specific question concerning conversion: how was scripture used to justify and facilitate the process of conversion? Brooke explains how the use of scripture reflects this process. For example, (1) scriptural plurality might have been one factor in the experienced tension, which was, however, harnessed in the service of the Qumran movement in attracting new members. (2) The movement looked at the past in the light of scripture, which shows that the ills in the social order were considered to be religious in nature. (3–4) Conventional religious solutions were considered inadequate or false, and the seekers came to encounter the new movement on the basis of common interests in scriptures: the movement was possibly known for its literate culture. For stages 5–7, Brooke argues that, as a result of communal living and the process of admission, the novice created strong bonds with insiders and negated previous bonds with outsiders. Scriptural labels and the study of scriptures provided suitable means for identification and attachments.

Brooke's suggestion is significant: the potential convert shared an interest in looking at reality in the light of the scriptures, and because of this, *other types of persons would not be attracted to the movement in the first place*. However, this brings forth a further question. Why would such a potential convert choose this particular movement and not some other scripturally oriented movement which probably existed (cf. 'common sectarian matrix' by Lim 2002: 83–5)? Moreover, it is questionable to what extent an *individual's* conversion stages and their scriptural justification are directly identifiable in the texts—what can be identified is rather the ways in which the *collective* justified its values and deviance. Collective ways may or may not have a correlation to how an individual found justification in the conversion process.

Stark and Bainbridge (1987: 195–238) revisit Lofland and Stark's theory of conversion. They prefer to speak about *affiliating*, including both aspects of recruiting and joining, rather than 'conversion', which, in their mind, implies (p. 223) that a person changes in a profound way. Conversion is the person's belief in the change—and thus a compensator rather than a direct reward (cf. above, and Wilson 1990: 180–1). They set the theory in a wider perspective of human exchange. To summarize their argument: people are likely to join high-tension groups to the extent that they are relatively deprived (i.e. in comparison to others, they feel deprived of some valuable reward) but they do not resort to open struggle for these rewards, since the elite is powerful enough to suppress rebellion; therefore these people must seek a non-political solution. Furthermore, people are likely to join high-tension groups to the extent they, at a turning point in their lives (positive or negative), are *low in social relationships* and come to develop new social relations with the sect members who offer *more rewards/compensators* than costs.

Thus, two correctives are made to the view above. First, active religious seeking is not a necessary condition for joining sects—affiliation with the sect members is sometimes enough. Nevertheless, it is important for the insiders to *perceive* the newcomers as religious seekers who found what they were looking for (Stark and Bainbridge 1987: 224). In the Qumran sources, this 'seeking-finding' pattern can be identified, for instance, in the confessing of the sins of ancestors (1QS 1: 22–2: 1; CD 20: 27–31) as well as the perception of outsiders as those who have not sought the truth in the first place (1QS 5: 11).

Secondly, new social ties must be sufficiently rewarding. 'Religious seekers will not accept new compensators, and be willing to expend costs over time to maintain them, until they experience repeated rewarding exchanges with other persons who already accept the compensators' (Stark and Bainbridge 1987: 231). 'Rewarding exchanges' in the case of the Qumran movement presents somewhat of a problem: if the members separated from the outsiders, how did the potential converts have such experiences? The rule texts speak a lot about admission into the movement, but they are mostly concerned with the examination of the newcomer, with the moulding of this

personality and drawing boundaries against outsiders, including apostates. Secrecy and strictly regulated contacts with outsiders would not encourage any lively and open recruitment. However, the task of the *maskil* was to walk righteously with 'all living'—and perhaps to identify those with the most potential to qualify as 'children of righteousness' (1QS 9: 12–21; CD 12: 21). New members were perhaps recruited most efficiently through kinship structures: children of members had to enrol (1QSa 1: 8–9). The voluntary nature of the association is clear since the second or later generations were not automatically members. To some extent, the Qumran sources use fictive kinship terminology (but not of 'brotherhood': Jokiranta and Wassen 2009): this could be one sign of the new ties outweighing the earlier ones, e.g. offering a new 'family' to members who had lost their family or their connection with it.

Furthermore, the theory claims that people who are unsatisfied with the existing religious explanation will seek a new one but will try to keep their cultural system *otherwise* unchanged. This would fit with Brooke's suggestion that the members of (p. 224) the Qumran movement were already inclined to look for a scriptural explanation—but we must note one reservation: we cannot directly work backwards, drawing a pre-member profile on the basis of the member profile (sources), since new members also come to accept other explanations than those specifically addressing their needs. Nevertheless, members already in high-tension groups would be more likely to join a movement with similar or a little higher tension. Costs in joining high-tension groups can also be reduced, according to Stark and Bainbridge (1987: 205), by masking the deviance, e.g. by organizing as a secret society. Secrecy in the Qumran movement could very well have this role, too (see also Pietersen 2005, and his application of the sociology of deviance to those strategies in the *pesharim* that labelled prevailing religious solutions as inadequate and justified deviant responses).

These theoretical explanations concerning conversion are somewhat abstract but provide suggestions of what to look for in the sources. A theory suggesting universal patterns (of conversion) is to be used with care: it should not be forced on the evidence. Rather, the investigator may ask to what extent his/her evidence seems to support the theory. Furthermore, alternative ways of thinking about 'conversion' might prove fruitful. For example, Rambo (1993: 121–3) reminds us of the importance of *role change* in the conversion process. A role includes expectations of behaviour in a certain position. This perspective brings forth the contextual character of conversion: expectations are derived socially, not individually. Moreover, textual scholars often pay attention to language—new terminology, labels, polemics—as forms of creating a new convert. Attention to ritual—prescribed action—might be equally important in the study of recruitment, conversion, and survival of the movement (Rambo 1993: 113–18). The study of rituals is one area where not very much work has yet been done from a sociological perspective. Lastly, comparative studies on sects and conversion processes are a valuable source of inspiration, also to scholars of antiquity. Here, Albert Baumgarten (1997a), and Regev (2007) are to be mentioned as pioneers highlighting the most fascinating analogies to Qumran scholars.

Concluding Remarks

We have seen that, within sociology, 'sect' can mean a variety of things and be used in a variety of ways. In light of the above sociological treatments of sectarianism, the Qumran movement, represented especially in the rule documents, can be approached from various 'sectarian' perspectives. In the Weberian sense, it had a (p. 225) voluntary membership, acquired by qualification, and it cultivated a certain kind of personality. In the Troeltschian sense, it was of a sect type due to its non-universalistic stance: there is little evidence of a desire to conquer the world and expand its belief system and lifestyle to the masses. In the Wilsonian sense, the Qumran movement stood in tension to the wider socio-cultural environment—it sought, in my view, to present an alternative subculture. Which subtype (response to evil) it might have represented, if any, is another matter. Following Stark and Bainbridge, the Qumran movement was a sectarian movement since it rejected cultural change and demanded a return to biblical values.

Each sociological framework represents specific aspects of sectarianism, the merits of which will be lost if only the definitions are being compared. For Weber, sect—as a voluntary association—was not necessarily in great tension to the outer world but offered a way to demonstrate values of the world whereas, for many others, sect is defined on the basis of the tension to the world. For Stark and Bainbridge, sectarianism is created only in relation to non-sectarianism in a particular setting (deviance defined by societal norms and attitudes towards cultural change), which could result in concrete cases which have nothing to do with the Weberian sect and human tendency to

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asceticism and heroism. First of all, biblical scholars should be aware of these differences. Secondly, choices between different frameworks can possibly be made, independent of their applications in antiquity. Sociology as a modern discipline was primarily interested in modernity: what has made the present era distinct and discontinuous to the 'pre-modern'? Sect studies were part of this enterprise: for Weber, sectarianism was one aspect of understanding those modes of thought and behaviour that characterized the rise of the capitalist ethos. From this perspective, we could say that the 'sect' did not yet exist in antiquity—a new ideal type would be needed.

Mixing different theorists is tempting but not unproblematic. For example, in his *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, Albert Baumgarten relies on Weber, Wilson, and Stark and Bainbridge. He creates his own definition of a sect as 'a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity' (Baumgarten 1997a: 7). However, this definition is not consistently followed. For example, the voluntary nature and boundary marking allow the inclusion of the Pharisees among sects (a Weberian understanding of *virtuosos*). In terms of the 'protest', however, the more moderate tension of the Pharisees would make them less sectarian according to the Stark and Bainbridge framework. Because of this, Baumgarten uses Wilson's responses to make distinctions between sects. Pharisees and Sadducees are 'reformist sects'. This is not the way in which Wilson used the term: to him, a reformist response was a secondary response, born after revolutionist or introversionist disappointments. The Weberian understanding would be sufficient to highlight similarities in the (p. 226) boundary marking and values of the various groups, which Baumgarten's analysis demonstrates very well.

More important than commonly agreed definitions and concepts is the desire to cultivate a sociologically informed imagination. The analysis should not cease with defining a sect. In my view, Weber leads us to think sociologically about the rationalization of the Second Temple period, for example, whereas Stark and Bainbridge challenge commonly held assumptions on sects, but their universalistic propositions should not be taken at face value. Wilson's responses were not meant to be used for historical explanation and they should be used heuristically, not as classificatory labels for ancient groups.

What the sociological approaches, at their best, offer is the inspiration and informed imagination to theorize, in an explicit and precise manner, about the social phenomena in the Qumran movement and Second Temple Judaism. Often such perspectives offer us meta-knowledge: of which wider phenomena the texts are part. Their purpose is to explicate unsaid assumptions, clarify used concepts, and propose new angles for looking at the evidence.

Suggested Reading

Studies on sectarianism by Weber, Troeltsch, Wilson, Stark, and Bainbridge are major sources for methodological reflection and sociological imagination. However, doing sociological analysis of ancient texts is not restricted to the study of sectarianism (as in this article), and a wider perspective requires further tools and a greater variety of themes (social stratification, leadership, community, gender, ethnicity, ritual, honour; see e.g. Lee and Newby 1983; Bauman and May 2001; Scott and Marshall 2005).

Qumran sectarianism has not been extensively explored from specifically sociological perspectives. Regev (2007) compares the sectarianism of the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, utilizing also comparative data of modern sects. Baumgarten has written several articles relevant to various aspects of sectarianism (1992; 1997b; 1998a; 1998b). Weberian sociology on sectarianism is explored anew and sociological imagination on the Qumran movement is practised in Chalcraft (2007a). Lawrence and Aguilar (2004) and Campbell, Lyons, and Pietersen (2005) include several essays important for developing new methodologies.

Previous social-scientific approaches in other fields of biblical studies are not to be copied as such but acquaintance with methodological discussion can be beneficial (see Mayes 1989; Blasi, Duhaime, and Turcotte 2002; Esler and Hagedorn 2006).

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Notes:

(1) This chapter benefited from comments by Prof. David Chalcraft as well as the Project members of 'Explaining Early Jewish and Christian Movements: Ritual, Memory and Identity'. All the remaining shortcomings are naturally my responsibility.

(2) In this chapter, the term 'Qumran movement' refers to the movement responsible for composing, copying, and preserving the Dead Sea Scrolls, irrespective of whether this movement or parts of it were located at Khirbet Qumran. When we think of Qumran sectarianism, it matters whether we think of a small, unique, central community, or rather a network of parallel communities, or something else (e.g. chronologically subsequent communities; contemporary conflicting communities). The problem is not solved by any sectarian theory as such (cf. Collins in this volume).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The main principles of Qumran calendars are known to most scholars, but only a small circle of specialists have studied them in detail. The centrality of the calendars to Qumran culture, and more particularly sectarianism, was already recognized in the first decade of Qumran scholarship, chiefly by Shemaryahu Talmon, who went as far as arguing that the calendar was one of the cornerstones of Qumran's sectarian schism. This article first assesses the extent to which Qumran calendars differed from other Jewish calendars, both as literary compositions and – if Qumran calendars were ever used in practice – as structures of communal and religious life. The final part of this article assesses their long-standing interpretation as cornerstones of Qumran sectarianism. Qumran calendars can almost all be reduced to a single, common denominator: the 364-day year.

Keywords: Qumran calendars, Jewish calendars, Qumran sectarianism, religious life, 364-day year, Shemaryahu Talmon

THE main principles of Qumran calendars are known to most scholars—even if not always very precisely—but only a small circle of specialists have studied them in detail. No doubt, it is the complexity of calendar texts that has driven them to the margins of Qumran scholarship; and yet, the mathematical and astronomical principles behind the calendars of Qumran are actually quite simple, and so are the skills required to make sense of them. There are also textual issues, but no less intricate than the sometimes formidable philological challenges that other Qumran sources can present. Most Qumran scholars would accept, at least as a matter of principle, that the calendars were central to the culture of the Qumran community. These are perhaps good reasons to invite Qumran and other scholars to take the small steps required to overcome the obscurity of Qumran calendar texts, and consider their relationship to Qumran literature and culture as a whole.

The centrality of the calendars to Qumran culture and more particularly sectarianism was recognized already in the first decade of Qumran scholarship, chiefly by Shemaryahu Talmon, who went as far as arguing that the calendar was one of the cornerstones of Qumran's sectarian schism. This argument has been reiterated many times since, but perhaps not subjected to the same level of criticism as have (p. 233) been the other early Qumran theories (such as the Essene identification, the interpretation of the Qumran site, etc.). 'Sectarian', to begin with, is a complex term that requires unpacking. It is usually applied to religious groups—i.e. social groups that are generated and sustained by common religious traits—with peculiar characteristics such as separatism, marginality, and insularity. This definition will be assumed throughout this article; although arbitrary, it is sufficiently neutral to represent, I hope, a common ground (for further discussion see A. Baumgarten 1997, Chalcraft 2007). The Community Rule and Damascus Rule are usually classified as sectarian because the communities that they describe seem to fulfil these characteristics. However, this does not mean that every practice referred to in these works—e.g. observance of the Sabbath—would have been sectarian. Indeed, not every difference in ancient Jewish society was *ipso facto* sectarian. Jews from the Hasmonean to early Roman periods frequently disagreed on the interpretation of specific laws, but this did not necessarily make them 'sectarian'—on the definition above—with regard to one another. The calendar at Qumran was clearly different from other Jewish calendars, but whether this

difference should be interpreted as 'sectarian' remains entirely to be justified.

Our first task will be to assess the extent to which Qumran calendars differed from other Jewish calendars, both as literary compositions and—if the Qumran calendar was ever used in practice—as structures of communal and religious life. Then, in the final part of this chapter, their long-standing interpretation as cornerstones of Qumran sectarianism will be critically assessed. Complex, technical details will be avoided wherever possible.¹

Although there is no single 'Qumran calendar'—a variety of schemes are represented in the sources, each with their own level of detail and complexity—Qumran calendars can almost all be reduced to a single, common denominator: the 364-day year. This scheme is completely fixed; its advantages are simplicity and regularity, as well as some useful properties to be discussed below. The books of Enoch and Jubilees refer to this calendar as 'solar' (En. 72: 32 and, implicitly, Jub. 2: 9; but En. 74: 12 implies also that it is stellar, and 74: 17—rather inexplicably—that it is solar and lunar). Actually, it is shorter than the solar year by about one and a quarter days; but inasmuch as calendars tend to be approximations that never quite match astronomical values, this designation is perhaps not unreasonable—just as is Enoch's designation of another scheme of 29-day and 30-day months in alternation, to be discussed below, as 'lunar' (En. 78: 15–16; but see further discussion below). (p. 234)

The 364-day Calendar in Enoch and Jubilees

The earliest attestation of the 364-day calendar is probably the Ethiopic book of Enoch, chs. 72–82, in a section also known as the Astronomical Book of Enoch which originally constituted a separate work (Milik 1976; Schürer 1973–87, 3: 250–68). Dated to the late third to early second centuries BCE, this is the earliest known Jewish work that describes how a calendar is reckoned.

Enoch (72) describes a solar year of 364 days, divided into twelve months of thirty days, except for the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth months, which have thirty-one days 'on account of the (sun's) sign' (72: 13, 19). This obscure phrase is generally taken to refer to the four cardinal points or tropes of the solar year (i.e. the solstices and equinoxes), which would account for the four additional days (thirty-first day of each of these four months). Later in the book (82: 11), the four additional days are described as 'leaders' of the year and of its four seasons, which lends some support to this interpretation (although this assumes that equinoxes and solstices, which represent astronomical positions of the sun, were also conceptualized as the beginning of the four seasons—for which there is no explicit confirmation in Enoch).

The 364-day calendar appears again, but slightly differently, in the mid-second-century BCE book of Jubilees. Here the year is also divided into twelve months, but the first day of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months are called 'days of remembrance' or 'days of appointed times' (so Wintermute 1985: i), and begin each of the four parts or seasons of the year (6: 23–32). These days presumably correspond to the four additional days which are called 'thirty-first' in the book of Enoch, except that here they are placed at the beginning of the months, and they are not explicitly identified as additional. More importantly, Jubilees points out that 364 days equal exactly fifty-two weeks, or four seasons of thirteen weeks each; this means, by implication, that the year always starts on the same day of the week. This emphasis on weeks is absent in Enoch (where weeks are only mentioned, without elaboration, in ch.79), perhaps because of the astronomical character of this work (weeks having no astronomical significance); in Jubilees, by contrast, the 364-day calendar serves largely to date Biblical events and festivals.

In passing we may note that the months in this calendar (in Enoch and Jubilees, as well as in all Qumran sources) are not named but numbered, following the dominant usage in the Hebrew Bible, in contrast with the pervasive use of Babylonian month names in all contemporary and later Jewish sources (literary and epigraphic). This comes as no surprise. The Babylonian month names, indeed, belong intrinsically to the standard Babylonian calendar, which was lunar and which most Jews had adopted since the Achaemenid period (more on this below). (p. 235) In the context of a non-lunar, 364-day calendar, it would have made little sense for these month names to be used. Babylonian month names are attested at Qumran only in 4Q332 fr. 2, where a historical event in the reign of Salome (76–67 BCE) is given a date in the month of Shevat which is then apparently correlated with a date in another month (which could well be of the 364-day calendar), and 4Q318 (4QZodiacology), of which the surviving fragments have Shevat and Adar. The latter differs from other Qumran texts in other ways, particularly in its use of a 360-day calendar that is clearly derived from Mesopotamian astronomical works.

Calendar Texts at Qumran

In Qumran sources, the 364-day calendar is dominant and, as mentioned above, the common denominator of all calendar schemes. It is assumed in a range of non-calendrical sources including the Flood story (4Q252: Lim 1992, 1993), the Psalm Scroll (11QPs^aDavComp 27: 2–11), the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400: Falk 1998: 136–7, VanderKam 1998: 65, Glessmer 1999: 255–9), probably the Temple Scroll (11QT^a 11–29: Yadin 1983, J. Baumgarten 1987, VanderKam 1998: 65–70), and perhaps the Community Rule (1QS 10: 5 = 4Q256, 4Q258, 4Q260).

But the calendrical texts from Qumran, mostly dating from the first century BCE, lay out this calendar and its derivative cycles in exceptional detail. The number of these calendrical texts, some extant in multiple copies (e.g. 4Q321), demonstrates that calendars at Qumran were far from a peripheral concern (VanderKam 1998: 110). The 364-day calendar, described in painstaking detail in Enochic and Qumran sources, stands in sharp contrast with the mainstream Jewish lunar calendar which we know was widely practised by Jews in the same period (see further below) and yet was nowhere described in Jewish literature (not at least until the early third-century CE Mishnah and Tosefta). At Qumran, rather exceptionally, the calendar constituted a literary concern and literary genre in its own right.

Qumran texts provide us with much more information about the 364-day calendar than Enoch or Jubilees. As mentioned above, the 364-day year always starts on the same day of the week, but it is only in Qumran sources that this day is explicitly identified—as Wednesday. As a result, all months in the year begin either on Wednesday, Friday, or Sunday (the latter for all the 31-day months), and most festivals begin on a Wednesday—this regularity is worthy of note. This centrality of Wednesday, moreover, is unique in Jewish tradition.

Unlike in Enoch (ch. 72) and in Jubilees (ch. 6), in Qumran calendrical texts the 364-day calendar never appears in its simple, pure form (the only possible exception is 6Q17; cf. Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer 2001: 7), but is always (p. 236) supplemented and coordinated with other calendrical elements and schemes. These additional elements consist of one or more of the three following: Sabbaths and festivals; priestly courses; and lunar calendar days. In some of the sources (4Q320, 321, and 321a), all three are combined with the 364-day calendar into a single or separate calendrical sequences:

(1) *Sabbaths and festivals.* The latter include biblical festivals (Passover, Unleavened Bread, the festival of Weeks or Pentecost, the day of Remembrance, the day of Atonement, and Tabernacles), but also extra-biblical agricultural celebrations such as the festivals of wine, oil, and wood offering, which are also featured in the Temple Scroll. Festivals are well represented in Jubilees and Qumran sources, by contrast with the book of Enoch, where festivals are conspicuously absent. This may suggest that at Qumran, the 364-day year was not a merely theoretical scheme—as it may have been for an astronomical work like Enoch—but a calendar that was used in practice for the dating of annual festivals.

In this context, one notes that the offering of the *omer* sheaf or festival of the first grain occurs not on the second day of Unleavened Bread, as according to rabbinic tradition, but on the first Sunday following the end of this festival (more on this below). Pentecost occurs, as expected, on the fiftieth following day (inclusive, i.e. also on a Sunday), and the extra-biblical festivals of wine and oil follow thereafter in succession at fifty-day or 'pentecontal' time-intervals.

(2) *'Mishmarot' or priestly courses.* According to 1 Chr. 24: 7–18, the weeks of the year were shared out in turn by twenty-four divisions (or 'watches', or 'courses') of the priesthood (on 1QM 2: 1–6, which appears to refer to twenty-six priestly courses, see VanderKam 1998: 48–50). In a number of Qumran calendars, the weeks are accordingly designated by their respective priestly courses. Since the fifty-two weeks of the 364-day year are not divisible by twenty-four, the courses assigned to each week will vary from year to year. The full cycle of priestly courses, however, is conveniently completed in six years (because $6 \times 52 = 13 \times 24$). This leads to the construction of a six-year calendar, each year with 364 days, at the end of which the year begins with the same course (i.e. Gamul—even though, in 1 Chronicles, the first course is Yehoyariv). The appearance of priestly courses suggests influence of priestly traditions (VanderKam 1998: 112)—if indeed such traditions can be legitimately distinguished from Jewish tradition as a whole (Stern 2005). But the purpose of priestly courses in the context of Qumran is not entirely clear, since they belonged to the Jerusalem Temple ritual in which the Qumran community is thought not to have directly participated; knowledge of which course served every week in Jerusalem would have been of little practical use. The

calendar of priestly courses may have had symbolic significance: it may have represented (p. 237) the Qumran community's symbolic claim or appropriation of the Temple, or anticipated a future, eschatological restoration of the true Temple cult. It also suggests an elevation of the Temple cult to some universal, cosmic dimension, as priestly courses are brought into relation with a calendar that is not only cultic (i.e. a list of festivals, which would be specifically relevant to the priestly cult) but also more generally tracks the heavenly bodies (the sun—provided the 364-day calendar was regarded as solar—and the moon, as we shall presently see), and thus represents in some way a cosmic order. But alternatively, priestly courses could simply have been used here as an ideologically neutral device for keeping track of the weeks (even if this calendrical usage would be unattested elsewhere).

(3) Lunar calendar days. Contrary to what has sometimes been suggested, no lunar calendar is represented as a complete, self-standing entity in the Qumran sources. However, some 364-day calendar texts provide every month the dates of two lunar days, which implies synchronization with a schematic lunar calendar. The first of these lunar days is not named in the texts but identified as 'day 29' or 'day 30' (distinct from the day number of the 364-day calendar month, on which this day 29 or 30 happens to fall), clearly representing the last day of a lunar month (lunar months are either twenty-nine or thirty days long). This day—which scholars refer to as 'x'—occurs regularly at intervals of 29 or 30 days in alternation, which confirms again its lunar meaning. The second lunar day (only attested in 4Q321–321a) is called *duqah* (other vocalizations are possible), and always occurs thirteen days before x, i.e. one or two days after the mid-point of the lunar month. The meaning of the word *duqah* and its calendrical significance have been much debated; it has also been debated whether the lunar month implicit in the Qumran calendars began at the new moon (as was common throughout the ancient Near East and beyond) or at the full moon (or on the following day)—these debates are all interrelated (Beckwith 1992: 462–4; Wise 1994a and 1994b: 222–32; VanderKam 1998: 60, 79, and 85–6; Gillet-Didier 2001; Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer 2001: 13–14, 33–6, 209–10; Ben-Dov and Horowitz 2005; Ben-Dov 2008: 215–44).

However these terms are interpreted, x and *duqah* imply a lunar calendar, with twenty-nine- and thirty-day months in alternation (similarly to the lunar calendar of En. 74: 12–14 and 78: 15–16) and the intercalation of an extra thirty-day month every three years. As will be explained in the next section, this lunar calendar is not astronomically accurate. But in contrast with Enoch, the sun, moon, and their courses are rarely mentioned in Qumran calendar texts (only in the fragmentary prologue of 4Q320 there is an apparent reference to a heavenly body), and x and *duqah* are not explicitly identified as 'lunar'—just as the 364-day calendar is not identified as 'solar' (1QH 20: 4–9, which mentions the Great Light of Heaven, i.e. the sun, has been interpreted as a reference to the solar character of the Qumran calendar—Vermes 1997: 78; (p. 238) however, the sun is only represented in this passage as determining the alternation of day and night, and besides, it is unclear whether the calendar is referred to in this passage at all—see further below). In contrast with Enoch, the 364-day year and x and *duqah* days are thus conceived at Qumran as abstract notions, rather than as representing astronomical observations or even theory. Indeed, the lunar calendar implicit in x and *duqah* consists only of a schematic alternation of twenty-nine- and thirty-day months, and the intercalation of an extra month every three years is only an arithmetical derivation from the 364-day calendar, which works as follows: twelve lunar months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately amount to 354 days, i.e. ten days less than the 364-day year, which are made up every three years with the addition of a thirty-day month; at the end of the three-year cycle, the 'lunar' months are thus re-aligned with the 364-day year (this cycle begins rather strangely on day x, the last day of a lunar month). The derivation of this 'lunar' calendar from the 364-day year reminds us, incidentally, that in Qumran calendars the 364-day year is always the dominant term.

Priestly courses and lunar days are happily compatible, as it so happens that the three-year lunar cycle, repeated over a six-year period, is equal to the six-year cycle of the priestly courses. This leads, in 4Q320 and 321, to a grand six-year calendar of 364-day years that incorporates, besides the Sabbaths and festivals, one full cycle of priestly courses and two cycles of the lunar calendar. This calendar is at once complex, because it synchronizes a variety of solar, lunar, and priestly elements, and simple, because its six-year cycle is relatively short, all the elements within it are perfectly synchronized, and it is remarkably regular especially regarding the weekdays of festivals.

A further level of complexity is achieved in another text, 4Q319 (4QOtot), which combines the six-year cycle with the seven-year sabbatical cycles and the forty-nine-year jubilees, a chronological tradition going back to Leviticus and prominent in Enoch and Jubilees. Because forty-nine is not a multiple of six, these cycles can only be

reconciled through a multiplication of six and forty-nine, thus yielding a very grand cycle of 294 years, which is represented in summary form in 4QOtot (Milik 1976: 64 believed that Otot originally contained seven jubilees rather than six, but this is refuted by Ben-Dov; Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer 2001: 206).

It has sometimes been stated that solar and lunar calendars are equally represented at Qumran (so, e.g., VanderKam 1998: 74 and Stern 2000 and 2001: 12), but this is not quite correct. Firstly, the terms 'solar' and 'lunar' are arguably inappropriate, since Qumran calendars are really only abstract schemes (Glessmer 1999: 231). Secondly, the calendar in all the sources—i.e. the continuous sequence of days, weeks, and months—remains the 364-day year, even though a number of extraneous elements, priestly and lunar, are variously attached and synchronized to it, and lead to its expansion into a six-year cycle. As noted above, moreover, the (p. 239) lunar scheme implicit in the sources is derived from the 364-day year and thus subordinate to it. Furthermore, perhaps above all, in Qumran calendars the dates of the festivals—of which the determination is arguably one of the main functions of the Jewish calendar—are all and only given according to the 364-day calendar.

It is therefore unclear for what purpose lunar days were included in the Qumran calendars—just as the purpose of including the priestly courses is yet to be understood. It may have represented an attempt to relate the Qumran 364-day calendar with the lunar calendar of other Jews; but if the latter was anathematized at Qumran (more on this below), the need to integrate it into the Qumran calendar seems perhaps unlikely. Alternatively, it has been argued that the lunar days were included for astronomical purposes (Ben-Dov and Horowitz 2005), or better perhaps, as an astronomical literary convention (since in actual fact, their astronomical accuracy left something to be desired). On any interpretation, it is clear that as far as the calendar is concerned, these lunar elements were only of secondary importance.

The only exception to this is perhaps the 'Daily Prayers' text (4Q503), which appears to combine the 364-day calendar with lunar months on an apparently equal basis. The interpretation of this text, however, is contentious and unclear. J. Baumgarten (1986) pointed out that the days of the month, in this text, are repeatedly related to 'parts of light' and 'parts of darkness' (fr. 39 13: 2; also frs. 51–5 13: 2 and 14; fr. 76; fr. 215; fr. 218) in a way that is reminiscent of the phases of the moon in 1Enoch (73 and 78: 6–8, paralleled in 4QEnastr^{b-c} = 4Q209–10) and in 4QPhases of the Moon (4Q317), and suggests therefore a lunar month. However, the identification of the days of the month with specific weekdays suggests a fixed calendar such as the 364-day one; indeed, according to Falk's (1998: 21–57) reconstruction and interpretation of the text, the fourteenth day of the month would occur on a Tuesday and correspond to Passover (i.e. the 14th of month 1), which is compatible with the 364-day calendar (ibid. 32–5). Falk concludes that both elements are there (ibid. 22, 149). But the incompatibility between a lunar month and a 364-day calendar month may justify the conclusion that the 'parts of light' and 'parts of darkness' are only meant in this text as symbolic, and thus that the calendar assumed in this text is essentially that of 364 days (see also Glessmer 1999: 252–4 and J. Baumgarten 2003).

The Qumran calendar, as a literary composition and a complex six-year synchronic cycle (or an even more complex 294-year grand cycle in the Otot text), far exceeds in complexity and sophistication the calendars and calendar texts that existed or had been composed and designed until then throughout the ancient world—even within the great civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt, and even by comparison with the Greek 'astronomical calendars' of the Hellenistic period (it was only to be rivalled, in complexity and sophistication, by the Christian Easter calendars, which only arose from the third century CE onwards). Within the Jewish tradition, likewise, the complexity and sophistication of the Qumran calendar and calendar texts was unique and unrivalled, until the redaction of Jewish calendar (p. 240) monographs in the later medieval period. This unique position of Qumran within the general history of calendars in antiquity—unfortunately often ignored—raises, above all, important questions about Qumran itself: why and how should this sophisticated calendar have been designed and promoted in a community—whether we regard it as restricted specifically to a 'sect' at Qumran, or as extending somehow to the broader Judaeian community—that, at least in comparison to Babylonian and Hellenistic civilizations, was not renowned for either astronomical or mathematical expertise? This question belongs to a broader study of ancient calendars which I shall return to elsewhere; but at present, it points to the conclusion that calendars have perhaps less to do with expert scientific knowledge, astronomical or mathematical, than is commonly assumed.

Was the 364-Day Calendar Observed in Practice?

Whilst the Qumran calendars excel in arithmetic simplicity, structural coherence, and annual regularity, they are quite inaccurate in relation to real-life, empirical phenomena. The year length of 364 days is approximately one and a quarter days shorter than the solar or seasonal year, whilst the lunar days *x* and *duqah* fall behind the average lunar month by about one day every six years (Stern 2001: 15). This means that in only twenty-five years—within an individual's lifetime—the 364-day calendar would fall behind the seasons by more than one month, whilst *x* and *duqah* would fall behind the moon by four days, thus losing any meaningful relationship with the astronomical lunar month.

This raises doubts about their practical usefulness. Lunar accuracy would arguably have mattered little in practice, for as we have seen, lunar days were only subsidiary in the context of Qumran calendars; whatever lunar phenomena *x* and *duqah* were meant to represent, their discrepancy from the actual phenomena may have had little consequence to observers of the calendar. But observance of the 364-day year over a continuous period would have caused the biblical festivals to occur progressively earlier and hence in the wrong agricultural seasons, with Passover in the winter, the harvest festival (or festival of Weeks) in early spring, etc. It seems unlikely, a priori, that any Jew would have tolerated such a violation of Mosaic Law. Even in the Qumran scrolls, where the 364-day calendar is prominent, the seasonal and agricultural significance of the biblical and other festivals is emphasized and apparently regarded as important: thus, agricultural seasons are mentioned in the context of festivals in the Community Rule (1QS 10: 7–8); the non-biblical agricultural festivals of the wine and oil harvests are described in detail in the Temple (p. 241) Scroll (cols. 17–29) and included also in the calendrical texts; and the 'first fruits' festival, alias festival of Weeks or Pentecost, is called in Jub. 6: 21 (with a parallel in Temple Scroll 19: 9) a 'feast twofold and of a double nature' (see also the emphasis on first fruits in 4Q509: Falk 1998: 163–4, 174). This raises the question of whether the 364-day calendar was ever used in practice, or intended for such use, at Qumran or in any other community.

Unfortunately, the only evidence available to us are the calendar texts themselves. Which calendars were used in practice at Qumran cannot be inferred, for example, from dated economic documents: none of those discovered at Qumran (including the famous *yahad* ostrakon) are dated by the month and day. Various approaches have been taken to the impracticality of the 364-day calendar. Some scholars have concluded that it could only have been used for a short period, until its discrepancy from the seasons became excessive (Beckwith 1992: 461). Others have argued that the 364-day calendar must have been adjusted through regular or occasional intercalations in order to keep up with the seasons (and they suggest various ways how this could have been done). But this is most unlikely, as any intercalation would have disrupted the highly structured six-year cycle of 364-day years, priestly courses, and lunar days. Their conjectural intercalation schemes, moreover, run counter to the evidence of the texts where intercalation is not even intimated.

A third approach has been to justify the observance of a calendar that wandered, like the Egyptian civil calendar, through the seasons of the year. Whether the parallel with Egypt is appropriate remains debatable, because in Egypt the festivals seem to have been invested with much less agricultural and seasonal significance than in the Bible and ancient Judaism. But a few scholars have noted that the grand, 294-year cycle in the Otot text (4Q319), which overtly synchronizes the six-year calendar cycle with the forty-nine-year jubilees, corresponds also approximately to the period of time needed for the 364-day year to come full circle in relation to the seasons (indeed, 294 times 1.25 days amount to 367.5 days, slightly in excess of a full solar/seasonal year; this means that by the end of this grand cycle, the festivals would have returned to their right seasons). But to attribute such an implicit meaning to the Otot text—which would imply in turn recognition, on the part of its authors, that the 364-day calendar was meant to revolve through the seasons of the year—is somewhat far-fetched.

Alternatively, some scholars have argued that a calendar falling behind the seasons may have been justified by a passage in 1 Enoch (80: 2–8), which reads that in the days of sinners the years shall be shortened so that rain and vegetation will come 'late'. This passage recognizes a discrepancy between the calendar and the seasons, but instead of attributing it to a fault in the calendar, it blames the seasons (or rather human sin that caused the seasons to come late). This explanation, it has been argued, would have justified the observance of a wandering 364-day calendar (so Beckwith 1970: 392–5 and Wacholder and Wacholder 1995: 28–9, 36–7). However, (p. 242) there is no direct evidence to support this theory; this Enoch passage does not explicitly refer to the 364-day calendar, and may in fact be referring to the 360-day year, a calendar which Enoch attributes elsewhere to possibly the same 'sinners' (82: 4).

A fourth approach has been to argue that the 364-day calendar was never followed in practice, but only intended as a theoretical model or imagined ideal. In 1 Enoch, where it is first attested, the 364-day calendar certainly appears as a theoretical, astronomical calendar: its context is an account of the courses of the sun and moon, and no mention is made of any other possible calendar use (such as the dating of festivals). Dates of festivals are prominent, in contrast, in Qumran calendar texts; but the 364-day calendar may still have been intended as the representation of some cosmological (or eschatological?) ideal where solar years, lunar months, priestly weeks, and liturgical days would combine in perfect harmony. This becomes even more conceivable if we consider the Qumran calendar to have been invested with ideological meaning, as many scholars have suggested and as I shall now explain. In this light, the Qumran calendar could well have represented an idealistic model rather than a calendar intended in real life for practical use.

The ideological meaning that the Qumran calendar may have been invested with has been suggested by several scholars (by 'ideology' I only mean a system of ideas). The Qumran calendar has been described as a 'sacred time-scheme from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit*' (Wacholder and Wacholder 1995: 37; Talmon in Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer 2001: 9), a 'potent symbol of harmony, of being "in sync" with the cosmos' (Newsom 2004: 181), an expression of 'the theological and ideological conviction that the courses of the luminaries and the cycles of festivals and priestly duties operate in a cosmic harmony imposed upon them by the creator God himself' (VanderKam 1998: 112); some have even suggested that the measure of time, with the use of synchronistic calendars, was treated at Qumran as a religious act (Wise 1994b: 231). These interpretations, however, are speculative because the sources do not provide much more than the calendars themselves.

The notion that the calendar represented a continuum beginning from *Urzeit* is based only on a reference to the Creation at the beginning of 4Q319 (4: 11) and the conjectural but plausible הבריאה ('the Creation') in 4Q320 fr.1 1: 3, which would imply that the first cycle of the calendar began on the Wednesday of Genesis, when the sun and moon were created. The notion of *Endzeit* partly assumes an eschatological interpretation of the priestly courses (see above). The notion of 'cosmic harmony' depends on the premise that Qumran calendars were intended to represent the courses of the sun and the moon, and thus more generally the cosmos; however, as argued above, the Qumran calendars were primarily conceived as abstract schemes. The idea that the 364-day calendar was God-given appears explicitly in Jub. 6: 23–38, but otherwise has only been inferred from an over-interpretation of several passages of the *Hodayot*: according to 1QH 9: 16–17, God allotted 'service' (or 'tasks') to all generations and 'judgement' in appointed times, and according to 1QH 20: 4–9 (on a maximalist reading) day and night, every period, (p. 243) age, and season, are determined by 'the certain law from the mouth of God' (Vermes 1997: 253–4 and 290–1). Actually, there is no reason to read the calendar into these *Hodayot* passages. The notion of 'season', in the second passage, is common to many calendars and not exclusive to the 364-day calendar; and anyway, it does not even necessarily imply a calendar at all. 'Appointed times', in the first passage, is likely to refer to festivals, but this would only imply that *festivals* have been ordained by God—as any plain reading of Leviticus 23 (etc.) would suffice to suggest. No suggestion is made here about how the calendar is reckoned, even less that the structure of this calendar was ordained by God.

To sum up, these four approaches remain inconclusive, and as a result, it is difficult to establish whether the 364-day calendar was used in practice, and if so by whom, when, and under what conditions. But whatever the extent to which this calendar may have been used in practice—and whatever ideological meaning it may have been invested with—Qumran sources are clearly committed to it. Indeed, it is this calendar alone that is consistently assumed in the whole of Qumran literature, including parabiblical, legal, and liturgical sources, and it is this calendar alone that serves, in the calendar texts, to date the annual festivals. This is surely of considerable significance (Vermes 1997: 20). Even if observance of this calendar was difficult, impractical, or impossible (because of its discrepancies from the seasons), it was at least upheld as an ideal.

Calendar Polemics in Sectarian Sources

The dominant calendar in Judaea from the Hasmonean to early Roman periods, when the Qumran scrolls were produced, was lunar. It was derived from the Babylonian calendar, a lunar calendar based on sightings of the new moon (Stern 2008), which had served as the official calendar in the great empires of the ancient Near East—Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian Achaemenid, and Seleucid—and which all the Near Eastern kingdoms and city-states of the post-Seleucid era had inherited with only slight local adaptations. Evidence that this calendar was used by

the Hasmonean dynasty is limited but sufficient. The Babylonian month names were used throughout this period in Judaea, as they are still by Jews today. Several dates attested in Josephus, and in epigraphic and documentary sources from the Hasmonean to early Roman periods confirm that the Judaeian calendar was lunar, and that its months were generally in line with those of the Babylonian calendar (Stern 2001: 27–31, 55–62). Similar calendars were used by Diaspora Jews throughout antiquity, and have remained dominant among the Jews until this day. In this light, the 364-day calendar may be regarded as marginal and dissident—inasmuch as it (p. 244) differed from the calendar of the political rulers of Judaea and probably the majority of Jewish society.

With this in mind, earlier scholars have read calendar polemics, opposing the 364-day calendar to the mainstream lunar one, into a number of passages from Qumran texts that are generally identified as ‘sectarian’ (the Damascus Rule, Community Rule, and Habakkuk Peshier). They constructed in this way the impression that the calendar and the way it is reckoned formed an important part of the community’s sectarian identity. On close inspection, however, it emerges that most of these readings—if not all—are over-interpretations and sometimes even, quite frankly, misinterpretations. This tendentious reading of Qumran sources has been determined by the assumption that the calendar was a sectarian issue—an assumption that will be criticized below.

In the Damascus Document, God is said to have revealed to the ‘remnant of Israel’ the Sabbaths and festivals in which the rest of Israel had gone astray (CD 3: 13–15), and to enjoin the observance of the Sabbath in its detail and the festivals and day of fast as according to the findings of the members of the new covenant (CD 6: 18–19). But rather than referring to the calendar dates of these festivals, as is commonly interpreted (Talmon 1958 = 1989: 151; Vermes 1997: 78; VanderKam 1998: 48), these passages might simply be referring to the way the festivals are observed (in terms of ritual, acts of worship, prohibitions, etc.). Another passage (CD 16: 2–4, = 4Q270 fr. 6, 2: 17, 4Q271 fr. 4 2: 5) is often cited as prescribing the observance of the calendar which is ‘strictly defined in the book of Jubilees’; and yet, all it does is to refer the reader to the book of Jubilees for determining the ‘periods of the blindness of Israel’—i.e. only certain periods (past or future) of Israel’s history. This passage is about long-term chronology, not the annual calendar (so J. Baumgarten 1996: 156–7 and 178–9).

More clearly related to calendar reckoning is a passage in the Community Rule prohibiting the advancement or postponement of any of the ‘appointed times’ or festivals (1QS 1: 13–15). But this only means that the calendar must be *accurately* reckoned. Any Jew, even a lunar calendar user, could have made this statement in this period, and it could have been addressed to the users of the same calendar (cf. b.Berakhot 28a, and Targum Jonathan to Zeph. 3: 18). This passage bears no implication of any polemic or calendar diversity.

The text most frequently cited as ‘evidence’ of calendar polemics and sectarianism at Qumran is Habakkuk Peshier (11: 2–8), which refers to the Wicked Priest’s persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness and then goes on:

And at the time of the festival of rest of the Day of Atonement, he [the Wicked Priest] appeared to them to consume them and cause them to stumble, on the day of fast, their Sabbath of rest. (6–8)

From the earliest days of Qumran scholarship, this passage has been taken to mean that Wicked Priest and Teacher of Righteousness observed the Day of Atonement (p. 245) on different dates, that this difference was due to the Teacher’s use of the sectarian, 364-day calendar, and that the Wicked Priest deliberately exploited this difference by desecrating his opponent’s day (Talmon 1951 and 1958 = 1989: 152–3). This interpretation has rarely been seriously challenged; and yet, it is obvious that many other interpretations are equally possible:

(1) The Wicked Priest is not accused, in this passage, of using a different calendar or of observing the Day of Atonement on the wrong date. At most, he is accused of *desecrating* the day of rest: for although his ‘appearance’ before the Teacher and his followers would not have been, in itself, a forbidden act (it might have been considered forbidden if the Priest had travelled on that day, for example, from Jerusalem to the Qumran village, insofar as CD 10: 20 prohibits journeys on the Sabbath of more than a thousand cubits; yet there is no indication, in this passage, that such a journey was made), the *peshier* clearly implies that his choice of the Day of Atonement to ‘consume’ the Teacher and his followers and ‘cause them to stumble’—whatever this exactly means—constituted a form of desecration. This is the meaning of the possessive ‘their’ at the end of the passage: ‘their Sabbath of rest’ (סַבְּתוֹתָם) implies that only the Teacher and his followers observed it, but not the Wicked Priest. This possessive does not mean, however, that the Wicked Priest reckoned and observed the Day of Atonement on another day. (It is true that if the Wicked Priest represents, as is commonly interpreted, the Jerusalem High Priest, then on the Day of Atonement one might have

expected him to attend the Temple and conduct the sacrificial ritual of the day, and not to be attacking his foes elsewhere; however, the historical implausibility of this narrative does not matter much if we regard the *peshet* as a polemical and edifying tale, rather than as a factual and 'true' historical account.)

(2) Even if the Wicked Priest reckoned the Day of Atonement on another day, this does not necessarily mean that the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness used fundamentally different calendars. They could both have been using, for example, the same lunar calendar based on sightings of the new moon, but on this occasion happened to have sighted the new moon on different days. Such a scenario was extremely common in the ancient world, among Jews as well as others who followed lunar calendars.

(3) Even if the Teacher did reckon a fundamentally different, 364-day calendar, this would still not be the main polemic in this passage. The central issue is the Wicked Priest's persecution of the Teacher. There is no indication in this passage that had the Priest not made his vexatious appearance on the Day of Atonement, the difference of calendars—if indeed there was one—would have been *in itself* the object of a polemical dispute.

We are thus left, in conclusion, with very little evidence to support the popular perception that the calendar was a polemical issue in Qumran sectarian sources. (p. 246)

Calendar Polemics in Jubilees

The only text where, in an unambiguous way, the 364-day calendar is polemically contrasted to the lunar calendar is Jubilees (usually dated to the mid-second century BCE). Strict admonitions to observe the 364-day calendar appear in Jub. 6: 31–8, with repeated warnings that any deviation from this calendar would lead to the disruption of the years, new moons, and seasons (6: 33–4), and to the celebration of festivals on the wrong days (6: 37–8). The narrator predicts that after Moses' death (6: 38; cf. 1: 14) the Israelites will forsake the 364-day calendar and observe instead a lunar calendar, and thus 'forget the feasts of the covenant and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and their ignorance; for there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—how it disturbs the seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon' (6: 35–6). In this last verse, the principal objection to the lunar calendar is the disruption caused by a year ten days too short. Elsewhere, in Jubilees 49: 7–8 and 14, the prohibition on adjourning Passover 'from day to day' and 'from month to month' may be interpreted as further objections against the lunar calendar, in particular the celebration of Passover on varying weekdays (as opposed to the 364-day calendar, where the festival occurs always on Wednesday) and the postponement of the festival by one month when, in the Jewish lunar calendar, there is an intercalation.

Our main passage, Jub. 6: 31–8, implies quite clearly that the dominant calendar among the Jews was lunar, and that the purpose of Jubilees, with a 364-day calendar, was to polemicize against it. It certainly indicates that the calendar could be the object of polemical disputes among second-century BCE Judean Jews, even if, as we have seen, this is not reflected in the Qumran sources. It is probably Jubilees that has conditioned modern scholars to read calendar polemics into the Qumran sources. For example, a polemical passage in the Hosea Peshet (4Q166 2: 16) which seems to condemn those who follow the 'festivals of the nations' has been associated with the same phrase in Jubilees 6: 35 (see above), and hence interpreted as a reference to the observance of (Jewish) festivals on the wrong dates (so Bernstein 1991 and Vermes 1997: 78, but see the reservations of A. Baumgarten 1997: 85–6, n.17. On its own, however, the Hosea Peshet is much more simply interpreted as condemning the observance of pagan, non-Jewish festivals. As is known from all literatures, stock phrases can often be shared from one work to the next but in totally different contexts and with very different meanings.

A few scholars have argued that the book of Jubilees, with its explicit calendar polemics, stands far apart from Qumran literature and perhaps should be dissociated from it (so J. Baumgarten 1987). Although more than a dozen copies of the book are attested at Qumran, which may be taken as an indication of esteem and justify in a certain sense the inclusion of Jubilees within the Qumran 'corpus', the (p. 247) attribution of the book to a 'Qumran authorship' remains debatable (the relevant passages from Jubilees 6 are not attested in any of the Qumran fragments, but this is obviously of no particular significance). To what extent the calendar polemics in Jubilees reflect what the Qumran community did or thought is difficult, therefore, to ascertain.

Calendars and Qumran Sectarianism

We now return to the question of the significance of calendars to Qumran sectarianism. As stated in the introduction, the calendar at Qumran was clearly different from the mainstream Jewish lunar calendars; but whether this difference should be interpreted as 'sectarian' remains to be justified. Indeed, Jews from the Hasmonean to early Roman periods frequently disagreed on matters of religious practice, but these disagreements did not necessarily mark them out as separatist 'sects'. The question is, therefore, whether observance of festivals on the same dates was considered essential in ancient Judaism (as it later became in rabbinic Judaism—Stern 2001: 241–7), so as to make calendar diversity a significant threat to Jewish social cohesion. The absence of calendar polemics in Qumran sources raises our suspicion that the calendar was not a major issue that would have defined the Qumran community as essentially different, sectarian, or separatist. However, the formation and maintenance of a sectarian identity is not necessarily dependent on polemics with the outside, rejected world; so the possible relationship between the 364-day calendar and Qumran sectarianism needs now to be probed further.

As stated earlier, Shemaryahu Talmon (1951 and 1958) was the first to argue that the calendar was a cornerstone of Qumran's sectarian schism, and his theory has rarely been challenged since. It is reiterated in the DJD volume on calendars, where Talmon writes: 'the [calendar] difference caused the members of the community to abstain from participation in the Temple cult', and again:

The discrepancies between the solar and lunar calendrical schedules inevitably undermined the social order and communal life of Judaism at the height of the Second Temple period, and effected an unbridgeable gap between the 'Community of the Renewed Covenant' and its opponents. It may be said that the calendar controversy was a major cause, possibly the *causa causans* of the *Yahad's* separation from mainstream Judaism. (Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer 2001: 3 and 6)

This position was argued in more detail in his article of 1958, where he emphasized, quite plausibly, that reasons for the schism should be sought in the 'sphere of action' (i.e. religious practices) rather than of ideas, and went on:

(p. 248)

No barrier appears to be more substantial and fraught with heavier consequences than differences in calendar calculation, to quote the French sociologist E. Durkheim, since a common calendar 'expresses the rhythm of collective activities'. An alteration of any one of the dates that regulate the course of the year inevitably produces a breakup of communal life, impairing the coordination between the behaviour of man and his fellow, and abolishes that synchronization of habits and activities which is the foundation of a properly functioning social order. (Talmon 1958 = 1989: 148–9)

The reference to Durkheim is particularly suited to Talmon's argument, since Durkheim generally regarded collective cohesion as essential to society, and any difference or breach of this cohesion as anomalous and problematic. It is perhaps superfluous to say that in our postmodern age of global but plural, often fractured multiculturalism, Durkheim's theoretical assumption has become largely outdated: we now tend to assume that societies can thrive on internal, irreconcilable differences.

Let us adopt a more empirical approach, and assess whether there is any evidence in the sources themselves to support Talmon's contention that the calendar was associated, directly or indirectly, with Qumran sectarianism. Most of the 'evidence' cited by Talmon (in the works referred to above) are polemical sources from Qumran that have been dealt with above in this article. One passage, however, is cited more directly as evidence that the calendar was related to the separation of the Qumran sect from mainstream Judaism: in the Damascus Document (CD 4: 10–12), Israel's separation from the House of Judah and from Belial is associated with 'the completion of the period according to the number of those years' (Talmon 1958 = 1989: 151; cf. Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer 2001: 6). But clearly, this line of text is only providing a chronological marker, and bears no relationship to the calendar of 364 days; it is completely irrelevant, therefore, to the present argument.

More relevant to the relationship between the calendar and sectarianism is the intriguing fact that the calendrical Otot text (4Q319) appears in the same manuscript as one of the versions of the Community Rule, 4QS^e = 4Q259. It is widely accepted that in this version, Otot constitutes an integral part of the Rule, where it appears instead of the Maskil's Hymn in the other versions (so Metso 1997: 48–51, 140–7, and Alexander and Vermes 1998: 129, 150–2). Metso has argued that Otot may even have belonged to the original version of the Community Rule, later to be

replaced by the Maskil's Hymn (1997: 140–7); but this remains contentious and speculative (Alexander 1996: 444–5 has argued in reverse, that 4QS^e represents a later version). In any case, the appearance of a calendar text in one of the most important sectarian writings from Qumran must surely be significant, even if this single piece of evidence is insufficient for a whole theory, such as Talmon's, to be built.

A similar, though less convincing, argument may be applied to the polemical (and perhaps also 'sectarian') letter known as *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah*. In one of its manuscripts, 4Q394, the first surviving lines refer to the year being complete in (p. 249) 36[4?] days. But it is questionable whether these lines, which look like the tail piece of a calendrical roster, belonged to the same literary composition as MMT (as in the case of Otot and the Community Rule) or rather just happened to have been included in the same manuscript.

Leaving aside the evidence from Qumran, which as we can see is very meagre, external evidence of calendar-based sectarianism in ancient Judaism is equally meagre and almost non-existent. There is nothing about the calendar in either Philo's or Josephus' descriptions of the Essenes, indeed of any Jewish sectarian group. This omission is highly significant, particularly in the case of Josephus, who was keenly interested in sectarian difference and would certainly have mentioned sectarian calendars if he had known of their existence.

Talmon himself acknowledges this omission—especially problematic if the Qumran community is identified as Essene—but does little to explain it away. The only external source he can point to is Mishnah Menahot 10: 3 (see also Tosefta Rosh Ha-Shanah 1: 15), according to which the *Baytusim* ('Boethusians') believed that the reaping of the *omer* sheaf, and seven weeks later, the festival of Weeks (Pentecost), should always occur on Sundays, just as in the 364-day calendar; whereas according to the rabbis, the *omer* was always on the second day of the festival of Unleavened Bread. The Mishnah suggests that because of this dispute, the reaping of the *omer* did not occur without considerable commotion. Even if we should hesitate at identifying the Boethusians with the Essenes and/or the Qumran sect, this passage may indicate that in some cases, calendar disputes could lead to sectarian schism. But in the context of Qumran, we should question the relevance of rabbinic sources that are relatively late (early third century—even if the Mishnah refers supposedly to the Temple period). Furthermore, as far as we are told the dispute of the *Baytusim* concerned only the dates of two, interrelated festivals, not the structure of the calendar as a whole. The Boethusian interpretation of Lev. 23: 15–16 as referring to 'Sunday' would have been equally possible in the framework of a lunar calendar, and does not imply in any way a 364-day year.

The notion that the calendar was critical to Qumran sectarianism remains no more than a modern scholarly assumption, which the silence of our sources does little to support. If the 364-day calendar was not observed in practice, but only a pious ideal—as, for the reasons explained above, remains entirely possible—then its social significance, and its relevance to the Qumran schism, would have been understandably limited. But even if it was used in practice by Qumran sectarians, in contrast with most other Jews who used the Babylonian lunar calendar, the absence of evidence to relate calendars to the Qumran schism should not come as a surprise. Calendar diversity, indeed, was a fact of life in ancient society, not only among the Jews—as my study of the Jewish calendar has amply demonstrated (Stern 2001)—but also throughout the cities of the Hellenistic world and the Near East (Samuel 1972). Although it is likely that within the territory of pre-70 CE Judaea, and certainly within the Temple itself, a single lunar calendar—controlled (p. 250) in Jerusalem by the High Priest—was consistently observed, no one could have expected the same calendar to be observed in more distant Jewish communities. Because of the empirical nature of the lunar calendar, based on new moon sightings and on ad hoc decisions about whether to intercalate the year, Diaspora Jewish communities were bound to observe Passover sometimes a few days or even a whole month apart (as is attested, for example, in late antique Alexandria, Antioch, and even Zoar in southern Palestine—Stern 2001: 72–9, 87–98, and 146–53). No one community would have considered the other, for that reason, to be divisive or 'sectarian': the rationale seems to have been that as long as the Mosaic festivals were observed on appropriate dates, it did not matter much whether the dates were the same for all.

If then an entirely different calendar was followed in the Qumran community, it comes as no surprise that, as the evidence suggests, this did not attract any attention in the ancient sources (either at Qumran or outside it). We tend to regard the use of a single calendar as essential for society or social cohesion, but clearly, calendar diversity did not bother ancient societies and ancient Jews in the same way. To them, calendar diversity was normal and largely a matter of indifference.

The 364-day calendar, with the complex literature describing it, should therefore be regarded as just one of many

peculiarities of the Qumran literature and perhaps community. But it does not appear, in Qumran sources, as a polemical issue, nor does it appear to have played a particular role in forging the Qumran community's sectarian identity.

Suggested Reading

On ancient Jewish calendars in general, the most comprehensive and authoritative work is Stern (2001), although the section on Qumran calendars is excessively brief. The best introduction to Qumran calendars is VanderKam (1998); this work excels in organization and clarity. See also Glessmer (1999). A recent survey of the scholarship can be found in Ben-Dov and Saulnier (2008). The calendrical texts from Qumran, 4Q319–30, 4Q337, and 4Q394 1–2(-4Q327), are published in Talmon, Ben-Dov, and Glessmer (2001).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The work that is today called the Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch is actually a collection of ancient booklets written at different times by several authors, almost all of them composed in the Aramaic language. They all share the trait that Enoch is the speaker and/or protagonist. Though a book of Enoch was known and fairly widely used in antiquity, most of the text was lost to Western readers until copies of the Ethiopic translation of the book were brought from Abyssinia to Europe beginning in the late eighteenth century CE. This article describes the components, the textual evidence, and influential themes in 1 Enoch. It also considers the place of the book in Second Temple Judaism and evaluates the Enochic–Essene hypothesis.

Keywords: Book of Enoch, ancient booklets, Aramaic language, 1 Enoch, Second Temple Judaism, Enochic–Essene hypothesis

Introduction

The work that is today called the Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch is actually a collection of ancient booklets written at different times by several authors, almost all of them composed in the Aramaic language. They all share the trait that Enoch is the speaker and/or protagonist. Though a book of Enoch was known and fairly widely used in antiquity, most of the text was lost to Western readers until copies of the Ethiopic translation of the book were brought from Abyssinia to Europe beginning in the late eighteenth century CE.

The Components of 1 Enoch

The major units within Ethiopic 1 Enoch are:

1–36: The Book of the Watchers

The booklet falls into several parts that may have independent literary histories. >Chapters 1–5 form an introduction, setting the work in an eschatological context; chapters 6–11 constitute the earliest presentation (or, rather, presentations) of (p. 255) the story about angels who descended and married women before the flood (an interpretation of Gen. 6: 1–4); chapters 12–16 relate Enoch to the story about the angels (he is not mentioned in 6–11); and chapters 17–19 and 20–36 offer descriptions of Enoch's journeys with angels through the cosmos.

37–71: The Book of Parables (possibly written in Hebrew)

After an introduction in chapter 37, the booklet contains three extended parables or similitudes (38–44, 45–57, 58–69) in which an individual, called at different times chosen one, messiah, righteous one, and son of man (in various formulations), functions as an eschatological figure associated with righteous humans who suffer beneath the

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oppressive hand of the kings and the mighty. Chapters 70–71, considered by many to be an addition to the booklet, depict the ascent of Enoch to the heavenly palace where he learns that he is the son of man whom he has been seeing in his visions.

72–82: The Astronomical Book

The booklet offers Enoch's first-person account of revelations conveyed to him by the angel Uriel. The revelations deal with the sun, moon, stars, and related geographical phenomena and include many details about solar and lunar calendars. 1 Enoch 72–82 furnishes the earliest mention in Jewish literature of the 364-day solar calendar and of the 354-day lunar calendar—calendars that later come to expression in the texts from the Qumran community. Chapter 80 appears to be of a different character (a prediction of the eschatological collapse of the natural order) and may be an addition; the unit 81: 1–82: 4 is also unlike the astronomical chapters in that it deals with Enoch's return to his family and his instruction for his offspring. It too may belong to a redactional layer of 1 Enoch.

83–90: The Book of Dreams

There are two dream visions revealed to Enoch. The first and shorter one (83–4) involves the flood and the return of nature to its normal ways, and the second and longer one (85–90, the Animal Apocalypse) gives a survey of scriptural history and beyond, using animals to symbolize individuals and nations. There appears to be a messianic figure in the last part of the apocalypse (90: 37–8).

91–107: The Epistle of Enoch

The Epistle contains Enoch's instructions and exhortations to those who will come after him. Other kinds of materials are found as well, including the Apocalypse of Weeks in chapters 91 and 93 (all of history is divided into units of time called weeks, ten of which are described) and 106–7 that tell the story of Noah's extraordinary appearance at birth and the message conveyed through the wondrous child. (p. 256)

108: Another Composition

The chapter calls itself '[a]nother book that Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who would come after him and keep the law in the last days' (v. 1). In describing the final fates of the wicked and the righteous, it serves as a summarizing conclusion to 1 Enoch, exhorting the righteous to endure.

The Textual Evidence for 1 Enoch

The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch has attracted a large amount of attention in modern times for several reasons: it incorporates a number of early Jewish texts that exemplify different genres of writing such as apocalypses and testaments; its contents are intriguing; and several parts of it were influential on Jewish writings and later on Christian compositions. One of the great gains of modern times has been to document how old some of the Enoch literature is. Fragments from all the major components of 1 Enoch have been identified among the texts from Qumran cave 4, with the exception of the Book of Parables and chapter 108. At some point, then, the early Enochic booklets were collected in one place by the community associated with the site of Qumran, whatever their times and places of origin.

The following list summarizes the textual evidence by identifying the copies and their approximate dates. Altogether, eleven copies of parts of 1 Enoch have been identified among the thousands of fragments unearthed in Qumran cave 4.

- 4Q201 = 4QEn^a ar: copied at some point between 200 and 150 BCE
- 4Q202 = 4QEn^b ar: copied around 150 BCE
- 4Q204 = 4QEn^c ar: copied between 30 and 1 BCE
- 4Q205 = 4QEn^d ar: copied between 30 and 1 BCE
- 4Q206 = 4QEn^e ar: copied between 100 and 50 BCE
- 4Q207 = 4QEn^f ar: copied between 150 and 125 BCE
- 4Q208 = 4QEnastr^a ar: copied in approximately 200 BCE or a little later

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4Q209 = 4QEnastr^b ar: copied shortly after 1 CE
4Q210 = 4QEnastr^c ar: copied around 50 BCE
4Q211 = 4QEnastr^d ar: copied between 50 and 1 BCE
4Q212 = 4QEn^g ar: copied in approximately 50 BCE

Some codicological items of information are important to note. First, several copies of 4QEn contain fragmentary remains of passages from more than one booklet; in each case, the Book of the Watchers is combined with one or more other compositions (unfortunately, no copy preserves the point of transition between one booklet and the next):

4Q204: included are fragments with text from several chapters in the Book of the Watchers, one passage from the Book of Dreams, and several from the Epistle of Enoch (p. 257)

4Q205: included are fragments with text from two sections of the Book of the Watchers and parts of chapter 89 in the Book of Dreams

4Q206: sections from the second half of the Book of the Watchers and some from the Book of Dreams

The implication is that by the first century BCE several Enochic works were combined by at least three scribes.

Second, the copies of the Astronomical Book (4Q208–11) contain fragments from an astronomical composition only; it is never coupled with other Enochic booklets, as nearly as one can tell. It may be that the Aramaic version of the work was rather long and by itself filled a scroll. There is a wider degree of textual variation between the Aramaic copies of the Astronomical Book and the Ethiopic manuscripts than there is for the other Enochic booklets.

Third, a complication arises from another composition, called the Book of Giants. Before the Qumran discoveries, the book had been known from early negative references to it in Christian canonical lists and from the fact that it was an authoritative text for a group called the Elkasaïtes. It functions as a continuation of the story about the angels who sinned in the Book of the Watchers. The offspring of the illicit unions were giants, and it is their story that undergoes elaboration in the Book of Giants, especially their condemnation, and Enoch's role in transmitting information about it to them. Fragments of the work in Aramaic have been found at Qumran; in fact, experts have identified pieces stemming from nine and possibly ten manuscripts of the Book of Giants (the earliest among them were copied in the mid- to late Hasmonean period):

1Q23 = EnGiants^a ar
1Q24 = EnGiants^{b?} ar
2Q26 = EnGiants ar
4Q203 = EnGiants^a ar
4Q530 = EnGiants^b ar
4Q531 = EnGiants^c ar
4Q532 = EnGiants^d ar
4Q533 = EnGiants^e ar
4Q206 = EnGiants^f ar
6Q8 = papGiants ar

J. T. Milik, the editor of the Enoch fragments, maintained that two copies of 4QEn also offered the text of the Book of Giants: 4QEn^c ar and 4QEn^e ar. If he was correct, at least some of the early copies that contained more than one Enochic booklet also included the Book of Giants; furthermore, 4QEn^c would have incorporated four booklets. The most important result would be that the form of 1 Enoch preserved in the Ethiopic tradition differs from this earlier version in one of its major components.

(p. 258) The very early dates for some copies (4QEn^a ar and 4QEnastr^a ar in particular) entail that the first compositions associated with the name of Enoch were written no later than the late third or early second century BCE—a time for which there is very little other textual information about Judaism in the land. The other booklets saw the light of day during the course of the second century BCE, while the Book of Parables seems to have been written in the first century BCE or possibly the first century CE.

The Enochic booklets were translated into Greek, with a citation of Enoch in Greek being attested already in the Epistle of Jude (vv. 14–15) in the New Testament. It has been argued that there are even pre-Christian Greek

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fragments of Enoch at Qumran: 7Q8, 11–14 have been identified as coming from the Epistle. If they derive from a Greek version of the Epistle of Enoch, they would show that the booklet had been translated into Greek by ca. 50 BCE, the date of the handwriting on the fragments. However, the fragments are so small that one can hardly be certain about them. Otherwise, there are the following Greek copies of the sections of 1 Enoch:

1. *Codex Panopolitanus* (fifth–sixth century): it contains 1 Enoch 19: 3–21: 9 and then, strangely enough, continues with 1: 1–32: 6a (the overlapping parts are nearly identical in wording).
2. *The Chronography of George Syncellus* (early ninth century): the Byzantine chronographer cites 1 Enoch 6: 1–9: 4; 8: 4–10: 14; 15: 8–16: 1.
3. *Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1809* (eleventh century): 1 Enoch 89: 42–9 in Greek was placed in the margins of the manuscript along with comments on it (identifying some of the animals mentioned in the text).
4. *Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus* (fourth century): preserved is 1 Enoch 97: 6–107: 3.
5. *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XVII 2069 frs 3^v and 3^r* (fourth century): 1 Enoch 77: 7–78: 1; 78: 8(?).

The use made of Enochic booklets by authors who wrote in Greek is also consistent with the thesis that a Greek translation (or translations) of Enochic booklets existed in the first century CE.

The only early language in which the full text of 1 Enoch has survived is Ge'ez, the classical language of Ethiopia. At some time, perhaps around the fifth century CE, the book was translated from Greek into Ethiopic. It became a part of the Old Testament canon of Scripture in the Abyssinian church.

Influential Themes in 1 Enoch

What was it about the booklets associated with Enoch—booklets filled with cosmic geography, angels, judgement, and calendars—that made them popular and influential for quite some time? The following aspects of 1 Enoch became particularly significant. (p. 259)

Judgement

The theology that traced the exponential growth of sin before the flood to the mixed marriages between angels and women and that used the event as a type of a future judgement proved to be attractive. The most frequently cited or referenced booklet in 1 Enoch is the Book of the Watchers, especially the first half. The strong focus in Enochic literature on the future judgement, a judgement prefigured by the flood in the days of Noah, made it a rich source of support for later writers who warned of the wrath of God on sinners in the past times, a wrath that he had unleashed long ago in the worldwide deluge that destroyed all the wicked and in the punishment he meted out to the sinful angels who had been the cause of human disobedience. Enoch lived in the generations before the ancient flood and was thus in an ideal position to warn and predict regarding sin and punishment.

The Book of the Watchers is the earliest Jewish text to evidence the struggle ancient exegetes had in justifying the radical divine response to human wickedness—a flood that destroyed all the living apart from Noah, his family, and the animals on board the ark. Genesis 6: 1–4, the enigmatic verses that precede the story about the flood, provided fertile ground for ferreting out answers to the question why the deity took the drastic step of sending the destructive waters upon the earth. The term ‘sons of God’ in Gen. 6: 2, 4, the reference to their marriages with women, and the birth of unusually named offspring served as the starting points for different versions of a story about angel–human marriages that were soon marked by the births of gigantic children. The fact that Gen. 6: 3 appeared to place all of this in a negative light—the events led the Lord to reduce the lifetimes of humans to 120 years—implied that something dreadfully wrong had occurred so that God countered the events in definitive fashion.

According to 1 Enoch 6–11, the sons of God were angels—a reasonable inference in light of scriptural usage of the phrase elsewhere (e.g. Job 38: 7). Those angels, 200 in number, led by twenty chiefs who are named—all under the guidance of Shemihazah, made a pact and descended to the earth via Mt. Hermon to take as their wives the women whom they had seen from heaven. The children born from these unions were giants (the Nephilim of Gen. 6: 4 were one kind). The giants were rapacious in all senses, consuming the food supply and committing all sorts of sins. There appears to be another version of the story in which the angel Asael was responsible for teaching illicit information such as the manufacture of weapons and use of cosmetics; Shemihazah and the angels are also said to have instructed humanity in various negative arts, especially ones having to do with astrological matters. That

is, both giants and humanity sinned spectacularly and violated the boundaries built into the order created for them. The result of both versions was that a cry for deliverance rose to heaven; four great angels brought that cry before the Lord, who made the decision to send the flood. The stories do not describe the origin of evil; they depict the conditions that led to the scriptural statement:

(p. 260)

The Lord saw that the wickedness of humankind was great in the earth, and that every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil continually. And the Lord was sorry that he had made humankind on the earth, and it grieved him to his heart. So the Lord said, 'I will blot out from the earth the human beings I have created—people together with animals and creeping things and birds of the air, for I am sorry that I have made them.' (Gen. 6: 5–7)

Whatever one thinks of the Enochic interpretations of Gen. 6: 1–4 (and they were fairly widely accepted for a time in antiquity), they do provide a more adequate justification for why God sent the flood. In Genesis, the sins prior to the time of flood are the disobedience in the garden, Cain's killing of his brother, and Lamech's execution of a young man. Yet, once one moves past Gen. 6: 1–4, one reads that human wickedness was pervasive, encompassing all deeds and thoughts (6: 5), leading the Lord to regret that he had created mankind (6: 6). An implication was that something in the difficult section 6: 1–4 provided the reason why evil was so powerful on the earth that God reluctantly met it with the flood.

Eschatology

While the Book of the Watchers devotes a significant amount of space to the Watcher stories and the decision to send a flood, it and the other Enochic booklets keep a steady eye on the last days and the certainty of a second judgement parallel in scope to the first (the flood). Enoch, who warned about the first disaster, proved an ideal spokesman for the certainty of the second one. The concentration on the last days in 1 Enoch comes within a theological framework rich with theoretical and practical implications. Naturally, any words about the end of time involve foretelling, and in the case of the antediluvian patriarch Enoch they required extraordinary predictive powers, powers that were his because of revelations accorded to him. But in the Book of the Watchers, when Enoch speaks of the future judgement, he does so, in a sense, on the basis of his own experience. In this context his journeys through the cosmos become important (1 Enoch 17–36). The angels who guide him show him remarkable places at the extremes of the created world—the ends of the earth—and in those places are items that relate to the future judgement. A telling example is 1 Enoch 22. Prior to this chapter, Enoch saw places where evildoers such as the angels were being punished, but here he sees a great mountain. In it were four smooth places, three dark in colour and one lighted. The angel Raphael responds to Enoch's amazed comment about the smooth places by explaining that they are intended as locations where the spirits of the dead gather and in fact the dead are already there. Though not every part of the text is clear, it appears that one smooth place is for the righteous and the other three are for:

- Sinners not judged during their lifetimes (now tormented, they will be bound forever) (p. 261)
- Ones murdered in the days of the sinners (they complain but no punishment is mentioned)
- Sinners who were companions with the lawless ones (they will simply be left in the compartment where they now find themselves)

The message of the passage is pastoral: God cares for the righteous and justice will eventually be theirs, while he is punishing sinners, even ones who escaped their proper sentence during their lives. Their place of present and future punishment is already in existence.

The Apocalyptic Form in the Book of Dreams and the Apocalypse of Weeks

As nearly as one can tell, the Apocalypse of Weeks is the oldest Jewish work that can be assigned to the genre of the historical apocalypse. The form was later to be adopted within the Enochic tradition, first in the Animal Apocalypse (and the one in chs. 83–4) and subsequently in many other compositions. The literary practice of revealing to Enoch before the flood the entire course of history presupposes a detailed foreknowledge granted by God to the angels who make revelations to the patriarch. 1 Enoch 93: 2 mentions that Enoch read the material in the Apocalypse of Weeks on the heavenly tablets—a statement claiming there was in existence before the flood an

engraved heavenly record or history tracing events from beginning to end. God knows the full course of history and chooses to reveal it beforehand to his chosen one Enoch so that he can transmit the information for the good of all who hear. The notion presupposes at least foreknowledge; the texts do not address the further question whether the events were thought to be predestined though they may have been.

Scientific Teachings

A certain kind of early scientific information found in the Astronomical Book was to exercise some influence in later times. The unusual writing attributed to Enoch (1 Enoch 72–82), especially in what survives of its longer, Aramaic form, confronts the reader with lists of data such as the fraction of the moon's surface that is darkened or illuminated on each night of a month or how many hours of light and darkness there are each month in a solar year. The booklet echoes the teachings of Gen. 1: 1–2: 4 regarding the orderly creation God had made: all the luminaries move precisely through the six gates on the eastern and western horizons according to the laws the deity imposed upon them at the beginning. Such regularity yields calendars that exactly divide time into years of 364 days (solar) or 354 days (lunar). The writer opposes fellow Jews who, in line with a traditional, practical calendar in Mesopotamia, calculated the year at 360 days (30 days each for twelve months; see 75: 1–3; 82: 4–8). He seems to have had no interest in writing about the Sabbath or the festivals, since in his calendars, unlike those written later, they are not dated and play no part. (p. 262)

The Place of the Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch in Second Temple Judaism

The importance of the parts of 1 Enoch in Second Temple Judaism has long been recognized. Early in the twentieth century, R. H. Charles wrote regarding 1 Enoch and similar works that they had 'immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence'. (Charles 1912: x)

He continued: 'The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first [= last] two centuries B.C.' (Charles 1912: x). He found that 'the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch' (Charles 1912: x). The dominance of the law in Jewish thought and society made it impossible, he believed, for individuals who, like the Enochic authors, felt inspired to deliver a message to transmit it under their own names; hence they adopted pseudonyms, clothing their words with the authority of an ancient scriptural sage. He maintained that Pharisaism at an early time had both apocalyptic and legal sides but that later the two became the separate heritage of different groups. 'The existence of two forms of Pharisaism in pre-Christian Judaism, *i.e.* the apocalyptic and the legalistic, which were the historical forerunners respectively of Christianity and Talmudic Judaism, demands here further notice' (Charles 1914: 33). Since Charles' day the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has greatly enriched the documentation for Jewish views during those centuries and made it possible to see the place of the Enochic booklets in a fuller context.

Proposals involving the Hasidim, Essenes, and Reform Movements

The existence of a series of Enochic writings that appear to be related to one another and that date from different times raises the question whether there was an identifiable group behind them—a group to which the authors belonged and whose members read, studied, and transmitted the texts. Several scholars have attempted to identify such a social unit and to connect it with entities mentioned in the sources. The undoubted influence of the Enochic writings on Qumran literature has paved the way for experts to see some relation between an Enochic group and other communities, not only the one associated with the site of Qumran.

(p. 263) The Enochic texts themselves give some indication about a set of people who are of special interest to the writers and are presumably their own associates. The phrases in question, some of which are attested elsewhere as designations for social units, are 'the plant of righteousness and truth' (10: 16), 'the chosen' and 'the everlasting plant of righteousness' (93: 10), 'white sheep' with opened eyes (90: 6), and the ones whom Enoch in various passages calls his children (e.g. 82: 2, and frequently in the Epistle of Enoch). The designations in the Enoch booklets may legitimately be read as group names—the ones who are the beneficiaries of the wisdom

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contained in the writings associated with the antediluvian patriarch. The 'white sheep' of the Animal Apocalypse are often compared with the 'root of planting' in CD 1: 7—ones whom God caused to sprout 390 years after giving his people to Nebuchadnezzar—and the 'children' in Jub. 23: 26 who in eschatological times begin again to study the law. All may point to roughly the same period and possibly to the same people.

Another social unit that has intrigued scholars is the Hasidim, a group that emphasized the law and allied itself with the Hasmonean family at the beginning of the revolt (1 Macc. 2: 42; cf. 2 Macc. 14: 6) and that later and disastrously accepted Alcimus as a legitimate Aaronide high priest (1 Macc. 7: 12–17). Despite the paucity of information about them in the sources, they have been seen as a parent group from which several others developed. Important in such theories is the claim that *Hasid* is the Semitic term that lies behind the Greek and Latin word *Essene*. Martin Hengel accepted this identification and thought the Hasidim were the people mentioned in CD 1: 7, 1 Enoch 90: 6, and 93: 10 (Hengel 1974, vol. 1: 175–80). From these circles, with their strict approach to the law combined with an apocalyptic worldview, the earliest Enoch literature and the Book of Daniel emerged. He traced their roots farther into the past by appealing to Otto Plöger's sketch of two trajectories in early Second Temple Jewish thought (Plöger 1968). One, represented in the Priestly document in the Pentateuch, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, and later adopted by the Hasmoneans, held that the nation's hopes had culminated in the community that found its centre in the cult and law and that one should look for no further change. In contrast to them, more eschatologically oriented conventicles formed, groups that thought the earlier prophetic words had contemporary relevance, pointing the community to the unfolding future. On Plöger's view, the development from older phases of restoration hope to the dualism and apocalyptic eschatology present in the Hasidic book of Daniel can be traced through Joel, Zechariah 12–14, and Isaiah 24–6.

Devorah Dimant has identified the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90) as an early sectarian work. As she understands the latter parts of the apocalypse, it places the appearance of the 'white sheep' in the year 199 BCE, the same time indicated by CD 1 for the emergence of its 'root of planting.' She therefore has placed the rise of the sect at the time when control of Judaea passed from Ptolemaic to Seleucid hands, not during the Hellenistic crisis (Dimant 1984: 544–7). Florentino García (p. 264) Martínez, one of the proponents of the Groningen Hypothesis, has maintained that the Qumran community arose from Essene circles that were in turn a product of a wider apocalyptic movement in Judaism. He, too, finds the rise of the Essenes, the group from which the Qumran covenanters were to emerge, presented symbolically in 1 Enoch 90: 6. With Dimant, he thinks this group was active in the land already in the early second century BCE (García Martínez 1988); he has also proposed that the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers later split from the Essenes because of opposition to the Teacher and claims made for him.

Paolo Sacchi, like Plöger, found two currents, as he calls them, in 'Middle Judaism', currents that are developments from emphases in the Bible itself. These he terms the theology of the Covenant and the theology of the Promise.

Above all else Middle Judaism witnessed the growth of the barrier separating those who conceived of the relationship between humans and God in terms of the theology of the Promise and those who saw it in terms of the theology of the Covenant. The Law held greater importance for the latter, but radical positions on the same topic can be found among the former as well. Messianism was more important for the first group, though it is also clear that the phenomenon was taking root in many circles and in widely varied forms. (Sacchi 2000: 305)

While he finds development and variation in each of the two theologies, they have traits that remind one of the hierocratic and visionary features highlighted by Plöger and others. To his great credit, Sacchi pursued these currents through the period of Middle Judaism, that is, 300 BCE—200 CE (or, more narrowly, about 200 BCE to 70 CE). Enochism falls more in the theology of Promise category, and the earliest texts within it—the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book—are unified around a special idea regarding the origin of evil. He pursues developments in thought by following teachings in the various texts regarding subjects or themes such as knowledge, predeterminism and the problem of evil, salvation, messianism, the righteous, life beyond death, the sacred and the profane, and the pure and the impure.

Three Second Temple Traditions

Following in the footsteps of Paolo Sacchi and moving beyond his work, Gabriele Boccaccini has sketched a history

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of Second Temple thought in which there are three streams of tradition—a picture in which the Enochic texts play a very prominent role.

Zadokite Judaism

Texts from Ezekiel, Ezra-Nehemiah, the Priestly document in the Pentateuch, and Chronicles give expression to a distinctive, priestly way of thinking. A characteristic of Zadokite Judaism is that God had fashioned an ordered creation with everyone and everything in its proper place. The Mosaic covenant, which is central to (p. 265) Zadokite Judaism, defines proper boundaries; violations or transgressing of boundaries could occur (e.g. in areas of purity concerns) but the normal rituals of the temple cult were sufficient to atone for them. Zadokite priests stood at the head of this structured world that measured time with a 364-day calendar. The world is and remains God's good, properly arranged creation and there is no thought of an afterlife.

Sapiential Judaism

The key texts articulating a wisdom-oriented stream of thought are Ahiqar, Proverbs, Job, Jonah, and Qohelet. The people who could be classified as advocating sapiential Judaism shared some beliefs with those in the Zadokite movement but grew dissatisfied with the cultic establishment. The sapientialists saw no correspondence between the divine order revealed in creation and the order revealed at Sinai and mediated through priests. Their experience taught them that retribution does not follow the guidelines for obedience in the priestly torah. Sapiential Judaism stood for reliance on the kind of wisdom gained through experience and tradition, not through the Mosaic law and priestly instruction.

Enochic Judaism

The earliest witnesses to the third kind of Judaism are the Book of the Watchers, Aramaic Levi, and the Astronomical Book. It was to continue in the later booklets and other works such as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Enochic Judaism emerged as a protest out of Zadokite Judaism. As in the latter, in this trend there was a strong emphasis on order in the creation, but a split occurred because the advocates of Enochic Judaism believed that with the disruption caused by the angelic sin and the divine punishment of the flood the original order was lost and not restored. Whereas Zadokite Judaism saw a continuing orderly creation, the Enochians believed the sin of the Watchers had disrupted it; only at the end would there be a new, restored creation. The angelic sin was a fundamental tenet in the thought of Enochic Judaism. At that time, the original arrangement dissolved into disorder and humans became the victims of a pre-existing evil so powerful they could not stand against it. While the Enochic booklets span a long period, perhaps from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE:

they are closely related to one another through a consistent internal system of literary connections, metaphors, allusions, and quotations. It was certainly a complex and dynamic trend of thought, with its own developments and deepening, and therefore cannot be fit entirely into a unitary scheme or a univocal definition. Its generative idea, however, can be identified in a particular conception of evil, understood as an autonomous reality antecedent to humanity's ability to choose, the result of 'a contamination that has spoiled [human] nature,' and evil that 'was produced before the beginning of history.' (Boccaccini 1998: 12–13; the words in quotation marks are from Sacchi)

(p. 266) The Enochians, who appealed to ongoing revelations about the secrets of the cosmos, the end of history, and the coming of a new creation, also spoke in anti-Zadokite fashion of a pure pre-Aaronic priesthood embodied in Enoch and Levi and predicted the rise of apostate priests serving in a defiled temple. According to 1 Enoch 89: 73 the cult of the Second Temple was impure from its inception. They consigned the Mosaic covenant to a minor role, preferring to emphasize the prediluvian wisdom accorded to Enoch. Consequently, fundamental disagreements about the priesthood, the Mosaic law, and the origin and significance of evil came to separate Enochians from Jews of the Zadokite persuasion. Enochic Judaism arose in the fourth century but only with the Maccabean revolt did its adherents separate from other Jews and become the Essenes described in the classical sources. 'The history of Essene Judaism is one and the same with the history of Enochic Judaism' (Boccaccini 1998: 185). In a striking passage, Boccaccini states the importance of equating Essenes and Enochians: 'Enochic Judaism...ceases to be a mere intellectual phenomenon, an ingenious yet monstrously bodiless soul, and becomes flesh and blood in the sociology of the Essene group' (Boccaccini 1998: 195). The Enochians are the Essenes described by Philo and Josephus. Later he introduced some modification into this picture by claiming that the

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Essenes of the classical sources are more properly those people whose views are reflected in a transitional phase from Enochic literature to the Qumran sectarian works (Boccaccini 2007: 323–6).

As Boccaccini sees the situation, the Book of Jubilees, influenced by Daniel and the Book of Dreams, is a pre-sectarian work that continues in the ideological tradition of Enochic Judaism but effects some significant changes. Among them is the prominent role given to Moses, who at Sinai receives the revelations that constitute the book, and the centrality of the covenant in Jubilees' teaching. Boccaccini sees another important step taken in the book: its 'special doctrine of election, based on God's predeterminism, which results in an identification between evil and impurity, and in a strict, almost dualistic theology of separation' (Boccaccini 1998: 93). Both the moral and the ritual laws were to be obeyed. These stances are close to the ones that will appear in the sectarian texts from Qumran, although the necessary separation that Jubilees advocates is from non-Jews, not from other Jews as in the sectarian texts.

The Temple Scroll too belongs in the trajectory. It transposes 'Jubilees' theology of separation into a detailed and consistent constitution for the present' (Boccaccini 1998: 101). The text is also concerned with purity but wants to extend the code of purity from the temple to the wider city. Since the audience of the Temple Scroll appears to be all Israel, it too is pre-sectarian. A movement more in the direction of sectarianism comes to expression in the (Proto-) Epistle of Enoch where the importance of the Mosaic law is recognized, a doctrine of double predestination is articulated, and the audience forms a minority, not all of Israel. 4QMMT (Some of the Works of the Law) testifies to a time when at least some in the (p. 267) Enochic/Essene movement believed they were the chosen of the seventh week (in the Apocalypse of Weeks, part of the Epistle of Enoch) and were to walk in righteousness, not mingling with most of the people, who did not do so.

The Damascus Document provides Boccaccini with evidence for a definitive break between Essenism = Enochic Judaism and the Qumran group. It attests to a combination of pre-sectarian and sectarian traits: it lacks the determinism of the scrolls in that it recognizes free will for angels and humans, yet it knows of a chosen group within Israel and of the Teacher of Righteousness who came to disclose the truth to those who had split from the parent group. The text does not teach that God had elected Israel; he had elected only a remnant, the ones he had called by name.

At a later time the Zadokites and Sapientialists came to an understanding as seen initially in the Book of Tobit but more completely in the writings of Ben Sira who strongly supports the Zadokite priesthood in his work of wisdom and denigrates those who appeal to visions.

Boccaccini argues further that the history of Enochic Judaism did not go totally smoothly once they became the people called Essenes. The Qumran community broke from the Essenes in protest and lived as a marginal reality apart from the parent movement. The characteristics of Qumran thought that put its adherents at odds with the Essenes were a radical dualism and a denial of freedom for either angels or humans. The sectarian texts present a 'doctrine of evil, based on a unique combination of cosmic dualism, individual predestination, and the equation of evil and impurity' (Boccaccini 1998: 59).

Another kind of evidence for the split of Qumranians from Enochians is the absence of the later Enoch literature from the Qumran caves. For Boccaccini this includes the Epistle of Enoch (although Milik identified several fragments from it in 4QEn^c and 4QEn^g), the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Book of Parables or Similitudes. The latter with its notion of reversal and superhuman Son of Man who will come in judgement shows it is 'the mature product of an anti-Qumranic Enochic stream that...has now reached ideological and literary autonomy' (Boccaccini 1998: 149).

The Teacher of Righteousness was a principal factor in the division between the two communities. He met growing hostility within and from outside his group. The alienation he and his followers felt gave rise to their dualistic thinking and to their separation from all others. So, Boccaccini concludes, 'systemic analysis leads to the overall conclusion that the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls was a radical and minority group within Enochic Judaism' (Boccaccini 1998: 162). He is not the only one who thinks the Qumran community resulted from a hostile split with a larger group: as seen above, the advocates of the Groningen Hypothesis also hold that the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness separated from the larger community described in the Damascus Document. According to this hypothesis, (p. 268) too, the claims of the Teacher provoked strong responses, eventuating in the physical separation of him and his followers to Qumran.

Evaluation of the Enochic–Essene Hypothesis

The Enochic–Essene hypothesis, which speaks of a distinctive Enochic Judaism and of the Qumran group as a hostile splinter from it, arouses several reactions, some general, others more specific.

General Comments

First, the attention that Boccaccini pays to the Enochic literature and to those who embraced the teachings found in texts centring around the antediluvian hero is a welcome corrective to the surveys that betray an undue limiting of Second Temple options or a rather non-historical canon consciousness. The extensive literature in the Enochic trajectory was in itself important, and it was to have a major impact on readers at a later time. As a consequence, it should be acknowledged in any attempt to reconstruct the theologies that competed with one another in Second Temple Judaism.

Second, the method of systemic analysis employed by Boccaccini is a helpful supplement to the approaches that focus specifically on literary, philological, and historical issues more narrowly conceived. The writers of the Enochic booklets and the editor(s) who put them together intended to convey teachings—a message—to their readers, and attempting to identify their theology or theologies is a fundamental exegetical task that tends to receive less attention than it deserves.

That being said, however, one must make appropriate allowance for the nature of the texts with which the historian of Second Temple Jewish thought is working. The works identified as coming from an Enochic tradition and those that Boccaccini views as marking a transition of one kind or another (Daniel, Jubilees, the Damascus Document)—and the same is true for the Qumran texts—hardly take the form of systematic theologies. Not even the section regarding the two spirits in 1QS 3–4 is a full, theoretical account of the profound topics with which it deals. There are indeed theological statements in the compositions and one can infer doctrinal teachings from them and other passages, but the writers have in no case left a complete, systematic report about their ideological commitments. Moreover, it is possible that the Enochic booklets and other texts preserve statements whose (p. 269) full implications may not have been anticipated by the authors. In other words, when taking a systemic approach to these texts, it is essential to recognize that the writings lack systematic propositions to analyse. Much must be extrapolated from inadequate resources. In addition, allowance should be made for different genres and their influence on the topics chosen for treatment and the ways in which the writers handle them. So, for instance, a testament is likely to emphasize freedom of choice for the recipients, while an apocalypse may place the emphasis elsewhere—not only on foreknowledge but also predestination (e.g. reading the future from heavenly tablets). A work such as Jubilees and the legal texts from Qumran are more likely to deal with issues of purity than are historical apocalypses, whatever the views of the authors may have been about the matter.

One other obstacle that systemic analysis encounters is that the texts in question give little encouragement to assume that, say, the Qumran group separated from others because of ideological stances. Where one can check, the points of contention were more legal in nature, not theological. That is the clear implication of Some of the Works of the Law and of Jubilees (e.g. its calendar teachings). The Teacher of Righteousness did encounter opposition because of his or his followers' claims about his revealed insight, but that is hardly a dispute about a doctrinal issue such as predestination.

Third, a few cautionary notes should be sounded. A basic one is to highlight how little literature has survived from the period in question and how much regarding vast stretches of the Second Temple age remains unknowable today. Another concern is with the procedure of drawing sociological conclusions from texts that are almost totally devoid of sociological information. While it is likely that there was a distinctive group that the historian today may label Enochians, was the theology of the Enochians such that they could not at the same time be considered Zadokites or Sapientialists? Should one think of the people behind the literatures as adherents of one way of thinking, or is it preferable to imagine individuals and groups who found something useful in a variety of literary traditions? Just as is the case today, one should not assume that what appear to be conflicting teachings in ancient texts were not embraced by the same people. Moreover, the fact that texts from all three of Boccaccini's kinds of Judaism were found lying side by side in the Qumran caves gives one pause about presupposing different groups behind them. If members of one group could possess and apparently use all of these texts, why should one assume different sociological groups advocated them at an earlier time?

Yet, to this one should add that in the case of parts of the Enoch literature, as several experts have noted, there are some symbolic expressions that likely entail the existence of a group (see above). Moreover, the emphasis on Enoch and revelations to him, the de-emphasis of the Mosaic covenant, and the strong criticism of the Second Temple in the Animal Apocalypse are distinctive traits that separate the Enoch literature from other Jewish literature of the time. Early sapiential texts also do not take account of the Mosaic covenant, but they do not (p. 270) share the other ideas of the Enoch tradition. It is still likely, however, that the people designated 'the plant of righteousness' valued the Pentateuch and other works Boccaccini classifies as belonging to Zadokite Judaism.

Specific Comments

The Enochic–Essene hypothesis involves several distinguishable assertions that may be treated separately.

First, Boccaccini argues that there was an Enochic tradition that can be traced through a series of texts, beginning with the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book and continuing in the other works now incorporated into 1 Enoch and later in texts such as Jubilees and the Damascus Document. The thesis is acceptable in the sense that important elements in the earlier texts had an impact on the teachings of the later ones. A key Enochic element that Boccaccini has underscored is the notion of evil as 'an autonomous reality antecedent to humanity's ability to choose' (Boccaccini 1998: 12). For him and for Sacchi, the story of the angels who sinned is characteristic of and defining for the Enochic tradition. There is no denying that the various forms of the angel story, based on Gen. 6: 1–4, play a central part in chapters 6–16 of the Book of the Watchers and that they find expression in other places as well, but to identify it as a mark of Enochic Judaism may be to claim too much for it.

The Astronomical Book of Enoch, a booklet as old as or older than the Book of the Watchers, reflects no knowledge of the angel story in any of its permutations. This statement is true for the fragments of the earliest Aramaic version that have survived, and for the Ethiopic form of the book in which there is also no trace of the angels who sinned by marrying the daughters of men and leading them astray. In fact, even in the redactional elaborations through which an editor incorporated the Astronomical Book into 1 Enoch the angel story plays no part. That is, it is not mentioned in 1 Enoch 80, and it is absent from 81: 1–82: 4. One can also ask how prominent the story is elsewhere. It is a significant part of the historical survey in the Animal Apocalypse (86: 1–89: 8; see 90: 21, 24; it is present in the Apocalypse of Weeks only in the judgement section [91: 15], not in the historical survey), is mentioned in 1 Enoch 19; 21: 10; and is integral to the story of Noah's birth in 106–7. Otherwise, it seems not to figure prominently—a curious circumstance if it was the dominant element in Enochic Judaism. It would be safer to say it is an important theme in several Enochic booklets but not all of them. The notion of evil expressed in the story is of course significant in that it points to a superhuman origin for the robust form of wickedness that induced God to wipe out the human population with a flood. But would a notion of sin as very powerful be that unusual in Early Judaism?

(p. 271) Second, questions arise about whether Boccaccini has correctly identified other aspects of Enochic Judaism. He argues that one of the factors driving the Enochians away from the Zadokites was their belief that the creation had suffered harm at the time of the sinful angels and the flood, and that the damage would be undone only with the new creation. The article of faith regarding the nature of the world conflicted with the Zadokite emphasis on an ordered creation that continued to operate in obedience to the divinely ordained laws. A seriously different understanding of evil emerges from Enochic Judaism, Boccaccini thinks, one that is incompatible with Zadokite views about the continuation of the original system, ordered as in Genesis 1, even after the flood. The story about the angels who sinned and married women, several forms of which are intertwined in 1 Enoch 6–11, is supposed to be the carrier of the unique perspective on evil: superhuman agents brought evil to the world, and the result was devastating to the ordered creation. As the deity said to Raphael: 'And heal the earth, which the watchers have desolated; and announce the healing of the earth...And all the earth was made desolate by the deeds of the teaching of Asael, and over him write all the sins' (10: 7a, 8). Their breach of created boundaries unleashed a force so powerful that humans could not oppose it. Rather, they became helpless before it. After the flood, the creation order was not reestablished as thought by the Zadokites, with their more optimistic views about evil. Only at the new creation would that order be reestablished.

It is doubtful that Boccaccini has accurately interpreted the teachings on this point in the booklets that constitute 1 Enoch. He refers to few texts in this part of his discussion and for good reason because, it may be argued, his understanding of the matter is far from what the Enoch texts actually say about the creation orders—whether at

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Enoch's time or in the future until the eschaton. If one studies the booklets in chronological order, one can see a consistent pattern of teaching. Beginning with the Astronomical Book, the very first verse (72: 1) shows that the writer does not embrace a teaching about a fallen creation:

The book about the motion of the heavenly luminaries, all as they are in their kinds, their jurisdiction, their time, their name, their origins, and their months which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me (and) who is their leader, showed me. The entire book about them, as it is, he showed me and how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation lasting forever is made.

The good order that Uriel discloses to Enoch is true for the present and will continue to be the case until the new creation. There is no thought here about a time before the end, say, at the flood, when the natural order will collapse.

The Book of the Watchers advocates a similar position. Nothing is said in the versions of the angel story about a rupture in the natural order. There is sin, to be sure, but there is no loss of the ordered system God made. The paraenesis in 1 Enoch 2–5, directed not to his contemporaries but to a generation far off (1: 2), is founded on the assumption of an unfailing natural order: the writer refers (p. 272) repeatedly to objects of creation that perfectly obey the laws imposed on them by their creator and offers no hint at all that they will ever change. 'Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works (of) heaven, how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order' (2: 1). The same kinds of claims are made about the earth (2: 2), the seasons (2: 3; ch. 4), trees (ch. 3; 5: 1), and seas and rivers (5: 3). With this unalterable natural order the writer contrasts human disobedience to the divine will (5: 4–9). His entire point would lose its cogency if the creation were to become as disobedient as humans were. The same conclusion arises from other sections of the Book of the Watchers: in the travelogues, Enoch sees some frightening places of punishment for the wicked, but his repeated reaction is to praise God for his wondrous works and the power evident in what he had made.

The stories about the angels who sinned present a certain picture of evil involving transgressing the bounds between heaven and earth, but they do not teach that their evil deeds had an effect on the way the creation ran. Those angels were removed from the scene as were their gigantic children. Demons remain to plague mankind, but the situation is not hopeless (see 15: 8–16: 1). In this respect, it seems, the so-called Zadokite and Enochic literatures can be said to have operated with the same assumption about a postdiluvian continuation of the natural order.

There are some passages in the Book of the Watchers that deal with stars accused of rising at the wrong time or not rising at all; Enoch sees that they are confined in terrifying places. At one such location Enoch observes seven stars that are imprisoned; about them his angelic guide explains that the stars rolling in fire are ones who disobeyed the Lord's command by not coming out at their proper times. For this he imprisoned them for ten thousand years (18: 12–14; ch. 21). One may validly speak of this kind of flaw in creation but not in the sense that the order of Genesis 1 has suffered irreparable harm. The understanding seems to be that the seven stars have been removed from their place; the other stars continue to function as commanded.

Third, the equation of Enochic Judaism and the Essenes of the classical sources arouses some hesitation and Boccaccini seems to have retreated on the point. Josephus and Philo, as they describe the Essenes, highlight their distinctive fellowship, sharing of goods, strict obedience to the law, and the like; but none of these traits is prominent in the Enoch booklets. There may well have been a group that found its beliefs expressed in these writings, but there is insufficient evidence to identify them as the Essenes described by Philo and Josephus. There are close correspondences between the classical descriptions and the society reflected in the Serekh found in multiple copies in the Qumran caves, but Boccaccini associates Qumran with a group that broke away from his Essenes = Enochians. Whoever the people behind the booklets in 1 Enoch were, they do not resemble the Essenes very closely. As a result, the equation Enochians = Essenes (from whom the Qumran (p. 273) community separated) proves to be inconsistent with the surviving evidence. A much stronger family resemblance remains the one between the classical descriptions of the Essenes and the society envisaged in the Serekh and other sectarian texts found at Qumran, not with any group reflected in the Enoch texts.

Fourth, Boccaccini's theory of Enochic Judaism and its relation to Qumran and its Teacher of Righteousness holds that the scrolls community arose as a result of a hostile separation from Enochic Judaism, that is, from the Essenes.

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As noted above, the point is shared with the Groningen Hypothesis. But there does not seem to be a sufficient indication in any text that such a split occurred. The point is not that the Teacher was involved in no dispute; several texts indicate that he was. The particular issue is whether the dispute was with someone within his own group (the Essenes = Enochians for Boccaccini, the D community for the Groningen Hypothesis) or someone outside that group. Defenders of both hypotheses maintain that the Teacher of Righteousness fought with someone in his own group. The Teacher had adherents as did his opponent, with the Teacher and his disciples leaving to pursue a more sectarian and solitary way of life.

To establish this proposition, Florentino García Martínez, one of the framers of the Groningen Hypothesis, presents a more detailed case than does Boccaccini. He refers to several passages in the Damascus Document (1: 14–2: 1; 20: 15) and Peshar Habakkuk (2: 1–3; 5: 9–12) in support of the notion that the Teacher and his followers broke from their parent community in unpleasant circumstances. 1QpHab 2: 1–3 explains Hab. 1: 5: '[Interpreted, this concerns] those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they [did] not [listen to the word received by] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New [Covenant]...' (all scrolls translations are from Vermes 1997). The lines really make no contribution to the question whether the Teacher and Liar were part of the same community. The commentator simply asserts that the Liar and his partisans were the traitors foreseen in the scriptural lemma. The offending party, whoever they were, opposed the Teacher's divinely revealed words and presumably maintained that he had not received them from God. The comment does show that the claim for the Teacher's inspiration led to trouble.

The passage in col. 5 of Peshar Habakkuk seems especially important to García Martínez's case. 1QpHab 5: 9–12 (regarding Hab. 1: 13b, which mentions traitors who are silent when the wicked one swallows someone more righteous) reads: 'Interpreted, this concerns the House of Absalom and the members of its council who were silent at the time of the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of their whole con[gregation]' (the first bracket on the last word has been moved for the sake of accuracy). García Martínez has highlighted the plural suffix on the uncertainly read noun מַעֲתָבִים or מַעֲתָבִים in 5: 12. 'And the suffix refers to the nearest antecedents, the Teacher of Righteousness and the Man of Lies. They were thus both members of an entity (the "House of Absalom" in the terminology of the *peshar*) in which the (p. 274) dispute took place' (García Martínez 2005: 313). It is unlikely that the passage assumes both men belonged to the House of Absalom; the plural suffix more plausibly refers to the members of the council of the House of Absalom around whose misdeeds the statement revolves.

The passages from the Damascus Document are:

when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the water of lies. He caused them to wander in a pathless wilderness, laying low the everlasting heights, abolishing the ways of righteousness and removing the boundary with which the forefathers had marked out their inheritance, that he might call down on them the curses of His Covenant and deliver them up to the avenging sword of the Covenant....And the anger of God was kindled against their congregation so that He ravaged all their multitude; and their deeds were defilement before Him. (CD 1: 14–2: 1)

The congregation associated with the Scoffer incurs God's wrath, but that congregation might be Israel; the lines do not suggest it was a more limited community of which he and the Teacher were members:

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

The military language of the passage fits poorly with the Groningen Hypothesis that would have to posit that the men of war were other Essenes who chose not to follow the Teacher. That would conflict with what the sources report about the Essenes.

These passages indicate that a community was associated with the Liar or Scoffer (often thought to be the same person), but none of them offers evidence that he and the Teacher were once part of the same community within Israel. The thesis that finds a hostile split in the Essene order revolving around the Teacher's claims consequently is not sustained by the evidence. It is possible that the Teacher's community remained on friendly terms with other Essenes although they adopted a different way of life. At any rate, they preserved several copies of the Damascus Document.

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The texts from Qumran, both the sectarian and non-sectarian ones among them, reveal a community that drew upon various literary traditions, including wisdom, the Pentateuch, prophecy, and the Enoch texts. They blended these influences into a unique creation, but no text suggests that the Teacher and his followers left the larger Essene community in anger and subsequently developed a theology markedly different from their former friends. Too much about the origins of the Qumran community remains obscure; one can say little more than that the people who used the site saw fit to separate themselves from the larger Jewish society.

However their traditions may be related, there is no denying the influence of Enochic writings at Qumran. That is, among the traditions on which the writers of the Qumran literature drew was the one centring around Enoch (though his name appears rarely in the texts) and the cluster of thoughts characteristic of it. Not only (p. 275) were many copies of Enochic booklets found in the caves, but ideas at home in the Enoch tradition made their way into the Qumran texts. A prominent example is the teachings about the calendar set forth in the *Astronomical Book*. It provides information about a solar calendar of exactly 364 days in a year and a lunar sequence of twelve months in which there are precisely 354 days. Both systems are well represented in the Qumran calendar texts (primarily 4Q317–30). The point deserves emphasis because Jubilees, which was written between the time of the *Astronomical Book* and the Qumran calendar texts, advocates only the solar year and rejects any lunar calculation. The Qumran calendar texts belong squarely in the Enoch tradition. Some of them show development in lunar theory beyond the teachings of the *Astronomical Book*, but the systems are the same.

A second prominent heritage from the Enoch texts is the interpretation of Gen. 6: 1–4 as claiming that marriages between angels and women led to such an increase in evil that God had to send the flood. The story is reflected in a number of texts found at Qumran, even if not all of them may have been written by members of that community: Genesis Apocryphon, Damascus Document, 1Q19 (1QNoah) fr. 3, 1Q19bis (1QNoah) fr. 2, 4Q180 (4QAgnes of Creation A) 1.7–10, 4Q181 (4QAgnes of Creation B) fr. 2, line 2, and 4Q534 (4QBirth of Noah^a ar).

There are other traces of Enochic themes and language such as the heavenly tablets on which God recorded information before he created the people to whom they referred (see, for example, 4Q181 fr. 1 and frs. 2–4 2.10). The Qumran covenanters drew upon the Enoch literature for important teachings, even as they went their own way by incorporating them into their special way of understanding themselves, their duties, and their place in God's plan.

Suggested Reading

The most comprehensive presentation and discussion of the Aramaic texts of Enoch is Milik (1976), and the publication of the Qumran material was completed by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (2000). Michael Knibb has gathered the largest amount of evidence regarding the readings in the Ethiopic copies (1978). The most recent translation, which takes all of the textual evidence into account, is Nickelsburg and VanderKam (2004), and the most thorough commentary is Nickelsburg (2001). Boccaccini has formulated his reconstruction of Second Temple literature and thought in several places, most comprehensively in *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* (1998) and *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* (2002). The theory has elicited a number of responses, several of which may be found in *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (ed. Boccaccini 2005), especially pp. 329–435 (his response is on pp. 417–25). There are (p. 276) also several essays on the subject in *The Early Enoch Literature* (Boccaccini and Collins 2007), most particularly J. VanderKam, 'Mapping Second Temple Judaism' and John J. Collins, "'Enochic Judaism' and the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls'.

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The biblical texts from Qumran are the oldest manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, dating from the mid-third century BCE through the first century CE. Prior to the discovery of the Qumran texts, evidence for the early history of the biblical text consisted of three major versions – the Masoretic text (MT), the Septuagint (LXX), and the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) – each with an unbroken chain of transmission to the present day. This article assesses the major text-critical theories of the Hebrew Bible after Qumran. First, it surveys the textual situation at Qumran and the relationships among the Qumran texts and the major versions (MT, LXX, and SP), using, as a perspicuous example, the texts of Exodus. Then, the article addresses the adequacy of the text-critical theories, testing their strengths and weaknesses against this evidence. The major protagonists in the theoretical discussion are Frank M. Cross, Shemaryahu Talmon, Emanuel Tov, and Eugene Ulrich.

Keywords: Hebrew Bible, Qumran texts, Exodus, Frank M. Cross, Shemaryahu Talmon, Emanuel Tov, Eugene Ulrich, Masoretic text, Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch

THE biblical texts from Qumran are our oldest manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, dating from the mid-third century BCE through the first century CE, with the terminus the destruction of Qumran in 68 CE. Fragments of over 200 biblical manuscripts have been identified and published. With the discovery of these manuscripts, our understanding of the history of the biblical text has been utterly transformed.

Prior to the discovery of the Qumran texts, our evidence for the early history of the biblical text consisted of three major versions—the Masoretic text (MT), the Septuagint (LXX), and the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP)—each with an unbroken chain of transmission to the present day. Each of these versions stems from the Second Temple period, and each is related to the others by a web of identical and divergent readings. One of the most important results of the discovery of the Qumran texts is an enhanced understanding of the history and relationships of these major versions. Hence, the discovery of the Qumran biblical texts entails not (p. 282) only the existence of new evidence, but a rediscovery of the importance of the textual evidence that we already had (see e.g. Tov 1997).

In the following I will assess the major text-critical theories of the Hebrew Bible after Qumran by a twofold strategy. First I will survey the textual situation at Qumran and the relationships among the Qumran texts and the major versions (MT, LXX, and SP), using as a perspicuous example the texts of Exodus. Then I will address the adequacy of the text-critical theories, testing their strengths and weaknesses against this evidence. The major protagonists in the theoretical discussion are Frank M. Cross, Shemaryahu Talmon, Emanuel Tov, and Eugene Ulrich.

I will build on Ulrich's argument that each of the theories has validity in explaining specific configurations of the data, and that it may be possible to construct the outlines of a multilayered theory that accommodates the most powerful insights of each. I will also address the epistemological commitments of each theory, which will help distinguish between conflicts among the theories and conflicts of a more philosophical nature. In particular I will

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address the influences of nominalism versus realism in textual criticism.

The Textual Situation at Qumran

Talmon aptly describes the complexity of the textual situation at Qumran:

What makes the evidence of the Scrolls especially valuable is the fact that they present not just a horizontal cross-section of one stabilized version, such as the Massoretic *textus receptus*. Because of their diversity, the kaleidoscope of the textual traditions exhibited in them, their concurrence here with one, here with another of the known versions, or again in other cases their exclusive textual individuality, the biblical manuscripts found at Qumran, in their totality, present in a nutshell, as it were, the intricate and variegated problems of the Hebrew text and versions. (1975: 26–7)

This ‘kaleidoscope of the textual traditions’ can be illustrated in nearly every biblical book that has significant textual material from Qumran. As an illustration of this situation, I will consider the evidence of the book of Exodus, for which the Qumran evidence is particularly rich.

Fragments of seventeen Exodus manuscripts from Qumran (including one in Greek) have been discovered and published. Of these, several preserve only a few words and do not provide a sufficient base for considering textual relationships (1QExod, 2QExod^c, 4QExod^{d, e, g, h, k}, two of which are excerpted or abbreviated texts: 4QExod^{d, e}; see Tov 2008b: 33, 38). The extent of the longer and/or more distinctive texts is as follows:

(p. 283)

2QExod ^a	fragments of 10(?) columns, c. 45 lines, Exodus 1–32
2QExod ^b	fragments of 8 columns, c. 30 lines, Exodus 4–34
4QGen-Exod ^a	fragments of 8 columns of Exodus, c. 110 lines, Exodus 1–9
4QExod ^b	fragments of 4 columns, c. 50 lines, Exodus 1–5
4QExod ^c	fragments of 8 columns, c. 140 lines, Exodus 7–18
4QExod-Lev ^f	fragments of 2 columns of Exodus, c. 50 lines, Exodus 38–40
4QExod ^j	fragment of 1 column, 5 lines, Exodus 7–8
4QpaleoGenesis-Exod ^l	fragments of c. 25 columns, c. 210 lines, Exodus 1–36
4QpaleoExod ^m	fragments of 43 columns, c. 630 lines, Exodus 6–37
pap7QLXXExod	fragments of 1 column, 11 lines, Exodus 28

Before turning to the relationships among these texts, I will address the question of appropriate methodology. That is, how can we reliably ascertain textual relationships? I will then move from theory to practice.

The most valuable method for determining textual relationships is the assessment of *Leitfehler* or ‘indicative errors’ (see Cross 1992: 7; Tov 1992: 18–19; Chiesa 1992: 267). This approach, associated with the work of the nineteenth-century classicist Karl Lachmann (see Timpanaro 2005), operates on the premise that shared divergences from the textual ancestor are the clearest evidence of textual affiliation. These divergences—which can be regarded as either ‘errors’ or ‘innovations’—are inherited along a particular branch or lineage of the textual family tree. As Sebastiano Timpanaro emphasizes, ‘only coincidence in error can indicate the kinship between two

manuscripts' (2005: 89). In contrast, readings shared with a textual ancestor (such as the archetype, which is the earliest inferable text) do not indicate any particular textual relationship, since such ancient readings can be scattered across several lineages. Similarly, unique divergences—errors or innovations that occur in only one text—do not indicate textual relationships. Unique features are found in virtually every ancient manuscript. Only shared divergences are useful as signs of textual kinship.

A useful analogue to this method is found in the field of evolutionary biology. The traits that make a new genus or species distinctive are traits that diverge from a common ancestor. Humans may share 96 per cent of the genetic code with chimpanzees, but it is the other 4 per cent that make our species distinctive. These 'new' genes and genetic combinations are diagnostic data for identifying new groups and species. The same principle allows for the identification of genetic relationships among individuals of our (and other) species. Each person has a DNA 'fingerprint' whose distinctive features serve as markers for a particular lineage or family. From the point of view of the common ancestor, these are 'errors' or 'innovations'—that is, indicative errors.

(p. 284) For texts, the indicative errors are shared scribal changes, which include inadvertent errors and deliberate revisions. Two further caveats must be made. First, since many simple kinds of scribal error and change occur spontaneously and repeatedly—such as graphic error, dittography, word misdivision, changes in spelling, and the like—an indicative error must be relatively distinctive. That is to say, it should be more distinctive than simple errors and changes that arise from what Goshen-Gottstein calls the 'law of scribes' ('the ever active and repeated force of the "law of scribes" that creates the illusion of a genetic connection', Goshen-Gottstein 1975: 74). These changes are spontaneously generated in every period and cannot be used as indicative errors. Second, since a single indicative error is a narrow basis for determining affiliation, the most reliable diagnostic feature is a shared pattern or collection of indicative errors.

With these methodological guidelines in mind, let us survey the relationships among the Exodus manuscripts at Qumran. I will group them by patterns of indicative errors where possible.

4QpaleoExod^m is the most extensive Exodus text from Qumran and one of the longest biblical texts from Cave 4. It has a significant pattern of indicative errors shared with SP, which is lacking in MT, LXX, and most of the other Qumran Exodus texts (Sanderson 1986; Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992: 65–70; see below on 4QExod^j). The major expansions are due to scribal harmonization with parallel texts in Exodus or Deuteronomy. There is also a significant difference in textual order, regarding location of the instructions for constructing the incense altar, in which the placement in 4QpaleoExod^m and SP is secondary (at Exod. 26: 35; cf. MT and LXX at Exod. 30: 1). As the editors observe:

The scroll shares all the major typological features with SP, including all the major expansions of that tradition where it is extant (twelve), with the single exception of the new tenth commandment inserted in Exodus 20 from Deuteronomy 11 and 27 regarding the altar on Mount Gerizim. (Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992: 66)

4QpaleoExod^m and SP are related texts whose common ancestor had the shared harmonizing expansions and secondary textual sequence, but lacked the distinctively sectarian revisions (namely the new tenth commandment and some other small changes) in SP.

4QExod^j is a short text that arguably shares a harmonizing expansion with 4QpaleoExod^m and SP at Exod. 8: 1 (see Sanderson in Ulrich et al. 1994: 149–50). This indicative error is inferred on the basis of space, and so is not as certain as an extant reading. Tov suggests that this text was written according to Qumran scribal practice, on the basis of the writing of the Tetragrammaton in palaeo-Hebrew script (2004: 243–6).

4QExod^b is a shorter text that shares four indicative errors in Exod. 1: 1–5 with LXX (one reconstructed on the basis of space), including the recalculation of the number of Jacob's descendants as seventy-five (with LXX and 4QGen-Exod^a, vs. (p. 285) seventy in MT and SP). It also shares some indicative errors with LXX in later sections. Frank Cross concludes that '4QExod^b is a collateral witness to the textual family which provided the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek translation' (Cross in Ulrich et al. 1994: 84).

2QExod^a is also a relatively short text with some indicative errors. In Exod. 1:12 it shares four secondary readings with LXX (one reconstructed on the basis of space), which are sufficiently distinctive to be viewed as indicative

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errors. 2QExod^a also shares a harmonizing plus with LXX at 9: 28. On this basis, this text seems to have affinities with LXX and 4QExod^b (although there is no overlap between 2QExod^a and 4QExod^b).

4QExod-Lev^f is the oldest text of Exodus, dating to the mid-third century BCE (Cross in Ulrich et al. 1994: 134). It shares an important indicative error with MT and SP in the secondary ordering of the fashioning of the priestly garments in Exod. 39: 3–24, against the arguably earlier ordering (i.e. earlier edition) preserved in LXX (at Exodus 36). It is not extant at the major expansions of 4QpaleoExod^m and SP, but it does share seven smaller expansions with SP, six of which are shared with either MT or LXX. From this pattern of secondary readings, Cross concludes:

Its filiation, to judge from significant inferior readings, is with the Samaritan tradition. At the same time its freedom and tendency toward expansion provide an interesting insight into an early stage of the Pentateuchal text in Palestine. We must conclude that 4QExod-Lev^f is an early, direct, or better collateral witness to the textual family which...I prefer to label 'Palestinian'. (Cross in Ulrich et al. 1994: 136)

This text, which is roughly contemporary with the LXX translation of the Pentateuch, is expansionistic, yet not so much as SP, to which it is a distant ancestor.

4QpaleoGenesis-Exod^l is a relatively long text written in the palaeo-Hebrew script. However, it shares no indicative errors with 4QpaleoExod^m or SP. (This demonstrates that the palaeo-Hebrew script has no necessary correlation with textual affinity.) Neither does it share any clear indicative errors with other texts. The editors observe that 'in smaller variants [it] sometimes agrees with MT, sometimes with SP, sometimes with Exod^m, and sometimes preserves a unique reading' (Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992: 23). None of these agreements, however, constitutes an indicative error. There is one interesting point of affinity—4QpaleoGenesis-Exod^l agrees with MT and LXX against 4QpaleoExod^m and SP at 26: 36, indicating that its placement of the incense altar instructions belongs to a different (earlier?) edition than 4QpaleoExod^m and SP (see Ulrich 1999: 128–9).

4QGen-Exod^a and 4QExod^c are relatively long texts that share generally in the situation of 4QpaleoGenesis-Exod^l as having a relatively small degree of variation from other texts but no clear indicative errors. The editor of 4QGen-Exod^a observes that it is most closely related to MT and SP, and more distantly related to LXX (Davila 1993: 34–5). The editor of 4QExod^c states that 'it agrees sometimes with MT, sometimes with SP, sometimes with another scroll, sometimes with LXX, (p. 286) and sometimes preserves a reading that is, so far, unique' (Sanderson in Ulrich et al. 1994: 101).

2QExod^b is a relatively short text that is not a biblical text proper, but a 'rewritten' Exodus text (see Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 53; Tov 2008b: 28). It shares two explicating pluses with LXX at 34: 10, which is probably too narrow a base to establish affinity. On the basis of the expansive orthography and the writing of the Tetragrammaton in palaeo-Hebrew script, Tov suggests that it was written according to Qumran scribal practice (2004: 243–6, 263).

The oldest manuscript of the Septuagint of Exodus is a short text, pap7QLXXExod, dating to ca. 100 BCE (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 142). Like several other LXX texts from Qumran, it already exhibits some corrections away from the original LXX toward Hebrew readings found in MT, SP, and related texts.

One further Exodus text from a nearby site will supplement our survey of the early manuscript situation. MurExod is a short text of Exodus dating to the beginning of the second century CE, discovered at Murabba^cât, eleven miles from Qumran (Milik in Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux 1961: 77–8). This text provides a partial glimpse of the textual situation a few decades after the destruction of Qumran. MurExod consists of fragments of two columns of Exodus 4–6, portions of 22 lines in all. It agrees in all details with MT, including spelling and paragraphing.

MurExod—and the other biblical texts discovered at Murabba^cât, Naḥal Ḥever, and Masada—seem to attest to the ascent of a narrow group of proto-MT texts in at least some social groups or strata in the period before and after the Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–73 CE). These data may also suggest the suppression of other types of biblical texts during this period, including most of the variety of Exodus texts represented at Qumran. The details of this apparent narrowing-down of texts remains obscure (see recently Ulrich 2003; Tov 1996).

This survey of the textual situation of Exodus at Qumran, supplemented by the Murabba^cât text, provides a glimpse of the types and complexity of data that must be comprehended by any adequate theory of the history of the biblical text.

Text-Critical Theories

How does one comprehend this 'kaleidoscope of the textual traditions'? First, we should consider some theoretical limitations. There are different possible ways to classify any set of data, depending on the criteria one adopts and the inclusions and exclusions marked by these criteria. One needs to establish cogent categories, which are both relevant and comparable (one does not want to compare apples with oranges). One also needs to gauge whether the amount and kind of data are (p. 287) sufficiently full to warrant the judgements and determinations necessary for reliable categorization. In the face of insufficient data, any judgement is weakly founded. Since the Qumran texts are the very epitome of incomplete data, caution is necessary.

Beyond these limitations, there is also a matter of philosophical preference or epistemological commitment in any construction of relevant categories. In particular, there is a perennial clash between the background theories of realism versus nominalism, which influences how one 'sees' texts and their interrelationships. Traditionally—since at least Plato's time—realists believe that there are such things as concrete particulars *and* general or abstract categories, whereas nominalists believe that there are only particulars. For a realist, words like 'red' or 'ink' refer to abstract realities, whereas for a nominalist, such words refer to properties of particular things. Empiricists are philosophical nominalists—so John Locke held that 'All things that exist [are] particulars' (*Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, III.3.1). Closer to our subject, Daniel Schwartz has proposed that the Pharisees were nominalists, in contrast to the realist Essenes (1992). W. V. Quine has commented, somewhat wistfully, that nominalism is an 'ill-starred project', since 'to the nominalists' sorrow science is saddled with abstract objects' (1987: 228–9). Middle grounds are being sought.

The upshot is that where one observer may see a coherent family or group, another may—with equal but opposite philosophical justification—see only a collection of individuals. This is a difference of philosophical outlook and preference. As in many such clashes, there are valid arguments on each side, and it is difficult to reconcile the two perspectives. Textual scholarship is best served by weighing the arguments—implicit and explicit—between these positions, yielding a productive dialectic. In any case, awareness of these opposed tendencies allows us to comprehend some of the unspoken issues in the theoretical arguments, as we will see below.

Local Texts

The post-Qumran discussion was inaugurated in 1955 by William F. Albright's programmatic call for a theory of local textual recensions, which he located in Babylonia (proto-MT), Egypt (proto-LXX), and Palestine. This theory was expanded and refined by Frank Moore Cross, based on his research in preparing many of the Cave 4 biblical texts for publication (see 1975 and recently 1998). Cross differed from Albright in describing these different textual groupings as families rather than recensions, since the latter term implies systematic revision:

Against Albright, we should argue, however, that the local textual families in question are not properly called 'recensions.' They are the product of natural growth or development in the process of scribal transmission, not of conscious or controlled textual recension. (1975: 282)

(p. 288) Despite this qualification (to which we will return below), Cross maintained that a theory of local texts is necessary to comprehend the array of textual evidence:

Any reconstruction of the history of the biblical text before the establishment of the traditional text in the first century A.D. must comprehend this evidence: the plurality of text-types, the limited number of distinct textual families, and the homogeneity of each of these textual families over several centuries of time. We are required by these data, it seems to me, to recognize the existence of local texts which developed in the main centers of Jewish life in the Persian and Hellenistic age. (ibid.)

Cross accepted Albright's geographical locales in general terms, but charted different textual configurations for the Pentateuch and Samuel—where three or four different textual families are evident—versus other biblical books where only one or two textual families are extant. For the Pentateuch and Samuel he sketched the following map of three locales and four textual families:

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Palestine	Palestinian textual family, from which stems the narrower proto-Samaritan textual family
	<i>characteristics:</i> expansionistic, harmonistic, and modernizing tendencies that increase over several centuries
Egypt	proto-LXX textual family, which stems from an early phase of the Palestinian family
	<i>characteristics:</i> expansionistic, but less than later Palestinian texts
Babylonia	proto-MT textual family
	<i>characteristics:</i> (Pentateuch) relatively little expansion or revision; (Samuel) extensive corruption, but still a short text

In philosophical terms this is a realist theory, in which the relationships among individual texts are comprehended by general features, which are both text-critical and historical-geographical in nature.

According to this model, the textual families in each book diverge from a common ancestor (the archetype, which is the textual entity from which the first branching occurred, the latest common ancestor of the extant documents). According to the local texts theory, scribal transmission in the three major centres of Jewish life allowed sufficient separation for the different textual lineages to acquire their characteristic traits, after which they were brought back into proximity in Palestine during the Hasmonean and early Roman periods. It is this latter situation that we see at Qumran. (Cross attributes this textual immigration to a widespread 'return to Zion' after the restoration of Jewish kings.)

According to the theory of local texts, the classification of the Qumran and Murabba^c Exodus texts is roughly as follows. (I have put question marks after four texts—4QpaleoGenesis-Exod^d, 4QGen-Exod^a, 4QExod^c, and 2QExod^b—since their affiliation is unclear; see above.)

(p. 289)

Palestine	<i>Palestinian family</i>
	4QExod-Lev ^f
	4QpaleoGenesis-Exod ^l (?)
	4QGen-Exod ^a (?)
	4QExod ^c (?)
	2QExod ^b (? rewritten text)
	<i>Proto-Samaritan family</i>
	4QpaleoExod ^m
	4QExod ⁱ
Egypt	<i>Proto-LXX family</i>
	4QExod ^b
	2QExod ^a
Babylonia	<i>Proto-MT family</i>
	MurExod

Although the affinities among three of these groups are relatively clear (proto-SP, proto-LXX, and proto-MT), a number of valid criticisms have been levelled at the local texts theory. First, since all of the Qumran (and Murabba'at, etc.) texts were found in Palestine, their differing geographical ancestry is purely conjectural. Second, the characteristics of the textual families are extremely general, making it difficult to tell, for example, what distinguishes a 'Palestinian' text from other types. That is, the criteria are imprecise. Third, the specification of these textual families may unfairly privilege MT, SP, and LXX (see e.g. Tov 1995).

Cross's construal of the evidence in the quotation above requires further clarification and refinement regarding 'the plurality of text-types, the limited number of distinct textual families, and the homogeneity of each of these textual families over several centuries of time'. The boundary conditions, the number of categories, and the geographical origins in this classification system are all contestable to varying degrees. Nonetheless, as I have noted above, this system does comprehend several sets of clear relationships among the texts, including what Cross calls the proto-SP, proto-LXX, and proto-MT textual families. There are many details that are conjoined in this theory, some of which are clearly warranted, and others that are impressionistic or merely conjectural. Subsequent theories have provided criticisms, refinements, and alternatives.

Social Groups and Pristine Texts

Shemaryahu Talmon has contested the local texts theory (see 1975 and recently 2000), focusing on two of its central claims: (1) that there are a limited number of textual families; and (2) that geographical separation is necessary to explain the (p. 290) growth and stability of the distinct textual families. In contrast, he raises the possibility that: (1) there may once have been a much greater number of textual families, most of which did not survive; and (2) the locus for these textual families may have been distinct social groups rather than geographical locales:

[O]ne is inclined to attribute [the limited number of textual families] to two factors: (a) historical vicissitudes which caused other textual families to disappear; (b) the necessary socio-religious conditions for the preservation of a text-tradition, namely its acceptance by a sociologically integrated and definable body... Contradictory as it may sound, one is almost inclined to say that the question to be answered with regard to the history of the Old Testament text does not arise from the extant 'plurality of text-types' but rather from the disappearance of other and more numerous textual traditions. (1975: 40)

It is entirely possible that there were once more textual families, as Talmon observes. As noted above, we need to be cognizant of the paucity of the extant evidence. However, this is a 'virtual' criticism or modification of the local texts theory, since there is no extant evidence of additional textual families (see below).

More importantly, sociological context—in contrast to geographical—does play a role in textual history, particularly in the *preservation* of textual families. As Talmon observes, the MT was preserved in post-70 Jewish communities, the SP in the Samaritan community, and the LXX in Christian communities. Moreover, prior to 70 the MT textual family may have been the 'authorized version' in particular circles, perhaps among the Temple scribes, as Talmon surmises. (Note that the Chronicler in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period uses biblical texts that are not proto-MT texts; so this possible inference cannot be extended back too far; see Ulrich 1999: 189–92; Knoppers 2004: 69–70.)

However, some social groups—such as the Qumran community (almost certainly an Essene group)—had no textual preference. The Qumran scribes, who arguably followed a distinctive scribal practice, copied proto-MT, 'Palestinian', proto-LXX, proto-SP, and other biblical texts without making distinctions among them (see Tov 2004: 261–73, and below). Among the Exodus texts, 2QExod^b, 4QExod^b, and 4QExod^j were arguably written in the Qumran scribal practice, but each has affinities to a different textual family—'Palestinian', proto-LXX, and proto-SP, respectively (see above). Further, the sectarian commentaries sometimes revel in small textual differences (e.g. 1QpHab at Hab. 2: 16; see Lim 1997: 50). Hence Talmon's useful emphasis on social groups in the transmission of distinct textual families is complicated by the social-textual situation at Qumran.

Another respect in which Talmon differs from the local texts theory is in his theory of divergent pristine textual traditions. He does not assume that the divergent textual families in each book descended from a common ancestor. Instead he postulates that some categories of differences among the manuscripts 'may [have] derived from divergent pristine textual traditions' (1975: 4, repeated in 2000: 46).

(p. 291) It is not clear what Talmon means by 'divergent pristine textual traditions'. He seems to project aspects of the 'kaleidoscope of the textual traditions' all the way back, without an origin or historical convergence. As he observes, this view draws upon Paul Kahle's theory of 'vulgar texts', which posits an early multiplicity of 'unofficial' texts on the analogy of the Aramaic *targumim* (Talmon 1975: 17–21; 2000: 50; cf. the criticisms of Kahle's theory in Tov 2001: 183–5). The result is a distinctly nominalist perspective, in which individual variants are not ranked as 'preferred' or 'archetypal' or 'secondary', but rather each distinct reading has its own irreducible individuality and independent status. Emanuel Tov has criticized this position as unclear and historically dubious, concluding that:

[Talmon's argument] does not appear to be proven by the facts or logic....It appears that the parallel readings adduced as arguments in favor of this opinion were created in the course of the transmission of the biblical texts, and even though they seem to be of equal value, nevertheless, only one of them was original. (Tov 2001: 172)

That is, the parallel readings are not of equal value, but one or the other arose in the course of textual transmission as an error or innovation (see further Hendel 2008: 340–2).

In his view of 'divergent pristine textual traditions', Talmon posits a nominalist theory of the biblical text in which there is no apex of the textual family tree, only pristine branches. As Tov has argued, this is a dubious view. Talmon's emphases on social groups and the once potentially greater number of textual families are, however, useful advances in the construction of a more adequate text-critical theory.

Groups and Multiple Texts

Emanuel Tov's substantial work on textual theory evinces a productive tension between nominalist and realist

perspectives, which in some respects provides a synthesis of both perspectives. Because of this internal dialectic, and because he continually refines his theories, his positions are analytically rich but sometimes inconsistent. I will concentrate on his more developed position in 'Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran' (1995) and subsequent writings.

Tov's model of textual history involves several criticisms of the local texts theory, while in other respects it is a revision of it. He advances a nominalistic critique of the local texts theory, emphasizing that MT, SP, and LXX should be regarded as individual texts, rather than as the 'central and exclusive axes around which other texts formed groups' (2001: 156). However, he counters this valid nominalist caution with an admission that:

It so happens—and this is no coincidence—that many of the Qumran texts are actually close to MT, a small number to SP, and a few to LXX, so that also post factum the comparison with these texts is actually justified. But...there are other groups of texts as well. (1995: 88)

(p. 292) Here Tov enters the thicket of classification. His proposed model departs from the local texts theory in several respects: (1) he rejects the geographical localization of the proto-MT and proto-LXX groups in Babylonia and Egypt, respectively (on the latter, see further below); (2) he expands the number of textual groups to five; and (3) he makes important additional distinctions among the groups, defining proto-MT as a textual family, pre-SP (=Cross's proto-SP) as a recension, and the texts related to the *Vorlage* of LXX as a group of related individual copies. He defines a fourth group of 'non-aligned texts', which is not a group at all but a category of 'independent' texts, and finally he defines a group of scrolls produced by the Qumran scribes (1995; 2008a: 143–50).

This is a heterogeneous classification system, in which some groups are not really comparable. The scrolls with the orthography, morphology, and scribal marks characteristic of the Qumran scribal practice include texts of various affinities, including proto-MT texts (none in Exodus), pre-SP texts (4QExod^d), texts related to LXX (4QExod^{b?}), and 'non-aligned' texts (2QExod^b). This group of texts is distinguished by the 'accidentals' of the text (i.e. spelling and other details that are matters of scribal fashion and do not affect the text's sense) and not the 'substantive' readings (i.e. the words) that are relevant for textual affiliation (see Hendel 2008: 343–4). This group of texts copied in Qumran scribal practice constitutes an important category for textual study (Tov 2004: 261–73 and passim), but is only tangentially relevant for assessing textual affinities. As noted above, the heterogeneity of the biblical texts copied by Qumran scribes is evidence for the lack of preference for a particular textual family or group in the Qumran community.

The category of 'non-aligned texts' is heterogeneous by definition. By this term Tov means that 'the text does not stand in any specifically close relation to either MT, SP or LXX. It agrees with each one of these texts, though not exclusively, and by the same token it also differs from these texts' (1995: 98). As such, these texts are 'not linked with any of the other texts or groups' (1995: 101). This is a group of individual texts which do not belong in any group, which is to say it is a realist notation for a nominalist set of texts.

The idea that there are such things as 'non-aligned texts' has been aptly criticized by Bruno Chiesa (1992). He argues that Tov departs from the standard practice of textual criticism in positing 'independent' or unaffiliated texts of a particular work, such as Exodus. (Note that the 'work' is a more abstract concept than a particular text or manuscript, hence Exodus is more abstract than 4QExod^b, and the Hebrew Bible more abstract than Codex Leningradensis.) Chiesa emphasizes that *all* of the manuscripts of a given work are related, and there is no such thing as a text that is 'not linked with any of the other texts or groups' (Tov's formulation). I think that Tov would agree with this criticism, since he maintains that all of our biblical manuscripts descend from earlier texts, including an 'original text' for each book or edition (2001: 164–80).

(p. 293) The term 'non-aligned' seems to conflate several issues: (1) the (logically unwarranted) idea that a text of a work can lack affinities with other texts of that work; (2) the absence of evidence for a text's affinities; and (3) a text with mixed affinities. (A text can have mixed affinities if, for example, it was copied from one text and subsequently 'corrected' according to a text of a different group.) Tov's use of 'non-aligned' seems to denote the first category, a text that lacks affinities, which (as Chiesa observes) is impossible. However, the term may legitimately denote the other categories, i.e. texts whose affinities are unknown (because of insufficient data) or whose affinities are mixed (because of 'horizontal' transmission, i.e. corrections toward other texts). Hence I suggest that Tov's group of 'non-aligned texts' is best replaced by two groups, 'texts of unknown affiliation' and 'texts of mixed affiliation'. In Exodus, given our fragmentary evidence, these two groups are difficult to differentiate.

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In the absence of a pattern of mixed indicative errors, one should favour 'unknown affiliation'.

In sum, we may not know a text's alignment or it may be complexly aligned, but it cannot be non-aligned in theory. The nominalist impulse behind the concept of 'independent' or 'non-aligned' texts generates a flawed category.

According to Tov's categories (but omitting the category of texts written in Qumran scribal practice, and revising the 'non-aligned' category), the Exodus texts from Qumran and environs can be classified roughly as follows (after Tov 2001 and 2008a):

proto-MT
4QGen-Exod ^a
4QExod ^c
4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l
MurExod
pre-SP
4QpaleoExod ^m
4QExod ^l (?)
texts related to the <i>Vorlage</i> of LXX
none
'non-aligned' (= unknown affiliation, see above)
2QExod ^a
2QExod ^b (rewritten text)
4QExod ^b
4QExod-Lev ^f

(p. 294) The chief differences in manuscript classification between the groups theory and the local texts theory concern the existence of the 'non-aligned' category in one and the 'Palestinian' category in the other. For example, Cross classifies 4QExod-Lev^f as an 'Old Palestinian' text, whereas Tov classifies it as 'non-aligned'. Two texts that Cross classifies as 'proto-LXX' are also classified by Tov as 'non-aligned' (2QExod^a and 4QExod^b). Three other manuscripts that I tentatively placed in Cross's 'Palestinian' class are listed under 'proto-MT' by Tov (4QpaleoGenesis-Exod^l, 4QGen-Exod^a, 4QExod^c). While these different placements depend on the different configurations of groups, they also point to the problem of imprecise boundary conditions, a problem shared by the local texts theory and the groups theory.

Despite Tov's differences in detail and theory from the local texts theory, there is a good deal of overlap, as the classification of many of the Exodus texts illustrates. In many respects Tov's model is a revision of the local texts theory, stripping away some of its more speculative features and adding precision to the definition of textual relationships within a group (e.g. textual family in the case of proto-MT, recension in the case of pre-SP).

Although Tov rejects the geographical localizations of the local texts theory as lacking evidence, he has provided a new argument for a theory of local texts (i.e. a revised theory), with respect to the provenance of the texts related to the *Vorlage* of LXX:

[W]e should...draw attention to another aspect of the LXX which provides positive evidence for a theory of local texts....When analyzing differences between textual traditions, it is helpful to start from typologically different textual traditions, e.g. the short text of the LXX of Jeremiah (also reflected in 4QJer^{b,d}) and of the story of David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17–18), chronological differences between the LXX and MT in 1–2 Kings, as well as other elements which bear on the literary growth of the Hebrew Bible...It may be suggested that where such disparities existed, geographical separation perpetuated in one center textual traditions that had become obsolete in another or others. (1997: 187)

Although Tov argues that there is no evidence to indicate an Egyptian location for the development of texts related to the *Vorlage* of LXX, he suggests that some form of local texts theory would account for the preservation of

earlier editions in such texts. In other words, these local texts preserved features (i.e. an earlier edition) that had been displaced elsewhere. Tov writes, '[s]uch changes were not inserted in the copies of the biblical books used in centers remote from those where the changes were made' (ibid.). This situation is analogous to the relationships of language dialects between centre and periphery, where peripheral communities may preserve old features that have been displaced in the central community (e.g. Shakespearean features of English preserved in Appalachia).

With regard to the local factors in the LXX, Jan Joosten has recently deepened the argument that the Pentateuchal translators were 'Jews of the Egyptian diaspora writing for a local Jewish audience' (2007: 80). The LXX lexicon is colloquial (p. 295) Egyptian Greek, with occasional doses of Egyptian Aramaic, and is characteristic of non-elite Egyptian society. The local identity of the translators plausibly suggests that their biblical texts were also local. (This contrasts with the extravagant picture drawn in the Letter of Aristeas, in which the translators were Jerusalem sages, and the Pentateuchal texts were precious scrolls 'written in gold' [176] sent as a gift from the High Priest of Jerusalem.) As a local and relatively lowbrow translation, it is plausible that the LXX translation was made from local texts from the Egyptian diaspora community.

Tov's contribution to textual theory includes both a critique of previous theories and an evolving new synthesis. While there are flaws in some portions of his theory—such as the text-critical relevance of the texts written in Qumran practice and the category of 'non-aligned' texts—his careful and nuanced discussions have significantly advanced many aspects of text-critical theory. He has refined the categories of texts related to MT, LXX, and SP, and has carefully explored texts that are not as closely (or as identifiably) allied. His 'groups' theory is in some ways a refinement of the local texts theory and in other ways an alternative.

Multiple Literary Editions

Eugene Ulrich has further advanced the theoretical discussion by more thoroughly incorporating the implications of multiple editions of biblical texts (see 1999 and 2003). These editions play a role in the other theories (as with Tov's comments about local texts regarding the early editions in LXX), but Ulrich has placed them at the centre of his theory. He proposes that:

[T]he main lines in the picture of the history of the biblical text were formed by the deliberate activity of a series of creative scribes who produced the new or multiple literary editions of the books of the Bible....The emergence of each fresh literary edition occasioned variant versions of the literature that would coexist for some time. Variant text types were thus caused by revised literary editions. (1999: 107–8)

He defines the major axes of textual history as the editions (i.e. recensions) of various texts, which constitute discernible criteria for establishing textual affinity. This is the most extensive type of textual change, and as such deserves a central place in text-critical theory. For the purpose of determining affiliation, the new editions constitute large-scale patterns of indicative errors (using 'error' as a cover term for textual change, not as a value judgement).

In some respects this model revives Albright's idea of early recensions, but provides clear evidence for such recensions. For Exodus, Ulrich defines three editions: the earliest (known) textual form, which Ulrich calls 'edition I', and two subsequent editions (see 2003: 459 n. 15, cf. 1999: 38–9). Edition I, or the 'base text', is the form of Exodus preserved in the LXX, which differs from later editions in its (p. 296) short version of the construction of the Tabernacle in Exodus 35–40 (see Aejmelaeus 1993). Edition II was created from edition I by systematically harmonizing the commands and executions in the Tabernacle text. This is the form of the text found in MT and allied texts. Edition III was created from edition II by the extensive additional harmonizations that are found in 4QpaleoExod^m, SP, and allied texts (see above).

By focusing on the sequence of editions, Ulrich's model provides clear criteria for the determination of textual affiliation. This is an advantage over the local texts theory and the groups theory, where the criteria for affiliation are less clearly defined. However, this advantage is in other respects a weakness, since: (1) it allows for classification only where sufficient text is preserved to determine which edition a text contains; and (2) it does not pertain to books where only one edition is extant. In such cases 'one can skip to the level of individual textual variants to refine the interrelationship of preserved manuscripts' (1999: 114). That is, where there is only one edition or where the textual evidence is insufficient to determine its edition, one reverts to the type of criteria

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emphasized in the other theories.

Hence Ulrich's theory is eclectic, incorporating the classifications of the previous theories within it. He describes the stemmatic (i.e. genealogical) form of his classification system as follows:

[O]n an ideal stemma (which is different for each book), the main lines would be drawn according to variant editions...while the secondary lines would be drawn according to the pattern of individual variants between or within text families. (2003: 461)

For Exodus, Ulrich's model would look roughly as follows, with the editions as the major axes, and the other textual groupings nested within each edition:

Edition I <i>proto-LXX texts</i> 4QExod ^b (?) 2QExod ^a (?) <i>Vorlage</i> of LXX
Edition II <i>proto-MT texts</i> MurExod MT <i>other ('Palestinian')</i> 4QExod-Lev ^f (?) 4QpaleoGenesis-Exod ^l (?) 4QGen-Exod ^a (?) 4QExod ^c (?) 2QExod ^b (?)
Edition III <i>pre-SP texts</i> 4QpaleoExod ^m 4QExod ^j SP

(p. 297) There is a good deal of guesswork in the assignation of texts (marked by question marks), since many of the Qumran fragments are not extant at places where changes of edition occur. For example, 4QExod^b and 2QExod^a are not extant at Exodus 35–40, but are otherwise affiliated with LXX. Similarly, most of the texts listed under edition II are not extant at the places where edition III differs from edition II. Among the subgroupings, I have used the ambiguous designation, 'other ("Palestinian")', for texts in edition II that are arguably outside of the proto-MT textual family. (The boundaries are imprecise, as seen by the disagreements in the classification of manuscripts by Cross and Tov, see above.)

This classification system has the advantage of clear criteria in its major axes. But there are some further problems in the relationships among the segments. Whereas edition II is chronologically later than edition I, there are arguably textual relationships that cut across these editions. For example, Cross proposes that the proto-LXX texts in the Pentateuch derive from the Old Palestinian textual family. We might imagine, therefore, that a text like 4QExod-Lev^f is an older relation of 4QExod^b, but that the latter's textual precursor escaped the insertion of edition II in the Tabernacle section (Exodus 35–40), perhaps because it was a local (Egyptian) text (see above). In other words, the (or a) local texts model has some advantages in specifying genealogical relationships that the editions

model lacks.

Nonetheless, the multiple literary editions model makes an important contribution to text-critical theory. It clarifies that we could—in theory—determine the affiliation of many of the biblical manuscripts by their edition. This provides a coherent axis of large-scale criteria. There are arguably sixteen books for which there is evidence of multiple editions: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Daniel (see Ulrich 2003: 460; Tov 2001: 319–50). The editions model provides some clear advantages for these books, although as noted above, there are practical difficulties, given the fragmentary nature of many of our texts.

Ulrich's proposal integrates the implications of multiple editions into text-critical theory. The challenge is how best to integrate the advantages of this model with the different virtues of the other models. (p. 298)

Conclusions

I concur with Ulrich's judgement that each of the post-Qumran text-critical theories has validity in explaining particular periods or qualities of the textual data:

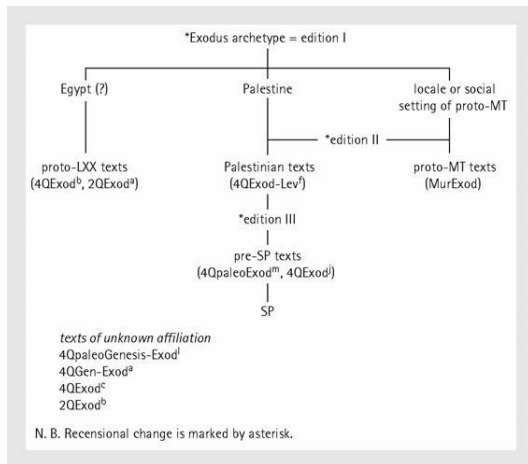
Cross has focused on the *origins* or originating causes of the different text types—how the different types came to be or were produced. Talmon has focused on the *final stages*—how we end up with only three main texts or text-types. Tov has focused on the *complexity* of the textual witnesses in the manuscript remains. (1999: 82–3)

This is an apt amalgamation of the three theories, which charitably sidesteps their criticisms of each other and their internal flaws. Ulrich's theory can be seen as complementary as well—he has added a focus on *editions*, which figure importantly in the textual genealogy of many biblical books.

The idea of mapping the virtues of each theory onto a composite model is attractive. To achieve this goal, we may need to imagine an eclectic or multidimensional set of representations, which include cross-cutting and independent criteria. Textual relationships should be mapped according to several axes, including locale, social group, textual groups and subgroups, and editions. Ideally one could envision a holographic or mathematical model, which can accommodate different layers and clusters of relationships (cf. Weitzman 1999: 319–22, on a multidimensional model that relies on advanced mathematical techniques).

Since this essay is limited to two dimensions, I offer the diagram in Figure 8 as a tentative eclectic minimal stemma of Exodus, which incorporates details of each of the text-critical theories discussed above, and which provides an intelligible frame for the relationships among the relevant data. This stemma includes multiple classificatory layers: editions, locales, social setting, and textual groups. It includes vertical transmission (i.e. genealogical lineages and branching) and horizontal transmission (i.e. contemporaneous exchange, as in the replacement of edition I by edition II in some lineages). As in the case of language, change may be inherited (vertical transmission) or superimposed (horizontal transmission, comparable to wave theory in linguistics). Variables of time, place, social location, and recensional activity are accommodated (in broad strokes) in this eclectic model.

The diagram includes an extra-stemmatic category of 'texts of unknown affiliation', which I have argued is necessary in our situation of incomplete data. I have listed SP separately from the pre-SP texts because of its few but important sectarian changes. MT is a narrow subgroup of the proto-MT lineage or family. The LXX of Exodus was translated from a proto-LXX text.



[Click to view larger](#)

Fig. 8. Stemma of Exodus.

There is no doubt that the internal branchings in this historical stemma were more complex than indicated in the diagram. Any theoretical model requires simplification of variables. As the saying goes, map is not territory—if it were, it (p. 299) would be infinite in its complexity (see Borges 1998). This stemma is a map of what we are warranted to surmise about the textual relationships among our earliest Exodus texts and versions.

I should mention that drawing a map of such relationships is itself a realist endeavour. It is an abstract model—a historical reconstruction—that attempts to explain the affinities among the individual texts. The theory embedded in this model is a realist theory, which hypothesizes that the textual reality transcends the collection of individual texts. Further, it posits a textual archetype, which is the latest common ancestor of the extant manuscripts (see Hendel 2008: 329)—and an exemplar of edition I. This too is an abstraction, but a logically and historically necessary one. Several of these concepts are inimical to a pure nominalist position, as noted above. Hence we need to realize that there are underlying philosophical assumptions and epistemological commitments in any text-critical theory (e.g. Greetham 1999). This is not a matter of regret, but pertains to the nature of textual scholarship. (p. 300)

Suggested Reading

The most authoritative and thorough treatment of the practice and theory of textual criticism is Tov (2001). The most lucid introductions are McCarter (1986), Deist (1988), and Wegner (2006). A rich survey of the biblical text and its reception is Trebolle Barrera (1998). On the biblical texts from Qumran, see the fine survey in VanderKam and Flint (2002: 87–153); and the translations and introductions to each book in Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich (1999). On text-critical theory beyond biblical studies, see Greetham (1999), Shillingsburg (1996), and Cerquiglini (1999).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The approach advocated in this article is the understanding of canon as authoritative literature that is binding for the Qumran community. The distinctive features of this approach are: authority is related to a community; the pesherite is central to the understanding of authoritative literature; there is a vaguely bipartite canon where the 'Torah of Moses' referred to the Pentateuch; authoritative literature included the biblical lemmata cited and the pesherite interpretation; Jubilees, Enoch, and the Temple Scroll were not considered part of the Torah of Moses; the rules of the community were considered canonical and authoritative; and other books, such as the Psalms of Joshua and 'the book of meditation', may also have been considered authoritative.

Keywords: Qumran scrolls, scriptural authority, pesherite, authoritative literature, Pentateuch, Torah of Moses, Psalms of Joshua

FROM the outset, it has to be admitted that 'we do not know what notions of canonicity were held at Qumran' (Leiman 1976: 35). In fact, even formulating the issue in this way could be problematic. Should the term 'canonicity' be used to problematize questions of scriptural authority? Eugene Ulrich has argued for an agreed definition of 'canon' that has at its heart the deliberate drafting of the definitive list of books that were considered sacred scripture by a religious group:

[T]he proper meaning of canon is the definitive list of inspired, authoritative books which constitute the recognized and accepted body of sacred scripture of a major religious group, that definitive list being the result of inclusive and exclusive decisions after serious deliberation. (2002a: 29)

(p. 304) Assumed in his definition is the existence of some official body that decided on the content of the canonical list, although he refrained from identifying such a body. Elsewhere, Ulrich pointed to the Jerusalem priesthood as 'producers' of the official or authoritative texts, and the Pharisees as the promulgators of the proto-MT (2000: 82), but this addressed only the guardians of textual diversity and said nothing about canonization.

In ancient Judaism, there was in fact no official body that pronounced on the canon. Shemaryahu Talmon, after surveying the material, has concluded that in ancient Judaism there is no evidence whatsoever that 'an official agency ever legislated the inclusion of a book in a canon of Scripture' or that 'any such institution ever had been active in these separatist communities' (2002: 12). Philip Alexander's study of the so-called 'council' of Javneh likewise pointed out that in rabbinic Judaism the canon was not closed by a body of 'seventy-two elders' of the Sanhedrin, but that a *de facto* canon emerged when the discussions about Qohelet and the Song of Songs simply died out (2007: 58–66).

Ulrich's definition of 'canon' applies to Christian conciliar decisions. But, as Ulrich himself realized, the process by which certain books, and not others, gained an authoritative status in Christian and Jewish circles could not be separated from the subsequent making of canonical lists. He called this 'the canonical process' (2002a: 33) and in

so doing has introduced a different meaning to the very term 'canon' that he has sought to define strictly.

It seems to me that the difficulties associated with terminology are not in themselves insurmountable, so long as one makes clear what one means by the term. Admittedly anachronistic, the term 'canonical' is nonetheless a convenient, shorthand designation of the process that led to the making of lists of authoritative writings. It is a term that captures the multifaceted nature of the emergence of authoritative scriptures and their eventual inclusion in canonical lists by conciliar decision. The caveat, as noted by John Barton, is that we should beware of building the conclusions into the premises of these terms 'canon' and 'canonization' in historical reconstructions (1997: 15). A similar argument may be made about the term 'the Bible' (*biblion* 'book'). Strictly speaking, 'the Bible' in the singular should only refer to the canonical collection of Hebrew scriptures when it has been bound in a codex, and all other individual scrolls before this time should be known by other designations, such as 'scriptures'. But such a definition would not adequately address the direct relationship between the same books in their pre-canonical and codex forms: a scroll of Genesis from Qumran, for instance, is also the first biblical book bound in Codex Leningradensis. To say that the latter, but not the former, is biblical is confusing.

My definition of canon is related to Sid Leiman's equation of canonical and authoritative literature. He argued that from the traditional Jewish perspective, a canonical book is 'a book accepted by Jews as authoritative for religious practice and/or doctrine, and whose authority is binding upon the Jewish people for all (p. 305) generations. Furthermore, such books are to be studied and expounded in private and in public' (1976: 14). In the Tannaitic period, moreover, the rabbis drew a distinction between the categories of 'canonical' and 'inspired', the latter referring to those books believed to have been composed under divine inspiration ('by the spirit of holiness'). In this sense, the Mishnah and Megillath Taanith were canonical but not inspired; the biblical books were both canonical and inspired. The equation of 'canon' with 'authority' is also found in Christian conceptions of canon as embodied in the expression, 'the rule of faith and practice'.

Leiman's definition was my starting point. In the course of investigating this issue, I have come to the view that the sectarian community's understanding of 'canon' differed from Leiman's rabbinic definition in important ways: the Tannaitic distinction between canonical (i.e. Mishnah, Megillath Taanith, etc.) and canonical/inspired (i.e. biblical books) was not applicable to the Qumran conception of canon, because the sectarians believed that prophecy had not ceased and revelation continued. There is no distinction between the canonical and inspired biblical texts and other canonical, but not inspired, literature. However, Leiman's definition is useful in emphasizing the authoritative nature of canonical literature for religious practice and/or doctrine for Jews.

Pesherite Understanding of Authority

So what were the notions of authority at Qumran and how could they be ascertained? One obvious place to start is the use of citations in the sectarian biblical interpretations of the continuous *pesharim*. Here, the well-known structure of lemma + interpretative formula + comment is particularly instructive. The citation formulas and occasional blanks and empty lines act as spacers that separate the prophetic and psalmic texts cited from the interpretative comments of the pesherists (Lim 2002: 37, 40–3). The line between the quotations of Habakkuk, Isaiah, Nahum, etc. and the sectarian interpretations is formally drawn; there is no mistaking one for the other, at least on one level, between the source of the biblical passages and the sectarian understanding of them. This phenomenon of lemmatic commentary is highly significant for the sense of authority of the prophetic books and the psalms.

What is the nature of this authority? First, the biblical source-text is not to be subsumed in the commentary. The source remains identifiable and the pesherists were conscious that what they were writing was not scripture but an interpretation of it. By contrast, the biblical texts themselves, when they reinterpreted earlier traditions, made indistinct their source, as evidenced, for instance, in the extension of a (p. 306) regulation in pentateuchal texts (e.g. sabbatical law for agriculture in Exod. 23: 10–11 is applied to vineyards and olive groves in Lev. 25: 3–7 without an intervening formula) or in the rewriting of a narrative (e.g. Chronicler's use of Samuel–Kings).

Second, the authority of the biblical texts lay in divine revelation. According to the pesherist, God told (דברין) Habakkuk to record the events of the final generation (1QpHab 7: 1–2). None of the other *pesharim* makes such a statement, but presumably all share the same view of scriptural authority. One must not, however, read into scriptural authority any modern, fundamentalist sense of the inviolability of the biblical text. The pesherist felt free

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to use variant readings to enrich his interpretation and even to change the very words of scripture (e.g. Hab. 2: 17 in 1QpHab 11: 17–12: 10; Lim 2002: 54–63).

Third, though the biblical texts were authoritative they were also incomplete. God had not made known to the prophet the fulfilment of his prophecy, such that Habakkuk would also have knowledge about the end-time (1QpHab 7: 2). Rather, the words that the prophet wrote down were mysteries, even to himself, and a further revelation to the Teacher of Righteousness was needed to reveal the meaning of these prophetic oracles.

And fourth, both scriptural quotation and comment were authoritative. The biblical lemma was authoritative because God had revealed the oracle to Habakkuk, but so was the comment, since God also made known (עִירוֹה) the mysteries of the biblical oracles to the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 7: 4–5). Whether one should call this ‘a continuous revelation’ is debatable. It is at least a revelation that has not ceased. Moreover, in writing his commentary the sectarian commentator was both conveying the revealed content and following the method of pesherite exegesis inaugurated by the Teacher of Righteousness: ‘the priest in [whose] heart God had given [under]standing to interpret (דַּוְשָׁל) all the words of his servants, the prophets, through whom God has foretold all that is to come upon his people’ (1QpHab 2.8-10; Lim 2002: 27).

Significance of Sectarian Lemmatic Exegesis

There are important reasons for making lemmatic exegesis the starting point of a discussion of scriptural authority. First, the continuous *pesharim* are considered sectarian by scholarly consensus. One could have begun with a discussion of the biblical texts at Qumran, noting how many copies of each book were preserved, etc., but doing so would not meet the methodological point raised by Adam van der Woude: ‘Writings which one keeps in one’s library need not be representative of one’s own views’ (1992: 157). This is not to say that the biblical texts were not (p. 307) authoritative for the Qumran community—only that they are not the best place to start a discussion of the sectarian understanding of biblical authority because they are not sectarian. In fact, Ulrich was at pains to argue that the Qumran biblical texts are not sectarian; they are the ‘Jewish Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism’ (2000) and there is an absence of sectarian variants in them (2002b).

Second, the continuous *pesharim* allow one to answer the question of biblical authority meaningfully: authoritative for whom? To speak of biblical authority in the abstract is less meaningful. In the continuous *pesharim* it is clear that the sectarian community considered the prophetic and psalmic texts as the authoritative word of God.

Third, the lemmatic commentaries presuppose extensive passages of the biblical texts, if not whole books. Although the continuous *pesharim* are preserved only in fragments, it is a common assumption that each original, unmutated scroll would have included a commentary of most, if not all, of the relevant biblical text—4QpPs^a is exceptional in providing a running commentary on a selection of psalms (Lim 2002: 16, 38–9). The preservation of 1QpHab is salutary in this respect. The Habakkuk Pesherist ended his commentary at Hab. 2: 20 and at the top of column 13 followed by blank lines, signalling the end of the commentary. Some have previously argued that the pesherist lost interest in the verses at the end of the second chapter of Habakkuk, supposedly seen by the shorter comments in columns 12 and 13 (cf. Molin 1954: 194), and altogether in the third chapter of Habakkuk. But this view is unlikely since short comments occur before the last two columns and the mention of the ‘wicked’, so important for the pesherist, is also found in Hab 3: 13. Habakkuk 3, titled by its own incipit, is a separate ‘prayer of Habakkuk’ that was originally unconnected to the prophecy. This theophanic vision of Yahweh on Mount Paran is quite different from the oracles of the first two chapters and the Septuagint recognized this by also including the third chapter in the collection of its ‘Odes’. The more likely view is that the Habakkuk text of the *pesher* had only two chapters. Whether one accepts the longer or shorter text of Habakkuk, the point is the same: the lemma originally belonged to a biblical scroll (or scrolls if one follows the eclectic theory of the Habakkuk text of 1QpHab) rather than just to a scriptural anthology which happened to have quoted the biblical passage in question.

Delineating the Canon at Qumran

Utilizing citations as indicative of authoritative status while differing in their understanding of the closing of the canon, Ian Eybers (1962; 1965), James VanderKam (1998: 389–96), and Timothy Lim (2001: 27–35) have argued that the Qumran community considered all five books of the Pentateuch authoritative. The sectarian scrolls cited

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verbatim, with or without introductory formula, passages from the books of Genesis to Deuteronomy (e.g. Gen. 1: 27 in CD 4: 20–1; Gen. 6–49 in 4Q252; Gen. 7: 9 in CD 5: 1; Gen. 41: 40 in CD 13: 13; Exod. 15: 17–18 in 4Q174 2.2–3, ‘as it is written in the book of [Moses?]’; Exod. 23: 7 in 1QS 5: 15, ‘as it is written’; Lev. 18: 13 in CD 5: 8–9, ‘whereas Moses said’; Exod. 23: 38 in CD 11: 18, ‘for thus it is written’; Num. 24: 17 in CD 7: 19–21, ‘as it is written’; Deut. 7: 9 in CD 19: 1–2; Deut. 9: 5 in CD 8: 15; Deut. 17: 17 in CD 5: 2, ‘it is written...in the sealed book of the torah’; Deut. 23: 24 in CD 16: 6, ‘as it said’; Deut. 32: 28 in CD 5: 17; Deut. 32: 33 in CD 8: 10).

Moreover, the titles of ‘the book of Moses’, ‘the torah of Moses’, and ‘the books of the torah’ occur in the scrolls and most likely refer to the books of Genesis to Deuteronomy as a collection. CD 4–7 uses the phrase ‘in the book of the torah that is sealed’ and cites passages from all five books (Lim 2001: 27–31). The Qumran corpus, of course, includes multiple copies of each of the five books. The scrolls also attest to four scrolls that combine two books: Genesis–Exodus (4Q1 and 4Q11), Exodus–Leviticus (4Q17), and Leviticus–Numbers (4Q23).

The evidence for a collection of prophets is more ambiguous. Eybers has argued that not later than 130 BCE the Law, the Prophets, and most of the Writings were accepted and regarded as canonical books by the Qumran community, with some doubt about the status of Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and Ecclesiasticus (1965: 206–7). This was, according to him, the common canonical core that was shared by all Jews. The Qumran canon probably additionally included Ben Sira, Enoch, Jubilees, and the ‘book of meditation’ (1965: 205–7, 262). There are many points that one could raise about Eybers’ thesis, such as the dating of the Qumran–Essene ‘schism’ to 130 BCE or the acceptance of the ‘Alexandrian canon’ (see Sundberg’s critique, 1964), but it would be unfair to do so, since the information available to him in the 1960s was incomplete.

However, one could query the way he has argued for the canonical status of ‘the Prophets’ at Qumran. Eybers has articulated a method of ascertaining scriptural authority among the scrolls that is still valuable, even if that method was not rigorously or consistently applied. He noted that ‘no dogmatic statements on the Canon have been found at Qumran’ (1965: 124), and therefore an indirect approach to determine what was regarded as authoritative must be undertaken. First, it is necessary to identify the books that were read by the sect, as evidenced by the copies found at Qumran. As mentioned above, this is not a good place to start, since what is in the ‘library’ is not necessarily representative of the sect’s views—although the number of copies of individual books is important corroborative evidence. Then, the canon at Qumran may be determined by surveying the direct citations where the name of the source is mentioned, followed by citations without source, allusions, and possible references and reminiscences. Eybers also gleaned (p. 309) information from the biblical commentaries, paraphrases and translations. This maximalist approach is difficult to accept, since Eybers did not adequately distinguish those works that were sectarian from those that did not belong to the community. For instance, what is the significance of the Greek translation of Numbers or the Aramaic ‘targum’ of Leviticus for the authority of the ‘canon’ among the sectaries? The fact that a document is translated may offer a slight indication of authority—the text must have been important enough to have been rendered into another tongue—but the primary purpose is clearly to give the sense to those who do not understand the source language and not to hold up a canon of scriptures. Moreover, there is no indication that the Qumran community translated these texts, and the Greek scrolls of Cave 7, for instance, may have been imported into the community.

Eybers also articulated a methodological principle that is problematic in its application. Cautioning against drawing unwarranted conclusions from the absence of evidence he rightly noted: ‘lack of fragments of, or quotations from, certain books may be due to the fact that we do not possess the complete library of books that belonged to the Qumran sect’ (1965: 125; similarly VanderKam 1998: 395; Ulrich 2003a: 74). He was keen to avoid concluding from the absence of evidence that a biblical book was not held by the Qumran community to have been canonical. However, he himself is guilty of misapplying the *argumentum e silentio*. For instance, he noted that Haggai is the only one of the *Dodekapropheton* of which ‘no use seems to have been made’, but concluded that ‘[y]et the evidence is conclusive for regarding the Twelve “Minor” Prophets as a unity and as a divinely inspired book at Qumran’ (1965: 158). The same can be said about his arguments for the authoritative status of Judges: ‘since Joshua and Samuel were probably both regarded as canonical, it is unlikely that Judges would have been omitted’ (1965: 141). This too is a misapplication of the argument from silence. If no evidence is available, then one cannot draw the conclusion that a book was not considered authoritative. Likewise, one cannot infer that it was. The same argument applies to his argument for the canonical status of Kings at Qumran (1965: 145). Eybers’ study, therefore, claims more than the evidence allows in arguing for the authoritative status of ‘the Prophets’ as a closed collection.

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There is no evidence that the Qumran community recognized a closed collection of the books of the prophets from Joshua to Malachi. There are sectarian citations of several books of the former prophets (Josh. 6: 26 in 4Q175 21–3; 1 Sam. 25: 26, 31, 33 in CD 9: 9–10, ‘as he said’; 2 Sam 7: 11–14 in 4Q174). In the admonitions section of 4QMMT, the history of the kings in the days of Solomon, Jeroboam the son of Nebat until Zedekiah appears to have been known by the parties (4Q398 frs. 11 lines 13: 1–3). This would be an apt description of the books of Samuel and Kings. One could be tempted to interpret that ‘the books of the prophets’ in 4Q397 frs. 14–21, line 15 referred to Samuel-Kings or the former prophets as a whole, but the same title in CD (p. 310) 7: 17–18 is used to interpret Amos 5: 26–7 (Lim 2001: 31–4). The title could, of course, refer to both.

Of the latter prophets, there are numerous titles and sectarian citations of passages of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah (Eybers 1965: 145–52; Lim 2001: 32). There are *pesharim* to Isaiah, Habakkuk, Hosea, Nahum, Zephaniah, Micah, and possibly Malachi. Corroborating evidence may be found in the number of copies of all the books of the prophets. The minor prophets moreover are preserved in collections at Qumran (4QXII^{a-9}), Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr) and Wadi Murabba^cât (Mur 88).

There are good reasons for thinking that ‘the books of the prophets’ do not correspond exactly to the second division of the Hebrew canon. The book of Daniel, traditionally included in the Writings section, was considered prophetic in two sectarian works: in 4Q174 a combined citation of Dan. 12: 10 + 11: 32 is introduced by ‘as it is written in the book of Daniel the prophet’ (frs. 1–3, col. 2, line 3); and in 11QMelch the citation of Dan. 9: 25–6 is introduced by ‘as Dan[iel] said’ (frs. 1, 2i, 3i, 4, line 18; Lim 2001: 33–4).

It is most likely that the title, ‘the books of the prophets’, did not refer to a closed collection in the view of the sectarians. There were identifiable collections, namely Samuel-Kings and some or all of the minor prophets, but the category of prophets probably also included Daniel. It was open in the sense that a core of prophetic books was determined, but that the community had not ultimately defined that only these were authoritative.

As for the Writings, there is no evidence for a third division of the Hebrew Bible at Qumran. To be sure, some of the books that eventually ended up in the *kethubim* were cited as authoritative (e.g. Prov. 15: 8 in CD 9: 20–21), but there is no evidence of a collection, apart from the Psalms. There are three *pesharim* to the psalms, two occurrences of book titles of the psalms (‘songs of David’ [11QMelch] and ‘in the book of psalms’ [4Q491]), and numerous psalmic allusions in 1QH that may be detected.

The publication of the Great Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) in 1965 generated a great deal of discussion under the rubric of ‘canon’. The scroll is five metres long, palaeographically dating to 30–50 CE, and included thirty-nine psalms from books four and five of the traditional psalter, but in different order. It also included non-MT psalms (e.g. Ps. 151 LXX; Syriac Psalms), non-canonical psalms (e.g. ‘Hymn to the Creator’) and a prose composition in column 27. James Sanders, who edited the scroll, argued that the 11QPs^a was an early form of the Hebrew Psalter prior to the fixation and arrangement of the contents (1965). At first, he suggested that the scroll was Essenic in the sense that the sectarian group took with them the fluid third portion of the psalter and added their own ‘hasidic’ and ‘proto-Essene’ poems (1968: 294–5). The Jerusalem group, by contrast, stabilized the same portion and promulgated the official version of the psalms that eventually became the traditional MT psalter. There were several critical objectors to Sanders’ (p. 311) Qumran psalms hypothesis, arguing that the Psalms Scroll was not a genuine psalter but a liturgical text (so M. Goshen-Gottstein and S. Talmon) or library edition of the psalms (P. Skehan; see Gerald Wilson’s review of the debate, 1983). Sanders later modified his theory, dropping the sectarian feature, and argued that 11QPs^a presents itself as an early form of the Psalter, legitimized as he saw it by the biblicalizing language and strong davidic claim of authorship at the end of the scroll. Peter Flint, in his analysis of all the psalms scrolls, supported Sanders, arguing that 11QPs^a was one of three ‘variant literary editions of the psalter’ (1997). The question remains open, though the fine balance is tipping in the direction of the Qumran psalms hypothesis.

How significant the Great Psalms Scroll is for the question of canon depends in part upon how one views textual fluidity. Eugene Ulrich has argued that it is the book and not textual form that is relevant to canonical discussions (2002a: 31–2), whereas George Brooke has stated that ‘the distinction between text and canon, between text-form and authoritative status, is not as clear as it might at first seem’ (2007: 89). Textual form is indeed an important element of canonical discussions in the sense that each religious tradition not only chose which books to include but also which form of the book. Thus, for instance, the same canon of the Hebrew Bible in Jewish and Protestant traditions chose the MT of Jeremiah while the Greek Orthodox preferred its shorter, septuagintal version. However,

in the period before the fixation of the canon (c. 200 CE) and the stabilization of the Hebrew text (ca. 100 CE), no such preference of a text-form can be discerned in the scrolls. 4QTestimonia (4Q175), for instance, cites on a single sheet passages from the Samaritan version of Deuteronomy 5 and 18, the MT version of Numbers and Deuteronomy 33 and the 'psalms of Joshua' (4Q379) (including a LXX version of Joshua 6: 26; Lim 2007: 13–14). The debate about the nature of the Psalms Scroll has an important, though limited, significance for the issue of the canon at Qumran. It appears to have been one of three editions of the psalter, but there is no unambiguous evidence that the sectarians viewed the scroll as authoritative, except that they included it in their 'library'.

The publication of 4QMMT in 1994 raised the possibility of a collection of 'Writings' at Qumran (Qimron and Strugnell 1994: 59, 93–4, 111–12). *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* ('some precepts of the torah') was the title given by the editors to the Composite Text of a scroll that purports to be a sectarian or pre-sectarian letter written by the leader of the 'we-party' to his counterpart of the 'you-party', admonishing the latter to take heed of the twenty or so halakhic issues enumerated in the missive. The 'canonical notice' occurs in a passing comment of the admonitions section C of the document which the editors reconstruct as: 'in the book of Moses, [and] in the book[s of the pro]phets and in Davi[d]'. Qimron and Strugnell state: '[T]his is a significant piece of evidence for the history of the tripartite division of the Canon' (1994: 111–12). The reconstruction of 'the book of Moses' and 'the books of the prophets' is accepted because the titles also occur elsewhere in (p. 312) the Qumran corpus (cf. 2Q25 and 4QpapCrypt^a and CD 7: 17 [paralleled by 4Q266 and 4Q269]; Lim 2001: 25). The editors' reconstruction of the third phrase '(in) Davi[d]' is also accepted because ירובן is legible on plate VI of DJD X, and its restoration to ירובן is supported by the occurrence of David's name elsewhere in MMT (4Q398, fr. 11, line 1 [=CT, C18] and plate VIII, fr. 14, line 1 [=CT, C25]; see Lim 2001: 25). Reviewing the same evidence, Eugene Ulrich challenged the entire transcription and reconstruction (2003b: 203 n. 4; 208–10), but he did not give sufficient weight to the occurrences of the same words elsewhere in MMT and other Qumran scrolls (Lim 2001: 25; see now Weisenberg 2009: 67, 204–6, who has argued that 4Q398 does not contain a reference to the disputed line; she reconstructs 4Q397 line 10 in accordance with the principal edition).

Does 4QMMT refer to a tripartite canon of the Hebrew Bible? Those who support the tripartite reading of MMT often adduce the putatively corroborative evidence of Luke 24: 44, which reports that Jesus said 'that everything written about me in the law of Moses (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως), and the prophets (τοῖς προφήταις) and the psalms (ψαλμοῖς) must be fulfilled'. This passage is the sole exception to the bipartite scheme in the New Testament (Barton 1986: 46–7 and Evans 2001). But ψαλμοῖς is not a grammatical parallel of דְּבִיר, nor is Luke 20: 42 (ἀὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν) or 2 Macc. 2: 13–14 (τὰ τοῦ Δαυιδ). An exact grammatical parallel in the NT is to be found in Hebrews 4: 7 where ἐν Δαυὶδ is followed by a quotation of Ps. 95: 7. The meaning of the phrase, however, is ambiguous. It could constitute an elliptical reference 'in (the psalms of) David', or it could take an instrumental sense, 'through David', not referring to a collection of writings, but through the person or example of David. The grammatical use of the phrase ἐν + noun is also used in Heb. 1: 1 where ἐν τοῖς προφήταις is understood instrumentally and it is this sense that seems to be meant here (Attridge 1989: 130 n. 95). Other analogous usage in the NT (ἐν Ἰσαὰκ, Heb 11: 18; ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ, Mk. 1: 2; ἐν τῷ Ὡσηῆ, Rom. 9: 25; ἐν Ἠλίᾳ in Rom. 11: 2) and the scrolls (4 Q182: 10, 11; 4 Q182: 10, 11) are not decisive either (Lim 2001: 34–5).

Probably the most convincing reason why ירובן is not to be considered a reference to the psalms or psalter is that elsewhere in the scrolls, the sectarians referred to the davidic compositions as רִינֵי יְדִישָׁב ('in the songs of David', 11QMelch 2: 10) or מִילְתַּת דָּפֶס ('the book of psalms', 4Q491, fr. 17, l. 4). The principle adopted here, as elsewhere, is to interpret what is unclear by what is clear: the phrase ירובן is unlikely to refer to the psalms or psalter unless one assumes that it is a third, otherwise unattested form of reference in the Qumran scrolls to David's composition. What it denotes is not entirely clear, but it is unlikely to refer to the 'psalms' and it does not refer to the *kethubim*.

In an earlier study, I suggested that 'in David' may be an elliptical reference to '(the deeds of) David' in view of the expression 'remember (דָּבַר) the kings of Israel and consider their deeds (4) (הַמְהִישְׁמַע וְנִבְתְּהוּ) Q398 frs. 11–13, l. 6 [=CT I: 23]). The sectarian community held up the deeds of David as a model (רִינֵי יִשְׁמַע וְלִצִּיּוֹן), (p. 313) except for his sin over Uriah (CD 5: 5). The same sentiment is expressed at the end of the admonitions section of MMT: 'Think of David (דָּבַר) [תָּא] רִינֵי who was a man of righteous deeds (מִירַת שֵׁי אֵיהֶש) and who was (therefore) delivered from many troubles and was forgiven' (CT C 25–6; Lim 2001: 34–5).

The elliptical explanation of 'in David' as '(the deeds of) David' remains, but another explanation is also possible. The phrase could mean 'through the person or by the example of David' without needing to suppose a missing

construct ('deeds of'). The verb בִּי takes the preposition ב , and the sense is that the addressees are asked to consider not only the book of Moses, the books of the prophets, *but also* the example of David. The context of the admonition section provides the clue. At the end of section C of MMT, the addressees of the letter are asked to think of the kings of Israel and consider their deeds: 'Whoever among them feared [the To]rah was delivered from troubles, because these were the seekers of the Torah, whose transgressions were [for]given' (CT C 23–5; translation adapted from Qimron and Strugnell 1994: 61–3). The paradigm is the familiar one of blessings and curses from the book of Deuteronomy as it is applied to the history of the monarchy: kings, when they observed the Torah, were blessed; when they did not and went astray, they were cursed. Thus, blessings came in the days of Solomon and curses in the days of Jeroboam the son of Nebat until the exile of Jerusalem and Zedekiah king of Judah (CT C 18–19). As noted above, this is a suitable description of the narrative about the rise and fall of the Israelite monarchy in the books of Samuel-Kings. The addressees of MMT are asked to consider the pattern of divine favour in the reigns of Israel's monarchs as a moral lesson of how they should behave (see now Weisenberg's analysis of the blessings and curses pattern, 2009: 182–91).

This general admonition, then, becomes more specific in drawing on the life of David as model: 'Think of David who was a man of righteous deeds and who was (therefore) delivered from many troubles and was forgiven' (CT C 25). David has been singled out among the kings whose 'righteous deeds' formed the basis of his deliverance and forgiveness. There follows a reference to 'some of the precepts of the Torah' that were sent from the we-party to the you-party (C 26–7). It is important to note that here 'David' clearly refers to the king and his deeds and not to the psalms, psalter, or the Writings.

All of these elements—the salutary lessons of the history of the kings of Israel, the Torah, the books of the prophets, and the sending of a missive about legal matters—are also found at the beginning of the section (CT C 10–11). The end recapitulates what was mentioned at the beginning, and the ambiguous '(in) David' most naturally refers to the person of the king and his exemplary deeds, and not to the book of psalms. David is mentioned in relation to his person and deeds. The admonitions section refers to the Torah several times (CT C 6, 10, 17, 21, 24, 27, and 28). There is one reference to the prophets (CT C 10) and another possible one ('and in [the book of the Prophet]s' (4Q397 frs 14–21, line 16 [= CT C 17])—although the latter is badly mutilated. There is no mention of the book of psalms anywhere in section C or MMT as a whole.

(p. 314) The two suggested possibilities of interpreting '(in) David' are not all that different and, in fact, they are compatible. The elliptical explanation would presuppose something missing between the preposition (ב) and David, and it would refer to the righteous deeds of Israel's greatest king. Accordingly line 10 of section C, then, should be translated as follows: 'We have written to you, so that you will consider the book of Moses, the books of the prophets, and (the deeds of) David'. The instrumental explanation would also have as its referent the king and his deeds: 'We have written to you, so that you will consider the book of Moses, the books of the prophets and the example of David'. The writing of songs and psalms, of course, could be included among the davidic deeds, but that would be a different matter from saying that '(in) David' referred to the Psalter or to a third section of the canon, the Writings.

The principal editors of 4QMMT were led into thinking that '(in) David' referred to the psalms or Writings. The immediate context of line 10 mentions the writing of a letter, the book of Moses, and the books of the prophets. The following phrase '(in) David', it was supposed, had to be a reference to a written document. However, the broader context of section C suggests that the recommendation for a change of practices among the addressees was based on the Torah and the lessons learned from the fortunes of Israel's kings, and especially as evidenced in the example of king David.

The Qumran canon is a vaguely bipartite canon where the 'Torah of Moses' referred to the Pentateuch, and 'the books of the prophets' remained an open-ended category that included both books that were eventually canonized in the second division and others beside (see also Ulrich 2003a: 65–77, who argued for a bipartite division of 'the Torah and the Prophets', but who would not be drawn on the content of either section). There are, of course, copies of all the biblical books at Qumran, except for Esther, but there is no evidence that some of them were thought of as a collection that included the biblical books from the Psalms to Chronicles.

An Open Canon at Qumran

What emerges is a Qumran canon that is determined and even defined with respect to the five books of the Torah. No other book, apart from the five, seems to have been included in 'the Torah of Moses'. VanderKam, however, has argued that 'Torah' may also have included the book of Jubilees, 1 Enoch, the Temple Scroll, and Reworked Pentateuch (1998; 2000: 23–30; 2002: 108): 'It seems that authoritative representations of Pentateuchal material were not limited to these five (p. 315) compositions, and the text of none of them was, as it were, set in stone' (2002: 93). His argument for an 'open core canon' (2000: 23) is based upon the self-referencing authority of the texts that he has analysed. The Temple Scroll, for instance, presents itself as a 'new Deuteronomy' by using the more direct, first person form of address—often referred to as 'literary fiction'—and by designating itself as 'this law' (*ha-torah ha-zot*; 1QTS 56.12–21; rather than 'a copy of this law' of Deut. 17: 18; see Najman 2003: 41–69, who argued for the authoritative and supplementary role of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll: they do not replace the Torah, but each in its own way is an authoritative interpretation and supplement).

VanderKam has raised several issues that need to be addressed. First, as discussed previously with respect to the Great Psalm Scroll, the textual form of a book is not a feature in the sectarian conception of authoritative scriptures. It was the book and not its version that was considered authoritative. Second, the sectarian texts seem to have used the title, 'the Torah of Moses', in a way that presupposes all five books of Genesis to Deuteronomy in a collection, but in no particular order. Third, VanderKam's argument that the term 'Torah' included more than the Pentateuch requires two kinds of evidence: (a) passages that show that the sectarians accepted the self-referencing authority of the books in question; and (b) indications that 'Torah' is the designation that the sectarians gave to them.

Of the four books surveyed by VanderKam, Jubilees and 1 Enoch have the strongest claim to authoritative status, followed by the Temple Scroll. There is no evidence that the authority of the Reworked Pentateuch, now being reconsidered a pentateuchal text, was ever accepted by the Qumran community (cf. Tov 1994: 134 and Crawford 2008: 57). There is no explicit citation of a source that can be traced directly to it and no evidence that the Reworked Pentateuch was ever mentioned among the sectarian texts.

Jubilees, by contrast, was cited in CD 16: 1–3: 'Therefore let a man bind himself to an oath to return to the Torah of Moses (השמ תדון), for in it everything is specified. Now the explanation of their times when Israel is blind to all these, behold it is specified according to the Book of the Divisions of the Times (ביתצה תוקלתמ דפס)'. VanderKam tried to argue that the book of Divisions may refer to 'a specific text within the Torah' (2002: 106), but it is evident that the book of the Division of the Times, commonly thought to refer to Jubilees, is a book that is both distinguishable from the Torah and complementary to it. VanderKam adduced further evidence from the badly preserved text of 4Q228 that mentions Jubilees—although he rightly admitted that the scroll is too badly mutilated to draw any far reaching conclusion. He also believed that the combination of the legislation of Leviticus 12 and the Adam and Eve story in Jub. 3: 8–14 is paralleled in 4QSD (4Q265) 7.2.11–17. Additionally, he regarded the Qumranic celebration of the renewal of the covenant on the Festival of Weeks as possibly dependent on Jubilees and its 364-day solar calendar. On the chronology of the flood story, VanderKam argued that the author of 4Q252 corrected Jubilees, adding two days (p. 316) of Wednesday and Thursday, to make the 150 days of the waters of the flood fit the calendric dates of the beginning (2/17) and end (7/17). He summed up by saying that 'Jubilees authority, whatever it may have entailed, did not preclude adding precision to its chronology' (1998: 399).

VanderKam is correct to surmise that the Qumran conception of canonicity did not involve a closed collection. Jubilees is cited as authoritative in a way that is no different from the sectarian quotation of biblical texts. However, the view that the sectarians also considered it as part of the 'Torah' is wanting evidence. Jubilees, according to CD 16: 1–3, complemented the 'Torah of Moses' without replacing it. The supplementary role also seems to be the self-understanding of the book of Jubilees as it refers to the 'Torah' as 'the first law' (6: 22), thus defining itself as the 'second law'. In VanderKam's view, however, the sectarians would have had a more elevated understanding of Jubilees' status than it has of itself (1998: 397; 2000: 25).

It is likely that the book of Jubilees was considered authoritative at Qumran, but that it was also considered 'Torah' is questionable. The crux of the matter is to be found in the conception of authority. VanderKam's 'open core canon' leads him to advocate the inclusion of Jubilees in the sectarian conception of 'Torah'. For VanderKam, to be authoritative it has to be included in the Torah. The question is whether a supplement to the 'Torah' could not also be canonical and authoritative? If by authoritative one understands that which is binding for practice and belief, then would not the sectarians' belief in its specifications of the times suffice to make the book of Jubilees

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authoritative without its inclusion in 'the Torah'? In my view, the sectarians defined 'the Torah' as the Pentateuch and Jubilees as a supplement to it, and both were authoritative because both were binding for practice and belief.

VanderKam argued that 1 Enoch was considered authoritative by the sectarians because the central Enochic story about the sinful angels who consorted with women and engendered giant offspring was used in several Qumran texts (1998: 398). Moreover, the synchronistic calendar of Enoch that combines the 364-day solar year with the schematic 354-day lunar year served as the model for the Qumran calendar. Finally, the Apocalypse of Weeks seems to have been the focus of the commentary of 4Q247—although there is very little that is preserved (1998: 398; 2000: 26–30).

The evidence adduced by VanderKam is insufficient to conclude that 1 Enoch, as a compilation of five booklets, was considered authoritative, let alone thought of as 'the Torah' or part of it. Rather, the evidence points to teachings and traditions that were regarded as authoritative. The calendar and story of the fallen angels, found in 1 Enoch, have profoundly influenced sectarian belief and practice. Some parts of 1 Enoch, namely the Apocalypse of Weeks, may have been considered as an authoritative book if it had indeed been the subject of a commentary, but 4Q247 has not been sufficiently preserved to allow this conclusion.

On the Temple Scroll, VanderKam first made the point that textually it is 'an independent witness to the text of the Torah' (2002: 102), agreeing in its unique (p. 317) readings more with the MT than with the versions. Its rearrangement of the biblical material is no different from what Deuteronomy itself does to previous material. The evidence that VanderKam adduced for the authoritative status of the Temple Scroll is slight—five copies of an extremely long scroll found in the Qumran caves and some points of contact with the Reworked Pentateuch and the calendars on the festivals of oil and wood. Following Yigael Yadin, he considered the possibility that it might have been referred to as 'the Torah' which the Teacher of Righteousness sent to the Wicked Priest (4QpPs^a 3–10.iv.8–9).

There is some reason for thinking that the Temple Scroll was considered authoritative. Although VanderKam did not mention them, there are points of contact between the Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document as regards their teachings about polygamy, incest, and sexual activity within the city of the temple. There is, however, no compelling reason for thinking that the sectarians called the Temple Scroll 'the Torah of Moses', since the Qumranians defined that as the Pentateuch. Did they call it 'a Torah', as VanderKam suggested (2002: 104)? Actually, the *Psalms Peshier* described it as a definite noun, 'the Torah' (תּוֹרָה). Moreover, this formulation is confusing since it assumes that there was something called 'Torah', and that there was more than one of it. It would be better to say that the Temple Scroll was part of the Torah, just as Deuteronomy was the fifth book of the Pentateuch. Or that the Temple Scroll was 'the Qumran Torah', that is the Qumran equivalent to the Torah. The more likely possibility is that the Temple Scroll, which considered itself 'this Torah', was nonetheless viewed by the sectarians as a supplement to the Torah. The *Psalms Peshier* mentions 'the torah' and Yigael Yadin equated this with 'the book of the second torah' (תִּינִישׁ הַדְּוִיָּתָה דִּפְסָ) referred to in 4Q177 frs. 1–4, line 13 (1983: 396–7; the absence of the definite article is due to haplography). If this is indeed a reference to the Temple Scroll, as VanderKam seemed to think, then the peshierist must have understood it as secondary in some way to the Torah that has already been defined.

Did the Qumranians have an open canon? The above discussion suggests that the sectarians also considered books other than biblical ones to have been authoritative. The evidence points to Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and the Temple Scroll as carrying varying degrees of authority within the community. There is no evidence that the Reworked Pentateuch was similarly considered. The sectarians did not replace the Torah with these works nor did they include them as parts of the Torah of Moses, since that was the Pentateuch. Jubilees was a supplement to the Pentateuch, and it may be that 1 Enoch and the Temple Scroll were likewise considered, but the evidence to support this assumption is slight. However, the teachings and traditions found in them had *auctoritas*. In the case of Jubilees, the teachings about the times also appear to be binding for the sectarians.

What other books were considered authoritative is a question yet to be resolved. Eybers suggested that the Wisdom of Ben Sira, 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the 'book of meditation' were likely to have been considered canonical. The 'Psalms of Joshua' (p. 318) (4Q379) should certainly be added to this list since it is cited in 4Q175 alongside other Pentateuchal texts. The Habakkuk Peshier supports a view that prophecy had not ceased and that both its own comments as well as the biblical lemmata were authoritative for the sectarian community. 1QS 8: 11–16

confirms this understanding when it cites and interprets Isa. 40: 3: the passage equates the authority of the prophets with that of the Torah of Moses; revelation is thought to continue; and the sectarian exposition of the Torah (*midrash ha-torah*) is also divinely commanded. This would mean that the rules of the community would also have been considered authoritative for practice and belief. A prime candidate here would be 'the teaching of the two spirits' in IQS 3.13–4.26, a text that circulated independently before its inclusion in the *Serekh ha-yahad*.

The Qumran Biblical Scrolls

I end this article where some might have expected me to begin—a discussion of the biblical scrolls at Qumran. Eugene Ulrich estimated that about a quarter of the Qumran scrolls were recognizably 'biblical' (1994: 78–9). This figure amounts to approximately 200 or more manuscripts, depending on the latest calculations of the number of original scrolls in the Qumran corpus. Biblical scrolls were found in all eleven caves, with Cave 4 preserving the richest treasury of 127 biblical scrolls. Thus, 65 biblical scrolls were found in the other ten caves. With the exception of Esther, all the books of the Hebrew Bible were attested by at least one copy. The biblical books that had the most copies were the Psalms, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah.

Unlike the traditional Hebrew Bible that holds up one text, the Masoretic Text, as authoritative, the biblical scrolls found at Qumran attest to a plurality of text-types. Emanuel Tov has formulated a theory of multiple texts to account for this diversity of text-forms. Accordingly, all the biblical texts are divided into five different textual groups: (1) texts written in the Qumran practice (20%); (2) proto-Masoretic texts (35%); (3) pre-Samaritan texts (15%); (4) texts close to the presumed Hebrew source of the LXX (5%); and (5) non-aligned or independent texts (35%).² Tov assigned various percentages to each one of these groups, with the proto-MT group having the largest share at 40 per cent (2001: 114–17). There is no evidence to suggest that they were collected into 'series' (*pace* Trebolle Barrera 2000).

The Qumran corpus also included numerous works that belong to the 'Apocrypha' and 'Pseudepigrapha'. Peter Flint has provided a survey of the scrolls, arguing that Daniel, Psalm 151A, Psalm 151B, Psalm 154, Psalm 155, the canticle (p. 319) (Sir. 51: 13–30), 1 Enoch, and Jubilees have scriptural status. Tobit and the Letter of Jeremiah may also have had the status, though there is less evidence. And there is no evidence for the scriptural status of the Wisdom of Ben Sira, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Naphtali, the Pseudo-Daniel scrolls, the Prayer of Nabonidus, the 'son of God' text, and 4QFour Kingdoms (Flint 2001: 121). While questions may be asked about his conception of scriptural status, Flint has provided a useful catalogue of all the scrolls of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. There are five copies of Tobit, three copies of the Wisdom of Ben Sira, one copy each of the Letter of Jeremiah, Ps. 151A, Ps. 151B, Ps. 154, and Ps. 155, twelve copies of 1 Enoch, between thirteen and sixteen copies of Jubilees, ten copies relating to the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and nine copies of Pseudo-Daniel scrolls.

Conclusions

With the discovery and publication of the Qumran scrolls, there is an opportunity to think anew about the meaning of scriptural authority. The approach advocated in this paper is the understanding of canon as authoritative literature that is influential and binding for the Qumran community. The distinctive features of this approach are: (1) authority is related to a community; (2) the pesherite and other sectarian use of literature is central to the understanding of authoritative literature; (3) there is a vaguely bipartite canon where the 'Torah of Moses' referred to the Pentateuch, and 'the prophets' remained an open-ended category that included books that were eventually canonized in the second division and others besides; (4) authoritative literature included the biblical lemmata cited, but also the pesherite interpretation; (5) Jubilees, Enoch, and the Temple Scroll have varying degrees of authority, but they were not considered part of the Torah of Moses; (6) the rules of the community or part of it, such as the 'teaching of the two spirits', were also considered canonical and authoritative; and (7) other books, like the Psalms of Joshua and 'the book of meditation', may also have been considered authoritative.

Suggested Reading

James VanderKam articulated his 'open core canon' at Qumran in his 1998 article published in *RevQ*. He developed

this view subsequently in further contributions (p. 320) published in 2000 and 2002. Eugene Ulrich raised many important issues relating to the conception and definition of canon. A good place to access his views is his article in the *Canon Debate* edited by Lee Macdonald and James Sanders (2002a). John Collins has provided a good overview of the contribution of the Qumran scrolls to the formation of canon in ancient Judaism, emphasizing the plurality of canons (1995). For a discussion of the alleged reference to the tripartite division of the Hebrew Bible at Qumran, see Timothy Lim (2001). John Barton has an important discussion of his conception of the broadly bipartite canon in Second Temple Judaism (1986; 2nd edn. 2007). Important methodological and hermeneutical issues arising from scholarly discussions have been discussed by him in chapter 1, 'The Origins of the Canon: An Imaginary Problem?' of *The Spirit and the Letter* (1997).

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Notes:

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(2) The percentages add up to more than 100 as some scrolls are counted in more than one category.

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The term 'Rewritten Scripture' has been used most frequently by scholars to denote a group of texts that reproduce substantial portions of one or more biblical books, but modify the scriptural text by means of addition, omission, paraphrase, rearrangement, or other types of change. The clearest examples of Rewritten Scripture at Qumran include the Book of Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Temple Scroll, and perhaps the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts. This article begins by briefly describing the four Qumran texts. Then, it takes up the question of how 'Rewritten Scripture' might best be defined. The article concludes by discussing the importance of Rewritten Scripture texts for an understanding of the interpretation of scripture in late Second Temple period Judaism.

Keywords: scriptural text, Book of Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, Temple Scroll, Reworked Pentateuch, Second Temple Judaism

THE term 'Rewritten Scripture' has been used most frequently by scholars to denote a group of texts which reproduce substantial portions of one or more biblical books, but modify the scriptural text by means of addition, omission, paraphrase, rearrangement, or other types of changes. The clearest examples of Rewritten Scripture at Qumran include the Book of Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Temple Scroll, and perhaps the 4QReworked Pentateuch manuscripts. Numerous other Qumran texts have also been classified as Rewritten Scripture, but their textual character is difficult to describe with precision due to their fragmentary preservation (Pseudo-Jubilees, Apocryphon of Moses, Apocryphon of Joshua, Vision of Samuel, and others; see Lange 2002).

The origins of the idea of a text group or textual phenomenon known as Rewritten Scripture can be traced back to Geza Vermes, who is credited with coining the term 'Rewritten Bible' in his 1961 work *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*. He describes Rewritten Bible as the insertion of 'haggadic development into the biblical narrative' in order to resolve interpretive questions raised by the text (Vermes 1973: 95). As examples, he mentions the Palestinian *Targum*, Josephus' *Antiquities*, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo, Jubilees, and the Genesis Apocryphon. While Vermes' observation has proven foundational, in recent years a slight adaptation of his terminology has been introduced. Most scholars now agree that 'Rewritten Scripture' is a more appropriate label than 'Rewritten Bible' for Second Temple works of this type, since the Qumran discoveries have demonstrated that there was no such thing as 'the Bible' in the late Second Temple period: the Bible, in the form of a fixed list of specific forms of (p. 324) specific books, emerged only at a later date (e.g. VanderKam 2002: 42–3; Petersen 2007: 287).

Further development of Vermes' initial insight, as well as the publication of many more texts that seem in one way or another to reshape the text of scripture, has led to considerable discussion concerning the appropriate definition of 'Rewritten Scripture' and the best delimitation of the category's boundaries. These problems of definition are not merely terminological quibbles, but reflect an ongoing attempt to develop better conceptual models to understand the wealth of new data provided by the Qumran scrolls concerning the development,

interpretation, and status of the biblical text. This chapter will begin by briefly describing the four Qumran texts that have figured most prominently in discussions of Rewritten Scripture. It will then take up the question of how 'Rewritten Scripture' might best be defined, and finish by discussing the importance of Rewritten Scripture texts for an understanding of the interpretation of scripture in late Second Temple period Judaism.

Four Key Texts

As mentioned, the four Qumran texts or text groups that have usually been taken to represent Rewritten Scripture most paradigmatically are Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon (GenAp), the Temple Scroll (TS), and the five 4QReworked Pentateuch manuscripts (4QRP). A brief description of each will help contextualize the following, more theoretical discussion.

Jubilees, preserved fully only in Ethiopic but represented in numerous fragmentary copies at Qumran, rewrites the contents of Genesis and Exodus from creation to the exodus (roughly Genesis 1–Exodus 12). It begins with Moses ascending Mount Sinai to receive the tablets of the Law (cf. Exodus 24), at which time God commands one of his highest angels to dictate to Moses what has happened and will happen 'from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity' (Jub. 1: 27, tr. VanderKam 1989). The retelling of Genesis and Exodus in Jubilees is thus presented as divine revelation via an angel to Moses at Sinai (see Najman 1999). Jubilees is especially concerned to structure history according to forty-nine-year units called 'jubilees' (hence the name), and to present the laws of the Torah as already known and practised in the earliest periods of Israel's history. For instance, it makes clear through supplements to the biblical narrative that Abraham observed the feasts of firstfruits, booths, and unleavened bread (Jub. 15: 1–2; 16: 20–23; 18: 18–19).

The *Temple Scroll*, like Jubilees, presents itself as divine revelation to Moses on Sinai. Here, however, the speaker is not an angel but God. TS's character as a 'divine (p. 325) pseudepigraphon' (Schiffman 1999: 131) is clearest in the latter part of the scroll, where third-person references to YHWH taken from the book of Deuteronomy are systematically changed to the first person. After a beginning that draws upon the account of Moses' second ascent of Sinai after the episode of the golden calf (Exodus 34), TS contains instructions for a vast temple and its courts (cols. 3–13, 30–45). Though the temple described in TS does not correspond precisely to the wilderness tabernacle or to Solomon's temple (Schiffman 1996), the author draws on scriptural language to create his account. The scroll also contains a rewritten version of the pentateuchal festival laws (cols. 13–29), an extensive section on purity laws (cols. 45–51), and a rewriting of most of the legal material of the book of Deuteronomy (cols. 51–66). In its rewriting of large sections of pentateuchal law, TS brings together laws on related subjects, harmonizes contradictions, and eliminates repetition, in addition to inserting entirely new laws (Yadin 1983, 1: 71–88). It thus includes with its temple instructions an 'improved' version of pentateuchal law, without the contradictions and redundancies of the Torah itself (Levinson and Zahn 2002: 306–8).

The *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen ar), as it is preserved, retells and elaborates upon the stories of Noah and Abraham (roughly Genesis 6–15). While the first part of the scroll clearly depends upon the biblical account of Noah's birth, the Watchers, the Flood, and its aftermath, GenAp provides a much more expansive version, including a long section on Noah's birth (cols. 2–5). Here, Lamech, Enoch, and Noah present their stories directly, in the form of first-person narrative, as opposed to the third-person narration in Genesis. The Abraham section begins in similar fashion, with a much-expanded, first-person version of the story of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt (Gen. 12: 10–20). The final preserved section of the scroll, however (21: 23–22: 34), sticks much more closely to the text of Genesis 14, and refers to Abraham in the third person (Fitzmyer 2004: 16–20).

The five fragmentary manuscripts that make up *4QReworked Pentateuch* (4Q158, 4Q364–367) were originally identified as five copies of a single, Rewritten scripture-type composition (Tov and White 1994: 191). However, there is almost no meaningful overlap between them, and they are better viewed as five independent but related manuscripts (Segal 2000; Brooke 2001). All five rework the text of the Pentateuch in various ways, including several major additions of previously unknown material (such as the so-called 'Song of Miriam' added after Exod. 15: 20 in 4Q365) and several previously unattested changes in sequence (such as the juxtaposition of material from Genesis 32 and Exodus 4 in 4Q158, or of Numbers 27 and Numbers 36 in 4Q365). Many fragments, however, simply present the text of the Pentateuch as known from elsewhere with minimal variations. Unlike Jubilees and TS, none of the 4QRP manuscripts preserve any hint of a new setting or speaker of the text. Several scholars have

thus suggested that the 4QRP manuscripts are not Rewritten Scripture at all, but simply expansive copies of the Pentateuch (for a discussion, see Zahn 2008). (p. 326)

Defining the Category

While the idea of Rewritten Scripture is easily grasped intuitively, scholars have struggled to situate the category in relation to other ways of describing early Jewish texts and to newly revised ideas about the development and canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures. The problem is particularly vexed with regard to two related groups of texts: first, expanded and revised copies of biblical books (including translations); and second, the extensive body of early Jewish literature that, while not directly reusing scriptural texts in a sustained way, builds on biblical themes or expands upon the stories of biblical characters (e.g. the Enoch materials or the various testaments and visions in the names of patriarchs or other Israelite heroes). Overlaps between these three categories, as well as other considerations, have led several scholars to conclude that it is best not to view Rewritten Scripture as a text category at all, but rather a process or procedure common to several categories of texts but used in different ways in each. Each of these issues will be considered in turn.

Copies of Biblical Books vs. Rewritten Scripture

One of the most significant ways in which the Qumran discoveries have changed our understanding of early Judaism is the realization that the Hebrew text of the books that later became part of the Hebrew Bible was still substantially in flux in the late Second Temple period (Ulrich 2002). Among the biblical texts brought to light were, for instance, copies of Exodus and Numbers that followed the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) instead of the Masoretic Text (MT), and copies of Jeremiah that followed the radically shorter form attested in the Septuagint instead of the longer MT form (thus indicating that the MT likely represents a later, more developed version of the text). All in all, we can speak of alternate 'editions' or versions of several biblical books (Ulrich 1999: 23–33). These manuscripts preserve many of the same types of changes as are attested in texts classified as Rewritten Scripture: additions, rearrangements, paraphrases, and so on (Segal 2005: 12–17). The question then becomes: how does one distinguish between a heavily revised copy of a biblical text—say, a revised version of Exodus—and a reworking of that same text that constitutes a new composition and therefore falls into the category of Rewritten Scripture? As mentioned above, this question is especially pertinent with regard to the 4QReworked Pentateuch manuscripts, which have traditionally been classified as Rewritten Scripture but are increasingly regarded simply as expanded editions of the Pentateuch, similar in character to SP or to the expanded edition of Jeremiah preserved in the MT (see now also Tov 2007: 365).

Some have suggested an essentially quantitative approach to the problem of distinguishing between expansive copies of biblical books and Rewritten Scripture: (p. 327) at some point a text becomes too different from the text it is rewriting to be considered a copy or new edition of that text (Crawford 2008: 14). However, Segal has pointed out that this quantitative approach is of little use, considering the sometimes dramatic changes that are attested in copies of biblical books (2005: 16, 18). Segal instead suggests that changes to literary features such as voice, setting, and scope are better indicators of a Rewritten Scripture-type composition (2005: 20–7). For instance, the book of Jubilees is identified as a new composition, as opposed to a copy of Genesis 1–Exodus 12, through its pseudepigraphic presentation as angelic speech to Moses on Mount Sinai, in contrast to the anonymous narrative voice of Genesis and Exodus. Similar changes in voice are attested in TS and GenAp. In contrast, one of the arguments that the 4QRP manuscripts represent copies of the Pentateuch is the lack of any literary voice or setting other than that of the Pentateuch itself. The issue of scope pertains to whether or not the rewritten work covers the same ground as the book(s) it rewrites: Jubilees, for instance, cannot be a revised version of Genesis because it contains a substantial amount of material from Exodus, but equally it cannot be a revised version of Genesis and Exodus because it only includes material from the first twelve chapters of Exodus (Segal 2005: 20–1).

The distinction between revised copies of biblical books and new works that should be regarded as Rewritten Scripture may be somewhat more complicated than Segal suggests: presumably at some point, even if there were no changes in the voice, setting, or scope of a rewritten text, the text could be changed so dramatically that audiences would no longer consider it basically the same as the text it rewrites. But such a boundary, if it does exist, seems very hard to delineate with regard to ancient texts. More study of this issue is required, but in the meantime it seems reasonable to suggest that, in the case of rewritten texts that do not involve a change in the

literary features that Segal discusses, the possibility should at least be considered that they represent expanded copies of the books they rewrite, as opposed to Rewritten Scripture.

A related question pertains to the status of translations. It was noted above that Vermes considered the more expansive and paraphrastic *targumim* as examples of Rewritten Scripture, and some have followed his lead (Hayward 1990: 597; Koskeniemi and Lindqvist 2008: 16). On the other hand, Bernstein has argued that, by this criterion, 'almost any translation which is not hyperliteral' could be considered Rewritten Scripture (2005: 175). Insofar as we can regard translations as generally concerned to represent the meaning of the text in the target language, and bound to the sequence and structure of the text (Samely 1992: 160–5), translations do not seem to represent a 'new' composition and thus should probably not be considered Rewritten Scripture, if Rewritten Scripture is regarded as a text category (see below). However, this should not obscure the fact that translations, just like revised Hebrew copies of biblical books, often employ the same techniques and address the same interpretive issues as Rewritten Scripture texts. Even if Rewritten Scripture is considered a special textual category, these overlaps in compositional technique and exegetical goals require further attention. (p. 328)

The Outer Limits of the Category

At the other end of the spectrum, the limits of what should be considered 'Rewritten Scripture' have also occasioned considerable debate. Simply put, the main issue is how much interaction with a prior scriptural text a composition needs to have in order to be considered Rewritten Scripture. Some would define the category narrowly, including only narrative texts that repeatedly return to the sequence and content of the text they are rewriting (e.g. Alexander 1987). Since the publication of the Temple Scroll at the end of the 1970s, however, most scholars have recognized that the category should not be confined to narrative texts alone. Others would cast the net much more widely to include texts that clearly interact with the scriptural tradition but do not actually rewrite the scriptural text in a sustained way. For example, Harrington (1986) considers 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, the Life of Adam and Eve, and other similar texts as possible examples of Rewritten Scripture (see also Hayward 1990: 597). Bernstein points out that such a broad definition of Rewritten Scripture threatens to make the term vague to the point of irrelevance (Bernstein 2005: 187). Indeed, in this definition most of the literature extant from the Second Temple period could be considered Rewritten Scripture. Bernstein's objection in part reflects the fact that the term Rewritten Scripture has largely been used to refer to a more restricted group of texts: those that come back to the scriptural text again and again and rely upon it for their organization and content. That is, texts that may refer to or take their origin from a single scriptural episode but then continue in a different direction have usually been considered something other than Rewritten Scripture—even though the techniques they use to represent the text of that single episode may be similar to those used in Rewritten Scripture texts.

The Question of Genre

Some scholars have tried to get around the difficulties raised by all these overlapping text categories by challenging the identification of Rewritten Scripture with a specific text category in the first place. That is, instead of regarding Rewritten Scripture as a literary genre to which certain texts belong and others do not belong, they regard Rewritten Scripture as a compositional procedure or technique (Harrington 1986: 243; Brooke 2000: 780; Falk 2007: 17). The advantage of this more procedural definition is that it highlights the fact that the same techniques of reconfiguring a base text can be present in a variety of different settings and genres (copies of biblical books, translations, and new compositions; law, narrative, and poetry; etc.). It also allows us to account for works of which only a portion shows sustained interaction with the scriptural text. In fact, in many cases, even some of the most paradigmatic examples, it is somewhat of a misnomer to refer to entire (p. 329) works as Rewritten Scripture. GenAp, for instance, follows the story of Abraham fairly closely in the latter parts of the scroll, but the opening columns mostly contain material that has little direct connection to the text of Genesis. Similarly, Josephus draws heavily on scripture in the first portion of his *Antiquities*, but his history extends well beyond the periods covered by the scriptural text.

The downside to regarding Rewritten Scripture as a technique instead of a genre or text-category is that we lose the convenient label it provides for works that seem to have reworking or re-presentation of the scriptural text as one of their primary concerns, notably Jubilees, TS, and GenAp. Despite the fact that each has its own distinct character and purpose, do not these and similar works arguably constitute a particular *kind* of text; a genre?

To answer this question properly, more attention needs to be paid to the true nature and extent of the similarities between these texts. In recent years, genre theory has been moving away from defining genre as a set of specific formal features and towards more focus on the function and purpose of different kinds of texts (Devitt 2004). Given that what unifies Jubilees, TS, GenAp, and other rewritten texts is their steady interaction with the text of scripture, we must ask whether that scriptural reuse always serves a particular function or responds to the same compositional goals. It may be the case that, after more careful analysis, we will conclude that certain rewritten texts are similar enough in their character and function to constitute a *genre* called Rewritten scripture, at the same time as we recognize that the *technique* of rewriting is not limited to texts belonging to the genre, but can function in other contexts and for other purposes as well.

The Status and Authority of Rewritten Scripture Texts

Related to the issue of the function and purpose of texts classified as Rewritten Scripture is the status granted to these texts by their audiences. Of course determining the authoritative status of ancient compositions is often difficult. Nonetheless, several observations can be made.

First, it should be pointed out that the label Rewritten Scripture does not preclude a rewritten text from itself coming to be regarded as authoritative scripture, or even being included in the canon of the Hebrew Bible, once that canon was finally fixed. The books of Chronicles are an excellent example of Rewritten Scripture, since they represent a thorough reworking of the books of Samuel and Kings. Some scholars would also consider Deuteronomy Rewritten Scripture (e.g. Brooke 2000: 778). However Rewritten Scripture is defined, it always (p. 330) designates a text that reworks a text that is regarded as scripture by whoever is doing the reworking, without implying anything about the status or ultimate destination of the new text. Since the canonical form of the Hebrew Bible was not fixed until after the end of the Second Temple period, there was nothing to preclude a rewritten text from itself gaining the status of scripture and being included in the canon—which is exactly what happened in the case of Chronicles.

Although they were not ultimately included in the Hebrew Bible, there is evidence that some other Rewritten Scripture texts also achieved the status of scripture. Jubilees is cited as authoritative scripture in the Damascus Document (CD 16: 2–4), and is still a part of the canon of the Ethiopic church. TS makes a similar claim to represent divine revelation at Sinai, but in this case we do not have direct evidence for its authoritative status. The fact that it exists in at least three copies at Qumran (11Q19, 11Q20, 4Q524) implies that it was regarded as of some importance. For GenAp and the 4QRP manuscripts, the picture is less clear. Each is preserved in only a single manuscript copy. Unlike Jubilees and TS, GenAp makes no explicit pseudepigraphic or revelatory claim that would serve to enhance its authority, and we have little or no evidence as to how the text was received. If the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts are simply copies of the Pentateuch, then presumably they were intended to be regarded as scripture. There is little positive evidence that they were received as such (see T. Lim, 'Authoritative Scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in this volume). On the other hand, fragmentary textual overlaps between 4Q365 and TS and 4Q364 and Jubilees may indicate that these manuscripts served as sources for later rewritings and thus may have been regarded as authoritative (Crawford 1999: 3–4).

In some cases, therefore, we have direct evidence that Rewritten Scripture texts themselves were considered scriptural; in other cases the evidence is unclear or we have no evidence at all. One question that deserves more attention is whether (and if so, how exactly) the process of rewriting itself constituted an authority claim on the part of the new composition. It has been suggested that, by cloaking itself in the language of scripture, language that is commonly regarded as authoritative, a rewritten text appropriates for itself some of the authority of the scriptural text it rewrites (Levinson 1997: 14–17; Najman 2003: 16, 46). In this model, the scriptural rewriting of the Temple Scroll, for instance, is not merely intended to resolve exegetical difficulties and reorganize biblical law, but also as a support for the scroll's claim to represent divine revelation: after all, since it reuses the language of the Torah, it *sounds like* divine revelation (Brin 1980: 214, 224; Zahn 2005: 441–2). For the Temple Scroll, this suggestion makes a good deal of sense. What is less clear, however, is whether rewriting also served this purpose in texts that make no claim to special authority and do not discuss law, like GenAp, or texts that reuse the scriptural text but also regularly introduce their own distinctive vocabulary, like Jubilees. In these cases, it may be more difficult to argue convincingly that rewriting served the specific purpose of authorization.

A related problem concerns the relative authority of a Rewritten Scripture text vis-à-vis the text it rewrites. Debate has arisen as to whether the rewritten work seeks to (p. 331) *replace* the work it rewrites, or merely to supplement it. (For various opinions on this question, see Brooke 1988: 41–2; Levinson 1997; Najman 2003: 46–50; Stackert 2007: 211–24.) In considering this question we must be careful to separate *functional* replacement from any notion of literal or physical replacement. For most rewritten works, especially those that rewrite the Pentateuch, it seems unlikely that their authors were actually seeking to displace the scriptural text or argue that it should no longer be preserved and read (though note that it was still possible to produce revised versions of the books of the Pentateuch, which were presumably intended to replace earlier versions). However, in *functional* terms, rewritten texts often present an alternative version of events or laws that the author must in some way have regarded as the ‘true meaning’ or proper interpretation of the scriptural text—otherwise the alteration of the text lacks motivation. Insofar as the ‘true meaning’ lies not in the original text but in the text as rewritten, the rewritten text may be said to ‘replace’ the older text.

This dynamic is especially clear for rewritten law. When TS presents a law that conflicts with what is said in the Pentateuch, it must be presumed that the author believed his version of the law was the correct one and the one that should be followed. When, as is the case in TS, alternative versions are further authorized by appeals to divine revelation, it is hard to escape the impression that, while formally the continued existence and authority of the Pentateuch may be recognized or assumed, in practical terms the author of the rewritten text means for his version to stand as the most authoritative formulation of divine law (Zahn 2005: 452–53). Thus, as long as the pragmatic perspective is maintained, it does seem appropriate to say that rewritten texts, especially those with strong authority claims, in certain ways do seek to replace the texts that they rewrite.

Scriptural Interpretation in Rewritten Scripture Texts

Insofar as Rewritten Scripture is defined by the interaction with and reconfiguration of earlier scriptural texts, Rewritten Scripture is inherently exegetical. There would be little sense in reworking a text if one did not believe that it required clarification, supplementation, or some other type of interpretation. In many ways, Rewritten Scripture represents a continuation of the processes of editing and glossing that are attested in the textual histories of the individual books of the Hebrew Bible, the difference being merely the incorporation of these changes into new compositions as opposed to their integration directly into the text of the books themselves (see Teeter 2008: 6–11).

(p. 332) Apart from a general concern with resolving various real and perceived ‘difficulties’ in scripture, Rewritten Scripture texts attest to a great variety of exegetical concerns. What they all share, because of their rewritten nature, is the exclusive use of *implicit* interpretation. That is, the exegesis always takes the form of reformulation of a particular scriptural unit to express what the author believes is the correct interpretation, as opposed to lemmatic commentary where a distinction is made between the scriptural text and its interpretation. This fact has several methodological implications for scholars concerned with these texts. First, since interpretation is not explicitly marked as such, sometimes we cannot be certain whether a particular departure from the text as known from elsewhere represents a deliberate change on the part of the author or a variant that was already present in the author's scriptural *Vorlage*. This is especially true for minor changes such as addition of direct articles, copulas, or pronouns, which often lack a clear exegetical purpose. Second, the implicit nature of the interpretation means that the exegetical reasoning behind a particular change cannot be explicitly provided without disrupting the voice and setting of the composition, and is therefore left to the reader to guess or surmise. Third, it is important to maintain a conceptual distinction between an author's reworking of a given scriptural text and the exegetical decision that led to that particular reworking.

Two examples will clarify these last two points. First, TS and the Damascus Document both contain a prohibition of sexual relations between a man and his niece. CD uses the form of lemma + comment:

Moses said, *you shall not approach your mother's sister; she is your mother's close kin* [Lev 18: 13]. Now the law of forbidden unions is written for [i.e. from the perspective of] males, but like them are the women. So if a brother's daughter uncovers the nakedness of her father's brother, she is also close kin. (CD 5: 8–11)

In CD, the exegetical reasoning is clear because the lemmatic commentary form allows the interpreter to explain it:

although the law in Leviticus only explicitly considers men and their aunts, implicit in the law is the corresponding rule for women and their uncles.

TS, while its author may well share the exegetical reasoning of the author of CD, is bound by its compositional form to implicit interpretation, and therefore simply constructs an analogous law, written from the uncle's perspective:

A man shall not take the daughter of his brother or the daughter of his sister, for it is an abomination. (TS 66: 16–17)

We can presume that the author of TS was troubled in the same way as the author of CD by the lack of explicit consideration in Leviticus of sexual relations between a man and his niece (see further Zahn, forthcoming). But because of the necessity in TS of implicit interpretation, our supposition cannot be confirmed.

The second example demonstrates that the same exegetical conclusion can be presented in two different ways even within the framework of Rewritten Scripture. (p. 333) Gen. 12: 10–20 presents the story of Abraham's sojourn in Egypt, during which he requests of his wife that she pretend to be his sister so that he will not be killed by the Egyptians who will wish to take her for themselves (Gen. 12: 13). Abraham's apparent willingness to compromise Sarah's virtue in order to save himself constituted a problem for later interpreters, who expected only the most noble behaviour from the first patriarch (Kugel 1998: 254). Both Jubilees and GenAp rework the text in order to exculpate Abraham, but they do so in different ways:

There was a famine in the land. So Abram went to Egypt in the third year of the week. He lived in Egypt for five years before his wife was taken from him by force. Egyptian Tanais was built at that time—seven years after Hebron. When the pharaoh took Abram's wife Sarai by force for himself, the Lord punished the pharaoh and his household very severely because of Abram's wife Sarai. (Jub. 13: 10–13, tr. VanderKam 1989)

Now there was a famine in all this land, and I heard that [there was] gr[ai]n in Egypt. So I set out to [go] to the land of Egypt...and I, Abram, had a dream in the night of my entering into the land of Egypt, and I saw in my dream [that there wa]s a cedar tree and a date-palm, (which was) [very beauti]ful. Some men came, seeking to cut down and uproot the cedar and leave the date-palm by itself. Now the date-palm cried out and said, 'Do not cut down the cedar, for we are both sprung from one stock.' So the cedar was spared by the protection of the date-palm, and it was not cut [down]. That night I awoke from my sleep and said to Sarai, my wife, 'I have had a dream'...So I began to tell her this dream [and made it known] to [her, and (also) the meaning of this] dream, (and) s[aid], '[] who will seek to kill me and to spare you. But this is the favor [that you must do for me]: In what[ever] place we shall be, say] about me, "He is my brother" '. (GenAp 19: 10–20; tr. Fitzmyer 2004)

In the first passage, Jubilees makes clear that Abram in no way condoned the taking of his wife by stressing that she was 'taken from him by force' (Kugel 1998: 254). As for Abram's request that Sarai lie about her association with him, Jubilees exonerates the patriarch by omitting it altogether. GenAp takes a different approach. It does not remove Abram's request to Sarai, but adds a dream sequence in order to make clear that Abram's request was not motivated by cowardice or selfishness, but by a divine message sent through the dream (Fitzmyer 2004: 184; Nickelsburg 1998: 148). This example highlights how the same *exegetical* issue—here, how to deal with Abram's unseemly behaviour—can be addressed *compositionally* in two different ways: through omission of the offending detail in Jubilees and through an addition that explains and contextualizes it in GenAp.

Conclusion

In sum, the Rewritten Scripture texts, besides providing a wealth of new information on how scripture was read in the late Second Temple period, constitute a (p. 334) profound reminder that lemmatic commentary was not the dominant form of scriptural exegesis in early Judaism. Instead, interpretation was primarily presented in the form of revisions and reworkings of earlier texts. For all the details that have yet to be clarified regarding the definition of Rewritten Scripture, the phenomenon makes clear once again that we cannot draw a firm line between the composition of the Hebrew Scriptures and their interpretation. Rather, interpretive rewriting produced various forms of individual books (as in the case of Exodus and Jeremiah) as well as a variety of new works, some of which are

still considered scriptural (Chronicles, Jubilees) and all of which served as lenses by which earlier textual traditions could be seen in a new light.

Suggested Reading

The recent books by Falk (2007) and Crawford (2008) both provide good overviews of the issues pertaining to Rewritten Scripture and discuss a selection of the pertinent texts. Many questions regarding the definition and boundaries of Rewritten Scripture remain unresolved; the articles by Brooke (2000), Bernstein (2005), Segal (2005), and Petersen (2007) are especially important recent contributions; see also the articles of Brooke, Lange, Ulrich, and VanderKam in Herbert and Tov (2002). For more detailed studies of rewriting in the main texts considered here, see Yadin (1983) and Swanson (1995) on TS; Najman (2003) on TS and Jubilees; van Ruiten (2000) on Jubilees; Fitzmyer (2004) on GenAp; and Segal (1998, 2000), Bernstein (2008), and Zahn (forthcoming) on 4QRP.

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The Continuity of Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature

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Abstract and Keywords

Considering Qumranic hermeneutical systems with regard to form, this article distinguishes between ‘internal interpretation’ integrated within rewritten biblical books, such as the Temple Scroll, and ‘external interpretation’ which is separated from the biblical lemma. The latter forms appear in the *pesharim* and in the genre called halakhic *midrash*. With regard to content, the discussion distinguishes between two hermeneutical systems of ancient literature: interpretation that attempts mainly to explain the reality of the biblical period; and interpretation that attempts to adapt the content of the Bible to the reality of a later period. The first is found in the Qumran scrolls primarily within the ‘Rewritten Scriptures’, and the latter is represented in the *pesharim* and some types of halakhic *midrash*.

Keywords: Qumranic hermeneutical systems, biblical lemma, halakhic midrash, peshari, Rewritten Scriptures

THE interpretation of earlier, authoritative, tradition is found already within the tradition-history of the Bible, as Michael Fishbane demonstrated (1985). Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, post-biblical exegetical tradition was known from the apocryphal books of Sirach and Tobit; the pseudepigraphal books, Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and the Testament of Levi, the works of Philo and Josephus, and the earlier Greek and Aramaic translations. The Dead Sea Scrolls include variegated types of biblical interpretation, some of which were previously known, while others were new. The kind of interpretation known from the earliest translations—the Septuagint and the early Aramaic Onkelos *targum*—is exemplified by 4QTargum of Leviticus of Lev. 16: 12–15; 18–21; and 11Q Targum of Job 37–42. New types, hitherto unknown, are (p. 338) found in the *pesharim* that contemporize prophetic texts, specific types of ‘Rewritten Scriptures’ that include the plain interpretation of biblical texts, and types known in the rabbinic haggadic and legal *midrash* (Vermes 1970; Schiffman 1994: 211–21; Alexander 2000; Bernstein 2004; Bernstein and Koyfman 2005). The phenomenon of Rewritten Scriptures is dealt with in this volume in another chapter. This chapter will concentrate on the *pesharim*, the most typical exegetical genre that characterizes the scrolls, according to aspects of their theology, form, content, and exegetical methods. This genre has some features in common with exegetical forms in rabbinic literature (Silberman 1961–62; Kugel 1990: 247–70; Mandel 2001; Berrin 2005: 113, 115, 121; et al.).

Considering Qumranic hermeneutical systems with regard to form, we distinguish between ‘internal interpretation’ integrated within rewritten biblical books, such as the Temple Scroll, and ‘external interpretation’ which is separated from the biblical lemma, or the biblical proof text (Bernstein and Koyfman 2005: 66). The latter forms appear in the *pesharim*, and in the genre called ‘halakhic *midrash*’. In addition, there are among the Qumran scrolls catalogues of rules that derive practical *halakhah* from biblical laws without citing the biblical lemma (Bernstein and Koyfman 2005: 72–3).

With regard to content, we distinguish between two hermeneutical systems of ancient literature: (1) interpretation

that attempts mainly to explain the reality of the biblical period, or its religious lesson; (2) interpretation that attempts to adapt the content of the Bible to the reality of a later period and later readers (Szondy 1995: 1–13; Vermes 1970). The first is found in the Qumran scrolls primarily within the 'Rewritten Scriptures', and the latter is represented in the *pesharim* and some types of halakhic *midrash*. The exegetical methods used in these types of interpretations are variegated. Theologically, it should be acknowledged that there is a fundamental difference between the Qumranic and the rabbinic perceptions of biblical exegesis. The Qumranic commentators regarded their biblical interpretation as new divine revelation (Schiffman 1975: 22–32; 1993: 45–53), whereas the rabbinic ones considered their biblical interpretation as the tradition of the ancestors (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.297; 18.12).

The Peshet

The *peshet* is the most distinctive exegetical genre found in the scrolls. It represents the apocalyptic world view that emerged in some Jewish circles in the Second Temple period that sought to reveal the Lord's message to Israel after the end of biblical prophecy. The *peshet* differs, however, from apocalyptic revelation by means of dream interpretation or by reading heavenly tablets. It seeks instead to uncover new divine messages in ancient biblical prophecies, considering them to be holding hidden, divine mysteries of God's determined plan for history (Licht 1966 [Hebrew 1957]; Rabinowitz 1973; Nitzan 1986: 24–8). This concept is stated (p. 339) explicitly in the *peshet* on Hab. 2: 2, 'the interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets' (1QpHab 7: 4–5). Thus, the *peshet* was considered by the *yahad* as 'a new divine revelation concretized through the application to scripture of exegetical techniques by an inspired leadership' (Campbell 2004: 15). This belief in continuous revelation of God's message, which is defined as 'the revelation from time to time' (1QS 8: 15, Licht 1966) is also expressed by attributing new legal interpretation to an angel (Jubilees), or directly to God (the Temple Scroll).

The Hebrew term *peshet* was derived from the Akkadian verb *pašāru* and the noun *pišru* that were used also in Aramaic and Hebrew, meaning 'to loose' (e.g. from an oath, a curse, or an evil spell), 'to unravel' (e.g. threads, knotting, or riddles), and 'to interpret' enigmatic dreams, such as those provided by Joseph (Gen. 40–1) and Daniel (2, 7), or a mysterious inscription (Dan. 5) (Sperling 1973: 53–92; Horgan 1979: 231; Nitzan 1986: 29–33). In the Bible, the Hebrew noun *peshet* appears only once in Eccl. 8: 1: 'Who is like the wise man? And who knows the interpretation of a thing?' The unknown 'thing' mentioned here is related to its prophetic sense ('the prophetic meaning of a thing') according to the Aramaic *Targum* (Brownlee 1979: 30; Nitzan 1986: 30).

With respect to form, the *pesharim* reflect the form of the interpretation of the mysterious inscription in Dan. 5: 25–8. They typically quote a lemma of a biblical verse or section, and use a technical term *pishro* or *peshet hadavar* to introduce the interpretation of the biblical words, which they take to refer to historical or eschatological figures and events.

Following Carmignac (1970: 360–2), scholars have generally subdivided the *pesharim* into continuous, thematic, and isolated *Pesharim* (Dimant 1992; Berrin 2000; Campbell 2004: 13–15; Lim 2002: 14–15). The continuous *pesharim* comprise fifteen manuscripts, in which sections of biblical prophetic books are interpreted according to their running order. These are 1QpHabakkuk; 3QpIsaiah (3Q 4); 4QpIsaiah^{a-e} (4Q161–165); 4QpHosea^{a-b} (4Q 166–167); 1QpMicah (1Q14); 4QpNahum (4Q169); 1QpZephaniah (1Q 15; 4Q170); 1QpPsalms, 4QpPsalms^{a-b} (1Q16, 4Q171, 173). The thematic *pesharim* deal with a structured theme interwoven with citations from distinct biblical works. This *peshet* type is represented in 11QMelchisedek (11Q13), 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), and 4QCatena (4Q177). The isolated *pesharim* are occasional *peshet* units within predominantly non-*peshet* documents.

Content and Methods

The *pesharim*, written during the second half of the first century BCE with a few dating to the first century CE (Strugnell 1969–71; Lim 2002: 20–2), demonstrate a common theme of apocalyptic ideology of the *yahad* regarding the dualistic (p. 340) struggle between righteousness and wickedness, culminating in an eschatological end by the disappearance of wickedness (Horgan 1979: 252–9; Nitzan 1986: 11–28; Froehlich 1992). This dualism was based *inter alia* upon a counterposition between the *yahad*, which represented the righteous, on the one hand and its opponents, who represented the wicked, on the other. This distinction is explicitly stated in the *pesharim* and other Qumran scrolls, such as the Damascus Document and the Hodayot (Jokiranta 2005, 2008).

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The revelation of the dualistic theme in the continuous *pesharim* is based mainly on the words of the biblical lemmata, but in many cases there are also implicit biblical allusions (Nitzan 1986: 58–74; Berrin 2004a, 2004b).

The exegetical methods of the *pesharim* have been dealt with by scholars since the publication of 1QPesher Habakkuk in 1951. William H. Brownlee identified thirteen exegetical techniques and hermeneutical categories, e.g. a veiled meaning, eschatological or other, to the prophetic words; specific readings of the prophetic words, such as division of one word into two or more parts; allegory, analogy, double meaning of prophetic words, and allusion to implicit biblical verses (Brownlee 1951). These and other techniques and categories were also discerned by other scholars, in 1QpHabakkuk and other *pesharim* (e.g. Elliger 1953; Horgan 1979: 244–7; Nitzan 1986: 27–79; Brooke 1981: 497–503; 1985: 8–17, 283–93; Berrin 2004a, 2004b, 2009; Lim 2002: 40–3).

As some of these techniques are similarly used in the midrashic exegesis found in the Aramaic translations of the Bible, especially in the *Targum* of Jonathan, Brownlee defined the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab) as ‘Midrash Pesher’ (1955; 1978: 187–8; 1979: 32–5). This definition, however, should be examined according to a comprehensive study of other *pesharim* (see below). On this point we may refer to Brownlee’s suggestion based on a comparison of the *Targum* of Jonathan’s translation and exegesis of Hannah’s prayer (1 Sam. 2: 1–10) with the main historical deterministic content of the *pesharim* (1979, 32–3). In this prayer her words are interpreted as pre-determined prophecy that adumbrated later historical events. Both constitute midrashic methods of interpretation. However, there is a difference. Whereas the *Targum* of Jonathan remained in the biblical context, and thus its midrashic interpretation was intended to reflect the omnipotence of God, which is the main thrust of Hannah’s prayer, the *pesharim* aimed to relate the mysteries of the prophetic oracles to the reality of their own era, and thus to convince their readers that the continuity of God’s historical and eschatological providence will last forever. In other words, whereas the *Targum* intended to interpret the biblical text, the *pesharim* intended to uncover in the biblical text a new revelation of God’s message.

In some cases, the pesherists realized this mission by disconnecting the *pesharim* from their biblical context by some exegetical techniques mentioned by Brownlee, which Elliger defined as ‘atomization’ (Elliger 1953: 139–42). For example, Habakkuk’s complaint to God (‘You are too pure of eyes to look on evil’, Hab. 1: 13a) (p. 341) regarding the evil done by the Kittim to the people of their conquered lands, is taken in the *pesher* not as a complaint against God, but as a revealed response to historical injustice: ‘into the hand of his chosen ones, God will give the judgement of all the nations’ (1QpHab 5: 1–4, cf. the War Scroll). Even though the shift from God to his chosen ones, who will fulfil God’s eschatological judgement, is a common move in the scrolls, the reconsignment of a complaint about the present situation to an eschatological context is surprising in the context of this *pesher* (Nitzan 1986: 51–2). Another complaint against God in the same biblical context—‘Why do you heed traitors, but are silent when a wicked one swallows up one more righteous than him’ (Hab. 1: 13b)—is not understood in the *pesher* as a reference to the Kittim, but to an opponent group of the *yahad* (‘the House of Abshalom and their partisans, who were silent at the rebuke of the Teacher of Righteousness and did not support him against the Man of the Lie—who rejected the Law in the middle of their council’, 1QpHab 5: 8–12). This is a striking decontextualization as it disregards altogether the immediate context and its reference to the Kittim.

Elliger and Horgan have pointed out that in most of the *pesharim* the key words of the biblical lemma connect the *pesher* to the biblical base text (Elliger 1953: 127–30; Horgan 1979: 244–7). The pesherist further buttressed this connection to the biblical base text by conforming the literary structure of the *pesharim* to that of their corresponding biblical lemmata (Nitzan 1986: 91–7).

The dualistic struggle dealt with in the *pesharim* is concentrated on three episodes. Two of these are historical struggles of the Second Temple period, in Judaea and in the broader world. The third is the eschatological struggle against wickedness (Nitzan 1986: 11–24).

The local struggle in Judaea involves the religious, social, and political groups or congregations—the Essenes, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 13.171–3; 18.11–22; *War* 2.119, 162–6). These groups are symbolized in the *pesharim* by two allegorical techniques: (1) by taking a town mentioned in the Bible as a symbol of a group; and (2) by designating the *yahad* and its opponents by the names of the biblical tribes—Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh (Flusser 1970 [trans. 1981]; Knibb 1987: 214–19). The allegory of building a town is used in the *pesher* on Hab. 2: 12 (1QpHab 10: 6, 9–10) with reference to the establishing of the Pharisees as a congregation of deceit. In contrast, the *pesher* on Ps. 37: 23, in 4QpPs^a 3–4 iii 15–16, refers to the establishing of

the *yaḥad* as a congregation of truth (cf. the title 'the men of truth' in 1QpHab 7: 10 on Hab. 2: 3b). The *yaḥad* is designated 'city or house of Judah' (see 1QpHab 12: 6–10 on 1QHab 2: 17; CD 4: 11; 1QpMic fr. 10: 2–7 on Micah 1: 5b; cf. 'the house of the Torah' in CD 20: 10, 13); the Pharisees, 'city of Ephraim' (see 4QpNah 2: 1–2 on Nah. 3: 1; cf. 4QpHos^b fr. 2: 2–3 on Hos. 5: 14; 4QpNah frs. 3–4 2: 8–9 on Nah. 3: 4; 4QpNah frs. 3–4 3: 4–8 on Nah. 3: 6–7; 4QpPs^a 2: 17–19 on Ps. 37: 14–15), and the Sadducees, 'Manasseh' (see 4QpNah 4: 1, 3 on Nah. 3: 10; 4QpPs^a 2: 17).

(p. 342) The distinction between the religious, ethical, social, and political characteristics of these congregations is used in the scrolls to establish their identity. The text of Ps. 37, which distinguishes the righteous from the wicked, was the main biblical text that the pesherist chose for his theme (Jokiranta 2005, 2008). This theme of identity is further reflected in the nicknames of the leaders of the congregations, and the characteristics of their members. For example, according to the *Psalms Pesher A* the Teacher of Righteousness, who is priest and the charismatic leader of the *yaḥad* (4QpPs^a 3: 15–17 on Ps. 37: 23), stands in opposition to 'the wicked priest', the Hasmonean leader, who represents the Sadducees (4QpPs^a 4: 8–10 on Ps. 37: 32), and to 'the Man of Lies', the leader of the Pharisees (4QpPs^a 1: 18–19 on Ps. 37: 7; Jokiranta 2005). The religious difference between the members of these congregations is described as follows: 'all who turn back to the Law' are the members of the *yaḥad* (4QpPs^a 2: 2 on Ps. 37: 8) who stand against 'those who rebel from repenting' (4QpPs^a 2: 3–4 on Ps. 37: 9); 'the Council of the Community who carry out the Law' (4QpPs^a 2: 14 on Ps. 37: 12; cf. 1QpHab 8: 1 on Hab. 2: 4b) stand in contrast to the 'ruthless ones of the covenant' (4QpPs^a 2: 13 on Ps. 37: 12; cf. 1QpHab 2: 6–8 on Hab. 1: 5).

Jokiranta has argued that the positive characteristics of the *yaḥad* in contrast to the negative ones of its opponents strengthen the solidarity of its members with its ideology and way of life, especially in times of persecution. This reality was described in the *Pesher on Psalm 37* and the *Habakkuk Pesher* by designating the *yaḥad* 'the congregation of the poor ones' or simply 'the poor' (4QpPs^a 2: 9 on Ps. 37: 11; 3: 10 on Ps. 37: 22; cf. 1QpHab 12: 3, 6, 10 on Hab. 2: 17), a nickname that alludes to the biblical appellation 'humble', as it is applied to the righteous who seek God's help and trust in his salvation (see 1QH^a 13: 22; fr. 16 3; 1QM 11: 9, 13; 13: 14; 4QM^a [4Q491 fr. 11 1: 11]; Licht 1957: 46–8). In the *Psalms Pesher* 'the poor' are mentioned in relation to their faith in God's help in the 'time of affliction' (4QpPs^a 2: 9; cf. 2: 18), a phrase parallel to the 'period of affliction' in 4Q510 fr. 1 line 8; 4Q511 fr. 10, lines 5–6, the time during which members of the *yaḥad* suffered affliction caused by the evil spirits of Belial (Nitzan 1994: 244–52). In the *Psalms Pesher* 2: 17–19 on Ps. 37: 14–15, the afflictions of the *yaḥad* are caused by the congregations of the Pharisees and the Sadducees (nicknamed here Ephraim and Manasseh), possibly because of the sectarian members' fidelity to the covenant (cf. 1QH^a 10: 31–3), and in the *Habakkuk Pesher* by the violence of the wicked priest who plotted to destroy them and who stole their wealth (1QpHab 12: 1–10, see Jokiranta 2008: 98–109). Jokiranta has dealt with this theme of identity with reference to its expressions and epithets in the Qumran scrolls, mostly without dealing with the exegetical techniques of biblical interpretation.

Biblical oracles that speak of the conflicts between the imperialistic nations of the First Temple period and Israel and other nations of the Near East are reinterpreted as struggles of the Second Temple period. Thus, the prophecies of Isaiah and Nahum against Assyria, and Habakkuk's prophecy against the Chaldeans, are (p. 343) interpreted as referring to the Kittim, the nations from the Mediterranean lands, the Greeks and the Romans (see 4QpNah on the word 'sea' in Nah. 1: 4; Josephus, *Ant.* 1: 128; the Aramaic *Targum* on Num. 24: 24; Nitzan 1986: 123–5). Thus the prophecy of Isaiah 10: 28–32 against the Assyrian attack on Israel is interpreted in 4QpIsa^a fr. 5–6 as referring to the threat of Ptolemy IX (Soter II) Lathyrus against Judaea in 103–102 BCE, during the rule of Alexander Jannaeus, in which Judaea was saved (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.324–55; Amusin 1974; Eshel 2008: 91–100). The wickedness of the Chaldeans stated in Hab. 1: 6–12, 14–17 is interpreted in 1QpHab as a reference to the wicked deeds of the Roman army and governors (1QpHab 2: 10–4: 15; 5: 12–6: 12).

The hope for the eschatological judgement of God is expressed in the *pesherim* in terms of the expected punishment of the wicked—both Jewish and foreign—for the evil deeds they did against the righteous. In contrast, a reward is predicted for the righteous on account of their faithfulness to the covenant and in the correct performance of the Law. This concept is stated, for instance, in the *pesherim* on Hab. 2: 4 and Ps. 37: 8, 12–13 (1QpHab 7: 14–8: 3 and 4QpPs^a 2: 2–3, 14–15), with reference to the wicked and the righteous among the Jews, and in the *pesherim* on Hab. 2: 18–20 (1QpHab 12: 10–13: 4), on Isa. 10: 33–4 (4QpIsa^a 8–10: 1–9), and on Nah. 1: 3–4 (4QpNah 1–2; 1–5a) with reference to the eschatological punishment of the Kittim.

In some cases, the prophetic words are understood to have double meaning, and this hermeneutical stance is facilitated by the pre-canonical and fluid state of the biblical text used (Alexander 2000: 41–2). For example, a general criticism against the wicked and his expected punishment in Hab. 2: 16 is interpreted in 1QpHab 11: 9–16 by using two variants. The *peshet* on the Wicked Priest ‘who did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart’ is related to the verb הָעַרְל of the MT version, which is not cited, whereas his punishment ‘the cup of the wrath of [Go]d will swallow him up’ interprets the verb וְהָרַעַל (‘and totter’) cited in the lemma, which is known in the LXX (καὶ διασαλεύθητι καὶ σείσθητι; Brownlee 1959: 76–7; Nitzan 1986: 47). The MT version וַשִּׁמּוּ (‘become guilty’), which is not cited in the lemma of Hab. 1: 11, is used in its *peshet* (1QpHab 4: 9–12) with reference to the wrongful activity of the rulers of the Kittim, sent by the guilty house of the Romans, the Senate, to govern the occupied countries. The verb וַשִּׁמּוּ written in the lemma, is interpreted as a reference to the devastation of these lands by the Roman rulers (Nitzan 1986: 47; Horgan 1979: 34). Alternative readings of biblical texts are used deliberately in rabbinic *‘al-tiqrei* homiletic exegesis as well. However, whereas the rabbinic *‘al-tiqrei* technique deals just with the single alternative reading, the *pesharim* use the double reading of a verse as a way of expanding the *peshet* by augmenting its interpretation (Nitzan 1986: 51, 78–9).

The continuous *pesharim* use *inter alia* implicit biblical verses that function as a bridge to clarify the full meaning of the *peshet* interpretation. For instance, the (p. 344) *peshet*ist’s interpretation of Hab. 1: 8 regarding the Chaldeans (‘their horses...are more fierce than the wolves of the night; they paw the ground...they fly like the eagle (which) hastens to devour all’) is applied to the wickedness of the Kittim, as follows: ‘The interpretation of it concerns the Kittim, who stamp the earth with [their] horses and with their beasts...to devour all the peoples like an eagle, and there is no satiety’ (1QpHab 3: 6–12). The phrase ‘who stamp the earth’ (יָרָאָה תָּא וְשׁוּדִי) interprets the biblical verb ‘they pawed’ (וָשַׁע) of Hab. 1:8, and refers by historical analogy to Jer. 50: 11—‘you stamped (וָשַׁע) like a heifer treading grain (וָשַׁע)’. As for the reference to the Chaldeans’ deeds, it evokes the eschatological imagery of the deeds of the fourth beast in Dan. 7: 7 (‘fearsome, dreadful, with great iron teeth, that devoured and crushed and stamped the remains with its feet’). The *peshet*ist identified the Kittim with the people of the last evil empire, understood historically, before its eschatological defeat by God (cf. Num. 24: 24 on the Kittim, the last enemy of Israel; Nitzan 1986: 67–8).

The *peshet* on Hab. 1: 12b–13a, that apprised how God’s judgement would act against the Kittim (see above), referred implicitly to Isa. 2: 4; 11: 4; and 42: 1–3, regarding the eschatologically justified judgement that would be realized by the chosen one of God (Nitzan 1986: 64–5). Another *peshet* regarding the eschatological judgement of the Kittim, as stated in Nah. 1: 5b (4QpNah 1–2: 5–6), includes the phrase רֹם רָשָׁעָה (‘the height of wickedness’) that is not found in the lemma, but refers implicitly to Isa. 10: 33–4. The Isaianic passage concerns the cutting of the tallest trees and the felling of the lofty ones of Lebanon, which are moreover identified as the Kittim in the *peshet* of 4QpIsa^a 8–10: 3–8 (cf. 4Q285 fr. 7; Berrin 2004b: 2–3). This kind of exegesis, by implicit allusion rather than explicit citation, is also used in other *pesharim* (see e.g. Flusser 1979; Nitzan 1986: 61–75; Kister 1992; Berrin 2004a, 2004b).

Whereas the continuous *pesharim* use secondary implicit verses to clarify the full meaning of the *peshet* interpretation, the thematic *pesharim* achieve this by other means. Here, the sectarian exegetes add to a lemma secondary, explicit verses as proof-texts that bolster the *peshet*. These proof-texts are introduced by the technical formula ‘as it is written’ and the like. This technique is similar to rabbinic *midrash*, in which a theme is constructed and demonstrated by biblical proof-texts. (Nitzan 1986: 76–78; 2009: 113–22). Annette Steudel (1992) defined these thematic compositions from Qumran as ‘Eschatological Midrash’ because of their methods and eschatological content.

The content of 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) deals in its first part with the eschatological Temple by alluding to 2 Sam. 7: 10–14, which constitute the leading prophetic lemmata. The *peshet* is then explained by secondary proof-texts from Exod. 15: 17–18 and Amos 9: 11. Its second part, introduced by verbatim citations from Ps. 1: 1 and 2: 2, expounds on the eschatological elect of Israel, a theme that is demonstrated by the proof-verses of Isa. 8: 11, Ezek. 37: 23; and Dan. 12: 10.

(p. 345) 4QCatena is considered by Steudel (1992) as another copy of the same ‘Eschatological Midrash’ that continues this pattern of framing the thematic exegesis by the use of introductory lemmata from selected verses of the Psalms. Despite the fragmentary preservation of the text, it is discernible that the *pesharim* concerning the dualistic struggle between the members of the *yahad* and their opponents led by Belial use secondary proof-texts.

11QMelchisedek (11Q13) deals with the eschatological redemption of the Sons of Light, its time and significance, the revenge on Belial, and the appearance of the messianic herald. The main verses used for the revelation of its messages are derived from the Pentateuch, the Latter Prophets, and the Writings (see Berrin 2009: 194–201). The introductory verses, pointing to the determined time of redemption, are quoted from Lev. 25: 13 and Deut. 15: 2. The *peshet* on the release of all those who have become captives of their iniquities is based on Isa. 61: 1, 2; Neh. 5: 10; Ps. 82: 1 and 7: 8–9 (2: 2–11a). The leading verse for the revenge on Belial is Ps. 82: 2, and its *peshet* alludes to Isa. 61: 2 (2: 11b–15a). The primary verse on the messianic herald of good news is derived from Isa. 52: 7, and the *peshet* on Melchisedek, who will save the righteous from the plots of Belial, alludes to Dan. 9: 25, Isa. 61: 2, 52: 7, and Isa. 8: 11 (2: 15b–25a; García Martínez 1998: 230–4; Nitzan 2009: 118–21).

This *midrashic* technique of leading with a primary lemma followed by secondary, supporting quotations is also used in the 'isolated *pesharim*' (Fitzmyer 1971; Vermes 1989a). However, there is a difference. Whereas the thematic *pesharim* are introduced by prophetic or wisdom lemmata, whose reference is to the revelation implied in their eschatological message, the 'isolated *pesharim*' are introduced by an idea, a law, or a rule whose credibility is demonstrated by proof-texts (Fitzmyer 1971; Nitzan 2009: 105–16). For example, see CD 6: 11–14:

A rule: And all who were brought into the covenant (are) not to enter the sanctuary to light His altar in vain, (but rather are) to be 'closers of the door'

Technical formula: of which God said:

Proof-text: 'Who of you will close my door and not light my altar in vain? (Mal. 1: 10)

Interpretation—unless they take care to perform according to the exact (requirement of) the Torah during the time of evil.

Although it would have been possible to broach this idea lemmatically, the author instead decided to introduce it with a prohibition, because this rule seemed most important for his purpose (Nitzan 2009: 108).

Most of the ideas and rules stated in CD, and some of the 1QS rules and customs, are written in such a *midrashic* technique. In most cases independent pronouns link the biblical terms with their fulfilment interpretation (see CD 6: 2–11; 7: 9–21; 8: 8–12; 1QS 8: 12–16; and in CD 4: 12–19, which includes the formula 'its *peshet*'). Considering these formal aspects, the isolated *pesharim* are similar to rabbinic *midrash* (Urbach 1958; Alon 1973: 243–56; Halivni 1991: 13–16), whereas the thematic (p. 346) method of introducing a theme by citing a biblical text is characteristic of the *peshet*. In light of these different methods by which the variegated types of *pesharim* refer to the biblical text, the issue of whether the *peshet* is a type of *midrash* or a distinctive genre should be clarified.

Is the *Peshet* a *Midrash* or a Distinctive Genre?

The genre of the *peshet*, according to its exegetical methods, form, content, structure, or purpose, has been discussed in comparison with the rabbinic *midrash*. Geza Vermes (1970), following Renee Bloch, who related different types of pre-rabbinic biblical exegesis to early midrashic interpretations (1957), defined the *peshet* as a type of *midrash*. Philip Alexander, however, has warned that the use of the term *midrash* 'can create problems if it encourages scholars to homogenize this tradition and to ignore important differences between rabbinic and Qumranic styles of exegesis' (Alexander 2000: 37). The aforementioned exegetical techniques used in the *pesharim* may be considered midrashic (see the approaches of Brownlee and Vermes). However, even though the pesherite method has similarities to midrashic techniques in the interpretation of biblical texts as regards contemporary and future events and ideas, the main presumption of the pesherists is apocalyptic, considering the prophetic messages to comprise hidden mysteries that must be resolved by divine revelation to a chosen interpreter. As Karl Elliger argued: 'Its interpretation grounds itself not on the text alone, but in greater measure and at decisive points upon a particular revelation' (Elliger 1953: 155; Lim 2002: 45).

George Brooke, in contrast, argues that a genre should not be defined by a sole determining factor, but that secondary factors of methods should also be taken into account. Even though the *peshet* is the revelation of prophetic mysteries, it is also a product of the meditative study on the biblical text (Brooke 1981: 491–94; 1985: 5). By focusing on the midrashic techniques used in the *pesharim*, Brooke claims that the Qumranic *peshet* is a subgenre of *midrash*, and may be defined as 'Qumranic *midrash*' (1981: 494–503). One may support this

assumption by arguing that the usage of the term *midrash ha-Torah* in 1QS 8: 14–16, where the departure of the *yaḥad* members to the wilderness is presented as fulfilment of Isa. 40:3, is analogous to how the term *pesher* is used.

Against this, and considering the appearance of the term *midrash* in other Qumranic contexts, Timothy Lim (2002: 48–50) has argued that the titular (p. 347) '*midrash ha-Torah*' is used either for the communal study of the *yaḥad* as in 1QS 6: 24; 8: 26, or for the 'actual written compositions proceeding from the Community's nightly deliberation on "the way" of the Torah', as Stephen Pfann (1999) suggested regarding the title 'Midrash Sepher Moshe' (4Q249 1: 1; DJD XXXV: 7). Cf. the title '*Midrash for the Maskil*' in 4QS^b (4Q256) and 4QS^d (4Q258) instead of 'Serekh' in 1QS 5: 1 (Lim 2002: 49), and the term 'the final *midrash* of the Law' in 4QD^a (4Q266) 11: 20–21; 4QD^e (4Q270) 7 2 14–15), which Hartmut Stegemann (1993: 165) takes to be the actual title of the work.

In light of this usage of the term *midrash* in the Qumran writings we may solve the exegetical crux concerning the apparent redundancy of the terms *midrash* and *pesher* in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174 1–2 i 14) with reference to the interpretation of Ps. 1: 1. This section opens with the phrase '*Midrash of "Happy is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked"*', and continues with the introductory words '*pesher hadava[r]*' referring to 'those who departed from the way [of the people]', as it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet concerning the last days', quoting Isa. 8: 11, 'and it was as with a strong [hand that he turned me aside from walking in the way of] this people' as a proof-text. The *pesher*, 'those who departed from the way [of the people]', points out that the pesherist read the prophet's word יָנִי־י not as 'charged me' or 'warned me' with the MT version, but rather as 'turned me', according to exegetical tradition mentioned in CD 8: 16 (= 19: 29) and 1QSa 1: 2–3 (Knibb 1987: 26). This tradition, referring to the members of the *yaḥad*, is demonstrated here by referring to Ezek. 37: 23 as additional proof-text, identifying those who turned away from the wrong way of the people with the 'Sons of Zadok and the men of their community', namely the members of the *yaḥad* (cf. the reference of CD 3: 20–4: 4 to Ezek. 44: 15). Thus it seems that this tradition was studied in the community's deliberation on the way of the Torah, namely in the community's *midrash* of studying the Torah. If this is right, then the opening phrase '*midrash from Ps 1: 1*' would refer to the content of the community's study, and the words "*pesher hadavar*" would introduce an interpretation of not just Ps. 1: 1, but also its accompanying tradition' (so Lim 2002: 49–50).

This difference between *midrash* as a title of communal study, and *pesher* as a genre of revealed interpretation inspired by the divine authority, demonstrates the uniqueness of the pesherite genre despite its midrashic exegetical techniques. The midrashic exegetical techniques are secondary means that serve the main revolutionary character of the *pesher*. According to this difference, and the aforementioned etymological meaning of the term *pesher* as solving riddles, presaging dreams, or interpreting a mysterious inscription, we may conclude that this theological term was chosen intentionally at Qumran to create a distinctive genre of revelation that unpacks the meaning of mysteries hidden in the prophetic oracles. The *pesher* is thus a distinctive genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls. (p. 348)

Suggested Reading

On the exegetical methods of the *pesharim* see Brownlee (1951; 1979); Elliger (1953); Flusser (1970 [1981]); Horgan (1979); Brooke (1985); Nitzan (1986); Steudel (1992); Lim (2002), and Berrin (2004a, 2004b). On the genre of the *pesharim* see especially Brownlee (1979); Elliger (1953); Fitzmyer (1971); Vermes (1970; 1989b); Brooke (1981); Lim (2002) and Nitzan (2009).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

From a linguist's point of view, the Qumran community was situated in the eye of a storm. In the late Second Temple period, Judaea was multilingual and culturally torn. Hebrew was favoured by Jewish nationalism and religious tradition and Aramaic had been the main language of public life, yet Greek had taken a central place in administration and politics. Under the Romans, Latin was added into the mix. Language use was never neutral in this society. At least three different languages are in fact represented in the Qumran library: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The Hebrew and Aramaic texts discovered in Qumran are extremely precious to linguists, as they are to students of other disciplines. At the same time they raise a large number of questions. This article outlines some of the fruits of research on Qumran Hebrew and Qumran Aramaic, as well as some of the issues that remain debated.

Keywords: Qumran community, Second Temple, Jewish nationalism, Qumran library, Qumran Hebrew, Qumran Aramaic, Greek language

THE settlement in Qumran may have been, for much of its duration, a rather calm place, where members of the sect could live in the conviction that they were worshipping God in the company of angels, speaking the language of creation while waiting for the end of times (Weitzman 1999). From a linguist's point of view, however, the Qumran community was situated in the eye of a storm. In the late Second Temple period, Judaea was multilingual and culturally torn. Hebrew was favoured by Jewish nationalism and religious tradition, Aramaic had for many generations been the main language of public life, yet Greek had taken a central place in administration and politics. Under the Romans, Latin was added into the mix. Language use was never neutral in this society.

At least three different languages are in fact represented in the Qumran library: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek (Puech 1996). Out of around 900 texts of which fragments have been recovered, the great majority are written in Hebrew: manuscripts of books that would later be transmitted as the Hebrew Bible, central sectarian texts such as the Serekh and the Hodayot, and a host of other documents related in some way or other to the Qumran sect. According to one estimate, approximately seven-eighths of the Qumran texts—calculated in regard to the (p. 352) number of manuscripts, not their length—are in Hebrew. A small number are written in the palaeo-Hebrew script or in a special cryptic alphabet. About one-eighth of the texts are written in Jewish Aramaic: a few fragments of 'biblical' books, translations of Hebrew scripture (Leviticus and Job), and many original compositions. Greek is represented almost exclusively by fragments of Hebrew books in Greek translation. In addition, Nabataean is found in two manuscripts (4Q235 and 343) whose provenance is not entirely certain. No Latin texts have been found thus far.

The Hebrew and Aramaic texts discovered in Qumran are extremely precious to linguists, as they are to students of other disciplines. At the same time they raise a large number of questions. In the following essay, some of the fruits of research on Qumran Hebrew and Qumran Aramaic will be outlined as well as some of the issues that remain debated.

Hebrew

The Hebrew of the Qumran scrolls needs to be studied in its proper linguistic setting, taking into account a diachronic as well as a synchronic approach.

A Brief History of Hebrew

Hebrew is a Semitic dialect of the Canaanite branch that rose to the status of national language in the Kingdom of Judah—and perhaps that of Northern Israel—during the first half of the first millennium BCE (Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 50–75). Consequently, it was used for codifying national traditions and religious literature, large extracts of which ended up, after a prolonged redactional history, in what later became the ‘Hebrew Bible’ (Schniedewind 2004). In spite of recent contestations, this scenario still seems much more likely than the one that separates the pre-exilic Hebrew attested in epigraphic remains (Seow, Dobbs-Allsopp, and Roberts 2004) from biblical Hebrew, qualifying the latter as a product of the Persian age (for the debate, see Young 2003).

After defeat by the Babylonians in 587/6, when Judah lost its statehood—Northern Israel had fallen to the Assyrians more than a century earlier in 722/1—Hebrew receded to being a local idiom variously spoken in different places in Palestine. It kept a special role, however, as a religious language: the language of prayer, liturgy, and instruction, and, fairly soon, the language of scripture. While Jeremiah and Ezekiel, at the beginning of the sixth century, will have prophesied in (p. 353) Hebrew because that was their native tongue, the prophets of the Persian period—Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi—may instead have used Hebrew because they wished to follow the model of earlier prophetic writings. If it were not for the religious factor, the latter authors would almost certainly have found it more natural to write in Aramaic, which had by then come to dominate the scribal curriculum in the entire region to the west of the Euphrates (Polak 2006).

This does not mean that Hebrew had died out as a living language: throughout the Persian period (539–330 BCE), Hebrew continued to be spoken, in Palestine and perhaps in the eastern Diaspora as well (for evidence from Babylonia, see Joannès and Lemaire 1999). The living dialects and the ‘classical’ Hebrew known from ancient texts interacted in interesting ways, as can be conjectured from works created during this period, such as Nehemiah's memoirs (Polak 2006). The influence of Aramaic is felt strongly in all forms of Hebrew writing from this period (Hurvitz 2003).

The patterns that were set in the Persian period continued through the Hellenistic and Roman age to the time of the great Jewish wars. Hebrew was at once the venerated tongue of scripture, a living language variously spoken in different localities in the Land of Israel, and a medium in which new works—mostly, like the Qumran scrolls, of a religious nature—were created. The different registers of the language interpenetrated one another in several ways (Joosten 2002: 8–10). Aramaic words and constructions continued to enter the Hebrew language.

After the Jewish wars, Jews were dispersed once more and the practice of Hebrew as a language spoken in day-to-day life appears to have died out. This is the time when the earliest rabbinic literature, formulated in a literary form of one of the dialects of the late Second Temple period, was written down.

Attestation of Hebrew in the Late Second Temple Period

The great sectarian scrolls, such as the Rule of the Community, the Damascus Document, the Thanksgiving Hymns and the War Scroll, were probably composed during the middle decades of the first century BCE (Nitzan 1986: 123–45; Wise 2003). From that precise period, practically no other Hebrew writings have been preserved. Nevertheless, it is possible to give the scrolls a semblance of background by taking a somewhat wider look (Kutscher 1974: 15–16; Qimron 2004). Roughly contemporary writings that show much linguistic affinity with the scrolls are the latest books of the biblical canon, notably Daniel, but also Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, and Qoheleth. The Hebrew fragments of Ben Sira, too, afford (p. 354) precious material for comparison, at least insofar as one can be certain of their authenticity (van Peursen 2004). Hebrew inscriptions from the Second Temple period are scarce but their contribution is substantial (Naveh 1982). The Bar Kochba letters, from the second century CE, are relevant as well, as is the oldest stratum of Rabbinic Hebrew (Rabin 1958).

Aside from the documents just mentioned, whose attestation can be qualified as more or less direct, a number of

indirect witnesses may be enumerated. The Samaritan reading tradition of the Pentateuch—as well as some of the modifications to the consonantal text—go back to Second Temple times (Ben-Hayyim 2000; Schorch 2008). Several phenomena in the phonology and morphology of the scrolls can be paralleled from this tradition. The Septuagint is a Greek text, but it holds much information on the knowledge and use of Hebrew in the Hellenistic period (Joosten 2001). Finally, a few non-canonical books known only in translation must originally have been written in Hebrew at around the time of the scrolls: 1 Maccabees is a fairly certain example and the Psalms of Solomon a possible one. Several other writings such as Jubilees were in this category until the discoveries in Qumran turned up fragments of the original text.

The relative scarcity of Hebrew texts from the late Second Temple period may partly be due to the hazards of attestation. It is also true, however, that Hebrew was struggling for survival in a multilingual society. This may explain the occasional reference in Qumran literature to Hebrew as a holy language of special theological importance (Schwartz 1995: 30–1; for aspects of the language ideology of the Qumran sect, see Weitzman 1999).

Diversity among the Qumran Scrolls

From the linguistic point of view, the Qumran scrolls exhibit a certain diversity. Even the great sectarian scrolls show internal variety, not to speak of differences among them (Goshen-Gottstein 1958). Partly, such diversity may reflect the stylistic predilections of individual authors, and partly the orthographic idiosyncrasies of scribes. In spite of the noted variety, the sectarian scrolls do seem to share a distinct language system underlying the different individual manifestations.

Although the great sectarian scrolls make up the bulk of the Hebrew documents retrieved from Qumran, other types of writings are well represented. Fragments of books that ended up in the canon of the Hebrew Bible will be disregarded in the present survey to the extent that they represent writings that are very much older than the sectarian scrolls. It is important to note, however, that some ‘biblical’ scrolls are attested in versions that are to a certain extent updated linguistically. The most famous example in this category is the great Isaiah Scroll from Cave 1, 1QIsa^a. The study by Kutscher, which focuses on the passages where the scroll diverges from the Masoretic Text, remains one of the foundation stones of linguistic inquiry (p. 355) into Qumran Hebrew (Kutscher 1974). More recently, similar studies have been made on other biblical books (Fassberg 2000; Muraoka 2000a).

Most of the ‘non-biblical’ Qumran scrolls whose sectarian origin is either denied or debated—such as Jubilees, 4QInstruction, or the Temple Scroll—evince a linguistic profile that is rather close to that of the sectarian scrolls (see e.g. Schoors 2002). A few writings must be singled out, however, for their distinct features. The Halakhic Letter, 4QMMT, stands close to standard Qumran Hebrew but exhibits a few features that are closer to Rabbinic Hebrew (Qimron 1994). This may at least partly be due to the fact that this writing addresses readers who are not members of the sect. The Copper Scroll is written in a unique kind of Hebrew that shows much affinity with Rabbinic Hebrew. It is the only text from Qumran where one finds Greek loanwords (García Martínez 2003).

Aspects of Qumran Hebrew

The following characterization of Qumran Hebrew will focus on the language of the great sectarian scrolls, without entirely neglecting more marginal documents. The organizing principle will be of a typological rather than a purely grammatical order. The underlying question is what makes Qumran Hebrew the way it is. What are the factors that give this language its unique cast? For detailed description of the orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the scrolls, Qimron's grammar (1986) or recent grammatical sketches (Abegg 1998; Muraoka 2000b) may be consulted. The present essay will also take in some aspects of the vocabulary of Qumran Hebrew.

The Living Substratum

In an authoritative survey of Ancient Hebrew, Richard Steiner has characterized the language of the Qumran scrolls in the following way:

The literature of the Qumran sectarians, despite its being preserved in ancient copies, is, in some ways, a more problematic source for reconstructing the history of Hebrew in ancient times. Most scholars believe that the language of this literature owes more to imitation of the Bible than to the Hebrew vernacular of the

period. (Steiner 1997: 146)

The view that the language of the sectarian scrolls is in large part artificial—a literary construct rather than a living idiom—has strongly affected the study of Qumran Hebrew. Nevertheless, even its most ardent defenders have not absolutely denied that Qumran Hebrew shows influence of a living Hebrew dialect—usually held to be an early form of Mishnaic Hebrew (Rabin 1958; Blau 2000).

A small group of scholars have directed their attention to this living substratum. They have drawn attention to the fact that the morphology of Qumran Hebrew differs from Biblical Hebrew in rather systematic ways (Meyer 1957; Morag 1988; Qimron 1992a). Systematic differences in the morphology can hardly be explained otherwise than by invoking a distinct Hebrew dialect. For instance, the third person masculine singular suffix pronoun attached to a word ending in long *i* always turns up as יהי- , not י- as in the Bible (Qimron 1986: 60). The orthography indicates that the final *waw* was pronounced as a vowel ($\text{איהיבא} = \text{abiyu, abiyyu}$). Since this feature is also attested in the oral tradition of the Samaritans, it is almost certainly to be viewed as a dialectal feature, not an attempt to reconstruct a ‘primordial form’ (pace Schniedewind 1999: 237–8). Another example is the curious morphology represented by forms like אהשדחא (1QS 6: 14) which find no direct analogy in any tradition of Hebrew (Qimron 1986: 50–2). Whatever the precise pronunciation of these forms, and whatever their morphological interpretation, they clearly diverge from the biblical language in the Tiberian tradition. Nor can they be explained from Aramaic. They reflect a spoken variety of Hebrew. The ‘long’ personal pronouns אהא and אהיא , טס , almost certainly represent dialectal features, not attempts at archaizing (Morgenstern 2007; pace Fassberg 2003).

While the vocabulary and the phraseology of the Qumran texts may reflect archaizing tendencies and imitation of biblical models, grammatical features of the type indicated above show that Qumran Hebrew rests upon a living substratum (Qimron 1992a). The authors and scribes of the Qumran scrolls were not writing a language they knew merely from the study of ancient documents. Of course, written communication differs from natural speech, and the distance between the two modes of expression may have been particularly important in the case of the sectarian authors. Some decidedly artificial features will be pointed out below. However, one should always give the Qumran authors the benefit of the doubt: unless there is reason to think that a form, a word, or a turn of phrase reflects reuse of biblical expressions, or influence from Aramaic, one should admit that it represents proper Hebrew of the dialect used by the sectarians.

The study of dialectal features in Qumran Hebrew also indicates that the living substratum is not proto-Mishnaic Hebrew but represents a dialect hitherto unknown. Although this idiom shares certain features with a variety of other traditions or corpora—e.g. Mishnaic Hebrew (Bar-Asher 2000), Samaritan Hebrew (Ben-Hayyim 1958), or the transcriptions in Origen’s second column (Yuditsky 2008)—it cannot be identified with any of the underlying dialects.

Diachronic Developments

Research on dialectal features, important as it may be, should not make one lose sight of the fact that Qumran Hebrew is also part of the Hebrew language as a whole, representing one specific historical phase of it. While as a dialect, Qumran Hebrew is to be considered alongside other Hebrew dialects—be they earlier, contemporary, or later—as a phase it may be related to earlier and later phases of the language.

(p. 357) Individual dialects may occasionally preserve old linguistic forms that have died out elsewhere in the language (in Qumran Hebrew, the long pronouns אהא and אהיא may be a case in point), but certain linguistic developments will eventually affect all or most of the dialects of a given language. In diachronic perspective, Qumran Hebrew represents a phase that neatly fits between Biblical Hebrew on the one hand and Mishnaic Hebrew on the other.

A good example illustrating the diachronic aspect is the evolution of the *he locale*. In Classical Biblical Hebrew (Genesis–2 Kings), a non-accentuated *-a* ending is found over 750 times to indicate direction. In the classical corpus, this feature is very flexible, being found attached to common nouns, proper nouns, and adverbs alike. In Late Biblical Hebrew, the morpheme is not only less frequent, occurring less than 100 times, it is also much more stereotyped in its use: it typically attaches to a small set of common nouns often used in directional expressions (such as the cardinal points), to place names, and to locative adverbs. Moreover, in some of the later books, the feature does not always express a directional meaning (e.g. Eccl. 3: 6). In Qumran Hebrew, the ‘directional’ ending

is practically limited to a small number of local expressions such as *הנה* 'there', *הנה* 'outside', *הלעמ* 'upward', being found only exceptionally with other words. The morpheme often does not express direction: it has become otiose (Qimron 1986: 69). In Mishnaic Hebrew, the *he locale* is found only in the petrified expressions *תלעמ* 'upward', *תמ* 'downward', and *תנה* 'outside' (Kutscher 1974: 413–14). The gradual obsolescence of the *he locale* has left its traces also in Samaritan Hebrew (Ben Ḥayyim 2000: 326) and the Septuagint (Frankel 1841: 201–3).

The position of Qumran Hebrew in the diachronic development of the Hebrew language can also be illustrated by the vocabulary (Qimron 1986: 88–97). Many words whose meaning changed over the Biblical period turn up in the scrolls with the later meaning: e.g. *רמץ* means 'to be in a standing position' in Classical Hebrew but 'to stand up' in Late Biblical and Qumran Hebrew. The scrolls also use many words that are unattested in Classical Hebrew but occur in Late Biblical (e.g. *ימד* 'worthy') or Mishnaic Hebrew (e.g. *רד* 'to say grace').

The best evidence showing that Qumran Hebrew is to be regarded as a phase in the history of Hebrew is the verbal system. Many small changes indicate that Qumran usage stands halfway between Classical and Mishnaic Hebrew in regard to verbal syntax. The participle extends its verbal uses, notably in combination with the verb 'to be' (Muraoka 1999: 201; Smith 1999). The volitive subsystem of Classical Hebrew collapses into modal *yiqtol* (Joosten 2007). Although the old 'consecutive' tenses are still alive and well (Smith 1991), the system as a whole is clearly evolving toward the Mishnaic system where the participle becomes the default tense and *yiqtol* takes on all modal nuances. The development of the verbal system follows a path that is expected in comparative perspective and can be paralleled from other languages.

(p. 358) Not all developments characterizing Qumran syntax find a continuation in Mishnaic Hebrew, however. Notably, the tendency in Late Biblical and Qumran Hebrew for the infinitive construct to function as the main predicator in independent clauses is not found in Mishnaic Hebrew (Cohen 2005).

Aramaic Influence

Although most linguistic developments are produced by internal factors such as analogy and the search for greater expressiveness, some developments are caused by external factors such as the influence of a different language. In Qumran Hebrew, as in other post-exilic varieties of Hebrew, the single most important external factor is the impact of Aramaic.

The most visible sign of Aramaic influence is the presence of numerous Aramaic loanwords in Qumran Hebrew (Kister 2000). Some of these, like *רקיף* 'to raise', are already attested in the Bible, but there are many new ones too, like *לבגמ* 'kneading' or *רדס* 'rule'. Of the 'new' words found in the Qumran literature for the first time, by far the largest proportion originated in Aramaic. Babylonian and Persian loanwords probably came to Hebrew through the intermediary of Aramaic.

Some of these loanwords are well integrated into the language and are used many times. Words such as *דר* 'mystery', attested already in Biblical Aramaic, and *רדס* 'rule' belong to the typical vocabulary of the Qumran scrolls. Although they are of foreign origin, they must be considered Hebrew words. Other words, such as the verb *תנע* 'to insult' or the noun *רש* 'quiet', occur more exceptionally and may perhaps be regarded as foreign words whose Aramaic origin would be clear to ancient readers.

Occasionally, the influence of Aramaic affects the quotation and reuse of earlier Hebrew texts. Thus in the Temple Scroll's adaptation of Deut. 22: 13–14, the difficult phrase *מידבר תוליצ* 'wanton charges (?)' is changed to *מידבר תוליצ*, literally 'pretexts of words' (11QT 65: 7–11). The latter phrase uses a word of Aramaic origin that is not found in Biblical Hebrew, although it is found in Biblical Aramaic. Similarly, the paraphrase of Nahum 3: 9 in 4Q385–6 2: 6–7 substitutes for the Hebrew *רתדצב* 'for your help' the Aramaic equivalent *רצסב*. In this second case, the biblical Hebrew word can hardly be considered difficult, and the use of an Aramaic equivalent is highly remarkable. Remarkable too is the way the Biblical word *יכר* 'pounding' (Ps. 93: 3) is used in 1QS 3: 9 with the Aramaic meaning 'purity' (Muraoka 1995: 55–6).

Aramaic influence is not limited to the vocabulary. In some cases, the phraseology too follows Aramaic patterns. Thus in the Damascus document, the expression *לא ול מבצין*, literally: 'and God left them to him', may in fact mean 'God forgave (David his transgressions of the Law)'. The Hebrew verb 'to leave' may represent a calque of Aramaic *קבש* 'to leave', which is used in reference to remitting debts and forgiving sins (Kister *apud* Qimron 1986:

112).

Aramaic influence on the syntax is reflected in the use of *ש ל שב* 'in order that', a calque of Aramaic *בדיל די*, found several times in 4QMMT. Another syntactic (p. 359) Aramaism, found also in the biblical book of Ecclesiastes, is the use of *ת ש ת* or *ת ש ת* in the nominalization of clauses.

In the morphology, however, very few indications of Aramaic influence can be made out. Instances of Aramaic morphology seem to represent occasional slips. Thus, the normal third person masculine singular imperfect form of hollow verbs in the Hiphil stem is *י כי*, as in Biblical Hebrew; once, however, the scribe of the *Serekh* wrote *י כתי* with a non-assimilated *he* as in Aramaic. The third person masculine singular suffix attached to masculine plural nouns turns up as *י ת*- a few times (Qimron 1986: 61): the form is Aramaic but it is used irregularly and the normal form of the suffix is *י*- as in Biblical Hebrew. The plural of masculine nouns is occasionally written as *י*-, as in Aramaic, instead of *י*- as normally in Hebrew, but this phenomenon may have a phonological rather than a morphological background (Qimron 1986: 27). Of course, the orthography may mask more thoroughgoing instances of Aramaic influence on the morphology of Qumran Hebrew. The available evidence, however, indicates that Hebrew held its own in this respect. Linguists are generally agreed that morphology is the most impregnable segment of a language (Qimron 1992a: 353–4). As was mentioned above, the basis of Qumran Hebrew morphology is a living Hebrew dialect.

The amount of Aramaic influence in the Hebrew Qumran scrolls can best be explained as reflecting the bilingualism of the authors and their readers. Although the sectarian writings were composed in Hebrew, the group among which they came into being knew and practised these two languages. There is little warrant for the view that the Qumran authors and scribes were Aramaic speakers for whom Hebrew was an acquired language.

The Biblicizing Jargon of the Qumran Authors

The characteristic that most leaps to the eye of modern researchers reading the Qumran scrolls is the biblicizing style. Although the notion of 'Bible' may be somewhat anachronistic at the time the scrolls were composed, there is no question that the Qumran authors attributed great authority to most of the writings that later ended up in the Jewish canon of scripture. The 'biblical' books are constantly quoted and alluded to in the sectarian writings. Even where the authors express their own ideas, they often clothe them in language that is partly taken over from earlier writings. To some researchers, the similarity of Qumran Hebrew to Biblical Hebrew is so great that they consider the two corpora to reflect essentially the same language (e.g. Elwolde 1997: 55). It is undoubtedly correct to view Qumran Hebrew as a continuation of Biblical Hebrew, but it is not true that the two languages are identical. To an important extent, the similarity between the two is artificial. It is due to the conscious effort of the sectarian authors to imitate the style of the older corpus.

Positive proof of the archaizing nature of the Qumran writings is afforded by usages that superficially resemble Biblical Hebrew but diverge from it in a way that (p. 360) cannot be explained in terms of diachronic development. A good example is the noun *צ ר*. In the Bible, this noun always means 'refuge', being derived from the root *צ ר* 'to take refuge'. In the scrolls, however, the word occurs in passages where the meaning must be 'strength': 1QHa 16: 24–5 'in the time of heat it retains its *vitality*'—the word here replaces the expected *כ ת* 'strength' (Joosten 2000: 127). It appears that the biblical word was (wrongly) explained on the basis of the root *צ ר* 'to be strong' and then used in this divergent meaning by the author of the *Hodayoth*. Cases like this show that some words of Biblical Hebrew had dropped off from use by the time the scrolls were composed and that their meaning had to be retraced by means of exegetical processes. What is remarkable is that the old words are then given new life by the Qumran writers, with the meaning arrived at in the course of interpretation. The process can be unmasked only when there is reason to think that the meaning of a 'biblical' word or expression is not the one obtaining in the earlier texts. Even so, many examples have been uncovered over time: the noun *ת ת*, which in the Bible invariably means 'pit', is used in the *Serekh* with the meaning 'perdition, corruption', after the root *ת ת* 'to destroy' (Wernberg-Møller 1957: 81). The difficult noun *ת ק נ* 'longing (?)' is used several times with the meaning 'return', based on an interpretation of Gen. 3: 16 and 4: 7 found also in the Septuagint and the targumim (Licht 1965: 237). For other examples, see Joosten (1999 and 2003).

The reuse of biblical expressions is not a procedure exclusive to the sectarian writers. Many of the usages discussed can be paralleled from the Septuagint (Joosten 2000: 127–8). In the late biblical books, too, similar examples can be found. For instance, the use of *מ ת* as a noun meaning 'day (as opposed to night)' is found not

only in Qumran texts but also in Neh. 9: 19 and Jer 33: 20. In classical Hebrew, this form is employed only as an adverb (Joosten 2008: 95–7). ‘Pseudoclassicism’ affects Hebrew literature during the entire Persian period. The Qumran writers are merely continuing a practice that developed much earlier in Judaism. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is much more prominent in the Qumran writings than in any other source.

The ‘biblicizing jargon’ of the scrolls is a stylistic phenomenon consciously developed by the authors. Thus it is only natural that it should be more elaborate in some writings (e.g. the *Hodayoth*) than in others (e.g. 4QMMT)—even although it is never entirely absent. Since it is a matter of style, the pseudoclassical nature of the scrolls in no way opposes the possibility that the language is based in a living dialect (Hurvitz 2000). Of course, the use of expressions taken over wholesale from older writings may obscure the presence of the vernacular. But as was stated above, sufficient indications remain for the existence of a living substratum. (p. 361)

The Contribution of Qumran Hebrew to Philology and Linguistics

Linguistic research on the Dead Sea Scrolls is a prerequisite for exegesis. The study of Qumran Hebrew has led to a more correct interpretation of hundreds of passages. It may also contribute to a better reading of damaged texts and a more dependable reconstruction of missing passages. Its relevance far surpasses the limited domain of Qumran studies, however.

The importance of the Qumran finds for Hebrew philology is hard to exaggerate. In several instances, scholars have been able to illuminate rare biblical expressions on the basis of information contained in the scrolls (Qimron 1995). Thus, the meaning of the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* מִסְפָּר, found in the Bible only in Ezek. 20: 37, was brilliantly reconstructed on the basis of Qumran Hebrew, the Septuagint, and Samaritan sources as ‘number’ (Ben-Hayyim 1958: 211–14). Of course, one should always try to distinguish cases where the Qumran usage independently represents an expression attested in the Bible as well from cases where the Qumran author is merely imitating earlier writings. Mishnaic Hebrew words, too, may benefit from the study of the scrolls (Bar-Asher 2003).

A field of study where the contribution of the scrolls is of capital importance is the evolution of the Hebrew language. Since the biblical texts are hard to date, some linguists have tried to set basic benchmarks by the help of linguistic research (Hurvitz 1972). Qumran Hebrew, datable to a rather narrow window in time and attested in manuscripts more or less contemporary with the writings themselves, provides a fixed point in relation to which other texts can be situated. Many developments that set in within the biblical corpus itself continue in the Qumran scrolls. Although they cannot help to determine the absolute date of Hebrew writings, the Qumran writings throw light on the distinction between classical texts and classicizing texts.

At the same time, Qumran Hebrew shows very clearly that linguistic developments do not always proceed in linear fashion, from classical through late biblical and Qumran Hebrew to the language of the Mishna. Like any living language, Hebrew consisted of dialects. And dialects do not all evolve in the same way nor at the same speed. Archaic forms long abandoned by most speakers and writers may live on in some out-of-the-way patois. Or conversely, one group of dialects may develop a mode of speech that becomes common elsewhere only much later. From a methodological perspective, the study of Qumran Hebrew has inaugurated a comparative approach in which all manifestations of Hebrew—Tiberian, Babylonian, Qumran, Samaritan, Mishnaic, and some more indirect ones such as the dialect underlying the Septuagint or Origen's transcriptions—are given an equal hearing.

Finally, it bears repeating that the Dead Sea Scrolls show that Hebrew was a living language in the first century BCE. Although Segal had demonstrated the persistence of Hebrew on the basis of Mishnaic Hebrew (Segal 1908), many (p. 362) specialists remained reluctant to accept his thesis because of the lateness of the manuscripts of the Mishna. The Qumran texts provide manuscripts that are practically contemporary with the writings they attest. Although the scrolls contain little evidence for Mishnaic Hebrew, they establish the existence of living Hebrew dialects in the late Second Temple period. In this way, they indirectly confirm the cogency of Segal's argument (Lapide 1972–76).

Aramaic

Although Aramaic had been a foreign language for much of the biblical period, by the time the Qumran scrolls were

composed it had come to be thoroughly adopted by Jews in the Land of Israel, where it was spoken and written alongside Hebrew and Greek. Most of the Aramaic texts found at Qumran were probably not of sectarian origin. The corpus is representative of literary Aramaic used in the composition of religious writings in Judaea during the Hellenistic period.

Aramaic and the Jews

Historically, Aramaic first confronted the Israelites as the language of neighbouring peoples. Some Aramaisms in pre-exilic biblical books reflect contacts with tribes, and later with nation states, from the Damascus area and Mesopotamia. Moreover, northern and Transjordanian dialects of Hebrew may have been influenced by an Aramaic adstratum (Rendsburg 2003). By the eighth century BCE, Aramaic had become a vehicular and diplomatic language used throughout the Ancient Near East, a fact illustrated in the biblical story of the siege of Jerusalem in 701 (2 Kings 18: 26). It is a plausible conjecture that many among the literate elite in Israel and Judah will have been proficient in Aramaic throughout the monarchic period.

An important change came with the forced migrations of the eighth and sixth centuries. The foreign invasions of Israel and Judah, the dispersion of important parts of their population over other lands, and the importation of foreign groups led to a situation where Aramaic became the normal mode of communication, at least in public life. In the territory of the Northern Kingdom, Aramaic may have become the main language since the end of the eighth century (Wise 1992: 135). The Judahite elite exiled to Babylon after 587 continued to speak Hebrew among themselves, as is illustrated by the book of Ezekiel (Joannès and Lemaire 1999), but was forced to speak Aramaic, and other languages, with their foreign dominators. It is reasonable to imagine that Hebrew receded progressively among the exiles and that Aramaic became more and more important.

(p. 363) By the Persian period, Aramaic will have become the first language of Jews from the diaspora. The documentary remains of the Jewish colony from Elephantine in Egypt are all in Aramaic. Among the eastern diaspora, the linguistic situation may have been somewhat different from that in Egypt. Notably, Hebrew did not fall into disuse as it seems to have done in Egypt. But many types of document (contracts, letters to the authorities) would have been written in Aramaic wherever they were produced—‘from India to Ethiopia’. Aramaic would be the normal language for day-to-day communication even, probably, within the community. Aramaic was also the language of the scribal curriculum (Polak 2006). The old national-religious literature, taken along into exile or produced there among the first generations, was copied by scribes who had learnt to write in Aramaic. Incidentally, this may account for the change of script: the Hebrew script, which must have been used in all writings of the monarchic period, was abandoned for the Aramaic ‘square’ script. Others argue, however, that the change in script occurred much later, in the Hellenistic period. It is true that in Jerusalem and Samaria, the old Hebrew script continued to be used to write Hebrew. The earliest evidence for Hebrew texts being written in a Jewish adaptation of the Aramaic script comes from the third century BCE (Naveh 1997: 112–23).

In Jerusalem, Aramaic was the language of administration during the Persian period, as it was throughout the Persian Empire. The return of exiles from the eastern diaspora to Jerusalem will have favoured the use of Aramaic among the Jewish community. Although Jews were expected, at least by some of their leaders, to speak proper ‘Jewish’ (Neh. 13: 24), i.e. Hebrew, in reality Aramaic occupied an important place in society. Most of the scanty epigraphic remains of this period also reflect Aramaic (Lemaire 2006: 188–9). The parts of the Book of Ezra written in Aramaic may come from this period (for the debate, see Berman 2007). The community of the Jerusalem Temple will have been bilingual, using both Aramaic and Hebrew in varying proportions according to the speech situations and the provenance and education of the speakers.

In the Hellenistic period, Greek became the language of government, but at least in Judaea, this did not cause a clean break with earlier linguistic habits. Aramaic continued to play an important role in public life (Lemaire 2006: 190–1). The Book of Daniel shows that Jews composed religious literature in Aramaic during this period, as do the Aramaic writings that were found in the Qumran caves. The origin of some of this literature may be in the eastern diaspora, but the texts were certainly edited and copied in and around Jerusalem.

Qumran Scrolls Written in Aramaic

According to a recent count, out of around 900 scrolls of which fragments have been found in Qumran, about 130

are written in Aramaic (Berthelot and Stökl Ben Ezra 2010). Of these, between eighty and ninety are preserved well enough to be (p. 364) studied. Several literary genres can be distinguished. Three manuscripts represent Aramaic translations of 'biblical' books, one of Leviticus, two of Job (for the differences between these texts and later Jewish *targumim*, see Kaufman 1994; Shepherd 2004). The longest and most complete manuscript, the Genesis Apocryphon, stands in a much looser relation to the biblical text but still follows the storyline of Genesis rather faithfully, especially in the Abraham story. There are several apocalyptic texts such as the fragments belonging to the Enoch cycle, and texts that belong roughly to the 'testamentary' genre such as the Levi document and the Visions of Amram. The collection also includes some narrative texts like Tobit, the Prayer of Nabonidus, and 'Proto-Esther' (4Q550), a vision of the New Jerusalem, astrological and brontological fragments, an incantation, and a list of false prophets. The earliest texts may go back to the end of the third century while the latest texts may have been written close to the date when the site was destroyed.

Most of these texts lack the peculiar terminology and ideas characteristic of the great sectarian scrolls in Hebrew (note, however, the expressions 'sons of light' and 'sons of darkness' in 4Q548 fr. 1 2: 16 and 11 respectively). There is no reason to think that they were composed in Qumran by members of the sect, although one may hesitate in one or two instances (Dimant 2007). Most of the writings, if not the actual manuscripts, were probably brought to Qumran from elsewhere. It is hard to perceive the unity of the corpus. Why were these writings preserved? There is probably no single answer to this question.

In regard to their language, too, the Aramaic scrolls are somewhat diverse (Cook 1992; Wise 1992). Partly, this linguistic variety may reflect differences in age (Kaufman 1973). For instance, 11QTgJob and 4QPrNab ar use the older third masculine plural pronoun ַמַּן while all other texts use the later form ַמַּן; both forms are found in the Book of Daniel. Most of the variation, however, may rather reflect the individual taste and capability of the original author or later scribes (Wise 1992). Although writing in 'Standard Literary Aramaic' (Greenfield 1974), and keeping close to the Official Aramaic heritage, the author himself as well as later scribes copying the work would at the same time integrate forms and expressions from the spoken language. On occasion, the reverse might happen too: an author or scribe might purposely use an archaic form such as ַר (e.g. 4QEn^e ar = 4Q 206 4 2: 13, 4 3: 16), instead of the expected ַר or ַר.

Whether any of the linguistic diversity of the Aramaic scrolls is due to geographic factors is unclear. The 'eastern' features pointed out in 11QTgJob (Muraoka 1974) do not show that the text was composed in the eastern diaspora. They may rather reflect the continuing influence of Official Aramaic. And the text has several western features, such as the *nota accusativi* ַת. In all its diversity, the Qumran corpus would seem to reflect the literary Aramaic employed in Judaea during the Hellenistic age.

A unique feature not known from other Aramaic corpora is the use of the 'long' second masculine singular pronominal suffix ַכַּ - (-ka instead of expected -k), found (p. 365) in a number of different texts from Qumran, though not in 11QTgJob (Qimron 1992b). This feature perhaps indicates a common scribal school (Fassberg 2002).

Aspects of Qumran Aramaic

The corpus of Aramaic texts found in Qumran illustrates two distinct but interwoven developments. Firstly, the language is moving away from Official Aramaic in a diachronic development that affected all Aramaic writing during the Hellenistic age. Secondly, it represents an important stage in the Jewish appropriation of Aramaic as a religious idiom. These two aspects will briefly be presented below. For a full and accurate description of Qumran Aramaic, the grammars should be consulted (Beyer 1984; Schattner-Rieser 2004; see also the sketch by Cook 1998).

Middle Aramaic

As Kutscher was able to show in a seminal article, the language of the Genesis Apocryphon is to be dated to the period between Biblical Aramaic and the Aramaic of *targum* Onkelos (Kutscher 1954). Other texts, such as the Book of Enoch, may be somewhat older than the Genesis Apocryphon and thus more or less contemporary with the Aramaic of Daniel. If 4QPrNab ar is to be regarded as one of the sources of the Daniel stories, as is held by many, the text would be slightly older still. All Aramaic texts from Qumran stand on the trajectory leading from Official Aramaic to the later western dialects, however.

In the scheme proposed first by Fitzmyer, Qumran Aramaic—together with Nabataean, Palmyrene, Early Syriac, and

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek in the Qumran Scrolls

Hatran—fits into the third, Middle Aramaic, phase. Five phases are distinguished in the history of Aramaic (Fitzmyer 1979):

- Old Aramaic (c. 925 – c. 700 BCE)
- Official Aramaic (c. 700 – c. 200 BCE)
- Middle Aramaic (c. 200 BCE – c. 200 CE)
- Late Aramaic (c. 200 – c. 700 CE)
- Modern Aramaic (c. 700 CE to the present)

Like the other Middle Aramaic dialects, Qumran Aramaic shows much continuity with Official Aramaic while nevertheless containing the seeds of developments that will mark the western branch of Late Aramaic (Greenfield 1974; Fassberg 2002).

The basic morphology is mostly identical to that of Official (and Biblical) Aramaic. An interesting instance of continuity is the distinction between the long and the short form of the imperfect. In Old Aramaic, Official Aramaic, and Biblical Aramaic, short forms of the masculine plural and feminine singular imperfect are used with a volitive meaning. Similar cases are found in the Qumran texts: e.g. 1QapGen 20: 15 רְצַרְנִין 'that they may know you'; 4QTob^b ar fr. 4 1: 2, 3 יִלְתַּרְתָּ לֹא 'don't be afraid'. In other Middle Aramaic dialects, the modal distinction (p. 366) between forms of the imperfect is not attested. In the Late Aramaic dialects, it has disappeared (Kutscher 1954: 5).

A clear instance of later morphology that permeates Qumran Aramaic is the demonstrative pronoun הַ 'this'. While the Official Aramaic form אַר is found only about a dozen times, הַ occurs many times in a great variety of writings, including 11QTgJob 5: 5. The even later form הַת is attested only sporadically (Wise 1992: 164). Another late characteristic is the reduction of word-initial ת to ח in the causative stem and in some other cases.

Other instances of later forms stand rather isolated. The infinitive of the derived stems usually conforms to Official Aramaic morphology: Pael אֲלִטֵּק, Aphel/Haphel אֲלִטְקָת/אֲלִטְקָת, lthpeel אֲלִטְקָת. Twice, however, we find an infinitive with a preformative *mem* as in the later western dialects (and occasionally in Official Aramaic, see Folmer 1995: 191–198). In one of the two instances, the passage in question is attested by two manuscripts, one of which has the older form, the other the later form: 4QVisAmram^c ar fr. 1 2: 13 תְּדַמְצַל 'to dwell'—4QVisAmram^b ar 1: 1 אֲדַמְצַמֵּל 'to dwell'.

Similarly, forms of the third masculine plural perfect with appended *nun*, clearly a later and western feature, occur only sporadically (Fassberg 2010): the only certain cases are וְנִשְׁבַּתְשָׁא and וְנִלְתָּא in 1QapGen 5: 16. In all other instances of the third masculine plural perfect, the expected form in [-u] is used.

The unsystematic attestation of such recent forms shows that they are to be qualified as occasional slips. While intending to produce 'Standard Literary Aramaic', the scribes inadvertently introduced forms of their own spoken dialects into the text.

Jewish Aramaic

Although Aramaic was used by Jews in official documents from the Persian period onwards, it could not without further ado be adopted in religious compositions. Starting with Biblical Aramaic, one observes how the Official Aramaic basis is modified and enriched in view of Jewish religious discourse. Some religious and cultic terms were borrowed from Hebrew (Bauer and Leander 1927: 10) and some Aramaic expressions were altered so as to agree with the Jewish faith. The 'judaization' of Aramaic, which will come to full fruition in the language of the *Targumim*, can also be observed in the texts from Qumran.

While Biblical Aramaic has only a few words that are borrowed from Hebrew, the Aramaic texts from Qumran know several more (Fassberg 1992). A few striking ones may be observed in the Aramaic translations of Leviticus and Job (e.g. תִּכְרֵפּ the 'veil' of the tabernacle in 4Q156 1: 3; דִּסְנָה 'discipline' in 11Q10 27: 4), where Hebrew words are taken over from the source text. But texts originally composed in Aramaic also contain Hebrew loanwords: e.g. יְלִיצַל 'God Most High', לִלְתָּ 'to praise' and רַד 'stranger' in the Genesis Apocryphon. Most of these words have theological implications. They are cultural loans enabling the use of Aramaic in Jewish religious discourse.

(p. 367) Other elements of this discourse were taken from the native Aramaic stock. An interesting instance is the use of the preposition מִרְקָ 'before' as a distancing device intended to express reverence. This usage seems to

have originated in the court language of the Persian period. Instead of saying 'so and so spoke *to* the king' or 'so and so harmed the king' one would say: 'so and so spoke *before* the king' or 'so and so caused harm *before* the king.' The underlying idea seems to have been that the person of the king was too exalted to be touched immediately by the words and deeds of his underlings. The usage is attested in documents from the Persian period and has left clear traces in the Aramaic stories of Daniel (Klein 1979; Brock 1995: 271–2). It may already have been applied to deities in pagan texts, although the attestation of the usage in religious discourse is scanty. In Jewish texts, starting with Biblical Aramaic, the distancing use of מִרְקָא is applied to God. In the Qumran texts, too, one finds examples of this: Job speaks 'before' God (11Q10 37: 3) and Abraham relates that he praised 'before' God (1Q20 21: 3). In Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan this mode of expression becomes much more widespread, to the extent that practically no preposition other than מִרְקָא is used with phrases referring to God.

A very curious feature that the Qumran texts share with Biblical Aramaic is the prefix *lamed* for third person imperfect forms of the verb אָבַח 'to be' (Rubin 2007). The form with *lamed* is used throughout the Qumran Aramaic corpus, with only a handful of exceptions (Schattner-Rieser 2010). While the origin of this *lamed* is somewhat obscure, the usage is almost certainly due to a desire to avoid homophony or homography with the Tetragrammaton (Fassberg 2010). Plural forms, masculine and feminine, in which no collision with the divine name could occur, nevertheless take the *lamed* prefix. This extension of the usage must be due to analogy, which tends to show that the phenomenon reflects the spoken language. This feature later disappears and is no longer attested in Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan, where the later forms יְתִי (*yhê*) and יְתִין (*yhôn*) are used.

While Qumran Aramaic would presumably have been understood throughout the Aramaic-speaking world of its time, from Nabataea to Hatra, certainly in its written form, typically Jewish elements of the type illustrated in the present section would give the language a foreign flavour and occasionally render it opaque to non-Jewish readers.

The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to Philology and Linguistics

The study of Qumran Aramaic contributes to better understanding of the writings. As for the Hebrew texts, linguistic research is necessary for a correct reconstruction and interpretation of the Aramaic texts. The study of Qumran Aramaic also has wider implications, however.

(p. 368) Although Aramaic is one of the human languages with the longest written attestation, the actual quantity of texts is very limited, particularly for some of the older periods. Before the discoveries of the Qumran texts, the Middle Aramaic phase was attested mainly by a handful of inscriptions from around the beginning of the common era. Precious as they may be, these inscriptions are often rather formulaic, providing large numbers of instances of near identical phrases. The Qumran finds add a fairly extensive corpus of literary texts much richer in vocabulary and phraseology. In this respect alone, the Aramaic texts from Qumran warrant intensive research by linguists and philologists. Much light can be thrown on the evolution of the language in the Middle Aramaic phase, on the origin of western features in the later western dialects, and on the progressive 'Judaizing' of Aramaic from close study of the Qumran texts. Another area benefiting from this type of research is the interaction of Aramaic and Hebrew in the Hellenistic period and the Aramaic component in the Hebrew language (see above in the section on Qumran Hebrew).

To New Testament scholars, the texts of Qumran are important inasmuch as they provide the only sizeable body of Aramaic texts more or less contemporary with the Gospels and the Book of Acts, parts of which have been suspected of being based on Aramaic traditions. The 'Aramaic approach' of the Gospels and Acts needs to take its point of departure in the Qumran texts (Greenfield 1972). Only when a word or expression fails to occur in this corpus may other, earlier or later, Aramaic dialects be made the basis of the discussion (Stuckenbruck 1991).

Greek in Qumran

Greek was well implanted in the Land of Israel by the first century BCE, as is shown by rich epigraphic remains (van der Horst 2001) and by the fact, which seems certain, that the Septuagint was being revised there in order to bring it into conformity with the emerging proto-Masoretic text (Barthélemy 1963). It is hard, however, to point to a certain instance of the use of Greek for literary purposes by Jews in the Land of Israel during the Second Temple period. Greek had become the normal language of Jewish religious discourse in the western diaspora since the third

century BCE, but in Judaea and in the eastern diaspora, the linguistic situation appears to have been very different (Edrei and Mendels 2007). The use of Greek was limited mostly to civic life. Greek never established itself as a religious language, probably because Hebrew and Aramaic were too well entrenched. The cultural influence of Hellenism on Judaism in Israel in this period is considerable, but it did not affect the linguistic habits in the sphere of religion.

(p. 369) Fragments of around twenty-seven Greek texts have been recovered from the caves near Qumran, nineteen of them from cave 7, where only Greek texts were found. Thus the Greek fragments represent only about 3 per cent of the Qumran finds (Tov 2001). There is no evidence indicating that any of the Greek texts were written at the site. Although many texts are hard to identify due to the fragmentary state of the manuscripts, most of them appear to represent portions of the Septuagint. The most important texts are: pap7QLXXEx, 4QLXXLev^a, 4QLXXLev^b, 4QLXXNum, 4QLXXDt, and pap7QLXXEjJer. There is one documentary text, 4Q350, a Greek account written on the back of one fragment of a Hebrew literary text (4Q460 9), but the connection of this text to the Qumran site is not entirely clear (Tov 2001: 7). Disregarding this documentary text, the Greek language of the texts found near Qumran is representative of Septuagint Greek (Joosten forthcoming). There is no reason to describe any of its particularities in the present article.

While the presence of Greek scrolls in the Qumran caves does not prove that the group keeping the manuscripts knew Greek, there is little reason to doubt that they did. It is all the more striking to observe how little the Greek language affected the Hebrew and Aramaic used in the scrolls. Apart from the Copper Scroll, there are hardly any Greek words in the Qumran texts. Since Greek words already turn up in Late Biblical Hebrew and in Biblical Aramaic, the absence of such words in the Qumran texts may reflect a conscious policy of avoiding such words.

Suggested Reading

The best introduction to Qumran Hebrew are the texts themselves. The interested student might spend a few hours with the Hodayoth, pondering what the words and expressions mean and retracing their biblical sources by means of a concordance. For those with a more theoretical bend of mind, the article by Steve Weitzman, 'Why did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?' (1999), is brilliantly written and packed with information. For serious investigation of Qumran Hebrew, Qimron's grammar is the place to start (Qimron 1986). The development of the field is reasonably well documented in the proceedings of the International Symposia on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira, initiated by Takamitsu Muraoka (Muraoka and Elwolde, 1997, 1999, 2000; Joosten and Rey 2008).

The literature on Qumran Aramaic is less abundant. The articles by Cook and Wise in Muraoka (1992) provide a detailed introduction to the debates surrounding the corpus.

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Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Abstract and Keywords

This article considers Leviticus, the Rabbis, and Qumran; ritual purity, moral purity, and their evolution at Qumran; and other incongruities facing the purity–community model. The dominant understanding of purity at Qumran has much to commend it. Inspired by Mary Douglas's style of structuralism, scholars – notably Harrington – have reconstructed a meaningful and logically coherent sectarian purity system by following the interconnections among the various texts and correlating them with archaeological evidence. A number of questions, however, remain. When some purity practices are attributed to the sect's past or future, while others in the same document are taken as characteristic of the group's present, one can rightly question whether the evidence or the model is driving the interpretation. Moreover, the present paradigm rests, in part, on reconstructed evidence: can such a theory justify overlooking seeming contradictions between the literary and archaeological evidence?

Keywords: Qumran, Mary Douglas, sectarian purity, archaeological evidence, ritual purity

The Turn Toward Ritual Purity: Leviticus, the Rabbis, and Qumran

As with many other topics pertaining to the scrolls, scholarship on the present theme has changed dramatically over the years, reflecting the nature of the available material, the interests and training of those working with it, as well as broader developments in biblical and religious studies. With regard to purity in particular, we can identify the 1970s as one important turning point, marked by an increased focus on matters pertaining to ritual purity law. Surely this shift is traceable in part to the appearance of the Temple Scroll (with its purity-heavy content) in 1977. It was also at about this time that Qumran studies as a whole began to take a turn toward *halakhah*, a shift that itself is traceable in part to the increased involvement of scholars trained in traditional rabbinic texts. In 1975 Lawrence H. Schiffman published his dissertation on *Halakha at Qumran*; in 1977 Joseph M. Baumgarten published his collection of essays entitled *Studies in Qumran Law* (both works appeared, it should be noted, in the SJLA series, then edited by Jacob Neusner, whose work will be addressed directly below).

Of course, matters pertaining to ritual purity *halakhah* were not entirely ignored in the earlier period (Lieberman 1952, Rabin 1957, and Ginzberg 1976). But at that time, it was also still possible for scholars to write on purity in the scrolls with a (p. 378) largely, if not entirely, non-halakhic focus. For instance, in his enduringly important survey of religion at Qumran, Helmer Ringgren devoted treatments to various purity concerns, such as the defiling force of sin (1963: 97–100) and the atoning power of purification (pp. 124–6). Yet there is hardly a word to be found in this work on the nitty-gritty of purificatory practices. How different things are today can be seen in the nearly inverse situation that characterizes the recent collection *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Two essays in the volume treat cultic topics (Kugler 2000 and Harrington 2000d), both focusing on *halakhah*.

This shift toward law in general and ritual purity in particular is traceable also to developments taking place outside the field of Qumran studies. Surely mention must be made of Mary Douglas, whose famous chapter on the biblical

dietary laws in *Purity and Danger* (1966) can rightly be said to have demonstrated the importance—and potentially fascinating nature—of purity practices by modelling a way in which various arcane (and even socially awkward) details can be brought together into a coherent and meaningful structure. Douglas' work in this respect reflects, on the one hand, the broader movement of structural anthropology, aligning in some ways with figures like Claude Lévi-Strauss and Edmund Leach. On the other hand, her work also reflects the social changes of the 1960s, which allowed for an even more open discussion, in both academic and religious contexts, of matters pertaining to sex and the body that were, in previous generations, taboo. Although Qumran scholars were not quick to adopt the full thrust of Douglas' structural methods, there were those who early on saw the potential benefit of the anthropologist's work for the study of the Qumran community (Isenberg and Owen 1977). And surely the present writer is not alone in being able to trace his interest in the present topic to an early encounter with Douglas' work.

In the wake of Douglas' work, two scholars in particular devoted significant energy to the study of purity laws (biblical and rabbinic, respectively): Jacob Milgrom and Jacob Neusner. Neusner's *The Idea of Purity* (1973) surveyed biblical, Second Temple, and rabbinic literature, with attention to the scrolls along the way (esp. pp. 50–5). Neusner's *The Idea* proceeds in dialogue with Douglas' work, and even in dialogue with the anthropologist herself, whose critical afterword is included in the volume (pp. 137–42). Neusner then went on to produce his massive *History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities* (1974–77). This work too dialogues intermittently with the Qumran evidence then available. But more significantly, it provided broad and convenient access to hitherto untranslated rabbinic traditions from, among other sources, the Tosefta and Sifra. It then became possible for scholars trained in fields other than rabbinics to consult rabbinic evidence for points of comparison. Although Neusner himself is no longer producing works of this nature, his *History* remains of use to students and scholars of the scrolls wishing to gain access to rabbinic sources and concepts, and especially those willing to entertain the possibility that rabbinic sources may preserve traditions tracing back to the Second Temple period.

(p. 379) Milgrom's encounter with the biblical purity laws began earlier and lasted longer than Neusner's. Milgrom's first published work on Leviticus appeared in 1963, and during the following years and decades, he steadily produced works on priestly sources and subjects. This project culminated with the publication of his massive three-volume Anchor Bible commentary (1992, 2000, 2001)—arguably the most thorough and significant commentary on any biblical book produced to date in the English language. On the one hand, Milgrom strongly criticized many aspects of Douglas' work (see e.g. 1992: 720–1). On the other hand, one particular aspect of Milgrom's work is directly traceable to Douglas, and has in turn had a profound impact on scrolls scholarship.

Douglas' work on purity emphasized the systemic nature of any given culture's purity laws. The rules work together, and cannot be understood in a piecemeal fashion. Only when all the data is collected together can the workings of the system be understood and its meanings discerned (see especially 1966: 29–57 [chs. 2–3]; see discussion in Klawans 2005: 18–20). The impact of this kind of approach is patently evident in Milgrom's own work on purity, with its focus on both system and symbol (1992: 45–6, 763–8, 816–20, 1000–4; see fuller discussion in Klawans 2005: 28–9). And there is one important way in which Milgrom took these approaches a step further.

For Milgrom, the systemic nature of purity systems justifies a distinct form of structural gap-filling, whereby better-attested rules are used as the basis for logically reconstructing rules curiously left unstated (1992: 667, 746, 934–5, 983). For example: were women required to bathe following menstruation? While such a requirement is assumed in rabbinic literature, the stipulation cannot be found in Leviticus, unless it is extrapolated from the requirement that men bathe after less serious defilements (e.g. Lev. 15: 16, 21). The potential power of such arguments—and their impact on Milgrom's work—can be seen by examining the various charts and diagrams occupying some twenty pages in Milgrom's commentary (1992: 825–6, 953–68, and 976–1000; parts of which were prepared with the help of David Wright). These charts map out the various ways in which distinct substances defile, and then indicate the ways in which one might purify oneself from such defilements. Virtually every chart has items marked in brackets. These brackets enclose data that are not mentioned as such in Leviticus, but which result from logical deductions like the one just paraphrased.

Milgrom's work on Leviticus has impacted the study of the scrolls in at least three direct ways. First, Milgrom's body of work extended to the scrolls and includes important interpretations of various texts, especially the Temple Scroll (e.g. 1990; 1992: 558–66, 968–76). Second, because a proper understanding of the biblical priestly laws provides the most sound basis for an understanding of subsequent rules, virtually any analysis of Qumranic purity law will, as a matter of course, grapple with Milgrom's work on Leviticus. Third, Milgrom's systemic method has been taken

up and applied directly to the scrolls in the body of work produced by one of his own disciples, Hannah K. Harrington (see esp. 1993, and also 2004).

(p. 380) Harrington's work on purity at Qumran (1993, 2004) represents the culmination of many of the trends and influences discussed above. From Douglas, we find anthropological and comparative interests, which are atypical within Qumran scholarship (Harrington 2004: 36, 71, 100, 102, 108; cf. also Regev 2007). In line with, and making judicious use of, Neusner's works from the 1970s we find the sustained interest in rabbinic literature as a potential source of information on the Second Temple Pharisees and, at least by point of comparison, the Dead Sea sectarians as well (Harrington 1993). From Milgrom we find the recognized need to grapple with the biblical evidence, the desire to systematize the purity laws, and the willingness to employ structural logic as a means for reconstructing the purity system in all its particulars. There are those, of course, who reject Milgrom's gap-filling technique for understanding Leviticus (e.g. Lawrence 2006: 2 n. 4; 7–8 n. 21). Still, Harrington is arguably on even safer ground when she employs the technique on the literally gap-filled Dead Sea Scrolls. Taking full advantage of the material available at that time, Harrington draws a picture of an eschatological group, characterized by stringent legal traditions focused particularly on matters of ritual purity (1993: 67, 109–110; cf. also 2004: 12–34, 45–6). There is one further way in which Harrington's work (and here we speak primarily of her publication in 1993) represents the pinnacle of all the trends discussed thus far: some thirty years after Ringgren's work, we find a volume devoted to the nitty-gritty of purity law (which Ringgren ignored) that at the same time devotes virtually no space to those issues that Ringgren focused on: defilement and purification as they relate to sin and atonement.

The Ritual Purity Community, as seen in the Complete Corpus

As with all matters pertaining to Qumran, the 1990s proved to be a particularly fateful and productive decade. The sudden general accessibility of long-awaited legal material fostered increased interest in the particulars of ritual purity practices. This is especially the case regarding 4QMMT, the text of which became officially or 'legally' available in 1994, but was widely, if unofficially, available since 1991. Harrington followed her dissertation with various publications refining her approach and applying it to newly published material. Throughout the decade, J. Baumgarten published various preliminary editions of Qumranic legal texts, a phase of work that culminated with the publication of DJD XVIII (1996, including the Cave 4 Damascus Document fragments) and DJD XXXV (1999, including various halakhic fragments such as 4Q274 Tohorot A). Important reviews of purity and related matters were also published in *EDSS* (Harrington 2000b and 2000c), as (p. 381) well as the collections marking the fiftieth anniversary of the discoveries (e.g. Harrington 2000a; Kugler 1999; Naudé 1999). Harrington has also reworked the Qumran sections of her dissertation into a thorough survey and harmonization of the textual evidence, with full bibliography (2004).

It is important to recognize that the scholars focusing primarily on purity laws at Qumran do not see eye-to-eye on some rather important matters: J. Baumgarten maintains the Essene hypothesis (1999: 97; cf. Harrington 1993: 51; 2004: 7–9), while Schiffman points to certain purity laws as the strongest evidence for the theory of Sadducean origins (Schiffman 1994a: 175–216, 273; this argument is based on parallels first noticed by J. Baumgarten 1980). Apparent evolutions in the scrolls' purity laws play an important role in the so-called 'Groningen' hypothesis of Qumran origins, which modified the classic Essene hypothesis as then generally believed by allowing for a more protracted development of sectarian ideology and a later date for settlement at Qumran (van der Woude and García Martínez 1990; García Martínez and Treballe Barrera 1995: 139–57; see discussion below). Finally, A. Baumgarten maintains that the Qumran sect cannot be identified with the Essenes or any other known sect, and bases this argument in part on rather subtle disagreements between the purity practices of the Dead Sea sect and Josephus's Essenes (A. Baumgarten 1997: 1 n. 1, and the literature cited there). As Harrington has observed, it is striking how the purity laws prove to be central to a number of differing theories regarding Qumran origins (2006: 398–9; cf. Werrett 2007: 9–10).

Despite these important disagreements—and putting aside for a moment others to be noted below—we can nevertheless speak meaningfully of broad agreement on a number of matters regarding purity at Qumran, at least among a number of the scholars who have demonstrated a sustained interest in this material over time (J. Baumgarten, Harrington, Schiffman), as well as a number of others who have also thoroughly studied the issues (García Martínez, Magness, Regev, Schmidt, and to a certain extent Klawans 2000). The general points of agreement include the following: (1) the centrality of ritual purity law for the sect at Qumran, whatever its precise

identity; (2) the integration of these ritual purity laws with the group's dualism and sectarian social structure, as described primarily in the Community Rule; (3) the integration of all this literary evidence with the archaeological evidence from Qumran, especially the *miqva'oth* (ritual baths); and (4) the general contrast between the Qumran sectarians so described and the later rabbis, with the rabbis maintaining a generally more lenient view regarding ritual purity. These ideas surface in scholarship so frequently that we can with some justification speak of a 'purity-community model' operating within Qumranic studies.

J. Baumgarten introduces the DJD publication of the 4QTohorot texts with this assertion (1999: 79):

It is now widely recognized that the laws of purity had a pervasive influence on the religious, economic, and social life of the Qumran community. One can hardly point to any aspect of (p. 382) their ideology or their communal discipline which does not in some way involve the legal categories of טהרה [purity].

Harrington introduces her most thorough treatment of the topic similarly (2004: 7):

Among all of the Jewish groups of the Second Temple era, the Qumran Community was the most rigorous in the maintenance of purity. The laws of purity and impurity were a central concern for the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In fact, the majority of the community's laws recorded in the extant manuscripts deal with matters related to the cult and purity.

Similar assertions of the significance of purity for the group's ideology and practice are common in the standard literature (Schiffman 1994a: 97; García Martínez 1995: 139, 156–7; Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1999: 125; Schmidt 2001: 150–2; Magness 2002: 158; for an alternate assessment, see Werrett 2007: 288–305).

It would not be possible to maintain these judgements without at the same time holding that those documents preserving the bulk of the purity laws (4QD, 4QMMT, 4QTohorot, 11QT) are to be integrated with those texts that articulate, to the fullest extent, the dualistic theology and the sectarian social structure typically viewed as central to the Qumran sect (especially 1QS). Harrington states the matter this way:

The Scrolls found at Qumran reveal a surprising amount of congruence on the subject of purity. Although these documents represent differences of authorship, date and genre, they consistently champion a stringent standard of ritual purity (2004: 45, cf. 129–30; see also 1993: 50 and 2000b: 724).

The argument for integrating the documents from Qumran into a single socio-legal system stems, in part, from the influences described above: Douglas' structural approach to purity, and Milgrom's productive application of these insights to the biblical purity laws. As Harrington has repeatedly asserted, the Qumran purity laws operate as a system (2004: 20). The argument also finds support in the various ways in which—by means of concatenating parallels—intersecting lines can be drawn across and through the various documents, spinning a web of sectarian purity laws and concerns. For instance, the exclusion of sinners from the community's pure food is in evidence in 1QS 6: 24–7: 25 as well as CD 9: 16–23. The prohibition (on grounds of ritual defilement) of sexual activity in the city of the sanctuary is in evidence (in strikingly similar terms) in both CD 12: 1–2 and 11QT 45: 11–12. The exclusion of the blind on grounds of ritual defilement is in evidence in 1QM 7: 4–5, 4QMMT B 49–54, and 11QT 45: 12–14. The emphatic assertion that ritual impurity lasts until sunset—as opposed to the rabbinic view that ritual purity is partially mitigated by ritual immersion earlier in the day—is in evidence in 4QMMT B 13–17, and 11QT 45: 9–10; 49: 19–21; 51: 2–5. The apparent use of 'sprinkling water' (*mei niddah*)—reserved in the biblical tradition for cleansing after coming into contact with a corpse—for various types of purifications is in evidence in 1QS 3: 4–5, 8–9 and, among other sources, 4QTohorot 277 fr. 1 2: 7–8 (J. Baumgarten et al. 1999: 83–7).

(p. 383) These examples are representative, not exhaustive. Lengthy lists of parallels or closely-related laws among the various documents have been drawn (e.g. Schiffman 1990), and one can find a full synthesis of the purity corpus in Harrington 2004. The parallels drawn in these and other works are real and striking. Although dissent has been raised (e.g. Werrett 2007) there is something to be said for the approach that seeks to integrate these disparate texts into a single legal system, characterized by legal stringency and a sectarian ideology. The contrasts between rabbinic and Qumranic approaches (Harrington 1993; 2004: 41–2, 130–1) also emerge easily from this picture, although it is recognized by some that sectarian law is not always stricter than later rabbinic traditions (J. Baumgarten et al. 1999: 81–82 [cf. Harrington 2004: 16 n. 2]; Klawans 2005: 159–60).

As noted above, there are works that focus on legal matters without seeking to describe fully the ways in which

these laws (apart from their stringency) express the distinctive values of the Qumran sect (e.g. Harrington 1993). Yet in recent years there has been more work done to tie these together. This is perhaps the most significant difference between Harrington's *Purity Texts* (2004) and her earlier systematic traversal of the material (1993). Harrington views the purity laws as an articulation of the group's worldview (2004: 34–42, 129–31; see also J. Baumgarten 2006). Harrington suggests three significant motivations for the sect's purity laws (39–41). First, purity is the prerequisite for holiness and therefore the precondition for divine aid in the ultimate, apocalyptic war against evil. Second, the spirit of purity can even overcome evil, as when the initiate is cleansed of wickedness upon joining the community. Third, purity is also the precondition for revelation, which the community considered to be an ongoing process. The effort to tie together Qumranic law and ideology can also be seen in those works that recognize the degree to which the Dead Sea sectarians—in disagreement with earlier biblical and later rabbinic sources—integrated the categories of impurity and sin, viewing moral transgression as a source of ritual defilement, and repentance as a prerequisite for ritual purification (J. Baumgarten et al. 1999: 80, 84, 96–7; 2006; Klawans 2000: 75–88, followed in many respects by Harrington 2004: 13, 27–30, 65–6).

For a number of interpreters, the Dead Sea sect constituted a group of purists who rejected the Jerusalem Temple and viewed their own institutions as temporary replacements for it (e.g. Gärtner 1965; Schmidt 2001: 138–97; Magness 2002: 119, 140; Harrington 2004: 16, 37–8, 42, 54, 104). The rejection of the Jerusalem temple was motivated, according to this view, by the group's ritual stringency, as expressed forcefully and polemically in texts such as 4QMMT and 11QT, as well as the moral concerns raised, for instance, against the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Peshar (for a fuller survey of the charges raised against the Jerusalem temple at Qumran, see Klawans 2005: 145–61).

The notion that the group saw itself as performing the role otherwise played by the temple can be seen clearly in, among other texts, 1QS (cols. 8–9), where the community views its own worship as atoning for the land, presumably in response (p. 384) to the moral defilement by sin (Klawans 2000: 88–91). The Qumranic usurpation of temple practices may also be in evidence in their use of 'sprinkling water' (*mei niddah*, J. Baumgarten et al. 1999: 81–7). For some interpreters, 4Q174 (*Florilegium*) spells out the ways in which the sectarians saw themselves as an interim temple (Dimant 1986; Harrington 2004: 37–8; Schmidt 2001: 163–4). So as if the Jerusalem temple did not even exist, the sectarians upheld their own stringent means of purity and atonement, performed their own sacred rites, perhaps seeing themselves as some sort of 'human temple' (*miqdash adam*, 4Q174 fr. 1 1: 6). Some go even further, asserting that the group believed that the divine presence dwelled among them at Qumran, and presumably no longer in the Jerusalem Temple (e.g. Harrington 2004: 28–9, 38, 46, 65; Schmidt 2001: 152, 162–4, 193–7; Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1999: 126; cf. Klawans 2005: 166–7, and 302 n. 132).

This picture—drawn by integrating the legal and sectarian documents—can then be integrated with the archaeological evidence from Qumran itself. This has been done rather thoroughly by Magness (2002: 105–62). The most salient feature of the site is the complicated system of cisterns and *miqva'oth* (ritual purity baths), which has no real archaeological parallels, and can easily be assimilated with the literary evidence (pp. 134–62; for a recent contrary view, see Magen and Peleg 2007: 32–42). In his imaginative dramatization of daily life at Qumran, Magen Broshi depicts daily immersions and other washings, again integrating the physical and literary data (1997: 61, 64–5, 70). As for other archaeological evidence, the room devoted to communal dining, the possible remains of sacral meals, and even the toilet installation may well also be understood in light of the literary record (Magness 2002: 105–33; see also Harrington 2006: 404–7). The discovery of stone vessels—generally believed to be invulnerable to defilement—is yet further evidence of the sect's purity concerns (Harrington 2004: 32–4; Regev 2000). Finally, the physical location of Qumran itself supports the reconstruction that emerges when all the strands are tied together: a geographically peripheral community, performing its own sacred rites apart from the Jerusalem temple, in anticipation of the time when things will be set aright—when the temple would be rebuilt according to the scrolls' visionary plans and operate according to the sect's idealized rules of purity and sacrifice.

Ritual Purity, Moral Purity, and their Evolution at Qumran

Needless to say, the 'purity-community model' outlined above is not accepted unquestioningly by all, and this is to put aside those who, for instance, see the Qumran ruins as a fortress or villa (Golb 1995; Hirschfeld 2004) or view the (p. 385) sectarians as Christians (Eisenman 1983). A number of views held by various Qumran scholars challenge one aspect of this model or another. To be sure, the scholars advocating the purity-community model

have responded to many of these challenges, with arguments of varying complexity. In order to fully evaluate the strength of the purity-community model, it will be helpful to review representative examples of the challenges raised and the responses offered.

One important ingredient of the purity-community model is the assertion that the bulk of the (non-biblical) Dead Sea documents can be homogenized into a single sectarian literary corpus. A serious challenge to the holistic view of the Qumran corpus comes from approaches that can be described as 'developmental'. Perhaps the most famous of these is the so-called 'Groningen' hypothesis of Qumran origins, first put forward by A. S. van der Woude and Florentino García Martínez (1990; see also García Martínez and Treballe Barrera 1995: 77–96, and compare Boccaccini 1998). The significance of a developmental approach with regard to purity law is twofold: Generally (1) such theories emphasize the pre-sectarian nature of many of the legal texts (including, especially, the Temple Scroll) and, with regard to our topic in particular (2), these approaches call attention to the fact that the full-blown sectarian documents exhibit distinctive ideas toward impurity that are not clearly in evidence in the bulk of legal documents. Indeed, both García Martínez (García Martínez and Treballe Barrera 1995: 139–57) and Boccaccini (1998: 64–7, 71–4, 93–8) have argued that evolutions in attitudes toward defilement are a key variable in discerning the difference between pre-sectarian and sectarian documents. More specifically, both called attention to the way in which the full-blown sectarian literature exhibits a conflation of the previously distinct categories of ritual impurity and moral transgression (García Martínez and Treballe Barrera 1995: 154–5). One implication of such an argument could be that the earlier documents focused on ritual purity do not represent the ideology or practices of the full-blown Qumran sect.

In line with these developmental theories, Klawans (2000) entered the conversation regarding Qumran as part of a broader project seeking to clarify the complicated and changing relationships between impurity and sin in the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple, and rabbinic literature. One aspect of this work involved offering some textually-based definitions for the distinct concepts of 'ritual' and 'moral' defilement—terms that were widely used previously, but rarely defined (pp. 3–42). With regard to Qumran, it was argued that the sectarian literature (including especially 1QS, 1QH, and 1QM) exhibits a full integration of the two previously separated notions, as evidenced by the following five phenomena (pp. 75–88): (1) the general description of sin as defilement; (2) the status of (inherently sinful) outsiders as ritually defiling; (3) the status of sinful insiders as ritually defiling; and the facts that (4) repentance requires purification, and (5) purification requires repentance. It was also noted that the general effect of moral impurity (the (p. 386) defilement of the land) was expressed in a number of Qumran texts and may also be reflected in the location of Qumran itself: on the boundary of Israel (cf. 2 Kings 14: 25). Did the sectarians choose to reside at Qumran so as to maintain their pure status in exile (cf. 1QpHab 11: 6; 1QM 1: 2) while the land of Israel itself had been defiled by sin? (See Klawans 2000: 88–90.)

This full-blown conflation of ritual impurity and moral impurity, however, does not run through the entire corpus. Texts such as the Temple Scroll and 4QMMT articulated strong interests in ritual defilement, little or no interest in moral defilement, all the while maintaining the distinction between the two (Klawans 2000: 48–52, 72–5). At the same time, certain passages from the Damascus Document (e.g. CD 4: 12 – 5: 11; pp. 52–6) and even the Habakkuk Peshier (8: 8–13; 12: 6–9; pp. 69–72), along with virtually all the purity-related passages from the book of Jubilees (pp. 46–8), exhibited notable interest in moral defilement, again without any evidence of the conflation seen especially in 1QS (cf. also Klawans 2005: 147–8, for further articulations of moral defilement in the Qumran literature).

Harrington in particular has found the terms 'ritual' and 'moral' useful for drawing distinctions in the material, and seems to accept a number of Klawans' general findings (Harrington 2004: 10, 13, 27–30, 65–6; 2006: 409–10; cf. Werrett 2007: 7, 60–2, 104–5, 293–4; and Haber 2008: 31–71, 93–106). Harrington pointedly questions, however, whether the two types of impurity were so completely integrated as to obliterate the distinction. In her words, 'to say that the Qumran sect made no dichotomy between ritual purity and purity in the ethical sense is an oversimplification of the matter' (2004: 30; cf. 2001: 89, here directed against J. Baumgarten). Similarly, Regev has adopted the distinction between ritual and moral defilement in a number of productive studies on purity at Qumran, while at the same time attributing significance to the distinct ways in which the different ideas continue to operate as such in the Qumran documents (e.g. 2003: 244–5 and 2007: 110–15, where priority is placed on the sectarians' emphasis on moral defilement). Himmelfarb (2001) also maintains that the conflation of ritual and moral impurity was not complete, because the bulk of references to moral defilement lack specific legal significance, the usages are more 'evocative' than halakhic (cf. also Lawrence 2006: 123–6). So in the minds of many, the distinction between

ritual and moral impurity holds not only for ancient Judaism in general, but even for Qumran in particular. There is indeed substance to these critiques, especially considering the number of Qumran documents—like the Temple Scroll—that express concern with ritual or moral defilement, without clear evidence of conflation of the two ideas.

For the present purposes, the significance of the distinction between ritual and moral impurity—and the question concerning the extent of their conflation at Qumran—rests on the implications of these issues for the purity-community model. Do the differences between the Temple Scroll (with its ritual purity focus) and the Community Rule (even if it only partially conflates the two categories) serve as evidence for the diverse nature of the library and possibly (p. 387) endorse a developmental view over a more holistic approach to the corpus (see Werrett 2007: 293–304 for an endorsement of this kind of approach)? On the other hand, if the conflation of ritual and moral defilement was never complete at Qumran, how secure is a developmental approach that focuses on the gradual melding of ideas never fully conflated?

It is notable that both J. Baumgarten and Harrington—even as they recognize these general differences among the Qumran texts—continue to maintain the relative homogeneity of the sectarian library (for a critique of Harrington's approach in this respect, see Werrett 2007: 175–9). For both Baumgarten and Harrington, the diversity among the various documents is not denied; it is, however, believed to result not from ideological distinctions or developments, but from differences in the documents' respective genres (Harrington 1993: 49–50; 2004: 45; J. Baumgarten 2006: 96; cf. Harrington 2006: 399–402). Moreover these scholars argue that whatever differences there may be among the various documents are nevertheless outweighed by the legal and ideological correlations that can be drawn connecting the texts (Harrington 2004: 44–5, 129–30; J. Baumgarten 2006: 96). Regardless of when documents like the Temple Scroll were composed, they were carefully preserved by the sect—presumably because of their continued legal significance (Harrington 1993: 50; 2004: 44–5).

Finally, one further point needs to be made in favour of the purity-community model against challenges raised from developmental approaches. For all their intuitive value, it is essential to recognize that there is a problematic circularity to the ways in which developmental arguments are constructed and then utilized in reconstructing the history of the sect. The problem boils down to this: the criteria by which documents such as 4QMMT and 11QT are commonly dated to pre-sectarian times are suspiciously similar to the historical reconstructions ostensibly based on these dates. For instance, it is commonly argued that 11QT and 4QMMT exhibit, respectively, pre-sectarian and early sectarian rulings and ideas (Boccaccini 1998: 98–104, 113–17; Qimron 1994: 109–21). These arguments are accepted, even in the absence of any clear documentary or literary evidence for these early dates. These two documents in particular have not been preserved in manuscripts exhibiting early Qumranic handwriting or orthography, nor are they verifiably quoted in any other early Qumran documents. So the inferred early dates of these documents rest largely on certain assumptions regarding the gradual, linear development of the Essene/Qumran movement, presuming there would be increasing sectarian tendency over time. But other possibilities should also be considered. Milik long ago suggested that the sect's originally rigid structure (characterized by 1QS) moderated over time (1959: 83–93). Regev has recently followed this lead, proposing that the Damascus Document should be dated later than the Community Rule (2007: 187–93, 243–66).

With regard to the development of purity practices, it does make sense to imagine a group developing in the direction of increasing stringency and decreasing (p. 388) differentiation between ritual and moral defilement. But one could also imagine that the group moderated its view, or shifted its focus from ritual to moral defilement, in relation to Herod's building projects or in reaction to the disastrous earthquake of 31 BCE. If something like this took place, would the textual evidence look any different? Probably not. Considering the circularity and plasticity of these arguments, those scholars who maintain the relative homogeneity of the corpus in the face of developmental approaches do not do so without cause (cf. Klawans 2005: 145–7).

Other Incongruities Facing the Purity-Community Model

So far, the holistic purity-community model can be seen as holding its ground against challenges from developmental theories advocating diachronic analysis. The evidence does not unambiguously support a clear evolutionary reconstruction of the history of purity ideas at Qumran. But a number of other significant incongruities remain. Each of these, on its own, may well not amount to a significant challenge to the prevailing model. But taken together, there *may* be sufficient reason to question the assertion that the materials from Qumran unquestionably

exhibit congruity with regard to purity. Moreover, it is essential to recognize that the charge of circularity can be thrown in the opposite direction too. After all, there are unproven assumptions and reconstructed data at the base of the purity-community model as well.

Women

Perhaps the most apparent incongruity in the literary corpus, especially for those holding the Essene hypothesis, is the significant number of ritual purity laws focused on matters pertaining to menstruation, sexual relations, and birth (of course, various other laws from Qumran pertain to women as well; see Bernstein 2004). The Temple Scroll, for instance, legislates concerning all three of these matters. Only four lines into the lengthy section of the scroll dealing with purity laws, we find a passage (11QT 45: 11–12, mentioned above) that prohibits sexual relations within the city of the sanctuary. Clearly, this prohibition assumes that couples were permitted to marry and engage in sexual relations elsewhere. Later on (48: 14–17), the scroll mandates that Israelites are to establish places outside their cities for women experiencing, recuperating, or purifying from menstruation, flux, (p. 389) or childbirth. We also find a lengthy discussion of the effects of corpse impurity, occasioned by a ruling that a woman with a miscarriage is herself considered like a tomb for all the time the still-born infant is within her body (50: 10–19).

Significantly, the Temple Scroll is not alone among the Qumran corpus in this respect. As indicated above, the Damascus Document also prohibits sexual relations in the city of the sanctuary (CD A 12: 1–2) and views as praiseworthy sexual fidelity and life-long monogamy (CD A 4: 12–5: 11). Clearly, the Damascus Document permits proper marriage, at least insofar as those ‘who reside in camps’ are concerned (CD A 7: 6–9, B 19: 2–5). The legal section of the document also preserves rulings concerning the Sabbath behaviour of wet-nurses (CD A 11: 11–12; 4QD^e [270] fr. 6 5: 16–17).

Other assorted laws concerning defiling menstrual flows, marital/sexual relations, and pregnancy can be found scattered among the Cave 4 legal fragments (4QD^a [266] fr. 6, 2: 1–13; 4QD^e [270] fr. 4, lines 1–20; 4QD^d [269] fr. 9, lines 1–8 // 4QD^e [270] fr. 5, lines 14–21 // 4QD^f [271] fr. 3, lines 7–15; 4QD^e [270] fr. 7 1: 12–13). The fragments also preserve a curious ruling concerning those who complain against the ‘mothers’ (4QD^e [270] fr. 7 1: 14–15). These rulings are notable in that they appear only in the Qumran version(s), and not the Cairo version(s), of the work. Ironically, the Cairo manuscripts—which exhibit less sustained interest in the ritual purities related to sex and marriage—seem more in line with the purity-community model than do the manuscripts from Qumran itself! As for other Qumran documents, laws pertaining to women can be found in 4QHalakha A (251) fr. line 11, 1 and fr. 12, lines 1–7; 4QMiscellaneous Rules (265) fr. 7, 2: 11–17, and 4QTohorot A (274) fr. 1, 1: 4–9. Unclear (but relatively certain) references to women can also be found in 4QPurification Liturgy (284) fr. 3, line 1 and 4QRitual of Purification A (414) fr. 10, line 11. In all, references to matters pertaining to menstrual impurity, sexuality, and birth appear in virtually all the documents from Qumran that treat ritual defilement in any significant way whatsoever.

Of course, one possible implication of all this is that the Essene hypothesis is entirely wrong, and that the Qumran sect—in contrast with the celibate Essenes—admitted women, permitted marriage, and legislated for these circumstances (e.g. A. Baumgarten 2004; Schiffman 1994a: 127–43). A more likely explanation associates the Damascus Document’s reference to those ‘who dwell in camps...and marry’ (CD A 7: 6–9, B 19: 2–5) with what Josephus says concerning a second order of Essenes, who marry for the sole purpose of procreating (*Jewish War* 2: 160–1; cf. Harrington 2004: 47). Seen in this light, the laws pertaining to women found in the scrolls can be explained in various ways. Perhaps the Damascus Document, along with other legal texts containing laws pertaining to women, was understood to apply to those sectarians who lived elsewhere and practised marriage, while the group at Qumran remained celibate (Crawford 2003). As noted above, the Temple Scroll is commonly understood to be pre-sectarian in origin (Harrington 2004: 50–1), so perhaps its laws were understood to hold in the distant past. According to other (p. 390) interpreters, the Temple Scroll is fundamentally eschatological in its orientation (Wise 1990: 64–84, 157–61, 167–9). So perhaps its laws pertaining to women were understood to apply to the future, when the group’s rules will predominate over all Israel (Harrington 2004: 100–1). By these arguments, it is possible to maintain the Essene hypothesis, with celibacy upheld at least at Qumran itself (so e.g. Harrington 2004: 98–106; cf. Crawford 2003).

Indeed, despite all the laws pertaining to women, two other realms of evidence support the claim that the Qumran sectarians lived without women. While it may be true that the legal traditions preserved at Qumran exhibit little

outright misogyny (so e.g. Gruber 2003), the fact remains that the more obviously sectarian documents such as the Community Rule and Thanksgiving Hymns freely use the term *niddah* with regard to sinful defilement (Klawans 2000: 77–9). This usage (e.g. 1QS 11: 14–15; 1QH^a 4: 19, 9: 22, etc.) is at least potentially misogynistic, and stands in contrast to the more restrained usage of this term that is characteristic of both 11QT and rabbinic literature (Klawans 2000: 107).

Putting aside the documents' attitude toward women, the general absence of women from Qumran is supported by the archaeological evidence, which preserves few reliably ancient female bones and relatively few feminine gendered objects (Magness 2002: 163–87; Zias 2000). Even if it is true, as A. Baumgarten points out (2004: 179–85), that some scholars choose to de-emphasize what little evidence there is of women buried at the cemetery, one still must grapple with the overwhelming imbalance among the remains, with men greatly outnumbering women, and children absent altogether (Schultz 2006: 219–20; Eshel et al. 2002). So perhaps indeed the purity-community model can be maintained by attributing the purity laws pertaining to women to the group's past or future, or by attributing them to the group's periphery.

The problem with this does not really pertain to women per se, but to the more general implications of the arguments just considered. It is perfectly reasonable to argue that the Qumran documents reflect diversity of opinion on various matters, and articulate views that are traceable back to the group's past, point forward to the group's vision of the future, or are meant to pertain to their less stringent contemporaries who lived elsewhere. The difficulty is this: if virtually all the purity laws pertaining to women are understood to apply to the group's past, future, or periphery, how can we be certain that the other purity laws pertaining to men preserved in the same documents were practised by the sectarians, in their own day, at Qumran? When all is said and done, what is left? Where are the Qumran documents that lay out the ritual purity laws practised by the men of Qumran, *at Qumran*?

Graves and Corpse Impurity

Another significant incongruity appears when one attempts to correlate the purity-community model with the group's apparent attitude toward corpse impurity on (p. 391) the one hand and the cemetery at Qumran on the other. It is an oft-repeated truism (e.g. Harrington 2004: 71–2) that corpse impurity is the most serious form of defilement in the biblical and ancient Jewish purity system(s). The rabbis ostensibly viewed the corpse as the most severe form of defilement (*m. Kelim* 1: 4). There are, however, some surprising indications here and there in rabbinic literature that corpses themselves did not defile in all circumstances (*t. Kelim Bava Qama* 1: 8; *Sifre Zutta* to Num. 19: 11). The book of Jubilees exhibits a strong interest in moral defilement, a moderate interest in certain forms of ritual defilement, but no interest at all in corpse impurity, despite the various death and burial narratives appearing throughout the book (Klawans 2000: 46–8; Ravid 2002: 65–7; but cf. VanderKam 2002).

Even so, evidence concerning the severity of corpse impurity does emerge from Qumran. Again, the Temple Scroll proves to be a key source (Yadin 1983, 1: 321–43). The scroll carefully delineates the contagion of corpse impurity (49: 5–50: 19), and calls for cemeteries to be located apart from four cities throughout the land (48: 11–14), presumably at some distance from the city of the sanctuary. The city of the sanctuary is to have, outside of it, places for those suffering from 'leprosy' and (male) genital flows (46: 16–18) to remain while suffering, recuperating, or purifying. Without any such stipulation, those defiled by contact with a corpse are banned from the city until they are purified (11QT 45: 17–18). The purification procedures are also described (49: 11–21), and they involve, in addition to sprinkling with *mei niddah* on the third and seventh days, bathing on the first, third, and seventh days (49: 17–20; 50: 13–15). The person only becomes pure when the sun has set on the final day (49: 20–21; 50: 15–16).

Although a full discussion of this procedure is out of place here, a number of aspects of these rules are significant for the present purposes. First, the emphasis on ritual bathing during the process of purification (and not just toward its conclusion) is notable (Harrington 2004: 80–1). The implication is that there are various classes of people that are required to purify themselves ritually, even though they remain ritually defiled nonetheless (cf. Harrington 2004: 59, 80–1, and the literature cited there). Harrington may be right in her reading of the evidence to the effect that 'impure persons can become more impure' (2004: 59) and that despite the early washings, ritual defilement persisted in some form until sunset on the last day of purification (2004: 81). But a question needs to be asked at this point: assuming the purity-community model, did these initial washings take place at Qumran or elsewhere? If the former is the case, then how strictly could the ritually impure be kept from the ritually pure,

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considering the small size of the site? If the latter is the case, is this not then one more way in which the literary and archaeological evidence as we have surveyed it do not quite cohere?

Another important question concerns the *mei niddah*—the sprinkling water mandated by Numbers 19, and referred to frequently in the Qumran corpus (J. Baumgarten et al. 1999: 81–7; Harrington 2004: 78–9). A curious debate has (p. 392) long run through Qumran scholarship: did the group require the use of *mei niddah* as described in the scriptural sources? And if so, were red heifers burned at Qumran in order to procure sufficient supply of *mei niddah*? John Bowman (1958) long ago suggested that the Qumran sectarians did indeed perform this rite; A. Baumgarten (1994) and García Martínez (1999) agree. But even some advocates of the purity-community model, such as Harrington (2004: 83), believe otherwise. The stakes indeed are high: if this rite was performed, why then were other sacrificial rites (presumably) held in abeyance? Alternatively, as Harrington recognizes, if the rite was not performed, then how was ritual purification accomplished at Qumran?

It is with this question in mind that we turn, momentarily, to the Qumran cemetery. The burial ground adjacent to the site contains nearly 1,000 graves datable to the Qumranic period (possibly more), virtually all oriented on a north-south axis, and as best we can tell, practically all adult male too (Zias 2000; Eshel et al. 2002; Magness 2002: 168–75, 186; cf. Schultz 2006: 219–20). To be sure, there is some dispute about how to interpret the relative (but not complete) absence of women's bones from these graves (see A. Baumgarten 2004: 179–85 and the literature cited there). But the real issue here concerns the proximity of the graves to the supposed ritual-purity centre at Qumran. Harrington notes that the fifty cubits required (according to rabbinic literature; *m. Baba Batra* 2: 9) for separating a settlement from a burial site are minimally met by the space between the eastern wall of Qumran and the bulk of the graves (2006: 406–7). If, however, the recent mapping of the cemetery using ground penetrating radar is correct, there are many north-south oriented graves located within ten metres of the eastern edge of the settlement (Eshel et al. 2002: 139). Indeed, Golb (1995: 34–5) raises therefore an important point when he argues that the proximity of the cemetery to the site is problematic for those who hold that ritual purity was maintained rigorously at Qumran. After all, the cemetery's location was surely a matter of choice: so why would the sectarians choose to bury their dead so close to their ritual baths and pure food?

It is of course possible that Qumran was not a sectarian settlement at all. But the cemetery raises even greater problems for those who view the site as a fortress or villa (so, correctly, Harrington 2006: 406–7). So is there any way to explain how the sectarians could accept living in close proximity to a cemetery? Two possibilities should be considered. The first relates to the question concerning the red heifer. Let us suppose that Harrington is correct in her assertion that the red-heifer rite was held in abeyance at Qumran (2004: 83). That means, as she grants, that corpse impurity was an irresolvable problem for them. If that were the case, then the problem of the cemetery's proximity finds a solution not in the group's stringency, but in their (albeit forced) leniency. Because corpse impurity had become an irresolvable problem, corpse impurity need not be particularly avoided. As surprising as this may sound to some readers, this is precisely the approach taken by traditional Judaism since the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. While (p. 393) certain ritual purity laws (concerning hand-washing and menstrual impurity, for instance) are followed to this day by some groups of Jews, these rules are maintained despite the universality of corpse impurity, which is destined to remain all-pervasive until the temple is rebuilt and a red heifer is properly burned.

A second possible explanation should be mentioned, although it is extremely speculative. It is possible that the sectarians believed that their righteous dead were not defiling at all. There is no evidence for this perspective other than the proximity of the graves to the site and the comparative evidence of the later emergence of the Christian cult of the saints (Brown 1981), which revolves around the sanctity of the bodies of deceased righteous people. Without bestowing power to relics, certain strains of rabbinic Judaism eventually attribute sanctity to the gravesites of righteous figures such as the matriarch Rachel, King David, and Rabbi Simeon Bar Yohai. A partial, but inverse, analogue (for what little decontextualized comparisons are worth) can be found among the Zoroastrians, for whom the righteous dead defile *more* than other dead people, because the death of a righteous person requires greater powers of darkness and death to vanquish the powers of righteousness and life that adhere to the virtuous soul (Choksy 1989: 16–17). As granted already, there is little positive evidence from the scrolls to support the claim that the sectarians viewed their own dead in any special manner vis-à-vis standard biblical notions of defilement; but is there less to this idea than there is to some of the other aspects of the purity-community model?

Toilet Practices

A third disparity between the literary and archaeological evidence poses yet another challenge to the purity-community model. According to the Temple Scroll (46: 13–16), latrines were to be constructed at a distance of some 3,000 cubits. This ruling finds a parallel in the War Scroll (1QM 7: 6–7), providing one can give or take a thousand cubits. Ingeniously, Yadin (1962: 73–5; 1983, 1: 294–304) corroborated this evidence with Josephus' testimony regarding the Essenes by connecting the Essene prohibition of going to stool on the Sabbath (*Jewish War* 2: 147) with the fact that the latrines were to be placed, according to the scrolls, beyond the Sabbath walking limits (cf. Harrington 2004: 106, who accepts this argumentation). All this jibes with other evidence from the scrolls to the effect that the sectarians—unlike the later rabbis—viewed excrement as a source of ritual defilement (Harrington 2004: 106–8).

Not everyone agrees that the various pieces of literary evidence fit together so well. A. Baumgarten (1996) called attention to toilet practices as an example of a significant irreconcilable difference between the practices of Josephus' Essenes and the laws of the Temple Scroll. The matter is made more confusing when one reckons with the discovery of a toilet at Qumran. The identification of a toilet at Qumran was first suggested by Roland de Vaux and argued recently by Magness (2002: 105–7, 131; cf. Harrington 2006: 405–6). The facility is located toward the east of the settlement, closer to the cemetery and adjacent to various workshops and a ritual bath. The facility was in use during the earlier phase of Qumran sectarian settlement (period Ib), which Magness believes begins 100–50 BCE and ends with the earthquake in 31 BCE (pp. 47–72). The toilet, along with the adjacent ritual bath, was never repaired for use in subsequent periods of sectarian activity at Qumran (pp. 107, 129).

Once again we find a situation where the archaeological evidence does not live up to the extreme standards advocated in the sectarian literature—the toilet is hardly located at the distances called for in either the War Scroll or the Temple Scroll. And once again, we find the Qumran sectarians *choosing* to live, eat, and bathe in close proximity to what they seemed to consider a source of ritual defilement. Magness attempts to correlate the evidence (2002: 109):

[T]he sectarians attended to their bodily functions in various ways. When they did not have access to built latrines in permanent settlements they relieved themselves in the manner described by Josephus. The location of the toilet in L51 on the eastern side of the main building suggests that the distance regulations mandated for the toilets in the War Scroll and in the Temple Scroll did not apply to the settlement at Qumran. These sources make a point of requiring the placement of the toilets at minimum distances from the war camps at the end of days and from the ideal city of Jerusalem.

These observations are not unreasonable. But it is valid to point out that this kind of logic could allow interpreters to accommodate almost any contradiction between the archaeological and literary evidence (cf. A. Baumgarten 2004: 185–7). So once again, as with the laws pertaining to women and corpses, toilet regulations from Qumran documents do not seem to apply to the practices of the sect during the time they ostensibly lived at the site. Of course, we should recall that it remains possible that the site was not sectarian at all, or not sectarian for certain periods of time. It is also possible that the Temple Scroll preserves older laws and that the War Scroll points to the future. And it is possible that Josephus is speaking here of marrying, urban Essenes. But it is also possible at this point to ask how long the purity-community model is to be maintained in the face of accumulating contraindications.

Pervasive, Inescapable Defilement

A final challenge to the purity-community model comes from the sectarian literature itself, particularly from the Thanksgiving Hymns. An important trope of this document is the repeated assertion by the speaker—who is, presumably, a sectarian son of light, though probably *not* the Teacher of Righteousness—that he is born of defilement and wallows in impurity (e.g. 1QH^a 4: 17–25; 9: 21–3; 11: 23–5; 20: 20–6). There are significant questions concerning precisely how these references are to be (p. 395) taken. Are they further indications of the integration of ritual and moral defilement (Klawans 2000: 75–8), be it partial or complete? Or are these passages metaphorical usages of one sort or another (Lawrence 2006: 120–3)? It seems reasonable to conclude, at least, that we find here powerful articulations of a notion of 'human inadequacy' in the face of pervasive sin and defilement (Harrington 2004: 28–9, 56–7). And the question becomes, once more, whether the sentiments expressed here easily fall in line with a picture of sectarians actively and confidently maintaining at Qumran high levels of ritual purity.

Toward a Modified Purity-Community Model: Quasi-Purity at Qumran

The foregoing sections have called attention to a number of areas of concern that scholarship should address and seek to clarify in the coming years. The purity-community model has merit in that it thoughtfully integrates the archaeological data with the literary evidence from the scrolls and Josephus. But there is much that is held in tension, and further clarification is indeed in order. In what follows, an alternative to the dominant model is presented, one that also seeks to integrate the literary and archaeological evidence. The purpose, however, is not so much to advocate for the replacement of the dominant model by a new paradigm. It is hoped, rather, that the following preliminary description of an alternative model of purity at Qumran will spur further creative thinking focused on resolving the tensions that currently beset the dominant interpretation of the evidence. When all is said and done, it may indeed turn out that the tensions noted above result from the attempt to integrate what cannot be integrated. As we have noted already, it is possible, for instance, that the older legal material from the Temple Scroll really ought not to be integrated with the site of Qumran at all. But if we are to consider integrating the various documents with the archaeological evidence, perhaps it can be done in the following manner.

A Culture of Inadequacy

One way to start rethinking the evidence is to begin from a different reference point. Instead of taking the Community Rule, with its ostensibly confident assertion of sectarian powers of purification and atonement, let us select as a starting point the Thanksgiving Hymns and that document's pessimistic views concerning the pervasiveness of defilement and the limited human capacity to overcome it (p. 396) (e.g. 1QH^a 4: 17–25, 9: 21–7). Indeed, if we start here and begin looking for expressions of inadequacy at Qumran, we very quickly find confirming evidence. Despite all that is said about the Qumran community viewing itself as a substitute temple (e.g. Schiffman 1999; Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1999: 126; Magness 2002: 119; Harrington 2004: 37–8, etc.), it can very plainly be seen that the Qumran literature strongly suggests that even though the sect viewed the current temple negatively (Klawans 2005: 145–61), the sectarians did not believe that their institutions constituted an adequate substitute (what follows summarizes Klawans 2005: 162–168; cf. Haber 2008: 106–124).

Their settlement, of course, pales in comparison to the temple they envisioned. While they referred to the temple as a sanctuary (*miqdash*, e.g. CD A 1: 3) they spoke of their own settlement more modestly as a house (*bayit*, e.g. CD A 3: 19; 1QS 8: 5–6). But more importantly, their powers of purification and atonement also pale in comparison to the Jerusalem temples, past, present, or future. The temple offered complete purification (even from corpse impurity) and rather speedy processes of ritual atonement as well. Joining the Qumran group, by contrast, took years, and may not have even resulted in the attainment of complete ritual purity, especially if it is true that the red heifer ashes were not available at Qumran. And according to the penal code of the Community Rule, sinners who violated even rather minor stipulations could suffer punishments in excess of months or a year; certainly an effective temple could offer speedier means of atonement than that.

Finally—and perhaps most important of all—is the absence of the divine presence at Qumran. It is, of course, commonly asserted that the divine presence was believed to dwell among the sectarians at Qumran (e.g. Harrington 2004: 28–9, 38, 46, 65; Schmidt 2001: 152, 162–4, 193–7; Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1999: 126). This view is a prominent example of what has been referred to above as *reconstructed data*. There is no Qumran text that says as much. There are, however, texts such as the Temple Scroll that reiterate the biblical assertion that the divine presence will dwell in the temple, assuming the requisite ritual and moral standards are met (11QT 45: 11–12, 46: 11–12, etc.). There are also documents that connect the maintenance of ritual purification to the presence of angels (e.g. 1QSa 2: 8–9; 1QM 7: 6). For those who maintain that the divine presence dwelled at Qumran, these sources are then elided with the seeming evidence for the community-as-temple theory, and compared to New Testament texts (e.g. 2 Cor. 6: 16, Eph. 2: 19–22; cf. Gärtner 1965), in order to yield the desired result, one that only exists when the gaps in the data are filled in this particular way. But perhaps there is no gap here. Perhaps the Dead Sea sect did not clearly assert that the divine presence dwelled among them because—perfectly in line with their own legal and visionary literature—they did not believe that such a presence could ever reside among those who, like themselves, lived in proximity to graves and excrement, and performed ablutions that could not yield complete purification. (p. 397)

Laws for the Future, Texts for Study

It is commonly granted that many of the laws preserved at Qumran were transmitted by the sect with an eye toward the future. This would apply, of course, to the bulk of the laws of the Temple Scroll, which speak of a glorious temple, a future king, and the presence of the twelve tribes of Israel. While there is some debate about whether the scroll's legislation is purely eschatological or merely forward thinking (see Wise 1990: 64–84, 157–61, 167–79 and Schiffman 1994b: 115–18), it is generally and minimally agreed that many of its laws could not be practised in the present day. It is also often granted that the scroll may have been composed rather early, and therefore does not agree in all respects with the sectarian literature like the Community Rule (e.g. Harrington 2004: 50). The laws preserved in the Temple Scroll therefore served as material for study and meditation (cf. Kugler 2000) while the group looked to a better future.

And why should the purity laws be separated from the rest of the cultic laws in this regard? As we have observed above, many of the Temple Scroll's purity laws (such as those concerning graves and excrement) were clearly not practiced at Qumran. How then can we be so sure that the sectarians followed, in their present day, the scroll's legislation concerning the defiling force of male genital flows? It is true, of course, that this line of reasoning applies less to other documents from Qumran dealing with purity laws, such as 4QTohorot A (274) and the Cave 4 Damascus Document fragments. But these texts are, without exception, poorly preserved, while we have at our disposal virtually the entire section of the Temple Scroll devoted to purity laws. Is it not safer to interpret the other legal texts in light of the Temple Scroll than the other way around? Why not understand the various interconnections among the documents' purity laws to indicate that the entire cultic legal corpus was eschatological in nature or at least future-oriented?

Supererogatory or Even Ineffectual Purification

A third support for rethinking the prevailing approach to purity at Qumran is to be found among the various rules calling for what can be called 'supererogatory' purifications: additional acts of purification that are performed despite their incomplete effect (for a discussion of ancient Jewish hand-washing in light of this concept, see Booth 1986: 189–203). One example of this phenomenon at Qumran involves the requirement of 'first-day' immersions at the outset of certain purification processes (e.g. 11QT 49: 17). This phenomenon has been discussed in detail by Milgrom (1992: 968–76), and the evidence has been adequately summarized by Harrington (2004: 59, 80–1). The key facts for our purposes are these: by requiring 'first-day' immersions that are not specified in scriptural texts, the Qumranic rules emphasize what is also implied in biblical sources: that immersions (p. 398) reduce defilement but do not, on their own, effect purification. The same point is made, of course, in the sectarian emphasis on defilement lasting until sundown on the final day of purification (i.e. the sect's well-known stringent view vis-à-vis the rabbinic *tebul yom*). We referred to these notions briefly above, and asked the following questions: if these rules were practiced by the Qumran sect, did these initial immersions take place at Qumran? If so, how was ritual purity maintained by other residents of the site? Now that many other questions have also been asked, perhaps this phenomenon can be seen not as the exception to be explained away but as a rule by which other evidence is interpreted.

If these supererogatory washings were performed at Qumran (in proximity, let us remember, to a toilet and cemetery), is it possible that *all* the washings done there were in a way supererogatory, and performed despite their incomplete effect? Indeed, the notion of supererogatory washings allows for the other ideas to be brought together into a relatively consistent and coherent interpretation of the purity evidence from Qumran. According to this view, the sect believed the powers of darkness and defilement were, in the present day, much greater than the powers of light and purification. Moreover, the sectarians believed that the Jerusalem temple was inadequate, defiled, and ineffective. And yet they had no illusions about their own place in this universe: their hovel at Qumran was no temple, and their rites of atonement and purification could not alter the fundamental fact that they were born of defilement and wallowed in impurity. Still they performed various purifications as best they could, recognizing that ritual purity in accordance with their laws' high standards was beyond their reach. Quite possibly, quasi-purity was all that could be obtained at Qumran.

Conclusion: Prospects for the Future

The dominant understanding of purity at Qumran has much to commend it. Inspired by Douglas' style of structuralism, scholars—notably Harrington (2004)—have reconstructed a meaningful and logically coherent

sectarian purity system by following the interconnections among the various texts and correlating them with archaeological evidence. A number of questions, however, remain. When some purity practices are attributed to the sect's past or future, while others in the same document are taken as characteristic of the group's present, one can rightly question whether the evidence or the model is driving the interpretation. Moreover, the present paradigm rests, in part, on reconstructed evidence: can such a theory justify overlooking seeming contradictions between the literary and archaeological evidence? Indeed, the agenda now must be to consider whether the prevailing model can withstand the questions that have been posed to it. And (p. 399) other questions too will need to be asked, such as whether the varied evidence really fits together so well at all. But all this can be better achieved when the prevailing model is measured against an alternate one. A different approach has been proposed above; further progress in this field may well rest on the development of additional options for scholars to choose from and test against all the evidence.

Suggested Reading

For an introduction to purity in the scrolls, readers would do well to begin with Harrington (2004), which introduces the issues, surveys the evidence, and lays out the case for what has become the standard approach to purity at Qumran. Harrington's bibliographic essay (2006) provides a fuller account of the scholarly discussion. Both works, it should be noted, have been extremely helpful in the formulation of the present essay, and contain further references to primary and secondary sources regarding many points addressed above. Werrett (2007) is the most recent survey of the legal texts, and it argues for recognizing disagreements and developments among the documents. Neusner (1973) remains valuable as a readable survey of the broader evidence. Klawans (2000) covers the same territory (from the Hebrew Bible through rabbinic literature), with a focus on the distinction between ritual and moral defilement and their relation over the course of time. Haber (2008) includes bibliographic essays on ritual and moral impurity in the Hebrew Bible, ancient Judaism, and the scrolls (pp. 1–71). Magness (2002) provides a readable introduction to the archaeological material, addressed to those without archaeological training. Magness also includes chapters devoted to purity matters such as the toilet and the cemeteries. Ringgren (1963), though painfully outdated in terms of both evidence and perspective, is still worth reading if only as a reminder of what the picture of the sect would look like if the legal documents like the Temple Scroll and 4QMMT were to take a back seat to the clearly sectarian documents such as the Community Rule and the Thanksgiving Hymns. Finally, A. Baumgarten (2004) is a passionate plea for rethinking commonly held assumptions regarding Qumran.

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Apocalypticism and Messianism

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The beliefs of the movement that lies behind the scrolls were influenced by the eschatological ideas of the early Enochic writings and by the Book of Daniel, and although the movement does not seem to have produced many apocalypses, eschatology and messianism formed a significant part of its thought-world. But the movement was concerned above all with the proper observance of the Torah. It seems likely that the development of dualism and to some extent of eschatology was a way of coping with the fact that their interpretation of the Torah was not accepted by the leaders. The discussion also holds that the eschatological and messianic beliefs of the Dead Sea Scrolls represent a development of traditions already contained in the Hebrew Bible and form part of the spectrum of beliefs that were common to Jews of the period.

Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, apocalypses, Enochic writings, Book of Daniel, eschatology, Torah, Hebrew Bible

Apocalypticism

The Dead Sea Scrolls include multiple copies of two apocalypses, the Book of Enoch and the Book of Daniel, which were known before the discovery of the scrolls and date from before the settlement at Qumran. They also include copies of a few hitherto unknown works that also appear to belong to the apocalyptic genre such as the New Jerusalem text, of which six copies survive. The existence of multiple copies of these apocalypses is an indication that they were of some importance at Qumran, but the precise significance of the apocalypses, and of apocalypticism, for the Qumran community has been assessed in very different ways.

In his widely-used handbook to the Dead Sea Scrolls, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, first published in 1958, F. M. Cross observed that in the light of the new sources the motivation of the Essenes who retreated into the desert to form the Qumran community proved 'to root profoundly in older Judaism, specifically in the priestly laws of ritual purity coupled with a thoroughgoing apocalypticism'. He described apocalypticism as characterized by eschatology, an obsession with 'last things', and by ethical dualism, the struggle between the opposing forces of good and evil, and he went on to state that 'the Essenes prove to be an apocalyptic community' (Cross 1958: 55–6). He repeated these views in the third edition of his work, but added, in comments on 'apocalypticism' or 'the apocalyptic', that he did (p. 404) not use 'apocalyptic' as an adjective confined to the genre of the apocalypses (Cross 1995: 68–70).

In complete contrast, in a paper given at the Uppsala conference on apocalypticism in 1979, Hartmut Stegemann argued that the Qumran community was 'no apocalyptic movement' (Stegemann 1989: 520–1, 525). This view was based on the fact that he regarded 'apocalyptic' exclusively as a literary phenomenon, whose essential characteristic he described as the revelation of heavenly mysteries in book form (Stegemann 1989: 498–9, 526–8), and, as he rightly observed, amongst the scrolls that could plausibly be regarded as specifically Qumranic there

are very few works that have the literary genre of an apocalypse. Two other points that he made should be noted here: first, that the apocalypses from the Second Temple period, both those that are non-sectarian and those that are possibly sectarian, were largely composed in Aramaic (Stegemann 1989: 525); secondly, that eschatology was clearly of secondary relevance and of much less significance in the basic orientation of the Qumran community than observance of the Torah, which was central to its concerns (Stegemann 1989: 523). Devorah Dimant similarly drew attention to the fact that the majority of the texts found at Qumran that can be classed as apocalypses, or are related to the apocalyptic genre, are composed in Aramaic, and that these texts do not contain terminology distinctive to the Qumran community (Dimant 1994: 179, 189).

Stegemann was able to refer in his paper to a previously published article by Carmignac (1979), whose literary approach to the definition of apocalyptic and views on the significance of apocalyptic at Qumran were very similar to his own. Overall, however, the view that the Essenes in general, and the Qumran sect in particular, formed an apocalyptic community has been dominant and has been defended especially by Florentino García Martínez and John J. Collins. Thus García Martínez regards what he describes as 'the genetic influence of apocalyptic on the origins of the Qumran community' as one of the pillars of the 'Groningen hypothesis' (García Martínez 1992: xiv). He maintains, on the basis of the descriptions of the Essenes in the classical authors and on evidence derived from the early Enochic writings, Jubilees, and the scrolls, that the characteristic ideas of Essenism and of the Qumran Sect are an extension of ideas that were already present within the pre-Maccabean Palestinian apocalyptic tradition, namely determinism, which was based on the idea of an original sin prior to history; interpretation, which represented an extension of the interpretation of the prophets that can be found in the apocalyptic tradition; communion with the world of angels; and the concept of the eschatological temple. He notes that eschatology is not prominent in the descriptions by the classical authors of the Essenes, but is prominent in the sectarian writings from Qumran, and he argues that this too represents a continuation of ideas that are of enormous importance in writings such as Jubilees and the Book of Dreams (García Martínez 1988: 119–21; 1995a: 88–91).

(p. 405) Elsewhere, in a volume entitled *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, García Martínez suggested that just as study of apocalyptic was essential for an understanding of the development of the ideas that are characteristic of the Qumran community, so study of Qumran was essential for an understanding of apocalyptic, and in this volume he brought together studies of seven Aramaic texts from the Qumran library (4QNoah (4Q534), the Aramaic Enoch fragments, the Book of Giants, the Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242), 4QPseudo-Daniel (4Q243–245), 4QAramaic Apocalypse (4Q246), the New Jerusalem text) that he believed shed light on the study of apocalyptic (García Martínez 1992: x–xi); but it should be noted that not all of these writings belong to the apocalyptic genre. More recently, in an article in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism* entitled 'Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls', he has addressed the question whether the cluster of ideas found in the Qumran writings can be attributed to an apocalyptic tradition. He states that apocalypticism cannot be reduced to the literary genre apocalypse and maintains that the major sectarian writings, although certainly not apocalypses, reflect a worldview that is similar to the worldview of the apocalypses and can properly be called 'apocalyptic' (García Martínez 1998: 164–6). Thus he argues that the ideas concerning the origin of evil, the periodization of history and the expectation of the end, communion with the heavenly world, and the eschatological war, which are characteristic of the apocalyptic tradition represented by the *Book of Enoch* and by Daniel, were not merely continued within the Qumran writings, but also underwent equally significant development and represent a genuine apocalypticism (García Martínez 1998: 190–1).

Very similar views have also been put forward by John Collins, who has discussed the subject of apocalypticism and the scrolls in a number of his writings (Collins 1990, 1991, 1997, 1999). Here it is perhaps sufficient to refer only to two of these studies. In *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1997) Collins has examined in some detail the way in which ideas characteristic of apocalyptic literature, primarily Daniel and the early Enochic writings, are taken forward and developed in the sectarian scrolls, namely ideas concerning the origin of evil, the periodization of history and the expectation of the end, messianism, the eschatological war, resurrection and eternal life, and the heavenly world. In 'Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls' (1999) one of his main concerns was to review the corpus of apocalypses or possible apocalypses among the Qumran writings. In addition to the early Enochic books and the Book of Daniel, he thinks that Jubilees, the New Jerusalem text and 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543–548) may plausibly be classed as apocalypses, but notes that Jubilees is of mixed genre, and that the Amram text is rather an apocalypse presented within the framework of a testament; that 4QAramaic Apocalypse (4Q246) and 4QFour Kingdoms (4Q552–553) may reasonably be regarded as apocalypses; but that in

the case of 4QPseudo-Daniel (4Q243–244, 4Q245) and of two Hebrew texts, 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^e (4Q390, formerly known as 4QPseudo-Moses) and 4QPseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385, 386, 388) that have also (p. 406) been classed as apocalypses, the evidence is too fragmentary to be certain. However, despite the paucity of apocalypses in the Qumran library, Collins argues that ‘the Dead Sea sect was still an “apocalyptic community” in the sense that its view of the world was shaped in decisive ways by the heritage of the apocalypses of Enoch and Daniel’ (Collins 1999: 421; on p. 405 he speaks more generally of the influence of ‘apocalyptic traditions’).

It is appropriate to refer here also to the thesis of Gabriele Boccaccini who, building on the idea in the Enochic Book of Watchers that the origins of evil are to be traced back to the activity of the watchers in the primeval period, has argued in a number of writings, particularly *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* (1998) and *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* (2002), that a sharp distinction should be drawn between ‘Zadokite Judaism’ and ‘Enochic Judaism’. He believes that the views of the former reflect those of the temple establishment and are represented by Ezek. 40–8, Ezra and Nehemiah, the Priestly layer in the Pentateuch and Chronicles, and that the views of the latter reflect those of dissident priests and are represented above all by the early Enochic writings.

He has drawn a number of sharp contrasts between the views of the two groups, but here it is sufficient to note the contrast that he draws between the emphasis in ‘Zadokite’ writings on the responsibility of humans for their actions and the view of the Enochic Book of Watchers (1 En. 1–36) that the unleashing of chaotic forces that resulted from the activity of the watchers condemned humans to be ‘victims of an evil they have not caused and cannot resist’ (Boccaccini 2002: 91). It should, however, be noted that the story of the fall of the watchers has to be read in the context provided by the introduction (1 En. 1–5) in which humans are clearly held to be responsible for their actions (cf. Knibb 2005: 21–2 [=2009: 33]), and that the story of the fall itself in 1 En. 6–11 ‘allows for different understandings of the degree of human responsibility for the evils on the earth’ (Reed 2005: 37). Boccaccini, like other scholars, regards the group that lies behind the Enochic literature as the predecessors of the Essenes and of the Qumran sect, and he has attempted to trace in the early Enochic writings and Jubilees the evolution both of the beliefs of the Enochites and of the movement itself against the background of events in the second century BCE (Boccaccini 1998, 2009; cf. Bedenbender 2007; for further information about the views of Boccaccini, see the article by VanderKam in this volume).

It will be apparent from the above survey that two concerns have dominated discussion of apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls: on the one hand the attempt to show that the scrolls represent a continuation of the apocalyptic tradition of the books of Daniel and Enoch; on the other the attempt to identify the writings amongst the scrolls that can be classed as apocalypses or brought within the apocalyptic milieu. It may be said immediately that there can be no question but that a number of ideas contained within the early Enochic writings and in Daniel had an influence on the beliefs of the Qumran community, and the way in which the sect (p. 407) adopted and developed these ideas has been well set out by García Martínez and Collins as well as by others.

To mention one much-discussed example, the myth of the fall of the watchers, which is based on the account in Gen. 6: 1–4 and provides within the Book of Watchers an explanation for the origin and continued existence of sin, appears in a number of writings in the Qumran library and influenced the development of the dualism reflected in the passage on the two spirits in 1QS 3: 13–4: 26. (In texts from before the common era the origin of sin is not traced back to the story of Adam and Eve except in a comment in Sir. 25: 24.) Two different forms of the myth have been interwoven in the Book of Watchers: according to one, in which the leader of the watchers (a subclass of angels) is Shemihazah, the watchers descend because of their lust for the women, and it is the offspring of their unions, the giants, who are responsible for the spread of sin in the earth (cf. 1 En. 7); according to the other, in which the leader of the watchers is Asael, the watchers descend in order to instruct human beings, and it is their teaching that is the source of evil (cf. 1 En. 8). The watchers are condemned, after having witnessed their sons killing one another, to be kept prisoner under the ground until the day of judgement (1 En. 10); but evil spirits are said to emerge from the dead bodies of the giants, and it is these evil spirits who are responsible for the continued existence of sin (1 En. 15: 8–16: 1). Elsewhere in the Book of Watchers it is the spirits of the fallen angels themselves who continue to lead men astray (1 En. 19:1).

Both versions of the myth were used in the Book of Jubilees, multiple copies of which were found at Qumran. On the one hand, the story of the marriage of ‘the angels of the Lord’ with the daughters of mankind, of the birth of the giants, and of the consequential spread of sin on the earth, occurs in its appropriate place in the retelling of the biblical narrative (Jub. 5: 1–11; cf. 4: 22; 7: 21–5). As in the Book of Watchers, the angels are to be kept imprisoned

in the earth until the day of judgement, and their children are to kill one another, but in contrast to the Book of Watchers it is said that the angels were sent to the earth by God (5: 6). On the other hand, according to 4: 15 'the angels of the Lord who were called Watchers descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright on the earth'; but in 8: 3–4 their teaching is seen to be the cause of sin. The continued power of sin is attributed to the activity of impure demons or spirits (7: 27; 10: 1), whose fathers are said in 10: 5 to be the watchers. According to 10: 1–14, when the demons were misleading and destroying Noah's grandchildren, Noah prayed to God that they should all be imprisoned in the place of judgement, but at the request of Mastema, the leader of the spirits (cf. 19: 28), a tenth were allowed to continue to exercise power on the earth (cf. 11: 4–5). Over against the demons stand the angels, who continually assist and instruct the chosen people when they are threatened by Mastema and his forces (cf. 18: 9–12 and chapter 48), and there is within Jubilees an implicit dualism and determinism (cf. Knibb 1989: 15–16; 2009: 250–1).

(p. 408) In a recent study of the literary development of Jubilees, Michael Segal (2007) has argued that the book is not a unified composition, and that the dualism is to be attributed to a redactor, who adopted and adapted existing rewritten stories and other texts to form the present book. Thus he maintains that the redactor made use of existing sources offering explanations of the origin and continued existence of evil, particularly the story of the watchers, but integrated these sources into a single dualistic perspective. The origin of evil was not to be traced to an event at a particular point in time (the activity of the watchers; the sin in the Garden of Eden), but 'evil was created from the beginning of the world as part of a dualistic system of good and evil, in heaven and on earth' (Segal 2007: 323). Segal finds evidence for the view that evil was created as well as good at the beginning of the world, on the one hand, in the suggestion that Mastema, like Satan in Job 1–2, has the status of an angel and as such will have been created with the other angels on the first day of the creation (cf. 2: 2); on the other, in the election of Israel alone among the nations at the end of the creation (2: 19–22). The Israelites, who represent the 'good' beings, are opposed by the other nations, who represent the earthly forces of evil, and by Belial (1: 19–21); according to 15: 31–2 God made spirits to rule over all the nations to lead them astray from following him, but he made no angel or spirit to rule over Israel because he alone is their ruler and will guard them (Segal 2007: 95–269, especially 100–1, 263–9). Whether Segal is right or not in his view that the dualism in Jubilees belongs in the redactional layer, it is clear that the story of the watchers has been developed in the book in a dualistic direction.

The story of the fall of the watchers occurs in the Damascus Document in the list of examples drawn from Israel's history of those who were led astray through following the thoughts of the guilty inclination and lustful eyes (CD 2: 14–3: 12; see 2: 17–19). There are also allusions to the story in several Qumran writings (1QBook of Noah [1Q19 + 1Q19bis, fr. 2]; 4QAgnes of Creation [4Q180 1: 7–10; 4Q181 2; line 2]; 4QPseudo-Jubilees^c [4Q227 fr. 2]; 4QNoah ar [4Q534 2: 16–19]), but the remains of the manuscripts are too fragmentary for it to be clear how exactly the myth was used.

The story of the watchers does not occur in the Rule of the Community, but the myth, in the dualistic form it acquired in Jubilees, does seem to form part of the background of the passage on the two spirits (1QS 3: 13–4: 26), which provides a theological and psychological explanation for the origin and continuing power of sin and contains an explicit statement of dualistic and deterministic belief. According to this passage God created two spirits, the spirit of truth or light and the spirit of injustice or darkness, and assigned all humans to the control of one or the other; human beings are correspondingly good or evil depending on whether they are under the control of the prince of lights or the angel of darkness. At the same time it is said that the spirits struggle in the hearts of men, and they are proportionately good or evil depending on their inheritance in truth and righteousness or their share in the lot of injustice. However, the dualism inherent in this passage is limited (p. 409) both by the statement that God created the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness, and by the statement that God has set an end for the existence of evil. Dualism comparable to that in the Rule of the Community is also reflected in 4QVisions of Amram, for which see below.

It is not possible here to trace other examples of the way in which ideas contained in the early Enochic writings and in Daniel have influenced the beliefs of the Qumran community, and for this it must suffice to refer to the works by García Martínez and Collins mentioned above. What may be said is that while it is clear that these apocalyptic writings did exercise an influence on the beliefs of the sect, it is much less clear that it is appropriate to describe the sect as an 'apocalyptic community', and we may note the comment of George Brooke: 'The Qumran community was not an apocalyptic community, whatever that might mean, but a reforming one' (2006: 52). In what follows, I wish to take up two questions: first, what meaning can be attached to the description of the Qumran sect

as an 'apocalyptic community'; second, whether the designation of the Qumran sect as an apocalyptic community accurately reflects the sect's own understanding of its *raison d'être*. It will be apparent that both questions, that of definition and that of the relative weight of the influences that were crucial to the shaping of the sect's view of the world, have already played a significant part in previous discussion.

The Qumran Sect as an 'Apocalyptic Community': Apocalypse, Apocalyptic, and Apocalypticism

Modern use of the terms 'apocalypse' and 'apocalyptic' stems from the use of the Greek word *apokalupsis* in Rev. 1: 1 to describe the contents of the New Testament book, the Revelation of John, where it serves to indicate that the work is a divine revelation of what was to happen in the future. The word does also occur in the superscriptions of one or two Jewish apocalypses (e.g. 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch), where it may well have been used by Christian copyists in imitation of its occurrence in Rev. 1: 1, but there is no unambiguous evidence that the Jewish writings now regarded as apocalypses were so described in antiquity. However, in modern times scholars have used this term to refer to Jewish writings like Daniel and 1 Enoch whose literary genre is comparable to that of the Revelation of John, and the corresponding adjective 'apocalyptic' has likewise been used in the first instance to refer to such writings, and then to the kind of dualistic eschatology that occurs in them.

But the word 'apocalyptic' has also been used—as it is in some of the studies discussed above—virtually as the equivalent of 'apocalypticism', that is as a noun or collective term to refer to the pattern of thought that is supposedly characteristic of the apocalypses and is marked by a dualistic worldview and by an eschatology that is heightened in comparison with the eschatology of the prophets and includes the expectation of the complete end of this world order, the judgement of the individual, and life after death. The use of 'apocalyptic' both as an adjective and as a noun (p. 410) has been the source of confusion because scholars have not always made it clear in the past whether they were referring to the apocalyptic genre, that is the literary genre of the apocalypses, or to 'apocalyptic', that is the pattern of thought that does occur in some apocalypses, but is not confined to such writings.

Dissatisfaction with this ambiguity led in the 1970s and 1980s to the publication of a number of studies that were concerned to distinguish more clearly between the literary genre and the pattern of thought (Koch 1972; Stone 1976; Knibb 1982), including a volume edited by Collins entitled *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Collins 1979a), which represented the outcome of the discussions of an SBL group concerned with the apocalypses. Since that time there has been widespread acceptance of the kind of definition of the literary genre of the apocalypses that was set out by Collins in the introduction to *Apocalypse: Morphology of a Genre*:

'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world. (Collins 1979b: 9)

This definition was subsequently expanded to include a statement of the purpose of the genre: 'an apocalypse "is intended to interpret present earthly circumstances in the light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence both the understanding and the behaviour of the audience by means of divine authority"' (Collins 1991: 19). In addition to acceptance of this definition, it has also been widely recognized that two main types of apocalypse are to be distinguished, those that include an account of an otherworldly journey and those that include a review of history, the so-called 'historical apocalypses'.

The definition made it possible to distinguish apocalypses fairly clearly from writings that belong to another literary genre, and so far as Jewish writings (or writings based on Jewish originals) are concerned, the following may be regarded as belonging to this genre: Daniel, 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Abraham, Testament of Abraham 10–15, and Testament of Levi 2–5 (the list does not include writings known only since the discovery of the scrolls). There remain inevitably some uncertainties at the edges, and Jubilees in particular has sometimes been included in this category. It can be regarded as an apocalypse because of the fact that the revelation is dictated to Moses by an angel (see 1: 26; 2: 1; cf. 1: 27), but overall it belongs rather in the category of 'rewritten bible'. It can be compared with the Temple Scroll in which the revelatory aspect is heightened in that the text is presented as a direct discourse from God to the people, but which can also be seen as an example of 'rewritten bible'.

Apocalypticism and Messianism

While the definition of the genre of the apocalypses has seemed unproblematic, the same is not true of the collective term 'apocalyptic', that is, of 'apocalypticism' (cf. Stone 1976: 439–43). The difficulty centres on the fact that although there are some broad similarities in the ideas contained in the apocalypses, each of the (p. 411) writings is *sui generis*, and the contents of the apocalypses cannot be reduced to a single pattern of thought. Definitions of apocalypticism have tended to focus on the eschatological ideas of the apocalypses, and thus Koch, for example, who distinguished clearly between the apocalypses and apocalypticism, identified the following as the characteristics of 'apocalyptic as a historical movement':

- (1) an urgent expectation of the impending overthrow of all earthly conditions in the immediate future;
- (2) the end as a vast cosmic catastrophe;
- (3) a close connection between the end-time and previous human and cosmic history; the periodization of history, which has been predetermined from creation;
- (4) the intervention of an army of angels and demons in the affairs of the world;
- (5) a new salvation beyond the catastrophe;
- (6) salvation issuing from the throne of God and bringing about the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth; the distinction between this age and the age to come;
- (7) the frequent presence of a mediator with royal functions;
- (8) use of the catchword 'glory' in descriptions of the new age (Koch 1972: 28–33; [German original: 1970: 24–31]).

But, on the one hand, as Stone (1976: 440) has pointed out, certain apocalypses (e.g. 3 Baruch) are lacking in almost all the characteristics noted by Koch, whereas many of them are to be found in works that are not apocalypses (e.g. the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs). On the other hand, Koch's list of characteristics, with its eschatological orientation, takes no account of the concern with cosmology that is a recurrent feature of the Enochic writings (e.g. 1 En. 17: 1–18; 5: 33–36; 41: 3–9; 43: 1–4) and also appears in other apocalypses in the 'lists of revealed things' (e.g. 2 Bar. 59: 5–11; 2 En. 23: 1–2) that were studied by Stone.

In view of the ambiguity that has affected the use of 'apocalyptic' both as an adjective and as a collective term, and in view of the varied nature of the contents of the individual apocalypses, it would seem better to give up the use of 'apocalyptic' as a collective term altogether (cf. Stone 1976: 443; Knibb 1982: 164–5). The expression 'apocalyptic eschatology'—and even perhaps 'apocalypticism'—may still be retained to refer to the kind of eschatology that occurs in the apocalypses so long as it is recognized that this does not form one single consistent pattern of thought, and that this kind of eschatology is not restricted to the apocalypses.

What meaning, then, can be attached to the description of the Qumran sect as an 'apocalyptic community'? Although multiple copies of the early Enochic writings and of Daniel were found at Qumran, the community itself does not seem to have produced many apocalypses, and this is clearly not what was meant. Equally the concept of the revelation of heavenly secrets by an otherworldly being does not seem to have played a major role in the thought of the community itself, perhaps (p. 412) because the community found authority for its teaching rather in the inspired interpretation of the law and the prophets given by the Teacher of Righteousness (cf. CD 6: 7–8; 1QpHab 2: 7–10; 7: 1–5). Instead, the description was intended to reflect the fact that the community was influenced by the kind of dualistic eschatology that occurs in the apocalypses. But in practice we are only concerned with the influence of the early Enochic writings and of Daniel, and there are differences between them.

The account of the revolt against heaven and the spread of evil in Daniel (see 8: 10–12) draws on Isa. 14, not, as in 1 En. 6–11, on Gen. 6, and Daniel lacks the cosmological interest that is prominent in 1 Enoch (see Nickelsburg 2000: 32). It is also the case that the concept of a pre-Maccabean Palestinian apocalyptic movement, which García Martínez identified as the forerunner of the Essenes, remains vague, and it is difficult to know what evidence exists for such a movement apart from the early Enochic writings, particularly the Book of Watchers. Thus it would seem preferable to think of the Qumran sect as being influenced by specific eschatological ideas in the early Enochic writings and in Daniel than to think of it as an 'apocalyptic community', or as being influenced by a general concept of 'apocalypticism'.

Eschatology in the Thought-World of the Qumran Community

While it is quite clear that the Qumran sect was influenced by the eschatological ideas of the early Enochic writings

and of Daniel, it is also clear that the sect's view of the world was not shaped only or primarily by concern about the *eschaton*—and indeed neither García Martínez nor Collins suggest this. Eschatological and messianic beliefs occur in a wide range of sectarian and non-sectarian texts from Qumran and played a significant part in the thought-world of the sect (cf. Knibb 1999: 379–82 [=2009: 327–9]), but this has to be weighed against the equally evident interest in the calendar, in issues connected with purity, and in the correct interpretation and observance of the law. It is perhaps not without significance that although fragments of twelve manuscripts of Enoch and eight manuscripts of Daniel were found at Qumran, fragments of fourteen or fifteen manuscripts of Jubilees were found there, and this in itself points to the strong halakhic concerns of the sect. It should be noted that the figure of twelve manuscripts of Enoch in total hides the fact that there are only six manuscripts of the Book of Watchers, only four manuscripts each of the Astronomical Book and the Book of Dreams, and only two manuscripts of the *Epistle*.

The account of the origins of the Qumran community in column 1 of the Damascus Document describes the immediate predecessors of the sect as a group of penitents who were 'groping for the way', that is for the right interpretation of the law, until the emergence of the Teacher of Righteousness:

(p. 413)

And they considered their iniquity
and knew that they were guilty men;
but they were like blind men
and like men who grope for the way for twenty years.
And God considered their deeds,
for they sought him with a whole heart;
and he raised up for them a teacher of righteousness
to lead them in the way of his heart.
And he made known to the last generations
what he had done to the last generation, to the congregation of traitors.
(CD 1: 8–12)

In his analysis of this passage García Martínez has summarized the function of the Teacher of Righteousness as twofold: the interpretation of the law and the announcement of the divine judgement (García Martínez 1995a: 91–2). The role of the Teacher as the one who announces the judgement is also mentioned in the Habakkuk Commentary, where the Teacher of Righteousness is depicted as the one who gives the correct interpretation of the words of the prophets concerning what is to come on the last generation (1QpHab 2: 7–10; 7: 1–5), and in any case the theme of judgement occurs frequently in the sectarian writings from Qumran (cf. e.g. CD 7: 9–12; 1QH 11(3): 34–36; 1QpHab 4: 3–6; 8: 1–2; 10: 3–5; 12: 14; 13: 2–3). The theme is summed up in the passage on the two spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 3: 13–4: 26):

But God in his mysterious insight and glorious wisdom has assigned an end to the existence of injustice, and at the appointed time of the visitation he will destroy it for ever. Then truth will appear in the world for ever, for it has defiled itself in the ways of wickedness during the reign of injustice until the time decreed for judgement. (1QS 4: 18–20)

However, as García Martínez observes (1995a: 92), it is the question of the interpretation of the law, of *halakhah*, that appears to have been 'more important and of greater influence in connection with the group becoming a sect'. This is evident already in column 1 of the Damascus Document, where the role of the Teacher as the one who made known the way of God's heart to those who had previously been groping for the way (CD 1: 8–12) is contrasted with the role of the Scoffer as the one who gave a false interpretation of the law to those who turned aside from the way, that is from the way of obedience to the law as it was interpreted by the Teacher (CD 1: 13–16). The Scoffer is accused, in one of a series of figurative expressions, of leading astray his followers by 'pulling up the boundary stone which the men of former times had set up in their inheritance' (CD 1: 16), and in this passage, which is based on Deut. 19: 14, the boundary stone is a symbol for the law. The implication of this passage is that the formation of the Qumran sect is to be attributed above all to disagreements between the Teacher and his opponents concerning the interpretation of the law.

(p. 414) The work entitled *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* (4QMMT: 'some of the precepts of the Torah'), which dates

from the second century BCE, also sheds light on the issues that precipitated the formation of the Qumran sect. The author, in a kind of open letter, describes a number of practices in which the group he represents differs from its opponents, and he appeals to the addressees to follow the practices of his own group. The differences between the group and its opponents concern the proper observance of the laws relating to sacrifice, purity, the sanctity of Jerusalem, tithing, forbidden marriage relationships, and the marriage of priests. These *halakhot* are preceded by a section concerned with the calendar, which presupposes the 364-day calendar that was followed by the sect.

Concern with the correct observance of the law, with purity and the calendar, is reflected in a wide range of sectarian and non-sectarian texts that were found at Qumran, and this is a further indication of the overriding importance of these issues to the community. Here reference should be made first of all to two non-sectarian, or rather pre-sectarian, texts: Jubilees, whose importance has already been mentioned, and the Temple Scroll. Jubilees consists of a rewriting of Genesis and the first part of Exodus, and its concern with the proper observance of the law is evident in the way in which it presents the patriarchs as observing the law even before it was revealed at Sinai. Its importance to the sect is reflected in the fact that it is cited as an authority in the Damascus Document (cf. CD 16: 3–4) and in 4Q228 (Text with a Citation of Jubilees). The Temple Scroll is closely related to Jubilees and provides a rewriting and systematization of the laws from Exodus 34 to Deuteronomy 22. Both texts reveal a very strong halakhic concern and both presuppose the 364-day calendar.

The importance of purity to the community is reflected not only in 4QMMT, in Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, but also in the various sets of regulations concerned with purity: 4Q274, 276–8, 284, 284a. The importance of the calendar is indicated by the fact that it is mentioned in the Damascus Document as one of the ‘hidden things’ in which all Israel had gone astray:

But with those who held fast to the commandments of God, who were left over from them, God established his covenant with Israel for ever, revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray: his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, his righteous testimonies and his true ways, and the desires of his will which a man must do that he may live through them. (CD 3: 12–16)

Documents that reflect the importance of the calendar include, in addition to 4QMMT, Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, the calendrical documents (4Q320–330), which set out the priestly courses, the description of the phases of the moon (4Q317), and the document known as 4QOtot (4Q319), which gives a list of the calendrical signs.

The effect of all these texts is to suggest that the crucial issues that shaped the thought-world of the Qumran sect and distinguished it from other contemporary (p. 415) groups in Judaism were disputes about the proper interpretation of the law and its observance, about purity, and about the calendar. This is not of course to deny that the Qumran group was also strongly influenced by the apocalypses of Enoch and Daniel or that apocalyptic eschatology formed an important part of its theology, and on the contrary, as we have seen, the Qumran library included multiple copies of the earliest parts of 1 Enoch and of Daniel as well as copies of some hitherto unknown apocalypses. But it is not clear that the Qumran group was more affected by eschatological expectation than other groups, or that apocalypses formed a disproportionately large element in the Qumran library, and the description of the sect as an ‘apocalyptic community’ tends to overemphasize this aspect of the community’s *raison d’être* at the expense of the idea that it was a group who were concerned above all with the proper observance of the Torah.

Apocalypses in the Qumran Library

To conclude this part of the discussion, it will perhaps be helpful to review briefly the apocalypses that did form part of the Qumran library (cf. Collins 1999: 406–21). So much has been written about the two most influential of these, the apocalypses of Enoch and Daniel, that it is unnecessary here to do more than refer, on the one hand, to the commentary on the earliest sections of 1 Enoch by George Nickelsburg (2001), the volume of essays on the early Enoch literature edited by Boccaccini and Collins (2007), and the collection of essays by Knibb (2009), and, on the other, to the commentary on the Book of Daniel by Collins (1993), the guide by Philip Davies (1985), and the two-volume collection of essays edited by Collins and Flint (2001).

Apart from these two texts, there are four other Aramaic writings that seem fairly clearly to belong to the apocalyptic genre. Of these, the most important—if we may judge from the number of copies that have survived—are the New Jerusalem text and 4QVisions of Amram.

The New Jerusalem text is represented by the fragments of six manuscripts from five caves (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555, 5Q15, 11Q18). It is manifestly based on the description of the new Jerusalem in Ezekiel 40–8 (cf. Zech. 2: 1–5), and the fragments that have survived describe the city and the temple. There are a few references to a guide who accompanied the seer, and although there is no description of the guide in the surviving fragments, it is a reasonable assumption that the guide is a heavenly being, and that the text belongs in broad terms with the apocalypses that are in the form of an account of an otherworldly journey. One fragment (4Q554 fr. 2, col. 3) appears to be part of a traditional account of the gathering of the nations for a last great battle against Jerusalem and refers to the people being oppressed until a future event—but the text breaks off before this is described. The text is related to the Temple Scroll inasmuch as both involve ideal descriptions of Jerusalem, but the New Jerusalem text, unlike the Temple Scroll, is concerned with the (p. 416) ideal Jerusalem of the future, and belongs with other texts that reflect speculation about Jerusalem and the temple in the eschatological era such as 4 Ezra 10: 25–8; 2 Baruch 59: 4; Rev. 21: 9–21. The manuscripts of the New Jerusalem text are relatively late (end of the first century BCE, beginning of the first century CE), but the date of the text is uncertain, and there is nothing in it to suggest that it is a sectarian document (contrast García Martínez 1992: 202–13; for this text, see further Collins 1999: 417–18).

The ‘Copy of the writing of the words of the vision of Amram’ (4Q543 fr. 1, line 1) is represented, so it appears, by seven manuscripts (4Q543–549) and is of particular interest because of its dualistic theology (see above). It consists of an account of a vision set within the framework of a testament which describes how Amram, at the end of his life, called his children together to recount his life to them and to give them his last instructions; the form and contents of this testamentary framework are similar to those in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Amram describes how in his vision he saw two angels fighting over him and is asked by them by which he chooses to be ruled, and how he was given the names of the angel of darkness and the angel of light by the angel of light (4Q544 frs. 1–3). It appears that each angel has three names, but only one of these, Melkî-reša^c, has survived. This is one of the names of the angel of darkness, and it suggests that one of the names of his counterpart, the angel of light, will have been Melchizedek. It is a reasonable supposition that the other names will have been, on the one hand, Belial and Prince of Darkness, and, on the other, Michael and Prince of Light (Milik 1972a: 85–6).

Another fragment (4Q548 fr. 1) provides a more formal statement of dualism, based on the light–darkness contrast, in a way that is reminiscent of the passage on the two spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 3: 13–4: 26). The text has been dated by Milik to the second century BCE, if not to the first half of the second century, and this would suggest, if the dating is correct, that it is a pre-Qumranic text (see further Milik 1972a, 1972b; Collins 1999: 418–19).

The two other writings that should probably be regarded as apocalypses seem both to be dependent on Daniel. The first of these, 4QArabic Apocalypse (4Q246) is represented only by a single fragment of two columns, of which the right hand part of the first column is lost. It apparently describes how an unnamed figure is brought before a king and provides an interpretation of a vision seen by the king; the interpretation, insofar as it is preserved, reaches its climax in the description of the reign of a figure who will be called ‘son of God’ and ‘son of the Most High’, will judge the earth in righteousness, cause the nations to submit before him, and make the sword cease from the earth. The text presupposes some kind of historical sequence and appears to belong, in broad terms, with the historical apocalypses. It poses considerable problems of interpretation, and the identity of the ‘son of God’ has been hotly disputed. But it seems to make most sense to argue that the ‘son of God’ is a messianic figure, and that the text represents the earliest interpretation of the son of man vision of Daniel 7 in a messianic sense. The text in any case shows (p. 417) clear signs of dependency on the Aramaic section of Daniel. See further Collins 1993; Knibb 1995: 174–7 (=2009: 316–19); 1999: 393–6 (=2009: 341–4).

The other work, 4QFourKingdoms, also seems dependent on the Book of Daniel, but this is less certain. It is represented by the fragments of two or, perhaps, three manuscripts (4Q552, 553, 553a), and not much has survived of the text. The speaker, who may be the king or may be addressing the king, describes a vision that he had seen of four trees and the interpretation he had been given by another figure, apparently a heavenly being. The trees represent a sequence of four kingdoms, of which the first is identified as Babylon, here described as ruling over Persia, and the second is said to rule over the sea; but the name of the second kingdom and the names of the other two have not survived in the fragments. It is possible that the second kingdom was the Ptolemies, the third the Seleucids, and the fourth the Romans, and it is tempting to assume that this text represents a reworking of the four-empire tradition of Daniel, where the sequence is Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece. In Daniel, at the end of the sequence of four kingdoms ‘the holy ones of the Most High...receive the kingdom and possess the kingdom

forever' (7: 18; cf. 7: 22, 27; 2: 44), and it seems likely that the climax of the sequence of kingdoms in 4QFour Kingdoms will have been the setting up of a fifth kingdom, the kingdom of God or of the holy ones of the Most High. Although the text is fragmentary, it is plausible to see it as an apocalypse belonging with the group of historical apocalypses (see further Collins 1999: 415–17).

From time to time it has been suggested that other texts found in the Qumran library, for example the Pseudo-Danielic texts (4Q243–244, 4Q245), should also be regarded as apocalypses, but even in cases where this may be possible, the evidence is too fragmentary for it to be certain.

Messianism

Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Background and Overview of the Texts

As already indicated, eschatological beliefs are attested in a wide range of sectarian and non-sectarian documents in the Qumran library. The former include a group of texts that refer to 'the end of days' ('*aḥarīt ha-yāmīm*'), particularly the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), the *pesharim*, 4QEschatological Midrash (4Q174 + 4Q177) and 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), as well as texts that do not contain this phrase such as the War Scroll and related texts (particularly 4Q285), the Rule of Benedictions (1QSb), and 4QTestimonia (4Q175). The latter include the apocalypses in Aramaic that have been discussed above (the early Enochic writings, Daniel, the (p. 418) New Jerusalem text, the Visions of Amram, the Aramaic Apocalypse and, probably, 4QFour Kingdoms), as well as the Apocryphon of Levi (4Q541 and 4Q540) and, in Hebrew, the so-called Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521). But in addition to these texts, which fairly obviously have a concern with the future, eschatological beliefs are to be found in a number of other sectarian and non-sectarian texts, including the two main rule books (the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community), halakhic texts (Jubilees, cf. 1: 7–18; 23: 16–31; the Temple Scroll [cf. 11QT 28: 8–9] and *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* [cf. 4QMMT C 12–16, 21, 30]), and even a sapiential text (4QInstruction; cf. 4Q416 1). In some of these texts, but by no means all of them, the eschatological expectations include the belief that when God intervenes at the end of this age, he will do so through a human agent, a 'messiah'. (For discussions of messianism, see e.g. García Martínez 1995b; Collins 1995; Knibb 1995, 1999; VanderKam 1998.)

The Hebrew word *māšîaḥ*—normally rendered in the Septuagint by *christos*, but transliterated into Greek as *messias* (cf. John 1: 41; 4: 25), from which the English word 'messiah' is derived—occurs in the Hebrew Bible thirty-nine times and means 'anointed'. In the majority of cases the word is used with reference to the king as one who had been anointed with oil as a sign of divine designation (e.g. 1 Sam. 2: 10; 24: 7 (Evv 24:6); Ps. 132: 10; cf. Isa. 45: 1, where it is used with reference to Cyrus); but when the monarchy ceased to exist, the word came to be used with reference to the high priest (e.g. Lev. 4: 3, 'the anointed priest'), and it is once used with reference to the patriarchs inasmuch as they were thought to be prophets (Ps. 105: 15, cf. 1 Chr. 8: 22). It is important to note that the expression 'the messiah' or 'the anointed one' never occurs as such in the Hebrew Bible, but the word is always qualified in some way ('the Lord's anointed', 'his anointed', the anointed priest'; for Dan. 9: 25, 26 as apparent exceptions, see below), and that the word is not used, or at least not explicitly used, in the Hebrew Bible with reference to a figure, whether king or high priest, who was expected to come in the future.

However, in the latter part of the Second Temple period some of the psalms referring to the anointed king began to be interpreted with reference to the coming in the future of an ideal king (cf. the use of Ps. 2: 9 in Pss. Sol. 17: 23–4, and of Ps. 18: 33, 40 in Ps. Sol. 17:22), and the word 'anointed' came to be used to refer to the ideal king of the future, that is in a messianic sense: see e.g. Pss. Sol. 18: 7 ('the Lord's anointed'); 1 En. 48: 10; 52: 4 ('his messiah'); 4 Ezra 7: 28; 12: 32 ('the messiah'); 4Q252 5: 3 ('the messiah of righteousness'); 4Q521 fr. 2, col. 2 + fr. 4, col. 1 ('his messiah').

Messianic beliefs in the scrolls are not, however, only associated with the term 'messiah', nor are these beliefs only based on the passages in the Hebrew Bible referring to the king as anointed; rather the messianic expectations of the scrolls draw on a number of traditions in the Hebrew Bible concerning the continuation or restoration of the Davidic line and concerning the position of the high priest, and they make use of a number of different titles derived from these traditions to (p. 419) refer to the ideal figures who would act as divinely appointed leaders at the end of this age and in the new age. These traditions include the promise of the survival of the Davidic dynasty

in 2 Sam. 7: 10–17; prophecies concerning the restoration of the Davidic line, particularly Isa. 11: 1–9 concerning the shoot from the stump of Jesse and Jer. 23: 5–6 concerning the ‘righteous branch’ for David (cf. Zech. 3: 8; 6: 12); the oracle concerning Judah in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49: 10); Balaam’s oracle (Num. 24: 17); traditions about the Davidic prince in Ezek. 34: 24; 37: 25, about ‘the prince’ in Ezekiel’s vision of the future (chapters 40–8, e.g. 44: 3), and about the ‘leaders’ or ‘princes’ of the congregation in the priestly material in the Pentateuch (e.g. Exod. 16: 22; Num. 4: 34); and the prophecies concerning the joint role of Joshua, the high priest, and Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah (Zech. 4: 1–14; 6: 9–15; cf. 1 Sam. 2: 35), ‘the two sons of oil’ (Zech. 4: 14). At the same time in some texts the concept of the messiah was enlarged, and the messiah was no longer thought of in human terms, for example as a new descendant of David or a new high priest, but as an exalted heavenly being (e.g. Melchizedek in 11Q13 [11QMelchizedek] or, outside the scrolls, the Son of Man in the Enochic Book of Parables [1 En. 37–71]).

As already indicated, messianic beliefs only occur in a limited number of the scrolls, even of the scrolls that do have a place for eschatological expectation. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, messianic beliefs are for the most part not found in the apocalypses. Thus there is no messianism in Daniel, and in the early Enochic literature there is only brief mention of a messianic figure in the Vision of the Animals (1 En. 85–90). It is true that Dan. 9: 25 refers to ‘the time of an anointed prince’, and that Dan. 9: 26 mentions the cutting off of ‘an anointed one’; but in the former case the reference is to the return of either Zerubbabel or, more probably, Joshua (cf. Ezra 3: 2), and in the latter the reference is to the murder of Onias III (cf. 2 Macc. 4: 33–8).

What is also true is that although the son of man in Daniel 7 is not a messianic figure, but rather the archangel Michael as the representative of ‘the holy ones’, that is of faithful Jews, the son of man vision of Daniel 7 was from an early stage interpreted in a messianic sense. This is clearly the case in the Enochic Book of Parables—the one section of 1 Enoch that is not attested at Qumran and is of later date than the other sections—where the son of man is a messianic figure (cf. 46: 1–3 with Dan. 7: 9–10, 13–14), and, as we have already noted, is probably already the case in 4QArabic Apocalypse (4Q246). But in the Book of Daniel itself there is no messianism, and there is also none in the early sections of the Book of Enoch apart from the reference in the Vision of the Animals to the white bull of whom all the nations are afraid (90: 37–8; see Nickelsburg 2001: 406–7).

There is likewise no messianism in any of the other apocalypses that formed part of the Qumran library apart from 4Q246, and this may be connected with (p. 420) the fact that several of the apocalypses, including Daniel and the early Enochic literature, are pre-Qumranic in origin. While it is difficult to assess the extent of the influence of historical factors as opposed to that of biblical tradition in the development of messianic beliefs in the Qumran sect in the last two centuries BCE and the first century CE, it may well be that it was in reaction to political events—beginning with the assumption by the Hasmoneans of the office of high priest as well as that of civil and military leader (cf. 1 Macc. 14: 25–49)—that these beliefs were developed.

In contrast to the above, messianic beliefs are expressed in exegetical writings of various kinds, and this is perhaps a reflection of the importance of the study and interpretation of texts regarded as authoritative—of ‘scripture’—in the development of the beliefs of the Qumran sect. These writings include 4Q161 (4QIsaiah Pesher^a), 4Q174 (4QFlorilegium), 4Q252 (4QCommentary on Genesis A), CD 7: 14–21 (the Amos-Numbers Midrash), and 11Q13 (11QMelchizedek). 4Q175 (4QTestimonia) should also be included here because although there is no exegetical comment on the three messianic texts that are quoted—there is, however, comment in the fourth text, a quotation from the Apocryphon of Joshua that interprets Josh. 6: 26—the significance of the work is linked to the way in which the texts have been deliberately presented together (see further below). In addition, messianic beliefs occur, or are alluded to, in a number of rule books, including the Rule of the Community, the Rule of the Congregation, the Rule of Benedictions, and the Damascus Document, as well as in texts related to the War Scroll (4Q285 and 4Q491^c), in 4Q246 (4QArabic Apocalypse), in the so-called Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521), and in the Apocryphon of Levi (4Q541 and 4Q540).

Messianic Beliefs in the Scrolls

The texts mentioned above offer a variety of messianic titles and conceptions and include the expectation both of a single messiah and of two messiahs acting together. Some scholars have argued that the dominant view is of a single messiah, and thus, for example, Abegg (1995), while recognizing that the evidence is not entirely unambiguous, maintains that ‘the overriding theme of the texts is one of royal messianic expectation, founded

upon Gen 49:10 and Isa 11:1–4 as well as the titles Prince (Ezek 34:24; 7:25) and Branch of David (Jer. 23:5; 33:15)'. He has in particular argued that the Damascus Document, which is discussed below, has frequently been misinterpreted and envisages the expectation of only a single messiah, and he would not place too much weight on the evidence of the Rule of the Community, which does clearly contain the expectation of two messiahs. However, it has seemed to many scholars that, despite differences in the way the belief is expressed, the expectation of two messiahs, a royal messiah and a priestly (p. 421) messiah, is to be found in a number of texts from Qumran and is one of the characteristics of Qumran belief; it is this view that is followed here.

The background to the expectation of two messiahs is to be found in the prophecies inspired by the joint activity of Zerubbabel and Joshua in the early post-exilic period (cf. Zech. 4: 1–14; 6: 9–15), and in 4Q254 (4QCommentary on Genesis C) fr. 4 line 2 the phrase 'the two sons of oil', which is used in Zech. 4: 14 and has messianic connotations, does occur; unfortunately too little survives of the text for it to be clear how it was used. In some texts from Qumran there is also the expectation that the appearance of the two messiahs will be preceded by the coming of a prophet (cf. 1 Macc. 4: 46; 14: 41; John 1: 21; 6: 14; 7: 40). Such an expectation—that the end of this age will coincide with the coming of a prophet and of two messiahs—is presupposed in the Cave 1 manuscript of the Rule of the Community, which dates from between 100 and 75 BCE:

They shall be governed by the first rules in which the men of the community began to be instructed until the coming of the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel. (1QS 9: 10–11)

This expectation is similarly presupposed in 4QTestimonia (4Q175), which was copied by the person who copied 1QS and can be dated to the same general period. The text in this single-leaf manuscript has no introduction and consists of four quotations, of which the first three seem clearly to have been intended as messianic proof-texts, as prophecies of the coming of a prophet, of a royal messiah and of a priestly messiah:

(1) Deut. 5: 28b–29 plus 18: 18–19 quoted in the form in which they also occur in combination in the Samaritan version of Exod. 20: 21; it appears that this passage was taken, not from Deuteronomy itself, but from a proto-Samaritan version of Exod. 20: 21. The thought of Deut 18: 18–19 is that God would ensure a regular succession of prophets like Moses, but the passage came to be interpreted in a messianic sense of the coming of a single prophet (cf. Acts 3:22–3; 7:37).

(2) Num. 24: 15–17; verse 17 is also quoted in a messianic sense in CD 7: 18–21, and it was frequently given a messianic interpretation in writings of the period. In 4QTestimonia the passage seems intended as a prophecy of a royal or Davidic messiah, the figure called in 1QS 9: 11 'the messiah of Israel'.

(3) Deut. 33: 8–11; the blessing pronounced on Levi by Moses is here implicitly a prophecy of a priestly messiah, the figure called in 1QS 9: 11 'the messiah of Aaron'. This figure was apparently also called 'the interpreter of the law' (cf. CD 7: 18; 4Q174 frs. 1–3 1: 11), and it is significant that in Deut. 33: 10 teaching the law is one of Levi's duties.

(4) a short excerpt from 4QApocryphon of Joshua consisting of a quotation of Josh. 6: 26 with an exegetical comment that interprets the passage from Joshua in terms of contemporary figures and events (cf. 4Q379 fr. 22 2: 7–15). The comment refers to 'an accursed man, a man of Belial' and to his two sons, who (p. 422) commit profanity and blasphemy and shed blood like water in Jerusalem. The relationship of this passage to the first three in 4Q175 is not totally clear, but it may be that the actions of the accursed man and his two sons symbolize the opposition from the forces of wickedness that the messiahs will face at the end of this age (cf. Knibb 1987: 263–6).

The Damascus Document, which dates in more or less its final form from approximately 100 BCE (cf. Knibb 1994: 150), also seemingly presupposes the expectation of two messiahs, the messiah of Aaron and the messiah of Israel, but the evidence in this case is slightly ambiguous and has sometimes been understood to mean that there will only be a single messianic figure. The ambiguity centres on the fact that the Damascus Document uses the phrase 'the messiah of Aaron and of Israel' instead of 'the messiahs of Aaron and Israel', as for example in CD 14: 18–19, which may be translated literally as follows:

And this is the exact interpretation of the rules by which [they shall be ruled until there arise the messia]h of Aaron and of Israel. And their iniquity will be atoned [...]

Similar statements occur in CD 12: 23–13: 1; 19: 10–11; 20: 1. The parallel to CD 14: 18–19 in 4Q266 fr. 10, 1: 11–13 confirmed the originality of the reading 'the messiah' and made it clear that this was not a medieval mistake for

'the messiahs', and the passage was at one stage understood to mean that there would be a single, priestly, messiah, and that the verb referring to atonement was to be understood as an active ('and he will make atonement for their iniquity'). However, it is not clear what sense would attach to the expression 'the messiah of Aaron and Israel', and in the light of parallels to the grammatical construction used in the Damascus Document it seems much more likely that the phrase is to be understood as 'the messiah of Aaron and (the one) of Israel' and that the verb referring to atonement is to be understood as a passive (cf. Knibb 1999: 386 [=2009: 333–4]).

The evidence of the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document shows that by about 100 BCE the expectation that the end of this age would be marked by the appearance of the messiah of Aaron and the messiah of Israel was sufficiently well established as to be capable of being merely alluded to. The Rule of the Community and 4QTestimonia further show that the expectation of the coming of a prophet was also well established. More will be said about the prophet at a later stage. Here it may be observed that the expectation of two messiahs, a royal and a priestly figure, is reflected in a number of other texts, but that different titles are used in these for the two figures, and in some cases questions have been raised about the proper interpretation of the texts. Thus 4QFlorilegium (4Q174, part of the text now known as 4QEschatological Midrash [4Q174 + 4Q177]) states in comment on 2 Sam. 7:11c–14a:

(p. 423)

This is the branch of David who will appear with the interpreter of the law, who [will rule] in Zi[on at the] end of days, as it is written: I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen. This is the booth of David that is fall[en w]ho will appear to save Israel. (4Q174 fr. 1 1: 11–13)

And the Amos-Numbers Midrash in the Damascus Document states in comment on Amos 5: 27a:

The star is the interpreter of the law who will come to Damascus, as it is written: 'A star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a comet shall rise out of Israel.' The comet is the prince of the whole congregation, and when he appears he shall beat down all the sons of Seth. (CD 7: 18–21)

'Branch of David' and 'prince of the whole congregation' are clearly used in these passages as titles for the Davidic messiah, for the figure—so we may assume—called in the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document 'the messiah of Israel'. The use of these titles derives from the promise in Jer. 23: 5; 33: 15 (cf. Zech. 3: 8; 6: 12) that God would raise up a 'righteous branch' for David and from the expectations in Ezek. 34: 24; 37: 25 concerning the Davidic prince respectively. (The use of the second title also draws on the traditions concerning the 'rulers' or 'princes' of the congregation in the wilderness period; cf. e.g. Exod. 16: 22; Num. 4: 34.)

In the light of the above, it seems natural to assume that the interpreter of the law is also a figure of the future, a messianic figure, and this seems to be clearly the case in 4QFlorilegium (cf. Knibb 1987: 261). But in the Amos-Numbers Midrash the fact that the phrase 'who will come to Damascus' could also be translated 'who came to Damascus' has led some scholars to argue that in this case the interpreter of the law is a figure of the past as in CD 6: 7 (where the interpreter is apparently the Teacher of Righteousness). However, it must suffice here to say that it seems to make most sense to argue that in the Amos-Numbers Midrash, where the interpreter of the law is mentioned side-by-side with the—clearly messianic—prince of the whole congregation, the interpreter should also be regarded as a messianic figure (cf. Knibb 1999: 386–9 [=2009: 334–6]). It has been suggested, for example by García Martínez (1995b: 183–4, 186–8), that the interpreter of the law is a prophet, but it seems more likely that he should be regarded as a priestly figure and identified with 'the messiah of Aaron'. It may be noted that in two other texts that refer to the Davidic messiah by the titles 'the branch of David' and 'the prince of the congregation' (4Q161 [4QpIsaiah^a] 8–10, 22–5, in a comment on Isa. 11: 1–5 [cf. 4Q161 2–6 15]; 4Q285 [4QSefer ha-Milhamah] 7, lines 4–5, in a comment on Isa. 10: 34) it is said that priests or a priest will accompany the messiah and will exercise command.

A dual messianism is also very probably reflected in the two texts that follow the Rule of the Community in the manuscript of this text from Cave 1 (1QS), namely the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and the Rule of Benedictions (1QSB); for a discussion of these, see Knibb 1999: 397–9 (=2009: 344–7).

(p. 424) The above texts, despite all their differences, presuppose the expectation of two messiahs, a king and a priest. The other texts that mention a messiah refer—so far as we can tell—only to a single figure, whether a prophet, priest, or king, or, if two figures are mentioned, to a prophet and a royal or priestly figure. But it should be

recognized that the evidence in these cases is often incomplete and difficult to interpret, not least because of the fragmentary state of the manuscripts in question.

Several texts expect the coming of a prophet (cf. 1QS 9: 11), but they develop this expectation in different ways. As we have seen, in 4Q175 (*4QTestimonia*) 5–8, where Deut. 18: 18–19 is quoted, the expectation is clearly of a prophet like Moses. But in 11Q13 (11QMelchizedek) 2: 13–25 the prophetic figure who announces the day on which Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God's judgements is presented as the messenger whose coming is announced in Isa. 52: 7. The messenger is further said to be 'the anointed of the spirit', and these words are an allusion to Isa. 61: 1, one of numerous allusions to Isa. 61: 1–3 in this passage. But from a reference in line 18 to a quotation from Daniel—the quotation itself has not survived—it seems very likely that the messenger was also presented as the anointed figure of Dan. 9: 25. In contrast, in 4Q558 (4QVision^b ar) 51, where Mal. 3: 23 (Evv 4: 5) is quoted, the expectation is of the return of Elijah, perhaps as the forerunner of a Davidic messiah, although the evidence for this is extremely fragmentary. It has also been suggested that the figure referred to in 4Q521 (4QMessianic Apocalypse) fr. 2, col. 2 + fr. 4 as 'his anointed one' should be understood as an Elijah-like figure. 4Q521 fr. 2, col. 2 + fr. 4 is heavily dependent on Ps. 146 and describes God as the one who frees the prisoners, gives sight to the blind, heals the wounded, makes the dead live, and proclaims good news to the poor. Nothing is said about the role of 'his anointed one', but it may be assumed that God would perform these acts through his messiah, and parallels in rabbinic writings as well as the tradition that Elijah was the one who restored to life (cf. 1 Kgs. 17: 17–24) make it plausible to think that this figure was understood as a prophet like Elijah, as a prophetic messiah (cf. Collins 1995: 117–21).

It should, however, be noted that a very different view of this text has been taken by Stephen Hultgren (2008) who maintains that the messiah of 4Q521 should be understood as a royal figure. He argues that there are many close parallels between 4Q521 and the second benediction of the Tefilla, the traditional Jewish 'Prayer of Benedictions', and that there are also parallels between both these texts and the Psalms of Solomon. He believes that particularly important amongst these parallels are the belief in the resurrection of the dead and the expectation of a messiah, and that the parallels with the Psalms of Solomon and the Tefilla support the identification of the messianic figure of 4Q521 fr. 2, col. 2 + fr. 4 as an exalted Davidic messiah. He suggests that 4Q521, like the Psalms of Solomon and the Tefilla (at least in part), stems from the *ḥāsīdīm*, and that 4Q521 has its roots in the liturgy of the Palestinian synagogue in the late second century BCE.

The expectation of a Davidic messiah is attested in 4Q252 (4QCommentary on Genesis A) 5: 1–4. The interpretation of Gen. 49: 10 in this passage refers to the (p. 425) coming of 'the messiah of righteousness, the branch of David' and states that 'to him and his descendants has been given the covenant of the kingship of his people for everlasting generations'.

The expectation of a priestly messiah appears in a number of texts, as for example in 4Q541 (4QApocryphon of Levi^b) fr. 9, col. 1; the eschatological figure who is described in this fragment is presented as a sage and a priest and is said to 'make atonement for all the sons of his generation' (line 2; cf. Knibb 1995: 181–4 [=2009: 323–6]). This is one of a number of texts in which the messiah is increasingly presented as an exalted figure. Thus the speaker in 4Q491c (4QSelf-Glorification Hymn^b = 4Q491 fr. 11 + fr. 12, col. 1) describes himself as being enthroned in the congregation of the gods and taking his seat in heaven. He states that his glory is incomparable, and that he is counted among the gods. He boasts of being able to bear troubles and evil and refers to his teaching. And he asks: 'who shall summon me and be like (me) in my judgement [] for my position is with the gods'.

The individual making these exalted claims is, despite some uncertainty, probably to be identified with the priestly messiah, who, as we have seen, is also called the interpreter of the law (cf. Knibb 1999: 396–7 [=2009: 344]; Collins 1995: 136–53; Eshel 1996). The expectation of a priestly messiah certainly does appear in 11Q13 (11QMelchizedek), in which Melchizedek is said to be the one who is to make atonement for all the sons of God and the men of the lot of Melchizedek (2: 5b–8), to carry out the judgement of God (2: 9–14), and to free 'those who establish the covenant' from the hand of Belial (2: 23b–25a). What is significant in this context is that Melchizedek is presented as an exalted heavenly being. Two psalm passages that in the Hebrew Bible are applied to God (82: 1; 7: 8b–9a) are applied to Melchizedek (lines 10–11; cf. Knibb 1995: 173–4 [=2009: 315–16]), and in lines 24–5 the phrase 'your God' of Isa. 52: 7 was almost certainly interpreted to refer to Melchizedek.

Apocalypticism and Messianism

The figure of whom it is said in 4Q246 (4QAramaic Apocalypse) 'He will be called a son of God, and they will call him son of the Most High' is also very probably to be seen as an exalted heavenly being, but in this case as a royal, not a priestly, messiah. See on this text the discussion above, p. 416.

Conclusion

As we have seen above, the beliefs of the movement that lies behind the scrolls were influenced by the eschatological ideas of the early Enochic writings and by Daniel, and although the movement does not seem to have produced many apocalypses, eschatology and messianism formed a significant part of its thought-world. But the movement was concerned above all with the proper observance of the Torah, and it (p. 426) is evident from *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* (cf. 4QMMT C 7–32) that at one stage it hoped to win over the high priest and those in power to their interpretation of the Torah; their failure to do this is reflected in the bitter attacks on opponents, including the high priest, the priests, and the leaders of society, that occur in the Damascus Document and in the *pesharim*. It seems likely that the development of dualism and to some extent of eschatology was a way of coping with the fact that their interpretation of the Torah was not accepted by the leaders, much less by the majority of the Jews, and it is easily possible to envisage that the passage on the two spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 3: 13–4: 26), for example, would have served both to explain the opposition that the movement faced and to provide the consolation that in the new age the members, as those belonging to the spirit of truth, would enjoy all the glory of Adam (cf. 1QS 4: 18–23). The particular way in which the messianic expectations contained in the scrolls evolved may, in a similar way, also to some extent represent a reaction to the political and religious circumstances of the day, not least the circumstance that the movement came to regard the rule of the Hasmoneans as illegitimate. At the same time it should be recognized that the eschatological and messianic beliefs of the Dead Sea Scrolls represent a development of traditions already contained in the Hebrew Bible and form part of the spectrum of beliefs that were common to Jews of the period.

Suggested Reading

For introductions to apocalypticism in relation to the Qumran sect, see the studies by Nickelsberg (2000), Collins (1997), and García Martínez (1998), and for introductions to the study of messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see the studies by VanderKam (1998), Collins (1995), and Knibb (1999). Translations of all the texts discussed in this essay are given in the two-volume study edition produced by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997, 1998), but in addition full information about the publication in the official series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of the most important texts that are relevant to the topics of apocalypticism and messianism is given in the second part of the following bibliography. In some cases information about important secondary studies of these texts is also given there insofar as it has not already been given in the 'General' section. The pseudepigraphical texts mentioned in this essay may be consulted in the volumes edited by Sparks (1984) or Charlesworth (1983, 1985).

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Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide considerable evidence for a vibrant mystical tradition that involved not only theoretical musings about the heavenly realm based on scriptural exegesis, but also ritual practices closely associated with such imaginative constructs, along with an interest in transformational ascents to heaven by biblical figures and perhaps others. There is evidence that some of these mystical traditions survived and were developed by Jews and Christians in later centuries, although it is not yet entirely clear whether these survivals came from a vision mysticism common to Second Temple Judaism or from a successionist priestly mysticism derived directly from Qumran sectarianism or both, and not all scholars are convinced of a genetic link at all between the earlier and later traditions. The discussion also looks into the Hekhalot literature and early Christian mysticism.

Keywords: Qumran writings, scriptural exegesis, Dead Sea Scrolls, Second Temple Judaism, vision mysticism, Qumran sectarianism, Hekhalot literature, Christian mysticism

Mysticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls

'Mysticism' is one of a number of etic conceptual categories whose validity and usefulness for cross-cultural analysis have been vigorously debated in recent decades. Some have argued that mysticism is a definable concept that can be reduced to a range of human experience across many different cultures. But others argue that the concept of mysticism has been used mainly in theistic and Eurocentric contexts, and attempts to apply it to Eastern traditions such as Buddhism must redefine key concepts in ways foreign to the tradition. Therefore no shared core experiences can be inferred to lie behind the cross-cultural range of practitioners and practices that supposedly represent mystics and mysticism.

In its most general form, mysticism is understood to be a union with the divine that metaphorically can be taken as a reabsorption of the soul into the divine, a form of deification, or a level of intimacy with the divine akin to marriage (Davila 2001: 25–32). Some specialists in early Jewish mysticism take a broader approach to finding mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Bilhah Nitzan (1994a: 164) has defined mysticism as 'expression of the human desire to bridge the existential distance between man and God'. She finds the mystical praise of God in the scrolls to take either a celestial approach, in which angelic praise is elevated above human praise, or a communionistic approach, in which human beings reach a spiritual communion with the angels by reciting praises alongside them. April D. DeConick (2006b: 2, her emphasis) defines early Jewish and Christian mysticism as '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'. Philip Alexander (2006a: 7) applies an indicative and heuristic approach to mysticism, taking it as 'a convenient label for a cluster of religious phenomena' involving an intense and emotional human desire for a closer relationship with the ultimately indescribable divine, a desire fulfilled through a *via*

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mystica or mystical praxis that can function on either an individual or a communal level.

Attempts to go beyond these more general definitions and locate elements of mystical union in the Dead Sea Scrolls focus on union with the divine by deification or angelification. Elliott R. Wolfson (1994: 187) has argued that Jewish sources, including the Qumran texts and the Hekhalot literature, display a form of mysticism that centres around a human ascent to heaven leading to participation in the heavenly liturgy and enthronement in heaven, and that such ascents are based on practices that lead to an 'ontic transformation' involving apotheosis or angelification. (For more general reflections along these lines regarding early Jewish and Christian visionary literature, see Gruenwald 1988 and Morray-Jones 1992.) Likewise, DeConick (1996: esp. pp. 28–39; 2001: esp. pp. 34–67) has reconstructed an early 'vision mysticism' deriving from Jewish mystical ideas found around the turn of the era in the Qumran texts and other material, a mysticism that involved an encratite lifestyle and cultivation of heavenly ascents in order to view the Divine Glory and experience a glorious transformation and attain eternal life as a result. And Alexander (2006a: 10–11) groups the relevant Qumran texts into those that describe a heavenly (or better, macrocosmic) temple staffed by an angelic priesthood who enact a liturgy of praise to God, and those that deal with ascents to the macrocosmic temple using a mystical praxis that brings the practitioner into communion with the life of the angels. I shall proceed using this understanding of mysticism as the use of ritual practices to experience an ascent to heaven in which one undergoes a temporary or permanent transformation into an angelic being who may be enthroned on high or who may participate in the angelic liturgy. An aspect of this experience is a fascination with detailed descriptions of the heavenly realm.

Interest in possible mystical elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls was first raised with the publication of part of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, a document that shows numerous intriguing parallels to 'Merkavah mysticism', a tradition preserved (p. 435) in the Hekhalot literature, the literature of the heavenly 'palaces' (Strugnell 1960; Scholem 1965). The Hekhalot literature describes ritual techniques supposedly used by Tannaitic rabbis to ascend (or, strangely, 'descend') through the seven celestial palaces to the divine throne room where they could view God's throne-chariot (the *merkavah*) and join in the angelic liturgy. These ritual techniques are also used to call down the angelic Sar Torah (Prince of Torah) and compel him to teach the practitioner expertise in Torah without the requisite arduous study. The realization that a number of celestial ascents figure in the Qumran literature, most notably the one in the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn, has sharpened interest in potential mystical connections.

This chapter will explore these connections, starting with more theoretical interest in the Qumran writings in descriptions of the heavenly realm based on exegesis of scripture, then turning to accounts of ascents of human beings to heaven. Then these traditions will be placed in context with a look at their parallels in the Hekhalot literature and early Christian mysticism. Finally, I will address the question of how the mystical traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls are related to Jewish and Christian mysticism of the succeeding centuries.

Mystical Elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Merkavah Exegesis and Theoretical Interest in the Celestial Realm

The cosmology of the Qumran mystical traditions can ultimately be traced back to the ancient Near Eastern belief that the universe as a whole is the temple of the gods and earthly temples are the microcosmic instantiations of the macrocosmic divine abode. For Judaism the universe was God's temple and the template for the microcosm of his temple in Jerusalem (Fletcher-Louis 2002: 61–68; Davila 2002: 1). Starting from this assumption, Jews of the Second Temple period quite naturally sought to learn more about God's macrocosmic temple, trawling the scriptures as their chief source of information.

Broadly speaking, two categories of scriptural passages were seen to be relevant. The first consisted of texts that unambiguously described the heavenly realm or the abode of God. These included, especially, Ezekiel 1 and 10, which describes God's vehicle on which his Glory rides between heaven and earth (cf. Ezek. 10: 18–19; 11: 22–3), later known as the 'chariot' or *merkavah*. Other key passages included Exod. 24: 9–11, in which Moses and the elders ascend on Mount Sinai to God's abode; (p. 436) Isaiah's vision of the seraphim in the temple in Isaiah 6; and Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days on his throne-chariot, surrounded by the angelic host, in Dan. 7: 9–14. Ezekiel's vision was connected thematically to the revelation of the Torah on Mount Sinai via Ps. 68: 18–19 (Evv 68: 17–18), which ties a heavenly ascent and angelic chariotry to Sinai.

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The second group of passages describes God's earthly sanctuary. The rationale seemed to be that since this sanctuary was a microcosm of the macrocosmic temple, it was legitimate to infer data about the latter from the former. Various scriptural proof-texts were probably also used to justify this rationale. In Exod. 25: 9 God tells Moses to build the earthly tabernacle according to the pattern or plan revealed to him, arguably the template of the macrocosmic sanctuary. This justified the use of the account of the building of the tabernacle in Exodus 25–40. Similarly, Ezekiel's detailed proposal for the rebuilt temple in Jerusalem (a proposal that was never actually followed) was given to him in 'visions of God' in which he saw 'something like the edifice of a city' (Ezek. 40: 2), and this vision was associated with the celestial vision in chapter 1 (Ezek. 43: 3). The implication taken was that the description of Ezekiel's imagined temple in chapters 40–48 was based on the macrocosmic temple. Similarly again, the account of David's plans for his son Solomon to build the original earthly temple, described in 1 Chronicles 28–9, were mobilized, apparently on the basis that the written blueprints alluded to in 28: 11–12 were a 'writing from the hand of YHWH' (v. 19) revealed to David and were taken again to be based on the macrocosmic temple. A key verse in this passage is the reference to 'the plan of the golden chariot of cherubim' (v. 18), which seems to have provided exegetes with the term 'chariot' (*merkavah*) for the divine vehicle described by Ezekiel. With these passages concerning the earthly sanctuary established as reliable sources of information about the macrocosmic temple, other scriptural texts dealing with the earthly temple, such as 1 Kings 6–7 and Psalm 24 could be drawn on for the same purpose.

Four documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls draw extensively on this body of exegetical tradition about the macrocosmic temple. The longest and exegetically richest of these is the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, a collection of thirteen songs by or for the 'sage' (*maskil*)¹ which describe the sabbath liturgy celebrated by the angels in the seven firmaments of the macrocosmic temple (Newsom 1985, 1998; Davila 2000b: 83–167). There is one song for each sabbath of one quarter of the solar year. In the first quarter the eleventh sabbath took place immediately before the festival of Shavuot or Weeks, traditionally associated both with the revelation of Torah on Sinai and with the reading of the vision in Ezekiel 1. Ezekiel's vision (p. 437) provides key heavenly personae, including the cherubim, the ophanim ('wheels'), and the *hashmal*, and allusions to this passage come especially thick in the eleventh and twelfth songs, presupposing the connection with the Sinai revelation associated with Shavuot.

Daniel 7 provides the wheeled throne of God and the rivers of fire. Exodus 24: 10 provides the celestial brickwork, and the account of the tabernacle inspired many details of the celestial temple, such as the tabernacle, the workmanship of colourful stuff, the curtain, and the high-priestly breastpieces and ephods. The description of Ezekiel's imagined temple provided a basic structure for the macrocosmic temple, along with many details such as the terms 'sanctuary' and 'vestibule', and carved representations (Ezek. 41: 15–26) which are made into animate spirits in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The account of the temple plans in 1 Chronicles 28–9 provided architectural features such as the tabernacle, the camps, the standards, the divine footstool, the vestibule, and the chariot. It provided sacrificial categories including holocaust offerings, sacrifices, and libations. It also provided angelic titles such as prince (*śar* and *naśiʿ*), attendants, mighty ones, elect ones, and 'mustered' angels. Many hymnic and liturgical terms and phrases in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are also inspired by this passage in Chronicles, along with the concept of sevenfold blessings, which appear twice in the mouth of King David. There is no direct allusion to Isa. 6: 3 or Ezek. 3: 12, although they may be echoed in a passage in Song 7 (Falk 1998: 139–46; Davila 2002).

Five manuscripts from Cave 4 preserve fragments of Second Ezekiel, a retelling of elements of the book of Ezekiel with thematic parallels to 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra (Strugnell and Dimant 1988, 1990; Dimant with Strugnell 2001). The passage of interest here paraphrases Ezekiel's vision in chapter 1. It opens with a reference to 'the brightness of the chariot', alluding to 1 Chr. 28: 18. The reference to the four living creatures walking on their two legs may echo the use of two wings by the seraphim in Isa. 6: 2 and the description of how the body parts of the living creatures are attached together echoes the language of the description of the cherubim in 2 Chr. 3: 12. The four faces of the cherubim appear in a new order and the face of the ox becomes the face of a calf, evidently echoing the golden calf of Exodus 32. The text thus shows thoughtful reflection that identified the divine vehicle in Ezekiel 1 with the Chronicler's 'chariot' in the holy of holies, and identified the living creatures with the cherubim (as per Ezekiel 10) and perhaps also Isaiah's seraphim. The reference to the calf may show awareness of a *midrash* attested in Tannaitic literature which taught that the Israelites fashioned the golden calf on the model of the Merkavah vision revealed to them at Sinai.

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A sectarian covenant renewal ceremony that seems to have been celebrated annually around the time of Shavuot survives in five, possibly six, manuscripts from Cave 4 and is conventionally known as the Berakhot or 'Blessings' (Nitzan 1998, 1999; for additional commentary see Davila 2000b: 41–82). The surviving fragments include legal material, curses on Belial and his followers, reference to a (p. 438) census of the sect for the half-shekel tax, and, most interesting for our purposes, hymns praising God both for the wonders of nature and for the wonders of the Merkavah. These Merkavah hymns describe the heavenly throne room and temple and refer to chariots, cherubim, ophanim (1 Chr. 28: 18; Ezekiel 1); rivers of fire (Dan. 7: 10); celestial 'edifices' (Ezek. 40: 2); the 'lavers' (1 Kgs. 7: 30, 38–9, 43; Exod. 30: 17–21); vestibules; 'colourful' spirits; and other terms associated with the macrocosmic temple in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, such as footstools, firmaments, and palaces. It also contains hymnic terminology found in 1 Chr. 29: 10–13, which is shared with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Songs of the Sage. The connection between the Sinai revelation and Ezekiel's vision facilitated by Ps. 68: 18–19 is implicit in the timing of the ceremony.

The Songs of the Sage (*maskil*) is a fragmentary collection of exorcism hymns that survives in two manuscripts from Cave 4 (Baillet 1982; Nitzan 1994b: 227–72, 358–65). In them God is the King of Glory (Ps. 24: 7–10). It refers to an eternal sanctuary, evidently with both angelic and exalted human attendants, some of whom are priests, and it mentions holy cherubim.

Ascent and Enthronement Mysticism

The ideal form of ascent mysticism involves ascent to heaven, transformation into an angel or a divine being, and enthronement on high. This is a common theme in the Hekhalot literature and is found in one Qumran text. A number of other Qumran documents deal with ascents of specific individuals in biblical tradition, but these texts are often poorly preserved and elements of transformation and enthronement in them are less clear. Ascent motifs also appear in the Hodayot and will be analysed in the next section. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice offers special problems that require discussion. (See also Davila 1999.)

The Self-Glorification Hymn survives in two recensions preserved in four manuscripts from Cave 4 (Eshel 1996, 1999; Alexander 2006a: 85–90). In this remarkable hymn, a human speaker boasts of dwelling in heaven and consorting with divine beings. In Recension A he describes himself as one despised and subjected to evil, but his glory is incomparable and he is without equal among the holy ones and gods. He is beloved of God, the King, and has no need to crown himself. In Recension B he appears (the text is damaged) to occupy 'a throne of power in the congregation of the gods', unlike the kings of old. His glory is incomparable and he is reckoned among the gods in their abode. The speaker is clearly not angelic or heavenly by nature; his tone indicates that his presence on high and his incomparable divine glory are remarkable, even in heaven. This is an unambiguous case of ascent and enthronement mysticism, in which a human being ascends to heaven and is transformed into a glorious heavenly being who takes a seat on high. More remarkably still, one highly fragmentary copy is found in the Hodayot Scroll from (p. 439) Cave 1, which contains a large collection of hymns to be recited by the sectarian community. We are therefore dealing with a hymn that seems to have had a liturgical life of some sort rather than a fictional or theoretical description of an ascent like those found in the ancient apocalypses. The identity of the speaker remains unclear, although many candidates have been proposed, including the archangel Michael, the Teacher of Righteousness, and the eschatological high priest.

Several biblical figures are presented in the Dead Sea Scrolls as having ascended into heaven. The best known of these is Enoch, the antediluvian patriarch who 'walked with God (or "the gods") and he was not, for God took him' (Gen. 5: 24). The Enochic literature of the Second Temple period survives intact only in Ethiopic translation in the book of 1 Enoch, but fragments of most of its component books, including the Book of Watchers, the Book of Dreams, the Astronomical Book, and the Epistle of Enoch, survive in their original Aramaic in highly fragmentary form in a number of Qumran manuscripts. The Qumran fragments were published by Milik with Black (1976). Important commentaries on 1 Enoch include Black (1985), Nickelsburg (2001), and Stuckenbruck (2007). The Book of the Watchers describes Enoch's ascent to heaven to intercede for the fallen angelic watchers before the throne of God (chs. 14–16) and his subsequent tour of the cosmos during this ascent (chs. 17–36). In his throne vision Enoch enters the macrocosmic temple, where he finds a wheeled throne from which rivers of fire and the voice of the cherubim issue and on which the Great Glory was seated. The passage is closely related to Daniel 7 (the direction of influence can be debated) and Ezekiel 1 and 10. As the Book of the Watchers stands now, it is unclear

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whether Enoch returned to earth after this vision or remained in heaven (Nickelsburg 2001: 21–6). In the Astronomical Book the angel Uriel takes Enoch on another cosmic tour in order to demonstrate the validity of the sectarian luni-solar calendar. In both cases Enoch ascends to heaven, but he is not enthroned and it is not stated explicitly that he underwent any transformation (although this may be implied by his survival in the flaming celestial throne room).

The figure of Levi also engages in a heavenly ascent that is described in Aramaic Levi, a first-person narrative that tells the story of his life and his founding of the priesthood. It survives in seven fragmentary Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran, an eighth, somewhat better preserved manuscript from the Cairo Genizah, and Greek and Syriac quotations (Drawnel 2004; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004). Early in the surviving narrative Levi washes himself and his clothing in running water, then raises his hands and prays an apotropaic prayer. He then travels to his father Jacob where he sees a vision, the content of which is poorly preserved. He reaches the gate of heaven and is met by an angel. He receives revelations, evidently about the future, and seven heavenly figures are present. After they depart, he awakes. Aramaic Levi served as a major source for the Testament of Levi among the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In the Testament of Levi the patriarch (p. 440) has two visions that are related to the visionary material in Aramaic Levi, but it is debated whether Aramaic Levi included one or two visions.

The Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek in Gen. 14: 18–20 seems to have served as an exalted angel in some of the Qumran literature. In the regrettably poorly preserved 11Q13 (11QMelchizedek) the figure Melchizedek is presented as an eschatological judge who comes on the Day of Atonement at the end of the tenth Jubilee (a traditional eschatological period) to act as the god (*elohim*) who judges in the divine assembly in Ps. 82: 1. Although Psalm 110 is not quoted directly, it seems to have served as a major inspiration for this text: its priesthood of Melchizedek seems to be the background of Melchizedek's coming on the Day of Atonement; the addressee in the psalm is enthroned on high next to God and in 11Q13 Melchizedek judges in the divine assembly; and like the addressee in the psalm, Melchizedek triumphs over his foes in 11Q13. Although the surviving fragments do not state this explicitly, it seems clear that the earthly Melchizedek is understood to have undergone a transformation into an angelic being. Other early Jewish and Christian literature also seems to be aware of the myth of Melchizedek transformed into a warrior angel (García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude 1998; Davila 2000b: 164–7).

Enoch and Levi are the clearest examples of human biblical figures who ascend to heaven, but there may be other cases as well. In the Genesis Apocryphon, Methuselah fears that his son Noah may actually be the child of one of the fallen angelic watchers and so travels to his father Enoch to verify Noah's parentage. The philological details of his journey are complex and not entirely clear, but arguably he ascends to the third and uppermost heaven to consult Enoch in the celestial temple and paradise (Davila 1999: 469–70). In addition Fletcher-Louis (1996) has argued that 4Q374 describes a deification and glorification of Moses as a result of his ascent of Mount Sinai. The remnant of the poorly preserved text does not mention Moses by name, but the references to someone made as 'God to the mighty ones', whose face was shining, and who opposed Pharaoh, could perhaps be assigned to Moses.

The question of whether the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice involve some sort of mystical ascent is a particularly difficult one. On the one hand, nothing in the text points to the reader or the user having an ascent experience like those of Enoch, Levi, or the speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn. On the other, the Songs are tied to a liturgical context associated with a regular sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple, perhaps even at a particular point in the liturgical year, making it very difficult to assume that they are merely poetic expressions of scriptural exegesis. Furthermore, the original use and social context of the Songs is very far from clear. It is widely accepted that they are sectarian compositions of the Qumran community. Carol Newsom originally argued this position, but later abandoned it (Newsom 1985: 1–4; 1990). The Songs, like the Enoch literature, may also have been produced by a (p. 441) community ancestral to the sectarians and have been adopted by them, not necessarily for their original purpose. It is even possible that the Songs originated as part of the *cultus* of the Jerusalem temple and were used by the priests in the actual sabbath sacrifice liturgy. There is nothing polemical in the Songs as they stand; we do not know which calendar was used originally in the temple worship and we cannot rule out the possibility that it was the luni-solar calendar that later was observed by the sectarians; and the concept of the macrocosmic temple would have been well known and accepted by the Jerusalem priesthood. Adoption of their doctrine into the temple liturgy would have underlined the sanctity of the physical temple rather than undermining it.

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Whatever their origin, the earliest life situation we can realistically try to reconstruct for the Songs is the one they had in the sectarian community. But even here, nothing is straightforward. Given the hostility of some sectarian texts toward the contemporary Jerusalem priesthood (especially in the *pesharim*) and the perception of the sect as a spiritual temple (1QS 8: 4–11), it is easy to imagine that the Songs were used in effect to produce a rival spiritualized temple cult based in the foundational and unsullied macrocosmic temple. But the Qumran library does not present a consistent view of the earthly temple cult, so the assumption that the use of the Songs is in rivalry with the Jerusalem temple is open to some doubt. Note, for example, that the Damascus Document assumes that the members of its group are offering sacrifices in the Jerusalem temple (CD-A 11: 18–23) and directions for such sacrifices are given in the purification liturgies in 4Q512/4Q414 (see Davila 2000b: 271–95). Minimally, one can reasonably infer that the sectarians used the Songs liturgically to gain access to the macrocosmic temple, whether or not this use was in rivalry with or complementary to the cult of the Jerusalem temple.

Granting this, in what sense, if at all, can we regard the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice to be a mystical work? Newsom argues that the Songs provided ‘experiential validation’ for the exiled priests of the Qumran sect and their followers: ‘To the extent that the worshipper experienced himself as present in the heavenly temple through the recitation of the Sabbath Shirot, his status as a faithful and legitimate priest would have been convincingly confirmed in spite of the persistent contradiction of his claims in the world’ (Newsom 1985: 72).

Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones similarly regards the weekly celebration of this liturgy as ‘the ritual construction by the worshiping community, in association with the angelic hosts, of a seven-tiered temple, which is identified with that of Ezekiel’ (Morray-Jones 2006: 178; cf. Rowland and Morray-Jones 2009: 303–39). The eleventh sabbath marks the completion of this construction, after which the Divine Glory descends onto the chariot in the temple, indwelling it and accepting the sacrifices offered in it.

(p. 442) Crispin Fletcher-Louis offers a revisionist interpretation of the Songs that takes this position as its basis, but argues that the human priestly practitioners are the actual participants in the heavenly liturgy and were regarded to have undergone a process of angelification during the experience (Fletcher-Louis 2002: 252–394). Thus the apparent angelic figures in the Songs are actually the human sectarian priesthood, who are liturgically exalted to worship alongside the heavenly spirits that make up the animate architectural components of the macrocosmic temple and to mediate the Divine Glory for the earthly community.

His arguments proceed on two fronts. First, he maintains that the description of the heavenly beings in the Songs includes elements appropriate of human beings, but not of angels. These beings are called ‘a people of discernment’, an appellation that makes sense as a reference to sect members according to sectarian theology, but is highly uncharacteristic for angels. They are teachers; they grow in strength; they have territory, inheritance, and ‘generations’; they have statutes engraved for them by God; they sanctify themselves, and they repent of sin; they are ‘elect ones’; they are (perhaps) crowned; they wear high-priestly vestments; and they offer sacrifices. They are given titles not elsewhere assigned to angels, such as ‘prince’. Although it is true that a first-person plural passage in Song 2 stresses the unworthiness of the earthly priesthood in comparison to the macrocosmic one, this should be understood as an opening confession of unworthiness by participants who are to be welcomed into the angelic realm nonetheless by divine grace. Second, he argues that the terminology of the Songs distinguishes between the animate architecture of the macrocosmic temple, the elements of which are called ‘spirits’, or ‘living gods (*elohim*)’; angels, who (rarely) appear as ‘holy angels’; and the exalted sectarian participants who are called ‘gods’ (*elim* or *elohim*).

His arguments are of varying force and have not been received with enthusiasm. He discounts the evidence of the Hekhalot literature and related texts in which angels are ‘princes’, undergo purifications, and engage in a heavenly sacrificial cult, on the reasonable ground that these texts are considerably later than the Qumran literature. But he neglects the fact that much of the terminology for the macrocosmic architecture, the celestial liturgy, and the traits and titles of the divine beings officiating as priests comes from the scriptural descriptions of the earthly temple cult, especially those in 1 Chronicles 28–9. I have argued elsewhere that these chapters were understood as something approaching an allegorical description of the macrocosmic temple, with Solomon enthroned as God, the high priest Zadok perhaps representing the heavenly high priest Melchizedek, and the priests and officials representing the angels who minister on high (Davila 2002: 7–13). Thus there is a trajectory between early exegesis of this passage and the later Hekhalot literature, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice fits on this trajectory. Fletcher-Louis is forced to assume that the Songs missed a vital part of the concord between (p. 443) the microcosm and the

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macrocosm if he assumes that the Songs adopted the architectural features and liturgical elements of 1 Chronicles 28–9 for the macrocosm but somehow missed or ignored the need for an angelic priesthood to correspond to the human one.

Other weaknesses with his arguments have been noted. The Enochic traditions are much concerned with the sin and fall of the angels and resulting purity issues. Jubilees assumes a degree of Torah observance in heaven as well as on earth. There is no earthly sevenfold division of the priesthood in the Qumran literature to correspond to this organization in the Songs. It is remarkable that after the initial confession of unworthiness the first-person plural grammatical forms never recur, if the apparently angelic participants in the liturgy are actually meant to be understood as human (Newsom 2003). And it is less than clear what Fletcher-Louis understands to be the nature of ‘angelomorphic’ human beings or how their microcosm corresponds to a macrocosm if there are no angelic priests officiating on high (Alexander 2006a: 46). Nevertheless, he has raised some important and interesting observations that require more study.

My own preliminary understanding of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice to a large degree accepts what Fletcher-Louis affirms while differing with him on what he denies. All indicators are that these songs were meant for liturgical use rather than merely private meditation and study. Unfortunately, we have little evidence for how they were used in this context. Fletcher-Louis takes them as ‘a conductor’s score’ for the actual ritual, and this seems plausible. We must presumably think in terms of a weekly cultic drama, perhaps supplemented with the angelic songs that the text mentions without giving them to us, which led its participants into and through the macrocosmic temple (or guided them in its liturgical building). I regard it as likely, with Morray-Jones, that this ritual was tied conceptually to Shavuot and perhaps integrated with the celebration of the sectarian covenant renewal ceremony given in the Berakhot. The macrocosmic cult was understood to be staffed by angels, but the participants in this weekly cultic drama must necessarily have taken on the roles of these angelic priests and so have undergone a process of temporary transformation or angelification on some level. The Songs describe these angelic priests in the mode in which they have subsumed the earthly priesthood and therefore speak of them in terms appropriate on one level for angels and on another level for human beings. This performance must have been a profoundly moving liturgical communion with the heavenly realm for its participants and for their audience, if there was one, and it seems entirely appropriate to think of it as mystical. There is a continuum between ritual performance, ritual communion, and ritual trance, and all three may have been involved for different people at different times in this liturgy. (p. 444)

Parallels to the Hekhalot Literature²

Since the first publication of material from the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice it has been increasingly recognized that this work, along with other Qumran texts, displays striking similarities to the much later Hekhalot literature, similarities that are far too pervasive to be attributed to chance. (Earlier discussions of the relationship between the Qumran texts and the Hekhalot literature include Schiffman 1982, 1987; Davila 2000a; Swartz 2001).

Much of the mystical terminology and description of the macrocosmic temple in the Qumran texts, especially the four key texts noted above, is also found in the Hekhalot literature. These elements include a sevenfold heaven with seven palaces containing the divine throne-chariot at the top or innermost level; a celestial liturgy in the macrocosmic sanctuary; multiple chariots; a tabernacle; thrones; pillars; glowing coals of fire; the curtain of the holy of holies; wheels (*galgalim*); the *hashmal*; ‘portals’; a heavenly ephod and breastpiece; divine ‘effulgence and adornment’ (*hod ve-hadar*); ‘variegated’ or ‘colourful’ elements; God as the Mighty One, ‘King of Glory’, and ‘King of Kings’; groupings of seven angels and angels in military formations (‘mustered’ and in ‘divisions’); angelic ‘princes’ and ‘attendants’; angelic ‘camps’; ‘chief’ angels; cherubim and ophannim; ‘ophannim of light’; and ‘angels of glory’.

Parallels in exegesis of scripture in the Qumran literature—again especially our four key texts—and the Hekhalot literature deserve more systematic attention than they have received thus far, but we may note here that both corpora draw on many of the same scriptural passages with similar exegesis. These passages include Exod. 24: 9–11; 1 Kgs. 19: 12; Ezek. 1, 10, and 3: 12; Ps. 24: 7–10 and 68: 18–19; Dan. 7: 9–10; and 1 Chronicles 28–9. Isa. 6: 1–4 is also important in the Hekhalot texts, but much less so in the Qumran texts (Davila 2000a: 250–3).

Although arguably research on the Hekhalot literature in the first part of the twentieth century overemphasized the

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significance of heavenly ascents in these texts (Schäfer 1988; Himmelfarb 1988; Halperin 1988), the fact remains that such ascents are quite important in it. The corpus contains five key ascent accounts and a number of briefer ones. The Hekhalot Rabbati contains a long passage in which R. Nehuniah Ben HaQanah instructs his disciples on how to undertake a heavenly ascent ('descent to the chariot'). The practitioner is to carry out ritual actions, recite divine names, give the proper passwords to the angels at each level in the ascent, and he will be welcomed in the divine throne room where he can take his place with the angels to recite the celestial liturgy before the throne of God (§§200–37).

(p. 445) The Hekhalot Zurtarti likewise contains a similar instructional passage in which the practitioner is taught how to pass the water test in the sixth palace (see below) and then is taught how to undertake the otherworldly journey from the first palace, again offering passwords for each guardian angel along the way. This ascent culminates in the practitioner sitting on the lap of the enthroned Deity and being granted a wish (§§407–19).

A manuscript from the Cairo Genizah known as the Ozhayah fragment (G8) has the angel Ozhayah teaching an unnamed practitioner concerning the descent to the chariot, again giving detailed instructions on surviving the journey through the seven palaces. The practitioner is then met by a high-priestly angel called the Youth, who seats him on his lap.

The book of 3 Enoch differs from the other texts in that it is an apocalypse that narrates a story. It describes the ascent of R. Ishmael to the divine throne room where he meets the exalted angel Metatron and learns that this angel was once the biblical patriarch Enoch. Enoch's ascent, transformation into a fiery archangel, enthronement, and dethronement are then described in detail, after which Metatron takes Ishmael on a tour of the universe. A number of Hekhalot passages also indicate that Enoch's transformation is not unique, but that any adept who completes the descent to the chariot will be destroyed along the way and resurrected as being of fire as long as the journey lasts (Hekhalot Rabbati §§101–4, 159; Hekhalot Zutarti §§349/361, 366, 420). In the Qumran texts, Enoch experiences an ascent and perhaps a transformation, perhaps returning to earth afterwards, somewhat parallel to the temporary apotheosis of the rabbis during their otherworldly journeys in the Hekhalot texts. Melchizedek apparently undergoes a permanent transformation into an angelic being like the transformation of Enoch into Metatron in 3 Enoch. One passage in the Songs of the Sage (4Q511 fr. 35) refers to purified priests, evidently angels and human beings (or divinized human beings) as God's eternal sanctuary. It seems likely that some type of angelification is involved here too, but it is debatable whether it is temporary, permanent, present, or eschatological. See also below on angelification in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

The fifth ascent account in the Hekhalot texts is the story of the four who entered paradise, which appears in multiple versions in the manuscripts of the Hekhalot Zutarti (§§338–9, 344–8, G7) and the Merkavah Rabba (§§671–3) and elsewhere (cf. §597 and 3 Enoch ch. 16 = §20) as well as a number of times in the rabbinic texts, the best known version of which is found in b. Hag. 14b–15b. In this story four rabbis enter 'the garden' (*pardes*), where three of them suffer various disasters (death, insanity, conversion to heresy) and only the fourth, R. Akiva, enters and leaves safely. The version in the Hekhalot texts explicitly connects this event with an ascent to heaven in which R. Akiva travels behind the curtain of the celestial holy of holies, confirming the view that the *pardes* is the Garden of Eden. Some versions also connect this story with the water test, where the practitioner must cross the **(p. 446)** floor of the sixth palace, which appears to him as myriad waves of water poised to crush him, but he must not mention water or even think of it, lest the guardian angels of the sixth palace attack and destroy him.

Murray-Jones (2002) has argued on the basis of an internal analysis combined with parallel material from late antiquity that a first-person version of the story of the four, pseudepigraphically narrated by R. Akiva, was circulating by the fourth century at the latest. He has also argued that the Apostle Paul's ascent to paradise in the third heaven came out of a cosmology and esoteric practice similar and probably ancestral to those of the Merkavah mystics (Murray-Jones 1993; Rowland and Murray-Jones 2009: 341–419). All this is of interest because one of the hymns in the Qumran Hodayot (1QH^a 16: 4–26a), 'the hymn of the garden', arguably also comes out of the same cosmology and practice. The author narrates his adventures in a garden, with the context making it clear that this is the Garden of Eden. In the garden is 'a shoot for an eternal planting', an allegorical term for the sectarian community, which, as noted above, also considered itself to be God's spiritual temple. The shoot is beset by hostile animals and birds (representing its human enemies) and by an opponent of uncertain nature, a 'stranger' (the reading is damaged and uncertain) who sets his hand against the sprout. Nevertheless, the shoot is protected by angels and by the narrator, who with God's help weathers an assault by the waters of chaos and irrigates the

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garden with his teaching.

Thus, as in the story of the four, the scene takes place in the Garden of Eden, which is implicitly identified with the macrocosmic temple. The plants of the garden are harmed by an attacker and the garden is guarded by dangerous angels, but the narrator, having survived an attack by the waters of chaos, is able to move freely within the garden. The author thus works within the mystical cosmology found in the story of the four and, like R. Akiva, he presents himself as successfully meeting the challenges of an otherworldly journey to the celestial paradise (Davila 1996). (Goshen-Gottstein [1995] takes issue with Morray-Jones, arguing that the Tosefta preserves the earliest account of the story of the four (cf. Davila 1996: 477–8 n. 38; Rowland and Morray-Jones 2009: 421–98). For other ascent motifs in the Qumran sectarian texts, see Davila 1999: 476–9.)

Exercising control over angels and spirits and compelling them to do one's will is a central element of the Hekhalot literature, especially in the Sar Torah tradition, where the practitioner forces the angelic Prince of Torah to descend from heaven and teach him advanced knowledge of Torah without his needing to undertake the normal arduous study. The Dead Sea Scrolls show much less interest in the concept of controlling spirits. In the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book, Enoch is taken on otherworldly journeys with angels as guides and these angels seem bound to answer his questions, showing some parallels to angels in the Hekhalot literature who act as guides during the descent to the chariot and who reveal esoteric knowledge, but Enoch's control of angels involves no theurgic powers or specific granting of knowledge of Torah. The Songs of the Sage are (p. 447) perhaps of greatest interest here: they are a collection of exorcism hymns aimed at thwarting demonic attacks in the present wicked era before the eschaton. They have a clear interest in the control of spirits and destructive angels, combined with Merkavah exegesis and mystical cosmology.

Finally, another central element in the Hekhalot literature is the use of ritual practices to undertake the descent to the chariot or to summon and subdue the Prince of Torah or other angels. These practices include fasting and dietary restrictions, purification rituals, celibacy, isolation and sensory deprivation, and the recitation of songs and words of power and divine names. Such ritual practices are much less prevalent in relevant Qumran texts, although they are not absent. In the Book of the Watchers, Enoch carries out an incubation ritual in an isolated sacred spot. In Aramaic Levi, Levi carries out a ritual immersion and purification followed by an apotropaic prayer in advance of his vision. The connection between ritual and vision is less than direct however, in that Levi evidently undertakes a journey between them. The text is damaged at this point, but perhaps we are to understand this journey as a pilgrimage to a sacred site.

The ritual aspects of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are complex and very poorly understood, but according to the reconstruction advanced above we may understand that the Sage or *Maskil* led the priests of the sect in a cultic drama during which they underwent a ritual transformation into angelic beings so that they could act out the parts of and become temporarily identified with the angels who celebrate the weekly liturgy of the sabbath sacrifice in the macrocosmic temple. This weekly cultic drama may have reached its climax at a point that dovetailed with the celebration of both Shavuot and the sect's annual covenant renewal ceremony. The latter ceremony also involved the recitation of Merkavah hymns thematically similar to the content of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and with many parallels to the later Merkavah hymns of the Hekhalot practitioners.

Ritual also played an important role in the Berakhot and the Songs of the Sage. At minimum, the covenant renewal ceremony of the Berakhot included recitation of the laws of the covenant, the singing of hymns (including Merkavah hymns), the cursing of spiritual and earthly enemies, and a census of the sect members for the purpose of collecting the half-shekel temple tax. It may also have included a communal confession or recitation of the history of the sect and blessings recited over the community. Again, this event would have been a moving experience for the participants, although it is more difficult to think of it as mystical than it is for the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The Songs of the Sage were recited by the Sage, probably to musical accompaniment, apparently during exorcisms.

In sum, the mystical texts from the Qumran library share many parallels with the Hekhalot literature, including terminology and cosmology, exegesis of scripture, interest in ascents to heaven and the celestial paradise, interest in control of spirits, and elements of mystical ritual (cf. Davila 1999: 480–3).

(p. 448) That said, the numerous differences between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hekhalot texts should not be neglected or downplayed. No single Qumran text contains the full panoply of key traits associated with the

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Hekhalot literature. The Enochic texts and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice contain the highest density of them. The Hekhalot literature consists mostly of instructions and rituals for the successful undertaking of the descent to the chariot or the summoning of the Prince of Torah and other angels. These rituals involve the invocation of countless angel names and nonsense words (*nomina barbara*) in numerous adjurations. The Qumran mystical texts contain no adjurations, *nomina barbara*, or names of individual angels, and although named angels are compelled in the Enochic texts to reveal esoteric knowledge, there is no developed tradition along the lines of the Sar Torah material. Many of them do contain instructions for rituals, but none explicitly involve a mystical ascent or the control of angels. The Qumran texts seem to identify Ezekiel's living creatures in chapter 1 with his cherubim in chapter 10, as does the book of Ezekiel itself. Second Ezekiel speaks only of living creatures (with traits of both cherubim and seraphim) and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice speak only of cherubim. The Hekhalot texts normally distinguish the two types of angels. The liturgical words of the angels in Isa. 6: 3 and Ezek. 3: 12 are used frequently and prominently in the Hekhalot literature, whereas they are ignored in the Qumran texts apart from very subtle echoes. The Shi'ur Qomah ('measure of the stature') traditions in the Hekhalot literature purport to describe the appearance of the enthroned Deity in great detail, giving fantastically large measurements for God's various body parts as well as assigning nonsense names to them. There may be a few hints in the Qumran texts of interest in God's huge stature or the enlarged stature of angelified human beings, but in general the texts are very reticent about such matters and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice refrains entirely from describing the enthroned Deity.

Qumran Literature and Early Christian Mysticism

Christian esoteric and mystical traditions in the early centuries CE also show significant parallels to the key mystical texts from the Qumran library, especially the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. It has been argued by Alan F. Segal (1990) and Morray-Jones (1993; Rowland and Morray-Jones 2009: 341–419) that the Apostle Paul at times showed significant parallels to the Merkavah mystics, and many of these parallels overlap with the Qumran visionary material. The Book of Revelation also contains many parallels to the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Berakhot (p. 449) (Davila 2000b: 91 and 49–164 passim). DeConick (1996, 2001) has argued that the 'vision mysticism' described above was adopted in the Gospel of Thomas and opposed by the Gospel of John. DeConick (1999) and Morray-Jones (2002: esp. chs. 5–8) have also drawn attention to parallels in the Coptic Gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi to both Qumran mysticism and Merkavah mysticism involving the cosmology of the macrocosmic temple and ascents to this temple.

Mystical themes appearing in the Dead Sea Scrolls have also been isolated by Alexander Golitzin (2003) in the Greek- and Syriac-speaking church fathers of the fourth century, including Macarius, Aphrahat, and Ephrem the Syrian. These include an interest in the primordial glory of Adam in Paradise and its availability to the devout both in the eschatological future and perhaps even in the present; in the robes and crowns of light to be given to the righteous at the eschaton; and in the vision of God's throne as perceived in Ezekiel's Merkavah vision. These writers also share with the writers of the Hekhalot literature an interest in the mystical ascent through the gates of heaven to the divine throne and the mystical transformation of the righteous into a gigantic being of light. Finally, Philip Alexander (2006b) has argued that the writings of the anonymous sixth-century author known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite likewise share themes with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and related Qumran texts, including the synthesis of scattered information in scripture about the celestial realm and its inhabitants; an apophatic theology whose transcendent God is better approached through liturgical and sacramental acts than through words; a focus on hierarchy in the heavenly and earthly realms; and the imaginative ascent to the heavenly realm and union with the Divine by means of theurgic practices. All in all, there is considerable evidence that the Jewish mystical traditions exemplified in the Qumran texts survived long after the first century not only in Judaism, but also in Christianity.

The Nature of the Connection Between the Qumran Literature and Later Jewish and Christian Mysticism

There are various possible explanations for the numerous parallels between Qumran mysticism and later Jewish mystical traditions. Many of the similarities need not be explained by direct influence: the combination of a natural human interest in metaphysics and cosmology drawing on the same scriptural traditions could have led Jewish and Christian exegetes to construct similar models of the celestial realm independent of each other or earlier traditions.

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And ritual practices to aid (p. 450) adepts in experiencing the otherworld are at least to some degree constrained by human neurology and physiology. Nevertheless, clusters of features, such as those associated with the ascent to the celestial paradise and the mystical transformation wrought by viewing the Divine Glory, along with pervasive similarities in small details such as technical terminology, argue for some degree of genetic influence.

Two lines of evidence support the possibility of genetic influence of Qumran mysticism on later Jewish and Christian mysticism. First, it seems that at least some material known from Qumran survived also in later circles. The Enochic books found in their original Aramaic in the Qumran library were translated into Greek and circulated among early Christians (Nickelsburg 2001: 12–14). There is some evidence as well that material from Second Ezekiel was known to early Jewish and gentile Christians (Bauckham 1992; Wright 2000). Second, the pattern of features associated with the ‘shaman/healer’ which I have used as a heuristic device (Davila 2006) for understanding the Hekhalot literature also proves useful for analysing the ancient Jewish apocalypses, including the Enochic books found at Qumran, the Similitudes of Enoch, Daniel, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch. Arguably these texts were produced by an early and comparatively undeveloped form of shaman/healer who may have been ancestral to the Merkavah mystics.

If there is a genetic connection between Qumran mysticism and later Jewish and Christian mysticism, the question arises whether this connection is a result of the influence of a general and widespread Jewish vision mysticism of the type isolated from many Jewish sources by DeConick or whether the Qumran sectarian traditions, despite the abrupt demise of the sectarians during the Great Revolt against Rome, achieved a longer-term survival and influence that proceeded in channels that remain subterranean to us. The two possibilities are of course not mutually exclusive. On the one hand, the evidence mustered by DeConick and others points to a broadly based mystical tradition within Judaism that may well have survived and influenced later authors and movements. On the other, Rachel Elijor (2004) has argued that the Qumran sectarian movement, which is widely agreed to have been founded by a Zadokite successionist priesthood that was deposed in the second century BCE, received and developed traditions about the celestial temple, its angelic priesthood, and the Enochic solar calendar to support their own agenda as priests representing a tradition that they believed the contemporary Jerusalem priesthood had betrayed. After the Great Revolt, the rabbinic sages, who took the part of the priesthood that ran the temple at the time of its destruction, almost entirely rejected these sectarian mystical traditions because of the political taint associated with them. Despite this rejection, the authors of the Hekhalot literature some centuries later were able to draw extensively on these successionist priestly traditions, ignoring the now irrelevant political and halakhic controversies once inherent in them and focusing on the mystical elements such as the celestial temple and divine throne room, the angelic priesthood, the ascent and transformation of Enoch, and songs and adjurations.

(p. 451) Peter Schäfer finds mysticism in the Qumran texts in the sense of *unio angelica* and *unio liturgica*, but not union with God (*unio mystica*); he rejects Elijor's proposed direct genetic relationship between the priestly Qumran traditions and the Hekhalot texts; and he finds it ‘pointless to try and establish a literary and historical connection between the [S]ongs [of the Sabbath Sacrifice] and Hekhalot literature’ (2009: 153). He reads all the Qumran texts as in ideological opposition to the Jerusalem priesthood, even though this is by no means explicit in many of them, including the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

Conclusions

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide considerable evidence for a vibrant mystical tradition that involved not only theoretical musings about the heavenly realm based on scriptural exegesis, but also ritual practices closely associated with such imaginative constructs, along with an interest in transformational ascents to heaven by biblical figures and perhaps others. There is evidence that some of these mystical traditions survived and were developed by Jews and Christians in later centuries, although it is not yet entirely clear whether these survivals came from a vision mysticism common to Second Temple Judaism or from a successionist priestly mysticism derived directly from Qumran sectarianism or both, and not all scholars are convinced of a genetic link at all between the earlier and later traditions.

Suggested Reading

Accessible introductory works on the Qumran mystical literature include Davila (2000b) and Alexander (2006a). For a discussion of the theoretical debate over the validity of mysticism as a conceptual category applied to Jewish

traditions of intermediation, see Davila (2001: 25–32). On ancient Jewish and Christian Mysticism in general see DeConick (2006b). The best English translation of the book of 1 Enoch is Nickelsburg and VanderKam (2004). For an overview of the Melchizedek tradition see Davila (2000b: 164–7). Accessible introductions to the Hekhalot literature and Merkavah mysticism include Schäfer (1992) and Davila (forthcoming). For debate on the story of the four who entered paradise in relation to Second Temple Jewish traditions see Morray-Jones (1993), Rowland and Morray-Jones (2009: 421–98), Goshen-Gottstein (1995), and Davila (1996). Overviews of possible relationships between the Qumran texts and the Hekhalot literature include Schiffman (1982, 1987); Davila (2000a); Swartz (2001); and Schäfer (2009: 112–53, 348–50).

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Notes:

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(1) The term 'sage' is used in the book of Daniel to apply both to Daniel and his friends and to the ideal figures suffering martyrdom at the time of the book's composition and looking forward to a glorious eschatological reward (Dan. 1: 4; 11: 33, 35; 12: 3, 10). The title is also used in the Dead Sea Scrolls to apply to a sectarian official (e.g. 1QS 3: 13–15, 9: 12–19). See Davila 2000b: 99–100.

(2) Citations of the Hekhalot literature are according to the paragraphing of Schäfer (1981). Genizah fragments of the Hekhalot literature are cited according to the numbering (e.g. G8) of Schäfer (1984).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

The wisdom texts from Qumran are almost all non-Essene in origin, and date mostly to the third and second centuries BCE. They provide new insights into how Jewish wisdom thought developed in this period, but are far removed from the early proverb collections that are still perceived as characteristic of Jewish wisdom literature. The sapiential texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls show that in ancient Judaism, Job and Qohelet are exceptional responses to the cognitive crises of wisdom caused by the problem of theodicy. A more common answer was Torah wisdom, which claimed that God had revealed the sapiential order of the universe on Mt Sinai in the shape of the Torah. Texts such as *Musar le Mevin* and the *Book of Mysteries* declared the sapiential order of the universe a mystery, which was accessible only by specially trained sages.

Keywords: Qumran wisdom texts, Jewish wisdom thought, Torah, Dead Sea Scrolls, ancient Judaism, *Book of Mysteries*, sapiential texts

A Brief History of Wisdom

In his magisterial study *Wisdom in Israel* (1972), Gerhard von Rad refrained from giving a clear definition of what is wisdom, since wisdom philosophy and literature developed over a time-span of almost a thousand years in Judaism and changed its characteristics repeatedly during that time. Instead of giving a definition of wisdom, von Rad used his book to describe the various Jewish wisdom texts and traditions. A definition of wisdom becomes even more complicated when it is recognized that ancient Jewish wisdom is just one part of a wider ancient Near Eastern phenomenon (see below). Keeping in mind that all definitions of wisdom fall short of its ancient reality, Crenshaw's description provides a working definition of what Jewish wisdom concerned: 'The reasoned search for specific ways to ensure personal well-being in everyday life, to make sense of extreme adversity and vexing anomalies, and to transmit this hard-earned knowledge so that successive generations will embody it' (Crenshaw 1998: 3).

(p. 456) From its beginnings, Judaism participated in the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures surrounding it. From Egypt to Mesopotamia a shared philosophy can be observed in the ancient Near Eastern cultures, which is today called 'wisdom'. Wisdom philosophy realized itself differently in the various ancient Near Eastern cultures and exerted also a significant influence on Greek (e.g. Hesiod) and Greco-Roman thought (e.g. the Stoa). In pre-exilic Judaism, sages and sapiential literature were at home at the royal courts (cf. Prov. 25: 1). Court officials, diplomats, and politicians were trained as scribes and sages. After the Babylonian exile, wisdom found a new home at the post-exilic temple as the new centre of political power in Judaeian society and developed strong ties with the priesthood.

Wisdom thought was didactic in its intent. Originally, wisdom gained its insights through experience. Those experiences were articulated in the form of proverbs which were in turn gathered in proverb-collections such as Prov. 10: 1–22: 16. That wisdom gained its knowledge out of experience explains why in all periods Jewish wisdom

gives practical advice for all areas of life, be it how to motivate employees (cf. e.g. Prov. 16: 26) or how to deal with loans (see e.g. the various passages on loans in 4QInstruction^b [4Q416] fr. 22 2: 1–3). Out of this heuristic approach, a whole system of wisdom thought developed. It is characterized by the idea of a structured and ordered universe. The central element of the universal order is the act–consequence correlation, i.e. the idea that those who do good will fare well. Prov. 10: 2 is a good example: ‘Treasures gained by wickedness do not profit, but righteousness delivers from death’, God is perceived as the guarantor of the act–consequence correlation. Wisdom construes the universe on the basis of experience. Once the system is developed, the sages use it as a tool to understand new experiences. But when new experiences of reality did not agree with the order of the universe construed by the sages, wisdom suffered cognitive crises. To cope with these crises the sages developed new understandings of the order of the universe. In other words, crises led to several paradigm shifts in wisdom thought.

Several of these paradigm shifts are documented in the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Jewish literature. In Persian times, proverb collections changed in character. Pre-exilic compilations of proverbs were more or less unstructured. But proverb collections from Persian times are more thematically structured and point thus to a rethinking of wisdom philosophy (cf. e.g. Proverbs 1–9 and 4Q424 Instruction-like-Composition B). The sapiential order of the universe is now thought of as pre-existent and as pertaining both to nature and to human behaviour (Prov. 3: 19–20; 8: 22–31). God is perceived not only as a passive guarantor of the universe's order but actively rewards the just and punishes the wicked (cf. Prov. 3: 33–5). Fear of God becomes an ethical key to knowledge: ‘The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge’ (Prov. 1: 7). This theologization of sapiential thought goes along with recourse to authoritative literature (e.g. Prov. 30: 5–6 refers to Deut. 4: 2, 13: 1, and Ps. 18: 31; cf. 2 Sam. 22: 31). In this new (p. 457) sapiential worldview, the suffering of the just is understood as a trial of the righteous (Job 1–2; 42: 7–17).

The famous dialogues of the Book of Job (Job 3: 1–42: 6) go beyond such a simple answer to the question of theodicy. After several debates with his friends, Job abandons the idea of an act–consequence correlation entirely and demands not a successful life but a personal relation of the just with God. To answer his demand, God reveals himself to Job in chapters 38–41. In Hellenistic times, the book of Ecclesiastes argues a more pessimistic approach to theodicy. Ecclesiastes perceives God as unpredictable. The sapiential order of the universe exists but remains inaccessible to humans. The wise should fear the incomprehensible deity and should enjoy the few chance events of joy granted to humans. *Carpe diem!*

While both Job and Ecclesiastes mark an epistemological crisis of wisdom thought, most wisdom texts advocate a different solution to this crisis, focused on the Torah. Unlike Job, they do not opt for a personal relation or encounter with God but refer to the Torah instead. For Torah wisdom, wisdom as the ethical and natural order of the universe was revealed to Israel on Mount Sinai in the shape of the Torah. A prominent example is Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira) 24. After a long passage in which wisdom as the personified and pre-existent order of the universe praises itself, Ben Sira explains: ‘All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law which Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob’ (Sir. 24: 23 trans. RSV). This identification of wisdom with the Torah is very much evident in the wisdom texts from Qumran too, although it is not stated explicitly as in Ecclesiasticus 24. But the Qumran wisdom texts refer to Jewish scriptures more often than the sapiential literature from the Persian period (see e.g. the use of Exod. 20: 12 and Deut. 5: 16 in 4QInstruction^b [4Q416] fr. 2 3: 15–16, 18). Other examples of Torah wisdom include Psalms 1; 112; 119; and Baruch 3: 9–4: 4.

But as with earlier wisdom systems, both personal and political experiences conflicted with the idea of Torah wisdom. Adherence to the Torah did not result in prosperity and peace, neither in personal life nor in the history of Judah. Although Psalm 73 does not mention the identification of wisdom and Torah it foreshadows the way in which the wisdom texts from Qumran deal with the hiatus between the philosophical construal of Torah wisdom and real world experiences. The psalmist claims that a visit to the Jerusalem sanctuary showed him how the prosperous and successful life of the wicked will end: ‘until I go into the sanctuary of God; then I perceive their end. Indeed, you put them in slippery places; you let them fall to ruin’ (Ps. 73: 17–18; translation A.L.). While the psalm speaks only of an unqualified future during the lifetime of the wicked, the wisdom texts from Qumran expect the punishment of the wicked and the rewards for the pious in the eschaton (see e.g. 1QMysteries [1Q27] fr. 1, col. 1 and 4QInstruction^d [4Q418] fr. 69, col. 2).

This eschatologization of Torah wisdom is characteristic for all of the better-preserved wisdom texts from Qumran.

By way of the end of times, history and cosmological dualism are introduced as two new elements into sapiential thought (p. 458) (cf. the comparison of earlier wisdom texts with 4QInstruction by Adams 2008). Now the course of history as well as the cosmological and eschatological conflict between good and evil become part of the sapiential order of the universe. But Psalm 73 foreshadows also another aspect of the wisdom literature found in Qumran. In Psalm 73, the psalmist gains his knowledge about the future punishment of the wicked in the Jerusalem temple. The Qumran wisdom texts display a cultic interest which is atypical for most of the wisdom literature collected in the Hebrew Bible. Examples are the reference to Aaron and the offering of sacrifices in 4QMysteries^a (4Q299) 79: 6–7 and the remarks about the firstborn of womb and cattle in 4QInstruction⁹ (4Q423) 3 4–5 par 1QInstruction (1Q26) 2 (cf. Lange 2002: 14).

The Qumran wisdom texts respond to epistemological problems of Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth) also in another way. The sceptic Ecclesiastes did not deny the existence of the sapiential order of the universe but claimed that humans do not have access to it. The Qumran wisdom texts developed the idea of the *raz nihyeh*, the ‘mystery of being and becoming’, to deal with this problem. The phrase ‘mystery of being and becoming’ (תִּינִי) is common in 1Q/4QInstruction (4Q415 fr. 6, line 4; 4Q416 fr. 2 1: 5 [par 4Q417 fr. 2 1: 10]; 4Q416 fr. 2 3: 9, 14, 18, 21 [par 4Q418 fr. 9, lines 8, 15; 4Q418 10: 1, 3]; 4Q417 fr. 1 1: 3, 6, 8, 18, 21 [par 4Q418 fr. 43, lines 2, 4, 6, 14, 16]; 4Q417 fr. 1 2: 3; 4Q418 fr. 77, lines 2, 4; 4Q418 fr. 123 2: 4; 4Q418 fr. 177, line 1; 4Q418 fr. 184, line 2; 4Q423 fr. 4, lines 1, 4 [par 1Q26 fr. 1, lines 1, 4]) and occurs also in the Book of Mysteries (1Q27 fr. 1 1: 3–4) and in the Community Rule (1QS 11: 3–4).

The ‘mystery of being and becoming’ is one of the most debated issues in the study of 1Q/4QInstruction (for comprehensive discussion see Goff 2003: 51–79). The phrase sounds like a term taken from a Greek philosophical treatise. Translated to Greek it would read μυστηριον του βιου. It seems as if the mystery of being and becoming was a philosophical concept, which was originally not inherent in Hebrew thought. According to 1Q/4QInstruction, the mystery of being and becoming can be studied. This study leads to knowledge of truth and iniquity, wisdom and folly (4Q417 fr. 1 1: 6–7; cf. 4Q416 fr. 2 1: 5 and fr. 2 3: 14). According to 4Q416 fr. 2 3: 17–18 the commandment to honour father and mother (Exod. 20: 12 and Deut. 5: 16) is part of the mystery of being and becoming. This means, the ordinances of the Torah and hence the Torah itself are a part of the mystery of being and becoming. Other references to the mystery of being and becoming show that it goes beyond the Torah. In 4Q418 fr. 77, line 2, the mystery of being and becoming includes the history of humans (‘recognize the mystery of being and becoming and grasp the history of humans’).

This historical dimension of the mystery of being and becoming agrees well with the use of the phrase in the *Book of Mysteries* (1Q27 fr. 1 1: 3–4) where it encompasses both past and future components and includes the eschatological judgement of the wicked. When 4Q417 fr. 1 1: 8–9 claims ‘and in the mystery of being and becoming he separated its foundation and its deeds’, the mystery of being and (p. 459) becoming functions even as an instrument of creation. *Raz nihyeh*, the mystery of being and becoming, is an expression which describes the sapiential order of being. It functions as a blueprint for creation, encompasses the history of the universe from creation to the eschaton, is an instrument of eschatological punishment, includes ethical standards, and articulates itself in the shape of the Torah. The term *raz* (‘mystery, secret’) indicates that in contrast to earlier wisdom thought the sapiential order of being is not openly accessible to the trained sage any more. The participle *nihyeh* (‘being and becoming’) indicates a historic dimension of the sapiential order of being which is lacking in other wisdom texts.

To come back to the epistemological crises of Ecclesiastes, while for Ecclesiastes the sapiential order of the universe can neither be perceived nor understood by humans, texts like 1Q/4Q Instruction and the Book of Mysteries from Qumran describe the sapiential order of the universe as a secret which is not easily accessible but remains a mystery to most. Only sages like the *mevin* have access to it.

As far as textual damage allows for conclusions about their origins, the wisdom texts from Qumran are all of non-Essene origin, i.e. they were not composed by the Essenes. The single exception to this rule is the Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn (4Q298). But the non-sectarian wisdom texts from Qumran exerted a significant influence on Essene thought. A good example is the Teaching of the Two Spirits (1QS 3: 13–4: 26). It is a non-Essene treatise which was incorporated into the famous Community Rule (see below). The Teaching of the Two Spirits develops the thought of 1Q/4Q Instruction and the Book of Mysteries into a dualistic worldview which in turn influenced the Essene movement.

Manuscripts of the Wisdom Texts from the Hebrew Bible and of the Book of Ben Sira

Manuscripts of all sapiential texts included in the Hebrew Bible were found at Qumran (for further literature and a more detailed discussion see Lange 2009). Of the six Hebrew and Aramaic Job manuscripts from Qumran, the poor preservation of 2QJob (2Q15), 4QJob^b (4Q100), 4QpaleoJob^c (4Q101), and 4QtgJob (4Q157) limit their text-critical value significantly. 4QJob^a (4Q99) and 11QtgJob (11Q10) attest to non-aligned texts which agree sometimes with MT and sometimes with LXX. This means, at least in individual cases, the text of the Job-LXX goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage*. The textual history of Job might have been even more complicated than suggested by the versions. The special importance of 11QtgJob is highlighted (p. 460) by T. Muraoka's work (1974). He has shown that the Aramaic translation of 11QtgJob was produced in Mesopotamia in the years 250–150 BCE.

The Book of Proverbs is preserved in three (4QProv^{a-c} [4Q102–103, 103a]) or four manuscripts (the few words of 6QpapProv? [6Q30, olim 6QpapCursive Unclassified frs.] do not allow for a certain identification). Individual readings agree with LXX-variants (see esp. Prov. 14: 34 in 4QProv^b). The poor preservation of all Proverbs manuscripts from Qumran limit their text-critical value significantly.

Of the Book of Ecclesiastes two copies were found at Qumran: 4QQoh^{a,b} (4Q109–110). The non-aligned manuscript 4QQoh^a is relatively well preserved and was copied only about a hundred years after the Book of Ecclesiastes was written (175–150 BCE). 4QQoh^b is heavily damaged but reads additional text after Eccl. 1: 14a. Both manuscripts show that the textual history of Ecclesiastes is not as linear as previously thought and that MT might be further removed from the book's *Urtext* than commonly supposed.

Only two manuscripts of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) are preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls: 2QSir (2Q18) and MasSir (Mas 1h). While 2QSir is very damaged, parts of Sir. 39: 27–43: 30 are still attested in MasSir (first century BCE). On the whole, both manuscripts confirm the antiquity of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira which was found in the Genizah of the medieval Ben Ezra Synagogue in Cairo. In a significantly different textual form, the acrostic from Sir. 51: 13–30 is preserved in 11QPs^a 21: 11–22: 1 (Sir. 51: 20–9 are lost in 11QPs^a due to poor preservation). It seems possible that this acrostic is an individual poem which was incorporated by both the 11QPs^a-Psalter and Ben Sira.

Non-Essene Wisdom Texts from Qumran

The bulk of the wisdom literature from Qumran is of non-Essene origin although it exerted a significant influence on the Essene literature from Qumran (see below). The eight copies of 1Q/4Q Instruction and the four copies of the Book of Mysteries demonstrate furthermore that these books were popular among the people living at Qumran.

The earliest wisdom text from Qumran which did not become part of the Hebrew Bible is Instruction-like Composition B (4Q424): it is preserved in only one badly damaged manuscript, which dates palaeographically to the end of the first century BCE. That its scribe might have also copied 4QapocrJr E (4Q390) (cf. Tanzer 2000: 334) could hint at a Qumran origin of both manuscripts. But that Instruction-like Composition B advises its addressee concerning 'the one who should collect money for him' (1: 10–12) points to a wealthy and politically (p. 461) influential if not powerful milieu in which the text was written and argues against an Essene origin of Instruction-like Composition B (contra Tanzer 2000: 336).

Contrary to the name assigned to it in the DJD series, Instruction-like Composition B bears little resemblance to the so-called 4QInstruction text (see below). What is preserved attests to a collection of proverbs which recalls Proverbs 1–9 and Proverbs 10–31 (cf. van der Woude 1995: 249; Lange 2003: 136–7, 141–4). But the proverbs of Instruction-like Composition B tend to be longer and more elaborate than the ones from Proverbs 10–31. In the line of traditional wisdom, the individual proverbs offer practical advice on such things as how to deal with money and how to interact with others. Instruction-like Composition B lacks the usual rhetoric of theological texts. Terms like justice are legal in meaning and bear no further implications. Almost all proverbs speak about two kinds of people, those who cannot be trusted with any task and those who are virtuous. When Brin dates Instruction-like Composition B after 200 BCE (Brin 1997a: 23) his date disagrees with these observations. The sapiential texts preserved around 200 BCE are not simple collections of proverbs like Instruction-like Composition B. They combine individual proverbs with sometimes lengthy instructions. Examples are the books of Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira as well as 1Q/4Q Instruction. Instruction-like Composition B resembles earlier wisdom literature such as the various collections of proverbs which were compiled in Proverbs 10–31. Hence, the textual form of Instruction-like

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Composition B suggests a setting in early post-exilic times (Lange 2003: 136–7). This would make Instruction-like Composition B the earliest non-biblical text from Qumran.

1Q/4Q Instruction (Musar le Mevin) is the best preserved wisdom text from Qumran. In its form, this text is comparable to other ancient Jewish wisdom texts from Hellenistic times, and it is appropriately classified as an instruction (Lange 2006: 300–4). Its pedagogical tone and its mixture of long admonitions with more reflective passages recall texts like the book of Ecclesiastes and book of Ben Sira. The Hebrew of Musar le Mevin is among the most difficult in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It uses rare terminology. Depending on context, several terms carry both a religious and a secular meaning. Furthermore, Musar le Mevin uses some words both in a metaphorical and in a non-metaphorical way. Of Musar le Mevin, seven or maybe eight damaged manuscripts were found in caves 1 and 4 from Qumran: 1QInstruction (1Q26), 4QInstruction^{a–e} (4Q415–4Q418, 4Q418a), 4QInstruction^{f?} (4Q418c), and 4QInstruction^g (4Q423). All manuscripts are written in Hebrew and were copied in the late first century BCE or the early first century CE (see e.g. Harrington 1996: 40). A big round hole in 4Q416 fr. 2, lines 1–2, which was already part of the original skin, demonstrates that manuscript 4Q416 was written on a low-quality skin.

An unpublished material reconstruction by Annette Steudel and Birgit Lucassen shows that the manuscripts 4Q416 and 4Q417 have different beginnings which are preserved in 4Q416 1 and 4Q417 fr. 1, col. 1 (see the report by Strugnell and Harrington 1999: 19). 4Q417 attests to the shorter and therefore probably earlier (p. 462) version of Musar le Mevin. Based on redaction criticism, Elgvin distinguishes between a core stratum of Musar le Mevin, which consisted of the passages giving practical advice, and a later redaction which added eschatological and philosophical passages (e.g. Elgvin 2000). But 4Q417 disproves Elgvin's approach. This manuscript preserves next to passages which give practical advice also eschatological (4Q417 5 par 4Q418 fr. 69, col. 2) and philosophical deliberations (e.g. 4Q417 fr. 1, col. 1). Hence, Nitzan pointed contra Elgvin to the philosophical, formal, and stylistic unity of Musar le Mevin (Nitzan 2005). But against such claims of unity the material reconstruction of the Musar le Mevin manuscripts should have priority. As the study of Steudel and Lucassen remains unpublished and as the fragmentary manuscripts of Musar le Mevin often do not allow definite conclusions, it is difficult to say which passages of Musar le Mevin belong to which recension. An individual author cannot be identified for either recension.

Unlike other Jewish wisdom literature, Musar le Mevin is interested in priestly questions and concerns. Examples include the sacrifice of the firstborn (4Q423 fr. 3, line 4 par 1Q26 fr. 2, line 4), concerns about mixing things (4Q418 fr. 103, lines 2, 6–9; cf. Deut. 22: 9–11), the mention of feasts and seasons (4Q418 fr. 118, line 3; 4Q416 fr. 1, line 3), and references to impurity (4Q417 fr. 4 2: 2; 4Q418 fr. 20, line 2). This interest in priestly matters suggests that Musar le Mevin was written in a priestly milieu which was connected with the Jerusalem Temple.

Several passages of Musar le Mevin engage with the sceptical wisdom of the book of Ecclesiastes. A good example is a rhetorical question in 4Q418 fr. 69 2: 4–5. 'What is good for (a man) who has not been created?' 'What is good' is asked several times in the Hebrew Bible (Mic. 6:8; Job 34: 4; cf. Prov. 15: 23; 16: 16). Both in prophetic and sapiential literature the meaning of this question is absolute and unqualified. There is good and there is evil but nothing that is good for a human being. This attitude to the question 'what is good' changes only in the book of Ecclesiastes and in Musar le Mevin. The book of Ecclesiastes does not ask 'what is good' but 'what is good for a man': 'For who knows what is good for mortals while they live the few days of their vain life, which they pass like a shadow? For who can tell them what will be after them under the sun?' (Eccl. 6: 12). In the sceptical thought of Ecclesiastes the implied answer is no-one knows. When Musar le Mevin asks the qualified question 'what is good for' (4Q418 fr. 69 2: 4), its implied answer is clearly more optimistic than the one of Ecclesiastes. This means that in 4Q418 fr. 69, col. 2 Musar le Mevin criticizes the book of Ecclesiastes and its fascination with Hellenistic scepticism.

The substance of Musar le Mevin's criticism can be found in lines 4Q418 fr. 69 2: 10–15 where it attacks sages who claim to have extensively sought for wisdom (line 11) but to have exhausted their options in doing so. Contrast the statement that God never becomes weary but delights in truth forever (line 12). According to Musar le Mevin, like God but unlike the criticized sages, the sons of heaven never (p. 463) complain, 'We toil with the works of truth and [we] are weary (of them) in all times' (lines 13–14). This statement preserves the attitude of the sages attacked by Musar le Mevin. They claim, like Ecclesiastes, to have exhausted all options of wisdom thought without achieving knowledge. Ecclesiastes agrees that a sapiential order of being underlies the universe (e.g. Eccl. 3: 1–8) but claims that human beings cannot understand this sapiential order of being, although God put the longing for understanding into the hearts of humans: 'He has made everything suitable for its time; moreover, he has put a

sense of past and future into their minds, yet they cannot find out what God has done from the beginning to the end' (Eccl. 3: 11). In Eccl. 10: 15 Ecclesiastes even uses the same word as Musar le Mevin to describe the weariness and toiling of the sage, i.e. יָגַד : 'No one knows what is to happen, and who can tell anyone what the future holds? The toil of fools wears them out, for they do not even know the way to town' (Eccl. 10: 14–15). Against Ecclesiastes' scepticism, Musar le Mevin argues that the sage should be guided by the role model of God and the angels, who never tire of their pursuit of wisdom and knowledge (lines 12–15). While the foolish await eternal judgement, the angels enjoy eternal life, glory, and splendour (line 14).

Musar le Mevin's criticism of Ecclesiastes establishes a *terminus post quem* for this text after the Book of Ecclesiastes some time in the later third century BCE. A *terminus ad quem* is provided by several allusions to Musar le Mevin in the Hodayot from Qumran. 1QH^a 3: 8,10,12 allude to 4Q416 fr. 2 3: 17; 1QH^a 9: 26–7 alludes to 4Q417 fr. 1 1: 8; and 1QH^a 18: 27–8 quotes 4Q418 fr. 55, line 10 (cf. Harrington 1994: 143–4; Lange 1995a: 226; and esp. Goff 2004). Because the Hodayot were written in the middle of the second century BCE (see Lange 1995a: 201–2), Musar le Mevin must have been composed between the later part of the third century BCE and the first half of the second century BCE. Because neither the eschatology nor the dualism of the two versions of Musar le Mevin reflect any influence of the Hellenistic religious reforms in 175–164 BCE and of the following Maccabean wars, it is plausible that Musar le Mevin's revision comes from the early second century BCE while the base text was written in the late third century BCE. The bad state of preservation of the Musar le Mevin manuscripts from Qumran makes it difficult to decide whether the earlier version of Musar le Mevin incorporated source material in turn. Such a possibility cannot be excluded in the case of the more practically oriented admonitions of 4Q416 2 but cannot be proven either.

As a typical wisdom instruction, Musar le Mevin provides its readers with both practical advice and philosophical reflections. When it comes to the more practical instructions, Musar le Mevin sometimes retains the structure of a proverb collection similar to the biblical Book of Proverbs. But although earlier wisdom literature attests to the same interest in practical advice, the depth of the discussion in Musar le Mevin was unprecedented. Musar le Mevin is interested in such questions as how to deal with loans and property, how to interact with the powerful, how to treat (p. 464) one's parents, and how spouses should interact with each other (see 4Q416 fr. 2). 4Q418 fr. 81 + fr. 81a, line 15 even speaks of manual skills ('wisdom of the hands'). When it comes to the philosophical reflections of Musar le Mevin, passages like 4Q417 fr. 2, col. 1 and 4Q418 fr. 69, col. 2 mark an important paradigm shift in ancient Jewish sapiential thought. In these passages, Musar le Mevin combines the approaches of traditional wisdom instructions with a predestinarian worldview characterized by eschatology and dualism. Hence, for Musar le Mevin, the sapiential order of the universe includes more than ethical principles. Musar le Mevin calls this order 'mystery of being and becoming' (see above). It conceives this mystery of being and becoming as a blueprint of both creation and history—the latter from its beginnings to its eschatological end. The mystery of being and becoming is dualistic and eschatological in character. It was revealed to humanity in the form of the Vision of Hago and to Israel in the form of the Torah. That Musar le Mevin quotes and alludes to authoritative literature more often than other Jewish wisdom texts is a reflection of this increased importance of the Torah.

Next to the 'mystery of being and becoming', the poverty terminology of Musar le Mevin is the most debated topic among scholars (for a more detailed discussion and a history of research, see Wright 2004). Musar le Mevin uses a range of Hebrew terms to describe need and poverty. נִיבָא (poor, needy), צָרָה (need, poverty), שִׁד (poverty; alternate spellings are שָׁד and שָׂד), and שָׁדָה (to be poor) are the most frequent ones. Musar le Mevin employs this poverty terminology both metaphorically and non-metaphorically. Its metaphorical character was emphasized by Wold: 'Being in a state of want is an essential aspect of the identity of humankind' (Wold 2007: 153). Fabry points to the non-metaphorical character of Musar le Mevin's poverty rhetoric: 'Armut wird also ganz nüchtern beurteilt: Sie ist Realität und man muß mit ihr umgehen' (Fabry 2003: 158). A good example for the metaphorical use is 4Q417 fr. 1 1: 14 where the word שָׁדָה describes the poor performance of the teacher as compared to works of God. 4Q417 fr. 2, col. 1: 17 (cf. 4Q416 fr. 2 2: 19) provides an example for the non-metaphoric use of Musar le Mevin's poverty rhetoric. Here the word נִיבָא is connected with a person who lacks food. Most often poverty is connected with Musar le Mevin's addressee, supposedly the teacher. Even when Musar le Mevin speaks of material poverty it is relative. Although Musar le Mevin's poor addressee lacks food in 4Q417 fr. 2, col. 1: 17, he is the fiduciary of someone else's property in 4Q416 fr. 2 3: 6—a position hardly given to a pauper but to a successful businessman. This means that, even in its non-metaphorical use, poverty is a relative term in Musar le Mevin which can describe the need of someone already relatively wealthy.

The influence which Greek thought exerted on Musar le Mevin and its critical reflection of it is an area which is largely unresearched. On the one hand, the term 'mystery of being and becoming' (תִּינּוּ דָ) seems to reflect Greek rhetoric (μυστηριον του είναι). On the other hand, Musar le Mevin polemicizes against Jews who are influenced by Epicurean philosophy. In 4Q418 fr. 69 2: 4 they are called (p. 465) 'foolish minded ones' (lit. 'foolish of heart'). Lines 4 and 5 ask, 'what is good for (a man) who has not been created? [And what is] tranquillity for (a man) who did not come into being? And what is judgement to (a man) who has not been founded? And what shall the dead groan over [thei]r d[eath]?' These rhetorical questions suggest that the 'foolish minded ones' reject the idea of creation and are concerned with the idea of tranquillity. No denial of creation like this is known to me from Jewish sources of the Second Temple period. But such a denial of the idea of creation does occur in Hellenistic Greek philosophy. A good example is the letter of Epicurus to Herodotus:

Nothing comes into existence from non-existence. For if that were possible, anything could be created out of anything, without requiring seeds. And if things which disappear became non-existent, everything in the universe would have surely vanished by now. But the universe has always been as it is now, and always will be, since there is nothing it can change into. Nor is there anything outside the universe which could infiltrate it and produce change. (Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of Famous Philosophers* 10.38–9; translation by Erik Anderson, <http://www.epicurus.info/etexts/Lives.html> Accessed 2006)

Although Epicurus and his school were not alone in their denial of the idea of creation (cf. e.g. the ideas of Democritus) the use of the rare Hebrew word נְחִיָּו ('tranquillity') in line 5 points towards the rejection of Epicurean ideas in 4Q418 fr. 69 2: 4–9. It is a Hebrew representation of the Greek word ἀταραξία. To achieve the status of ἀταραξία or tranquillity was one of the main goals of Epicurean philosophy. In Musar le Mevin, the foolish ones of heart are hence third-century-BCE Jews who were attracted to Epicurean thought. Against this attraction, Musar le Mevin argues that nothing can be good for a man who has never been created. He cannot be judged and cannot even enjoy ἀταραξία/tranquillity because he would not exist. He would be like a dead person who groans over his death (line 5). In line with its eschatological idea of the act-consequence correlation, Musar le Mevin predicts the destruction of the Epicurean Jews, which it attacks, in the eschaton (lines 6–9). They are created, i.e. predestined, for iniquity. As they are created for iniquity the Epicurean Jews will be subject to eschatological judgement. At the end of times, those Jews who are foolishly attracted to Greek thought will be destroyed and found no more.

Book of Mysteries

Of the Book of Mysteries four manuscripts are preserved in Qumran (1Q27; 4Q299–301). All of them are badly damaged and were copied in Herodian scripts which date to the end of the first century BCE or the first century CE. An allusion to Daniel 2 in 4Q300 *Mysteries*^b fr. 1a, col. 2–fr. 1b, col. 1 (cf. Lange 2002: 13) argues for a date of the Book of Mysteries not significantly earlier than the middle of the (p. 466) second century BCE. The eschatology and dualism of the Teaching of the Two Spirits in 1QS 3: 13–4: 26, which can be dated to the second half of the second century BCE, attest to a more developed version of the thought of the Book of Mysteries. Hence, the Book of Mysteries was most likely written around the middle of the second century BCE.

For a wisdom text, the Book of Mysteries displays an exceptional interest in priestly matters (cf. 1QMyst [1Q27] fr. 3, line 2; fr. 6, lines 2–3; 4QMyst^a [4Q299] fr. 55, line 5; fr. 69, line 2; fr. 79, lines 6–7; 4QMyst^b [4Q300] fr. 5, line 4), which points to a priestly setting of this text. It was probably written at the Jerusalem Temple. The Book of Mysteries attests to the typical themes and forms of Jewish wisdom literature, such as admonitions with a strong pedagogic interest, the act-consequence correlation, or the idea of God as the creator of an ordered universe. But atypically for a sapiential text, the Book of Mysteries combines sapiential thought with prophetic forecasts, an eschatological and dualistic worldview, and a strong interest in the Torah. Its thought can best be described as eschatological Torah wisdom. Although the manuscripts 1Q27, 4Q299, and 4Q300 include somewhat larger fragments, only few undamaged lines are preserved of the Book of Mysteries.

Due to the philosophical character of the text its damaged fragments are obscure in meaning and of interest to the specialist only. The single exception is 1Q27 fr. 1, which engages with the question of eschatological judgement. Only in the eschaton will the opponents of the Book of Mysteries be able to distinguish between good and evil (fr. 1 1: 2). The opponents neither know the former things (line 3), i.e. they do not understand history, nor do they know 'what will come upon them' (line 4), i.e. they do not know the (eschatological) future, because only in the eschaton will they have access to the mystery of being and becoming, i.e. the ethical and historical structure of the universe

(lines 3–4). In an eschatological version of the act–consequence correlation, the Book of Mysteries expects that its opponents will be destroyed by the mystery of being and becoming at the end of times because they live a life against it (lines 4 and 7). Everyday experience shows hence that the eschatological destruction of wickedness is unavoidable (lines 8–12). For the Book of Mysteries, the fact that nobody wants evil yet everybody does evil implies the absolute need for the destruction of all evil at the end of times.

Wiles of the Wicked Woman

Of the Wiles of the Wicked Woman only one fragmentary manuscript from the end of the first century BCE is extant (4Q184). Fragment 1 could preserve the beginning of the scroll because its right hand margin was sewn into a small handle. Setting and date of Wiles of the Wicked Woman are very difficult to determine due to the general character of its deliberations, the lack of historical references, and the deterioration of its single manuscript. Its dualistic thought and its concerns with (p. 467) the commandments of the Jewish Law are typical for Jewish wisdom texts from Hellenistic times. Fragment 1 is concerned with the harlot, while other parts of this wisdom text might have addressed other topics. The description of the harlot in fragment 1 is based on the admonition about the adulteress in Proverbs 7 (thus first Strugnell 1969–71). Unlike Proverbs 7, Wiles of the Wicked Woman is concerned with a prostitute and not an adulteress. The text warns that visiting a harlot results ultimately in being lured into a negative otherworld, which is characterized by its opposition to the Jewish Law. Especially lines 5–11 paint the harlot in demonic colours (cf. Baumgarten 1991; White Crawford 1998: 360–2). But contra Baumgarten the demonic rhetoric is metaphoric and does not characterize the harlot as a real demon (cf. Goff 2008: 32–6).

Wiles of the Wicked Woman understands wickedness in general and prostitution in particular in the framework of a dualistic worldview, in which they belong to the negative side of the universe. Wiles of the Wicked Woman is an important text, because it documents how the biases of western civilization against prostitutes are rooted in ancient prejudices. It paints the prostitute as a demonic power. She lures righteous men into a dark netherworld which other ancient Jewish texts describe as the reign of Belial. The text could hardly be more detached from the reality of prostitution in Hellenistic times. Most prostitutes, especially the street prostitutes and those working in bordellos were forced into their trade either by social circumstances or by their owners in case they were slaves (cf. Stumpp 1998). Wiles of the Wicked Woman condemns the female victims of ancient sex trafficking and paints the perpetrators as harmless prey. In the Hellenistic patriarchal societies, prostitutes were sexually exploited in most gruesome ways and were the victims and not the abusers of men.

Sapiential Work

Again, only one fragmentary manuscript is extant of the wisdom text Sapiential Work, which was copied in a late Hasmonean formal hand (cf. Strugnell 1969–71: 269). The best edition of 4Q185 is the one of Lichtenberger (2002). The six preserved fragments attest to a sapiential admonition which consists of several didactic speeches and extended beatitudes. In its form and in its allusions to Jewish scriptures the text recalls other sapiential instructions from Qumran such as Musar le Mevin or the Book of Ben Sira. The universal attitude attested by 4Q185 argues against an Essene origin as does its free use of the Tetragrammaton (frs. 1–2 2: 3). The free use of the Tetragrammaton points also to a date of this wisdom text some time before the middle of the second century BCE, while its open attitude towards the nations argues for a date before the Hellenistic religious reforms.

Similar to the Book of Ecclesiastes, Sapiential Work emphasizes the transitoriness of the human existence (frs. 1–2 1: 9–13). Human beings sprout like grass and (p. 468) bloom but nothing remains of them except wind when they are gone. The days of humans are like a shadow on the earth. In contrast to human transitoriness God's deeds are and should still be remembered. His punishment of the Egyptian fools who oppressed and pursued the Jews serves as a reminder to follow God's laws (frs. 1–2 1: 13–2: 3). Another reason to follow God's laws is the act–consequence correlation (frs. 1–2 2: 3–8). For those who adhere to it, the Torah provides goodness and wealth. It helps to avoid the net of the hunter and protects from angels. But Judaism ignores the Torah, although it is knowledge which emanates from God (lines 7–8).

In this identification of wisdom and Torah, Sapiential Work recalls the Book of Ben Sira. But unlike Ben Sira its rhetoric is more legal and halakhic than sapiential. Sapiential Work discusses not only God and the knowledge he gave humans in form of the Torah, but also the individual(s) to whom this knowledge was given (frs. 1–2 2: 8): 'Blessed is the man, to whom he gave it' (frs. 1–2 2: 8). As opposed to him, the wicked shall not behave foolishly

arguing that he did not receive the Torah because it was given to all of Israel (frs. 1–2 2: 9–11). Following the Torah provides the one who observes its commands with everything he needs. The Torah gives long life, physical well-being (literally 'fat on the bones'), pleasure of the mind, wealth, and honour (2: 12). These rewards of the Torah are not limited to Judaism. Line 13 emphasizes, God's mercy and salvation are for all nations of the Torah and for all its sons (cf. Lichtenberger 2002: 150). In line with this universalization, a second beatitude praises the man who does the Torah and accepts its yoke (line 13), he shall pass it on to his descendants and his knowledge of the Torah to all its people. The universal attitude of Sapiential Work, which extends the rewards of the Torah to all nations who accept it, is exceptional for Jewish literature composed in Hebrew. Sapiential Work shows what enabled Jewish thinkers like Paul to extend the salvation of the Jewish people by their God to all nations.

Beatitudes

Only one heavily damaged manuscript of Beatitudes is preserved. Except for frs. 2–3, col. 2, no complete lines are extant. But this brief passage is only a small part of a much larger text and hence does not give an accurate impression of the thought of Beatitudes. The more fragmentary parts of the manuscript might document eschatological ideas as well. Beatitudes has influenced Essene texts like the Hodayot and the Damascus Document (Puech 1998: 117–19), but its designation of God as Elohim is atypical for Essene texts. That Beatitudes avoids the use of the Tetragrammaton argues for a date after 150 BCE, while the influence which it exerted on the Hodayot and the Damascus Document argues for a date early in the second half of the second century BCE.

(p. 469) Due to the Christian use of beatitudes, the word beatitude implies in contemporary English a state of blessedness by God. But the beatitude genre is common in ancient Jewish texts and has a more secular meaning. The word כִּשְׂרִי expresses a form of congratulation. If someone has done something right he is declared happy. This is especially true for sapiential texts. A good example is Prov. 20: 7: 'The righteous walk in integrity—happy are the children who follow them'. The beatitude is the sapiential act–consequence correlation in a nutshell. Do it right and you are happy. This more profane meaning of ancient Jewish beatitudes presumes especially in later texts that God guarantees the act–consequence correlation, i.e. the happiness of the one who is doing it right.

In frs. 2–3, col. 2, Beatitudes identifies wisdom as the sapiential order of the universe with the Torah. The laws of the Torah articulate the laws of the universe. In this spirit, lines 1–3 declare people happy if they 'hold to its statutes', 'rejoice in it', 'seek it with pure hands', but 'do not search for it with a deceitful mind' (line 3). Lines 3–4 equate wisdom with the law and show that the 'it' which was mentioned in lines 1–3 refers both to the Torah and to wisdom as the ethical and perhaps cosmological order of the universe. The Torah is understood as the written version of the universe's sapiential order which was revealed to Israel. The whole life of a happy person is shaped and influenced by this sapiential Torah. He is concerned with it in every aspect and moment of his life (lines 6–8). Someone who is thus concerned with the Torah will enjoy royal honours (lines 9–10).

Wisdom outside the Sapiential Literature from Qumran

Sapiential traditions, ideas, and forms permeate ancient Jewish literature. The texts found at Qumran are no exception to this rule. Among the non-Essene texts from Qumran, good examples include the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) and the rewritten Abraham story in 1QapGen ar. At the end of the ALD (ch. 13; references and translations of the ALD are according to Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004), Levi provides his sons with a priestly instruction which consists of a poetic praise of wisdom. Levi begins his instruction with an admonition of his priestly descendants: 'And now, my sons, teach reading and writing and teaching of wisdom to your children and may wisdom be eternal glory for you' (ALD 13: 4). This admonition shows that 'the instructional features of the priest in ALD became imbued with features of the sages' (Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004: 35). Those priestly descendants of Levi who learn wisdom 'will (attain) glory through it, but he who despises wisdom will become an object of disdain and scorn' (ALD 13: 5). As a role (p. 470) model, Levi reminds his sons of Joseph and the successes he had due to his wisdom (ALD 13: 6). The act–consequence correlation assures that unlike a city, the treasure houses of wisdom cannot be destroyed by a conquering army (ALD 13: 11–12).

Different from most sapiential texts of the third and second centuries BCE, ALD 13 does not mention the Torah even in an equation with wisdom. This is all the more surprising as in Deut. 33: 10 the instructional responsibilities of the Levites are outlined as instruction in commandments and Torah: 'They will teach your commandments to Jacob and

your Torah to Israel'. The ALD either does not know or does not adhere to the idea of Torah wisdom. Only when the TestXII incorporated ALD 13 into the Testament of Levi did wisdom become νόμος, i.e. Torah, in Levi's instruction (cf. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel 2004: 204–6).

1QapGen ar incorporates in its renarration of the Pentateuchal Abraham story (1QapGen ar 18: 24–21: 4) a small sapiential didactic tale about the sage Abraham during his sojourn to Egypt (1QapGen ar 19: 10–20: 32). In this text, Abraham's skills in dream divination allow him to foresee the dangers looming in Egypt. Abraham's skills as a conjurer and exorcist of demons enable him to master all the dangers of Egypt and the Pharaonic court and to return safely and enriched to Canaan (cf. Lange 1996). This small sapiential didactic tale is one of the rare Jewish examples of the so-called magic-mantic wisdom which H.-P. Müller identified in the Daniel traditions that were incorporated into the Book of Daniel (Müller 1969).

Wisdom and the Essene Movement

While today the nature of the community living at Qumran is debated, I am convinced that the Qumran settlement was part of a wider Essene movement (for this identification cf. e.g. Magness 2002). Regardless of the identity of the Qumran community, its texts allow for insights into how sapiential texts and thought were received and incorporated into a community that focused on a radical observance of the Jewish law. Although the Hebrew word תַּמְכָּל is rarely used in the sectarian literature from Qumran, the Essenes authored at least one wisdom text (Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn [4Q298]) and incorporated the Teaching of the Two Spirits into the Community Rule. Furthermore, they employed sapiential thought, terminology, and forms repeatedly in their writings.

The prominence of wisdom literature is already evident in the fact that about forty-one manuscripts of biblical and other Jewish wisdom texts are preserved at Qumran. In addition, both biblical and non-biblical wisdom texts are quoted and alluded to in Essene literature. No comprehensive list of such quotations exists yet, but examples include the quotation of Prov. 15: 8 in CD 11: 20–1 and several (p. 471) allusions to Musar le Mevin in the Hodayot (see above). Furthermore, Goff has shown that beyond quotations and allusions the Hodayot are influenced in their thought and rhetoric by Musar le Mevin (Goff 2004). Puech documented a similar linguistic and theological influence of the Beatitudes text on various Essene compositions from Qumran (Puech 1998: 117–19).

Essene Wisdom Literature

Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn [4Q298] is the only Essene wisdom text from Qumran which is still preserved. Its only manuscript is rather damaged and was copied in the second half of the first century BCE (Pfann 1994: 213–16). The use of the word *maskil* and the phrase 'sons of dawn' shows that it is of Essene origin. In the Essene texts from Qumran, the *maskil* is a community official who has a variety of liturgical, exorcistic, and pedagogic functions (cf. Lange 2008: 277–8). That the Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn are addressed to 'all Sons of Dawn' should be understood in light of the Essene's dualistic worldview. The Essenes perceived themselves as the sons of light who lived in an eternal conflict with the rest of humanity, who are hence designated as the sons of darkness. In this scheme, the sons of dawn are people who left the darkness but are not Essene sons of light yet, i.e. people on their way to membership in the Essene community (cf. Pfann 1994: 225). That the language of frs. 3–4 2: 5–8 resembles 1QS 5: 4–5 ('to do together truth and humility and righteousness and justice and love of kindness and modesty in all their ways') corroborates the sectarian background of the text even further (cf. Pfann and Kister 1997: 27). The palaeographic date of the manuscript and the history of the Essene movement argue for a date in the late second century BCE or the first half of the first century BCE.

Pfann made it plausible that the few fragments preserved are the remnants of a more extensive instruction to new members of the Essene movement (Pfann 1994: 224–5). The text argues for the acquisition of wisdom. This exhortation is phrased in the general sapiential and ethical terms of wisdom literature such as understanding, knowledge, righteousness, and justice. Only in frs. 3–4 2: 9–10 does it become evident that Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn is concerned with at least two of the main topics of the community rules from Qumran, i.e. calendrical and eschatological questions. For the Essenes, this type of knowledge was part of a special hidden knowledge about the meaning of the Torah (cf. 1QS 5: 7–12; CD 3: 12–16; and Schiffman 1994: 247–9), which was not to be revealed to outsiders. Because the new members, to whom Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn is addressed, were not entitled yet to the full secret knowledge of the Essenes, the manuscript was written in a

cryptic alphabet. In this way, the *maskil* as the teacher of prospective new members could read the text but his pupils could not. Only the (p. 472) title of the text is written in the commonly used Hebrew square script, to make it easier for a librarian to identify the manuscript.

While the Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn attest to the direct influence of wisdom thought on the Essene sect, the Teaching of the Two Spirits shows how sapiential ideas influenced the sect indirectly, too. The Teaching of the Two Spirits is attested only in two manuscripts of the Community Rule (1QS 3: 13–4: 26 par 4QpapS^c 5: 1–8). It seems hence probable that the Teaching of the Two Spirits was attached to the preceding covenantal liturgy as a kind of instruction in a later stage of the transmission of the community rule. That the Teaching of the Two Spirits lacks any reference to the Torah points to its non-Essene origin. An Essene text could not, for example, have phrased the list of vices in 1QS 4: 2–14 without a reference to breaking the covenant or the commandments of God (for a more detailed argumentation, see Lange 1995a: 126–30). Similarities with Musar le Mevin and the Book of Mysteries show that the Teaching of the Two Spirits comes out of the same milieu in which Musar le Mevin and Mysteries developed. The idea of an eschatological revelation of God's wisdom (1QS 4: 22 par 1QMyst fr. 1 1: 7) especially evokes the Book of Mysteries. The Teaching of the Two Spirits develops the eschatological and dualistic thought expressed in Musar le Mevin and Mysteries into a dualistic cosmology which finds the cosmic conflict between good and evil mirrored in the ethical and anthropological spheres of being and which longs for an eschatological eradication of evil.

Wisdom in Other Essene Texts

The influence of wisdom within the Essene movement is evident in the designation of a central office of the community, i.e. the *maskil*. The *maskil* was a multi-functional office in the Qumran community and the Essene movement. In liturgical contexts, he sang hymns (1QSb), performed exorcisms (Shir), and recited teachings (Teaching of the Two Spirits). Outside of liturgical contexts, teaching was one of the main functions of the *maskil* and encompassed the education of new members (Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) as well as the instruction of the members themselves (1QS 5–11 in the 4QS^{b,d}-Version). The subject matter of the *maskil*'s teaching was halakhic, eschatological, cosmological, and dualistic in nature. In addition to liturgical and pedagogical functions, the office of the *maskil* also assumed administrative responsibilities (Halakha B, Damascus Document, 1QS 9: 12–21). The wisdom of the *maskil* is based on revelation and is esoteric in nature. It is concerned with the mysteries of God. The *maskil* is thus a functionary of the Essene movement with a broad range of responsibilities (cf. Newsom 1990: 375; contra Hawley 2006), who is distinguished by special insights into God's mysteries. In their multifaceted use of the word *maskil* the Essene texts from (p. 473) Qumran resemble non-Essene literature from the Second Temple period (such as Daniel, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and Ben Sira; cf. Lange 2008: 277–8, 286–91).

Further wisdom influence can be found in the hermeneutics of the Essene *pesharim*. It has often been argued (see e.g. Fishbane 1977) that the exegetical techniques used in the *pesharim* developed out of Ancient Near Eastern dream divination. The Joseph story shows that, as in the Mesopotamian cultures, dream divination and dream interpretation were among the skills of a sage in ancient Judaism (see Gen. 37: 40–1; cf. also 1QapGen ar 19: 14–23).

While the *maskil* and the hermeneutics of the *pesharim* are well researched, a comprehensive study of the influence of ancient Jewish wisdom thought on the Essene texts from Qumran is still missing. To illustrate the extent to which wisdom thought influenced the Essene movement, I will henceforward focus on the example of predestination.

The idea of predestination developed in ancient Judaism in wisdom texts such as Musar le Mevin. When speaking about predestination, early Essene texts, such as 1QH^a 9, refer to Musar le Mevin (1QH^a 9: 24–5 incorporates 4Q417 fr. 1 1: 8). This shows that Essenism was influenced in its idea of predestination by ancient Jewish wisdom literature. In 1QH^a 9, God did not only create the world according to the sapiential order of being but he also predestinated the antithesis between human lowliness and God's glory according to it, so that humans could praise God. For this purpose, God created language and its grammatical and poetic structures (cf. Lange 1995a: 211–32). Influenced by the Teaching of the Two Spirits, the Essene conception of predestination changed. This is especially evident in the Damascus Document. When CD 2: 2–13 unfolds its idea of predestination, it twice quotes the Teaching of the Two Spirits (1QS 4: 14 in CD 2: 6–7 and 1QS4: 22 in CD 2: 7). For CD 2: 2–13 the pre-existent

sapiential order of the universe includes a dualistic pattern and a predestined history of the world, which is divided into periods and runs towards the eschaton (cf. Lange 1995a: 251–70). The Peshier on the Periods (4QAges of Creation A [4Q180]) states this idea explicitly: ‘Before he created them, he ordained [their] works [and determined their deeds from the (first)] epoch until his epoch; and it was engraved upon tablets...’ (fr. 1, lines 2–3; translation A.L.).

Conclusion

The wisdom texts from Qumran are almost all non-Essene in origin and date mostly to the third and second centuries BCE. They provide new insights into how Jewish wisdom thought developed in this period, but are far removed from the early proverb collections which are still perceived as characteristic for Jewish (p. 474) wisdom literature. The sapiential texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls show that in ancient Judaism Job and Qohelet are exceptional responses to the cognitive crises of wisdom caused by the problem of theodicy. A more common answer was Torah wisdom, which claimed that God had revealed the sapiential order of the universe on Mt Sinai in the shape of the Torah (see e.g. *Ben Sira*; 4Q185, Psalms 1; 112; 119; and Baruch 3: 9–4: 4). This revelatory approach to wisdom’s cognitive crises seemed to guarantee knowledge about the universe’s (ethical) order. The heightened importance of the Torah is reflected in the increased number of quotations of and allusions to Jewish scriptures in the sapiential texts from Qumran. But the basic aporia of wisdom remained unaddressed in Torah wisdom. In Torah wisdom, the act–consequence correlation still promised a prosperous life for those who obeyed the Torah and experience still falsified this claim. Texts like *Musar le Mevin* and the *Book of Mysteries* declared the sapiential order of the universe a mystery, which was accessible only to specially trained sages. The reward of those who lived according to the Torah as the revelation of this mysterious order and the punishment of those who violated it was postponed to the end of times. This type of wisdom can best be described as eschatological Torah wisdom. Similar ideas can be observed in other wisdom texts from Qumran such as *Beatitudes* and influenced the Essene movement in its thought.

Next to eschatological Torah wisdom, other wisdom texts from Qumran point to the plurality of wisdom in ancient Judaism. Examples include evidence for magic wisdom in 1QapGen ar 19: 10–20: 32, or the universalization of Torah wisdom in *Sapiential Work* (4Q185). In addition, the Essene texts from Qumran show how wisdom thought and ethics were incorporated into other areas of ancient Judaism, and the manuscripts of the Biblical and deuterocanonical wisdom texts from Qumran and the Masada provide further knowledge about the textual histories of these texts.

Suggested Reading

For introductions into the wisdom literature from Qumran, see the surveys and studies by Collins (1997), Goff (2007), and Harrington (1996). A translation which collates the most important wisdom fragments from Qumran into running texts can be found in Lange (forthcoming). For the Hebrew text of the sapiential Dead Sea Scrolls and an English translation, the reader is referred to Parry and Tov (2004). More detailed editions can be found in the respective volumes of DJD.

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

Zurvanism is a problematic subject in the history of the study of Zoroastrianism, for it was once hailed as the greatest challenge to ‘orthodox’ Zoroastrianism and many irreconcilable aspects with ‘real’ Zoroastrianism were conveniently disposed of by labelling them as ‘Zurbanite’ and, hence, aberrations. It has since been shown that very little evidence supports the notion of Zurvanism as a Zoroastrian ‘heresy’, and that it is mainly to be understood as one of several variants of the chief cosmogony myth. This article examines this myth, which has occasionally been invoked to explain certain aspects of the ideas of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It discusses the possible channels through which Iranian ideas may have become familiar to Jews, and those Iranian elements of the Dead Sea Scrolls that have commonly been recognized as being there: loanwords and imagery.

Keywords: Zurvanism, Zoroastrianism, Dead Sea Scrolls, Iranian ideas, loanwords, chief cosmogony myth

EVER since the publication and interpretation of the first sectarian texts from Qumran, there has been a steady trickle of studies attributing to Iran at least some minor role in the development of the ideas found in these texts. The bibliography on the subject is perhaps not very large, compared to the huge output of DSS research generally, but the question itself is of considerable importance both for the understanding of the Aramaic and Hebrew writings and for the history of Iranian religion. Since some of the texts present a startling departure from biblical and Jewish religious norms, in sketching the history of the world in terms of a struggle between the forces of good and evil—imagined as realms of light and darkness and represented by two opposing spirits—it was inescapable that scholars were reminded of strikingly similar ideas in Zoroastrianism. Although suggestions of influence (however defined) were rejected both by specialists in Judaism (Wernberg-Møller 1961) and by Iranists (Frye 1962; Colpe 2003: 78–108), strong support was also mustered from both these fields (Winston 1966; Shaked 1984; Boyce and Grenet 1991: 415–36; Alexander 2006: 33–5). Eventually, it seems, Iranists withdrew almost entirely from the field, and specialists in Second Temple Judaism contented themselves with listing (p. 480) the possibility of ‘Persian’ influence in introductory remarks, while continuing to ignore it in the main body of their research.

The number of specialists knowledgeable in both Second Temple Judaism and its literature and Zoroastrianism—or Iranian history more generally—is, however, extremely small. This has often led to the situation that outdated notions from the one field were given a new lease of life in the other. The academic fields of Iranian studies on the one hand, and biblical, Jewish, and Semitic studies on the other, are different in many respects. Iranists are few in number and most of them are either linguists or specialists in particular aspects of pre-Islamic Iranian languages and cultures. They work in a field, moreover, that is characterized by a crippling lack of datable sources. Biblical scholars, on the other hand, are not only much more numerous, but work on a better documented subject area, which has proven to be much more amenable to questions of dating and localization of texts and developments. For pre-Islamic Iranian studies, for example, there are no up-to-date dictionaries, few reliable text-editions, and even fewer translations of texts that can safely be used by non-specialists. The opinions of specialists on how to

write the history of Iranian religions, moreover, are notoriously different in each individual case (the present contribution is doubtless no exception).

Since dating texts is crucial for any discussion of 'influence' of Iranian ideas on the development of Jewish ideas, two options have generally been chosen. The first was to trust Iranists in their reliance on the notion of a Zoroastrian 'tradition' that found its chief expression in the collection of Middle Persian priestly writings in the early Islamic period (the ninth century CE). It is easy to see how fragile such a reconstruction is, for it would require scholars to believe that a ninth-century text could be invoked to prove 'influence' on developments and texts they themselves would date more than a thousand years earlier. The second option, therefore, was to discard this possibility—as unprovable—and accept only texts that were more securely dated in the first millennium BCE, that is to say, the Avesta, the texts used in Zoroastrian rituals. There was much uncertainty about the dating of these texts, too, but they are generally dated to the first half of the first millennium BCE.

These Avestan texts include, moreover, a small collection of texts in a different, and more archaic, dialect, containing (it is thought) words attributed to the religion's founder, Zarathushtra, himself. Dating them therefore became a matter of dating the 'prophet' of ancient Iran and there was—and still is—a general consensus that he must be dated around the year 1000 BCE. The most important of these texts are the Gathas, or 'songs' of Zarathushtra. These belong to a genre of inspired ritual poetry in which the main god of these texts, Ahura Mazda, is praised and his opponents—the *daevas*—are repulsed. There are only seventeen of these hymns, which are grouped together in five collections, also referred to as 'hymns' or 'Gathas', arranged (in a later restructuring of the liturgy, it is thought) according to metre. They are, moreover, exceedingly difficult to interpret, for various distinct reasons. One reason is the limited size of the corpus, with a large (p. 481) number of hapax legomena as a result; another reason is the allusive nature of this genre of composition.

More importantly, perhaps, scholars have been divided over the most promising approach to interpreting these texts. In the beginning of the twentieth century, they were seen as 'sermons in verse' (witness the title of Bartholomae 1905) containing—it was thought—the instructions of the prophet to those he wished to win over to his new religion, an exposition (as it were) of the most salient points of his visionary revelations. This is, to be sure, one of the interpretations of these texts given in the development of the Zoroastrian religion, and it allowed scholars to follow what was 'taught' in them *in nuce* as it unfolded in the later tradition. As a consequence, the later tradition came to be seen as containing elements from Zoroaster's 'reform' that could not be traced to the Gathas themselves, but could be postulated as having been part of his revelation (Boyce 1975).

Other scholars, however, rejected this interpretation, because of its romantic notion of the 'prophet' of ancient Iran and the wild-card thus handed to him and his teachings (see the overview in Stausberg 2002: 22–68). They focused more on comparing the Gathas to the (much more extensive) corpus of texts that are most closely related—in language, dating, and culture—to them: the hymns of the Rig-Veda (Humbach 1991; Kellens and Pirart 1988–91). Like the other, 'traditional', interpretation, this was a familiarizing approach, through which the opacity of the contents of the Gathas was compensated for interpreting them as the Iranian reflection of an inherited, Indo-Iranian ritual-poetic tradition. This way, everything scholars believed to be new or different in the Old Avestan texts dissipated (see the overview in de Jong 1997: 39–75).

The debate over the interpretation of these texts is, at present, far from settled. What makes it important to those with an interest in the possibility of Iranian elements in the sectarian texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls is the fact that the Gathas seem to offer the most striking structural parallel with the notion of the two spirits in these Jewish writings. Scholars had always been aware of the fact that in 'classical' Zoroastrianism, the two spirits—Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu—were both seen as coeval, uncreated, beings, representing the two opposing worlds of good and evil. The one did not create the other, nor evoke him, but they had always been there, and they were evenly matched in power and permanence. Eschatology, in this system, did not foresee an annihilation of the Evil Spirit, since this was not deemed possible; he was merely to be rendered powerless. In the Gathas, however, according to some interpretations, Ahura Mazda was *above* two spirits, one good (Spenta Mainyu), the other evil (Angra Mainyu). These two spirits were, some scholars believe, presented as the twin offspring of Ahura Mazda (Yasna 30.3, duly recorded in e.g. Kuhn 1952) and the whole system of earliest Zoroastrianism could thus be interpreted as a monotheism (since it recognized only Ahura Mazda as uncreated) mitigated by a 'second-tier' dualism. This interpretation of the Gathas has, however, been questioned on philological grounds (Kellens and Pirart 1997). (p. 482) Serious reservations are needed, moreover, in the application of the concepts of

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'monotheism' and 'dualism', which have functioned chiefly as polemical instruments in normative debates between religious communities that arose much later than Zoroastrianism.

Invoking the Gathas as proof-texts for Zoroastrian 'influence' on the Dead Sea Scrolls is thus problematic for several reasons, to which one must now be added. This is the fact that there is hardly any evidence to suggest that the Gathas, or indeed any other Avestan text, functioned as a 'source' of religious information (de Jong 2009: 35–8; de Jong forthcoming). For this to be fruitfully considered, some general remarks on the development of Zoroastrianism are necessary. These, it is hoped, will also serve to provide scholars with a tentative solution to the problems of dating Zoroastrian evidence, which have been so important in the discussion on possible Zoroastrian contributions to the ideas of the community behind the Qumran texts.

The chief function of the texts of the Avesta in Zoroastrianism is a liturgical one. The texts that have come down to us were (and continue to be) employed in Zoroastrian rituals, where they are recited by priests. These texts were composed and transmitted in Avestan, a language not known from any other source and without any attested descendant. The preservation of these texts in this language is the only (and irrefutable) evidence of the spread of the religion that would develop into Zoroastrianism. That is to say: Zoroastrians, in antiquity, were those Iranians who used a specific ritual language. There are two further assumptions that follow from this. The first is that these texts originated in a society where that language was actually spoken (a society that has left no other traces of its existence) and among whose members the 'literal understanding' of the texts must have been at its highest. The second is that these texts moved from this 'original' society and were adopted by other Iranian peoples. It seems reasonable to assume that in this process, the meaning of the texts accompanied them; the image invoked for this (with doubtless some romantic exaggeration) is that of 'missionary priests' who set out to convert the other Iranian peoples to the message of Zarathushtra (Boyce 1982: 39–45). All of this took place in non-literate, small-scale societies and the survival of 'the' Avesta (a collection of such ritual texts that were brought together more than once under royal patronage) in its own distinctive language, and with preservation of dialect differences within the corpus, testifies to a faithful process of word-by-word memorization.

So far, the process is roughly similar to the spread of the Sanskrit language, and the Vedic religion, in India. There is, however, one crucial difference and this is the transmission, with the ritual texts, of a narrative *about* the religion, which focused on the one person who was responsible for its presence on earth: Zarathushtra. Scholars are divided over the historicity of Zarathushtra (the most recent attempt to argue against it is Kellens 2006), but not over the importance of the Zarathushtra narrative for the development of Zoroastrianism (p. 483) (Stausberg 2002: 62–7). He came to be seen, already in 'Avestan' times, as the authority behind the whole corpus of Avestan texts, and these texts themselves as the most potent instrument in a battle that was being waged on this earth between the forces of good and those of evil. But the texts themselves were not, it seems, considered the only such instrument, for not only did they accompany rituals, they were also accompanied by a number of other institutions and prescriptions that regulated, and came to dominate, daily life. Characteristic examples are the special treatment of fire, considered to be the most important manifestation of the divine on earth, and an extensive code of purity laws, focusing on two categories of impurity (bodily fluids and corpses), each with its own set of prescriptions. These prescriptions were accompanied by the notion that they were good for everyone, but absolutely binding to those who chose to join in the battle against the forces of evil that the texts outlined and, hence, accepted their basic message.

The many parallels with India show that such a development is possible, but also that it will not, by itself, lead to a unified and coherent body of beliefs and practices. Zoroastrianism as we know it is, however, remarkably coherent. This has often been attributed to the powers of Zarathushtra himself as a teacher of men, but there appears to be an explanation that is perhaps not as uplifting, but certainly historically more plausible. This is that the comparative uniformity of Zoroastrianism as it has survived originated with a process of centralization and reformulation of its core textual, ritual, theological, and social expressions by the Achaemenid kings of Persia (de Jong 2005; forthcoming). The evidence for this process is, in the writer's opinion, overwhelming, although he is keenly aware of the fact that many scholars do not even believe that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians.

It is certainly not intended to claim that after their intervention, Zoroastrianism continued to exist as some kind of 'finished' monolithic expression of Iranian religion; all the evidence is, in fact, to the contrary. But certain innovations of the Achaemenid period were to have a lasting effect on the development of Zoroastrianism and seem to have been propagated with royal support. Two of these are technical, organizational aspects of the

religion: the Zoroastrian calendar (Boyce 2005, with references), a fusion of the Egyptian calculation of the year with the Avestan practice of naming months and days after a fixed list of 'calendar' deities; and the introduction of a temple cult of fire, with a restructuring of the priesthood (Boyce 1982: 225–8). More important for our present purposes is the evidence that suggests that the court priests of the Achaemenids, the Magi, gave shape to a coherent grand narrative of their religion in terms of a history of the world, beginning with a pact sealed between the two spirits, that they would wage war against each other in this world for a limited period (9,000 years) and ending with the promise of an eventual defeat of evil and rewards for those who contributed to the eventual victory of good (de Jong 2005). Within this history, as tradition (p. 484) demanded, Zarathushtra's appearance marked a turning point and it was to be one of his sons whose birth would, near the end of time, herald the final battle.

The evidence for this being an Achaemenid restructuring consists of one negative and one positive observation. The negative one is clear: the narrative as it has become familiar cannot be located in the Avestan texts, although they frequently allude to elements from it. The positive one is the fact that in fourth-century BCE Greece, this narrative was well known as the chief summary of the 'philosophy of the Magi', something that was taught to the princes of Persia (Ps.-Plato, *Greater Alcibiades* 1.121–2) and a position that was frequently studied and invoked by those Greek philosophers who looked for examples of non-Greeks who had considered the possibility of an eternal principle of evil (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 46–7; Diogenes Laertius 1.6–9; de Jong 1997: 157–228).

'Classical' Zoroastrianism—as it is known infinitely better from the Middle Persian books—can thus be traced to a much earlier source, even though (as is well known) the transmission of religious knowledge continued to be an exclusively oral process. As a mirror image of the romantic notion of Zoroastrian missionary priests who came to convert the Iranians to the message of Zarathushtra, we now have a historically more reliable assumption of priests under royal patronage coming to spread among the Iranians a more coherent expression of the religion. It is this expression of Zoroastrianism that survived, and was picked up by non-Iranians (especially Greeks) who wanted to know what the Persians believed. Their reports still show sufficient variety of opinion on various matters, including one that has often surfaced in discussions of the relation between Qumran and Iran. This is the theological position known as 'Zurvanism', which presents the two spirits as the children of a supreme god of Time (Zurvan) and thus, again, mirrors the doctrine of the two spirits of some Qumran texts more closely than 'classical' Zoroastrianism.

Zurvanism is a problematic subject in the history of the study of Zoroastrianism, for it was once hailed as the greatest challenge to 'orthodox' Zoroastrianism and many common aspects that some scholars considered to be irreconcilable with 'real' Zoroastrianism (such as fatalism, which would be in opposition to the Zoroastrian doctrine of free will) were conveniently disposed of by labelling them as 'Zurbanite' and, hence, an aberration. It has since been shown that very little evidence supports the notion of Zurvanism as a Zoroastrian 'heresy', and that it is mainly to be understood as one of several variants of the chief cosmogony myth (Shaked 1992). Since this myth has occasionally been invoked to 'explain' certain aspects of the ideas of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we shall have another look at it shortly. First, we must discuss the possible channels through which Iranian ideas may have become familiar to Jews, and those Iranian elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls that have commonly been recognized as being there: loanwords and imagery. (p. 485)

Two Possible Settings

There are two different possible contexts that could explain the presence of ideas of Iranian origin in writings from Judaea in the second/first centuries BCE. The first is generally known, the second less so, for reasons that will emerge shortly. The first context is that of the fairly extensively documented Persian–Jewish interaction in the Achaemenid period (550–330 BCE), when the province of Yehud was part of the Achaemenid Empire. This interaction can be traced both in documentary sources, chiefly those from the Judahite garrison at Elephantine, and in the Hebrew Bible itself, particularly in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. These texts reflect a real-life interaction of the inhabitants of the province of Judah and their compatriots in Egypt (and Mesopotamia) with the Iranian authorities.

The general impression given by these sources is one of fairly amicable relationships. There is a marked absence of invective against the Iranian religion. This can be explained in two different ways, both of which are supported by historical and structural evidence. First of all, the Persians did not, as a rule, impose their religion on the subject nations. The reasons for this are unclear, but must be sought at least partly in a practice of good statesmanship.

The Persian Empire was a novelty in world history: never before had there been an empire of such dimensions and including such a rich diversity of nations, each characterized by its own national customs and traditions, some of which we nowadays classify as belonging to their 'religion'. Evidence from Egypt and from the Bible suggests that the Achaemenids asked representative layers of (some of) their newly acquired territories to bring together their national traditions in a proper collection, so that these could count as 'national' laws for these provinces, with—it is to be assumed—supplementary laws regulating the obligations owed to the Persian government. The Persian presence in these lands would, therefore, be keenly felt on the level of high officialdom, with the arrival of a Persian satrap and his retinue and the obligation to ask royal permission in important cases, but it is unlikely to have interfered with the lives of most people, including temple priests, whose management could best be left to local customary law. There was, in other words, never a specific religious policy of the Achaemenids and it was, therefore, unlikely that religious sensibilities would be hurt on a scale large enough to cause problems. Not only is there no evidence for a seditious movement among the inhabitants of Persian Yehud, but the Israelite communities in other parts of the Persian Empire—Media and Mesopotamia, for example—remained in large numbers in the lands to which their forefathers had been brought by force, apparently satisfied with their position.

A second factor that could explain the absence of hostile treatment of Iranian religion in biblical and Jewish literature is undoubtedly the fact that Zoroastrianism itself was not characterized by the two traditional targets of biblical polemics: a certain type of polytheism and the cult of divine statues. There is no doubt that (p. 486) Zoroastrians in antiquity worshipped a variety of divine beings and that Zoroastrianism can be labelled a 'polytheism', but above these named deities there was the supreme god Ahura Mazda, who was seen as their creator. The parallel between Ahura Mazda with his heavenly companions, the *yazatas*, and the God of Israel with his heavenly court filled with, equally named, angels, is a structural one. As for cult images, it is well-known that the Persians did not have them as a fixed element of their religion. There is some evidence that a cult of divine statues was introduced into the practice of the Persian religion in the Achaemenid period, but it never attained the status of *the* characteristic element of that religion (Boyce 1982: 216–18). On the contrary, it seems that Zoroastrianism remained for a remarkably long period a domestic religion, in which rituals on a larger scale took place in a ritual area that was produced for the occasion—by purification and the drawing of a system of furrows in the earth—and could subsequently be abandoned (and, hence, left no archaeological traces).

These indications of amicable understanding between Jews and Iranians do not disappear with the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander. On the contrary, Iranian settings for Jewish stories seem to proliferate in the Hellenistic period. These books are often riddled with chronological and geographical difficulties, for they project (part of) their history onto (falsely remembered) realities of the distant past. As a consequence, there is very little factual evidence for Jewish–Iranian interaction in these texts. The well-known examples are the book of Daniel, with its puzzling mention of Darius the Mede and other Persian kings among kings drawn from much earlier Babylonian history; the book of Esther, which is set in the Persian Empire and contains several Iranian names and words; the book of Tobit, likewise set at least partly in Iran (Ecbatana and Raga in Media), and featuring an Iranian demon (Asmodeaios); as well as, perhaps, the book of Judith, whose only Iranian element is the name of its tragic anti-hero, Holofernes. Fragments from several of these texts (not including Judith) were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, together with other texts belonging to a similar genre: edifying Jewish tales in an Iranian setting. These will, of course, be discussed below. It is important to note two further things, however. The first is (again) the contrast with the overt hostility shown to the Seleucids in Jewish literature; the second the fact that 'Persian settings' are also very prominent in the so-called Hellenistic novels, courtly romances set in exotic locations. Here, too, it has often been suggested that the Persian elements in these stories are nothing but decor, but the case is far from settled (Davis 2002).

The second possible context that could explain Iranian elements in texts from the DSS is the rise of the Parthians. For, beginning in the third century BCE, they developed into the most notable opponent of the Seleucids—whom they drove out of Iran and Mesopotamia—and one of the causes of their final demise. Since the wars of the Seleucids with the Ptolemies and the continuing eastward expansion of the Roman republic are far better documented, and more (p. 487) immediately useful for historians of Judaism and of the 'Roman Near East', the history of the Seleucids has often been written from a thoroughly 'Western' perspective, as if the loss of Seleucid domains in Iran and Mesopotamia was only of secondary importance. Surely, however, the rise of a new and unexpectedly powerful force from the east must have reverberated among Greeks and Jews alike and there are many traces of its direct impact on the life of the Jews in their ancestral land. Bare outlines of this history can only

be given here (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993; much of the following discussion is based on Boyce and de Jong forthcoming).

Although some Jews fought against the Parthians in the second century BCE, they must have been as startled as were Greeks and Romans by the rise of a new power from the east. Greeks and Romans responded to this new empire in the making by gathering as much information about these Parthians as they could (Lerouge 2007), and Jews may well have responded in the same way. They had, moreover, better possibilities of gaining inside knowledge of the treatment that could be expected from these Parthian rulers, through contacts with the large Jewish communities in Media and Mesopotamia. In spite of these possibilities, however, it is clear that the Parthians as such are never mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls, nor, it seems, are they even alluded to. There are several explanations for this, the most important being the continuing impact on the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of imagery, and names, from the Hebrew Bible. This is instantly evident from the practice of referring to the lands and peoples east of Palestine by the names of civilizations and nationalities that had long vanished from the political scene: Elam, Aššur, Persia, and the Chaldaeans, lifted from various parts of biblical literature. Tenuous links with actual history may be surmised for only one passage, the beginning of the War Scroll (1QM 1: 2), with its puzzling reference to the 'Kittim of Aššur' who are aided by those who have neglected the Covenant. These Kittim are generally interpreted as either Greeks (Seleucids) or Romans, but there are not many documented cases where the Seleucids were aided by Jews. One such case is the campaign against the Parthians under Antiochus VII referred to above. It is conceivable, therefore, that the beginning of 1QM refers to this, momentous, occasion, with its dramatic consequences for the Seleucids (but this would be wholly dependent on the dating of the text). The fact, however, that other interpretations of the evidence are possible implies that the use one can make of this possibility is rather modest.

As is well known, Parthian–Jewish interaction lasted throughout the entire history of the Arsacid empire. The Parthians interfered in Jewish history in the area of Palestine only occasionally—most momentously, of course, with the installation of Antigonos as king of the Jews in 40 BCE—and most of the interaction between Parthians and Jews took place later than the dates usually assigned to the sectarian texts from Qumran. (p. 488)

Iranian Loanwords in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Words of Iranian origin are found in small numbers in the Hebrew Bible and much more generally in Imperial Aramaic and its descendants. When proper names are excluded, the total number of Iranian loanwords in Biblical Hebrew is very small and, hence, cannot account for the larger number of Iranian words in the Dead Sea Scrolls. These can be more naturally explained as having entered the languages of these texts through the intermediary of Imperial Aramaic (Greenfield 1987). Since this was the main chancellery language of the Achaemenids, it naturally incorporated a fair amount of Iranian loanwords. There are, it is true, several Iranian words in the Dead Sea Scrolls which are not known from extant sources from the Achaemenid period, but since that corpus itself is limited, these words cannot as a group be used to show a continuing impact of Iranian tongues on the lexicon of Hebrew and Aramaic, although that possibility cannot be excluded either.

Two important words that have been discussed in greater detail may illustrate the problems. The first is the word *raz*, 'secret, mystery'. This is known from the Hebrew Bible (Dan. 2: 18–30; 4: 9) in the context of dream interpretation, where it refers to things that are 'hidden' from common knowledge, to be perceived only by the pious Daniel, hence in the meaning 'secret'. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the word is much more commonly used, with, it is agreed, a slightly different meaning that may be close to the meaning the word has in (later) Iranian texts: 'mystery', in the sense of divine secrets that are shared only by a small number of persons. Although the overlap with the meanings attributed to the Iranian usage of the word is interesting, the large temporal gap between the Iranian texts and the Dead Sea Scrolls precludes any further conclusion (Wolfson 2004: 177–8).

The second word is the word for the 'hunt', *naḥšir*, which was recognized in the War Scroll (1QM) by J.-P. de Menasce (1956). It was studied, from an Iranian perspective, by J. P. Asmussen, in a long and learned article, which claimed that there had to be a reason why this particular term for 'hunting' was chosen by the author(s) of the War Scroll (Asmussen 1961). In the War Scroll, it is usually translated as 'carnage' or 'destruction'. Asmussen argued, on the basis of its usage in Iranian texts, that it had a specific meaning, in that it referred to the (almost) complete slaughter of animals kept, for that specific purpose, in the game-parks ('paradises') of the Iranian nobility. In fact,

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he went even further, by suggesting that the choice of the word presupposes actual knowledge of these hunting paradises—and therefore real interaction with Parthian aristocrats.

Most other Iranian loanwords were simply recognized as such, and added to the growing corpus of Iranian words in Semitic languages—testifying to the long interaction between the two worlds represented by these language families. They are found in texts from different backgrounds and have never been assembled or (p. 489) rigorously studied. Worthy of mention are the following: *asparak*, 'spear', *nadan*, 'sheath'; *daxšt*, 'desert', *nizak*, 'spear', and *xurtak*, 'thorn'; *šinab*, 'watering channel' (Greenfield and Shaked 1972).

Iranian Decor in the Dead Sea Scrolls

As mentioned above, various Jewish compositions are (partly) set in the Iranian world. Many of these are known from the Hebrew Bible (small sections in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the entire book of Esther). The main post-biblical example is the book of Tobit, fragments of which were also found in Qumran. Discussion about the presence of Iranian *realia* in these books is not specific to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but belongs to two more general debates, the first on the interaction between 'Iran and Israel', the second on the striking similarities with the Persian settings of most of the so-called Hellenistic novels.

One text, however, is specific to the Qumran texts, and will therefore be discussed here. It had long been recognized that of all Biblical books, it was only the book of Esther that was not found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1992, however, J. T. Milik published a number of poorly preserved fragments of a tale set at the Persian court (Milik 1992; see also Collins and Green 1999; for the Iranian names and words in this text, see Shaked 1995). These he proposed to identify as belonging to a text that somehow *preceded* the composition of the biblical book of Esther. He named them, accordingly, 4QProtoEsther. His suggestion that these fragments should somehow be given a place in the (incredibly complicated) history of the Book of Esther has since been rejected by many specialists, and the suggestion has been made that the fragments belong not to one, but to two distinct compositions, both set at the Persian court (Wechsler 2000; this interpretation is not endorsed by the new edition of Puech 2009: 1–46). Of these, one would seem to deal with a conflict between two Persian court officials named Bagasru ('he who listens to the God') and Baga-ushi ('he who has the ear of God', i.e. he to whom God listens?). The latter is accused of having done harm to the (Jewish) people of Bagasru and, after a prayer of Bagasru, the king finds the accusation to be just and orders Baga-ushi to be executed and his possessions to be transferred to Bagasru, whose fidelity is thus rewarded.

The other composition concerns an individual called *ptryz'* (tentatively explained as ⁺pitar-raij-, 'he who pleases his father'), who was a scribe at the Persian court and whom the narrative, it seems, describes as having died. His son—after whose existence the king inquires—is procured and offered the position of his father. Following this, the king suffers from lack of sleep and finds an edict of his (p. 490) father Darius, the content of which is almost wholly lost. This makes it difficult to reconstruct the setting of the story. It has been tentatively identified as belonging, indeed, to the Esther narrative on the assumption that Pitar-raij would be the Persian name of Jair (Wechsler 2000: 163–4), the father of Mordechai, but since Pitar-raij's son is called to the office of royal scribe, and no such dignity is attributed to Mordechai, this seems doubtful.

It is in these fragments that an important Persian term has been found: for mention is made of the 'wšy of the king, which has plausibly been connected with an Old Iranian word for 'ear' (Shaked 1995: 278–9). The office of the 'ears of the king' would be similar to that of the better attested 'eyes of the king', i.e. royal spies and informants. This interpretation, as well as the names mentioned, suggests a quite early date of composition for the text. It has further been suggested that these fragments would have been composed by Jews living in the East, in the vicinity of the Persian court. There is nothing specifically Jewish (or indeed religious) in the fragments belonging to the second composition.

Iranian Ideas and Notions in the Sectarian Texts from Qumran

As is well known, Iranian 'influence' has often been postulated to account for certain remarkable notions and ideas found in the so-called 'sectarian' texts from Qumran, in particular the Rule of the Community (1QS) and within that text most obviously the 'instruction on the two spirits' (1QS 3: 13–4: 26). This is one of the best preserved texts

from Qumran, and it seems to have a clear purpose. It regulates entry into the community—and its yearly renewal for all—by describing processes of conversion/contrition, instruction, testing, admission, etc. Following this, the rules for the life of the community are set out.

As part of the instruction, the *maskil* must teach ‘all the sons of light about the nature of all the sons of man, concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs’ (1QS 3: 13–14; all translations are taken from García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997–98). This teaching has been referred to as a ‘catechism’ (Baumgarten 1990: 162) and it has been preserved nearly intact. It is marked off from the following rules by a blank space in the manuscript and a separate heading for what follows (‘This is the Rule for the men of the Community’). It is the most incisive of all ‘dualist’ texts from Qumran, but there are many questions concerning this text which an Iranist cannot be expected to answer. The most important of these are the questions of its function and of the extent of its importance for the ‘sect’.

(p. 491) Labelling this text a ‘catechism’ suggests that it contains ‘truths’ or ‘secrets’ that could be found, in different wordings, in other texts, but would still refer to the same reality. Following that lead, the ‘Angel of Darkness’ of our text can then be identified with Belial, even though Belial's name is not used (it does occur elsewhere in 1QS). By extension, the ‘Sons of Deceit’ of our text, those who are under the sway of the Angel of Darkness, can be seen as identical with those ‘of the lot of Belial’ in other texts (or other passages from 1QS). These identifications, which are frequently encountered, integrate large parts of the non-biblical texts from Qumran into a united ‘corpus’ and elevate the ‘Instruction’ to the level of its most fundamental summary, with the possible risk of smoothing over crucial differences. This view is not universally accepted. Several scholars note that the explicitly dualistic texts are exceptional in the corpus (see Xeravits 2010). In our treatment, we shall therefore mainly confine ourselves to the evidence from the Instruction on the Two Spirits.

It is clear from the Instruction that the God of Israel is, alone, responsible for the unfolding of history and the creation of the world and all that is in it. Indeed, the text explicitly mentions this: ‘From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be’. (Gaster suggested that the words ‘The God of Knowledge’ (*el de'oth*) were a ‘cleverly Judaized’ form of the name Ahura Mazda, ‘Lord Wisdom’ (Gaster 1962: 133–4), but he failed to provide evidence to show that Zoroastrians were aware of the meaning of that name.) Before the work of creation, God has, in fact, established all that is going to happen, including his selection of persons who were going to be saved and those who are destined for destruction (1QS 3: 16). Within this design, the central place is occupied by mankind, created ‘to rule the world’. For him, that is for man, two spirits have been appointed: the spirits of truth and of deceit. The former has emerged from light, the latter from darkness (an interpretation suggested by Shaked 1972: 434). These two spirits are thought of as personal beings and at the same time indwelling tendencies within the human self. That they are personal is clear not only from the fact that they have ‘emerged’ from sources of light and darkness, respectively, but chiefly from the fact that they are named: the Prince of Lights rules the Sons of Righteousness, the Angel of Darkness rules the Sons of Deceit. They are thus both cosmic beings—created by the Lord with a specific purpose—and innate qualities within mankind.

The struggle of these two spirits within each human being is evident in various ways. It manifests itself in history, in the deeds of each individual man (and woman), and in their current situation in this life (and in the life to come). As for history, it is clear that those who follow the Spirit of Deceit currently dominate the followers of the Spirit of Truth. In the deeds of each human, moreover, the activities of the spirits can be recognized: a list is given of signs by which one can tell which Spirit currently has the upper hand within each man. It is unclear whether these signs are thought of as ‘fruits’ of either Spirit, or as spiritual beings themselves, who dwell within the human body. Both are, it seems, arguable (p. 492) positions (the latter, which resembles the Iranian system more, could be evident from the repetition of the word ‘spirit’ in the lists, as, for example, in 1QS 4: 3–4: ‘It is a spirit of meekness...a spirit of knowledge’). As for the ‘fruits’ of these activities: to those who follow the Spirit of Truth, well-being and long life are promised (in their current life), as well as fruitful offspring (a markedly Iranian wish that is hard to reconcile with most interpretations of the sectarian texts of Qumran), together with rewards that will be manifest only after death: endless life and a crown of glory. The expectations for the followers of the Spirit of Deceit are not so much evident in their current lives (although the text promises ‘an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction’), but will emerge especially after death, with damnation and punishment, followed by a total annihilation.

Although God has appointed these two spirits, he does not approve of the evil one. On the contrary, he ‘loves one

of them for all eternal ages', detests the other one, together with his counsel and all his paths, which 'he hates forever' (1QS 3: 26–4: 1). The evil one, moreover, is destined for destruction, for at the end of time—a moment that is 'fixed'—'he will obliterate it forever' (1QS 4: 19). This is described as a purification of the righteous, from whose structure the spirit of injustice will be torn out. Cleansed by the truth, the chosen remnant will be released from the 'unclean spirit' and injustice will disappear—although the text does not tell us how this is going to happen.

There are very many parallels from Iranian sources for many of the core notions of this text, but there are also substantial differences. There are, moreover, crucial words that allow various meanings, on which specialists must decide. The chief difference with Iranian texts is the strong focus on the detailed plans God has made. In both systems, history has a pre-ordained end that can be described as putting an end to evil and rewarding those men and women who had sided with the forces of good. The date of this end is known—at least to God. The current struggle will not last forever, but will end; the outcome is, moreover, fixed: good will overcome. In that sense, one could say that creation, in Zoroastrianism, is a 'trap' for the Evil Spirit. In later Zoroastrian sources, this is explained by referring to the one strategic difference between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, the Evil Spirit. The former possesses the capacity of 'fore-knowledge', the latter does not, but suffers from 'after-knowledge', meaning that he only 'knows' about things external to himself once they reveal themselves to him. This quality allowed Ahura Mazda to prepare for battle, by creating the world in a spiritual state, and set many of the terms for the battle upon which the two spirits decided and sealed a pact.

The Zoroastrian sources, however, do not at any moment suggest that Ahura Mazda has pre-ordained everything, down to the choice of each individual man or woman, for this would make Ahura Mazda vulnerable to an accusation of cheating (by breaking the terms of the pact sealed between the two spirits, which would (p. 493) require that they were going to test each other's strength) and cheating, being a form of falsehood (and, even worse, breaking a covenant), cannot possibly be attributed to the Wise Lord. In Zoroastrianism, it is the *choice* everyone has made that determines his/her afterlife and eventual fate at the end of time (for some caution against anachronistic interpretations of this notion, see de Jong 1999: 319–21). To suggest, as is done in 1QS, that God has decided beforehand who was going to be saved and who would be destroyed, would make the whole creation pointless from a Zoroastrian point of view; Ahura Mazda does not gladly send part his special creation, mankind, to its ruin. It was their choice that produced this result.

1QS famously does not indicate *why* God created the two spirits, or created the world at all. Information on the second question comes in abundance from the (closely related) Hodayot, which make it clear that God created the world—and man in it—for his Glory (see e.g. 1QH^a 9: 9–10). Zoroastrian texts regularly *do* tell why Ahura Mazda made the world: to make the Evil Spirit powerless and to prevent him from ever realizing his wicked plans. The sole purpose of creation, in Zoroastrianism, is eschatological (Shaked 1994: 5–26).

There are, of course, both theological and literary reasons to explain this difference, but the present writer—admittedly much more familiar with Zoroastrian imagery than with Jewish notions—cannot escape the impression that there is a structural dilemma within the 1QS instruction on the two spirits, which can most economically be solved by allowing for a combination of two different 'patterns of belief': the recognition, demanded by biblical tradition, that God is one, and is thus responsible for everything, and the (perhaps intuitive) notion that the world is currently going through a struggle dominated by two spiritual beings, representing good and evil.

One can easily understand the sociological and ideological advantages of the latter pattern, especially within a group that considered itself to belong, exclusively, to the spirit of truth, or the sons of light. But this pattern itself is not easily reconciled with the notion of a single God responsible for everything, as Zoroastrians kept pointing out to their Jewish, Christian, and Muslim opponents. It is precisely the remark that God loves one spirit, but detests the other, even though he created them both and both do exactly what he wants them to do, that shows the uneasy fit between the two belief patterns (Boyce and Grenet 1991: 419). Even in the Zurvanite narrative, where the first god Zurvan has similar mixed feelings about his double offspring (hating the Evil Spirit and loving Ahura Mazda), Zurvan did not *will* the Evil Spirit into being; his origin was caused by a fatal moment of despair and is mourned bitterly by his father (Zaehner 1955: 419–46). In this case too, many scholars believe that the origins of this narrative were 'contact-induced'.

If we restrict ourselves, for the sake of the argument, to the description of the two spirits, the system of 1QS is almost wholly parallel to the Iranian one. That is to say, the two spirits are wholly opposed to each other and do not

share a single common trait. They are associated with two distinct realms, described in (p. 494) (predictable) opposing terms. The one is described as 'truth', has his origins in a source of light and is located—occasionally—in the highest realms of reality, being with God. The other is described as 'deceit', has his origins in a source of darkness and belongs, more clearly, to a lower realm (the 'abyss'), where darkness itself is located. The opposition 'truth–falsehood' is the most frequently used set of terms to refer to the two spirits in early Iranian texts, up to the point that 'Lie' (*drug-*) has become a general term for 'demon' and is the only term used to refer to the principle of evil in the Old Persian inscriptions. These represent cosmic realms, imagined as realms of light and darkness, respectively, and located in the heights (the domain of the 'eternal lights', where Ahura Mazda dwells) and in the depth (the domain of darkness, which is the abode of the demons, who are said to 'be of the nature of darkness'; Vendidad 8.80).

As in the Qumran texts, however, these spirits are not only cosmic entities, located in different realms and inhabiting worlds of light and darkness. They are also active *within* the human person. This is, in the Iranian sources, clearer for those spiritual beings, gods and demons, who belong to the battleforces of the two spirits. Their names, and their characters, are most often abstract ones and they refer simultaneously to an 'entity' (god or demon) and to an 'affect' (Boyce 1992: 89–90; Shaked 1969: 196–7). These beings seek to make a way in each person and it is the duty of each and everyone to welcome the spiritual forces of good in his body and to repulse those of evil.

There is, in other words, no meaningful distinction between 'Truth' as an individual spiritual being, 'truth' as a value to be embodied, and 'truth' as an abstract concept. The system is actually clearer if we look at the demonic affects, which are all personifications of sins: Lie, Slander, Sloth, Pride, Greed, etc. In addition to spiritual beings and human affects, these are also 'marks' by which the unfaithful can be recognized, something that seems to be suggested in 1QS in the discussion of the 'paths' of the two spirits and the virtues and sins that belong to them. Finally, there are consequences, in this life and the next, that stem from this process of welcoming these spirits within the human make-up. Piety has its rewards in health and longevity, offspring and well-being, as well as in a blessed afterlife and the assurance of being saved. Vice is requited, in this life, by ill repute, ill health, and shortness of life, as well as a wretched afterlife and the certainty of being destroyed.

There are, it is known, two different traditions in Zoroastrianism with regard to the fate of the sinners (Boyce 1975: 242–4). Some traditions state that the sinners will be destroyed utterly, others that the final judgement—which is carried out by a river of fiery metal, extracted from the mountains and flowing over the (flat) earth (see Winston 1966: 206, for an apt parallel in 1QH^a 11: 27–32)—will eradicate evil from the resurrected bodies of the sinners and thus cleanse them. (It is perhaps useful to state here that this *is* the final judgement; there is no divine tribunal, actually no part played by the gods in these traditions.) The end result, in both (p. 495) scenarios, is the total eradication of evil from creation, by which the Evil Spirit is rendered powerless, and following which the world is renewed. All this will take place at a destined time, which (in the Zoroastrian sources) is calculated, since the entire history of creation, mixture, and separation (of good and evil) will unfold within the span of 9,000 (or 12,000) years.

Further Considerations

In spite of all their differences, Zoroastrianism and Judaism, both broadly defined, share a number of similarities, especially in the practice of the religion. Although Zoroastrianism can be described in terms of a missionary religion, carrying a 'message' destined for all humanity, it has in historical practice remained almost exclusively the religion of the Iranians. The word for non-Iranian (*anairiia-*; *an-ēr*) means 'non-Zoroastrian', almost throughout Zoroastrian history. Both religions have a clear sense of the history of their tradition, and both attribute a group of authoritative writings to its earliest stage, on the basis of which later speculations are founded. Both are characterized by a stringent set of purity rules, which are designed to separate the community from the surrounding world and to isolate impure individuals from their own community.

In the realm of core beliefs, too, there are remarkable parallels, which have often been highlighted, especially concerning eschatology. These belong chiefly to the later biblical stage of the development of Judaism, whereas the parallels in the practice of the religion are more apparent from the comparison of Sasanian Zoroastrianism with rabbinic Judaism. In the case of the Qumran texts, it seems that the parallels between the two religions are more apparent than they are for either biblical or rabbinic Judaism, for here they extend both to certain core beliefs and

to certain (new) rituals. As an example of the latter, one could point to the 'cursing of Belial' (4Q287) and, perhaps, to the continuing attempts, in both communities, at refining the (solar or luni-solar) calendar. Some scholars see in 4Q268 fr. 7 evidence for the belief that certain types of skin disease were the result of the intrusion of a demonic spirit in the human body, for which there are, again, many Iranian parallels (Lyons and Reimer 1998: 29–31; Baumgarten 1990; for the Iranian notions, see the evidence collected in de Jong 1997: 240–3). The latter example, if accepted, is particularly instructive, for it shows the practical working of the notion of 'indwelling' spiritual beings and its effects on human lives.

The history of the debate over Iranian 'influences' on the development of Jewish ideas that were found in the Dead Sea Scrolls shows an almost predictable pattern. When scholars first had to deal with a wealth of new and unexpected ideas, they (p. 496) were willing to look at 'outside' influences to account for these novelties. Iran offered, it is clear, the most instructive parallels to a community that thought of itself as belonging to the Spirit of Truth and as fighting a war against a host of darkness, led by an evil spiritual being (Belial, the Spirit of Deceit, the Angel of Darkness). When more texts became available, and more scholars puzzled over their most likely interpretation, the pervasive influence of Temple terminology and biblical imagery became more clearly established and lines of development were traced through which the need for outside impulses as an explanatory strategy dissipated. There were, moreover, considerable doubts over the dating of the Iranian materials and a more generally felt dissatisfaction with the whole (facile) notion of 'influence'. Although some scholars continued to treat Iranian influence as an established fact, most of their colleagues increasingly treated this position as one belonging to an earlier history of research, which had now been replaced by better interpretations. This mainly shows the fact that they have, by now, assimilated the presence of 'dualism' in Jewish thought and have been able to trace certain aspects of it in the Jewish tradition itself; the question where this dualism comes from, however, still remains to be answered.

Similar developments can be traced in the discussion over other periods of Iranian–Jewish interaction, but for both other periods, the Achaemenid and the Sasanian, there is a renewed interest in precisely this interaction (Kratz 2002; van der Toorn 2007: 249–51; Elman 2005). The long Seleucid–Parthian period, to which the Dead Sea Scrolls belong, has been the stepchild of Iranian research more generally, with especially damaging consequences for the history of Zoroastrianism. Here, too, there are traces of a reassessment (Herman 2006; Frenschkowski 2004) and the present writer is convinced that this should have an impact on the question of Iranian notions in the Dead Sea Scrolls, too. For this question, the demands should not be exact lexical or literary parallels between two sets of texts, for there are no texts from Iran to rely on. The only possible direction of research can be a structural one, which should first try to answer the question why the sectarian texts from Qumran present so many *more* parallels with Iranian notions than the rest of Jewish literature.

Suggested Reading

Recent detailed studies of the relations between Iran and Qumran do not exist; the best is still Winston (1966); see also García Martínez (2003). Most often, one will find studies that simply assume that Iranian 'influence' is a proven fact (p. 497) (e.g. Philonenko 1995), studies that aim to show that no such influence can ever have taken place (Yamauchi 1990), and almost everything in between. A balanced survey of Jewish–Iranian interaction in the relevant period is Hultgård (1979). The most extensive study of these relations from an Iranian perspective is Boyce and Grenet (1991: 360–490). It is worthwhile to consult the initial responses to the sectarian texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls (and 1QS in particular), which paid more attention to possible Iranian contributions than later studies: Dupont-Sommer (1952); Kuhn (1952); Michaud (1955); Duchesne-Guillemin (1957). A change of mind can be observed when one compares Wernberg-Møller (1957: 70) with idem (1961), the beginning of a process where 'parallels' were required to be exact and literal (a requirement that cannot be met, in view of the available Iranian sources). See, along such lines, Barr (1985); Levison (2006). For the history of Zoroastrianism, consult Boyce (1979); Stausberg 2002.

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Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?

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[−] Abstract and Keywords

In several important ways, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide an unusually rich context in which to investigate ancient religious phenomena. This article considers the case of repentance, a mainstay of Western religions and a concept that has been called upon to explain aspects of various practices in the scrolls, such as initiation, punishment, and prayer, all of which come to play a role in penitential rites. It has been said, through analogy with one common representation of the Jesus movement, that the Dead Sea sect was a penitential movement, that Israel's repentance was one of its central tasks. The discussion argues that, on the contrary, it is anachronistic to speak of repentance as a concept operative at Qumran, and that the sect had recourse to a significantly different complex of terms, all related to what is referred to here as a notion of 'divine re-creation'.

Keywords: repentance, Western religions, penitential rites, Jesus movement, Dead Sea sect, Israel, divine re-creation

The Scrolls and the Study of Religious Concepts

In several important ways, the Dead Sea Scrolls provide an unusually rich context in which to investigate ancient religious phenomena. We have a sense of the place and date in which the pertinent texts were authored. The community that produced and/or preserved them emerges with some clarity through various kinds of evidence: ancient historical writers, archaeological remains, and, not least, the texts themselves. Most significantly, the scrolls represent a variety of genres, both ritual and poetic/liturgical, that often allow us to see a single phenomenon expressed in a variety of literary registers. Also useful is the way in which the findings at Qumran appear in the midst (from a temporal perspective) of other rich collections of canonical (and some non-canonical) literature—Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, New Testament, and rabbinic literature. These collections hold out the promise of containing at least some analogous forms of religious worship. Studies in the religion of the sect, an excellent representation of which is to be found in the [\(p. 502\)](#) other contributions to this section of the present volume, have been conducted profitably utilizing these special resources.

The study of the religion of the scrolls does face, however, at least one particular challenge that, at times, has not been fully grasped. Both rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity made great strides in devising a vocabulary of religious experience that ultimately became the standard for religious discourse in the West. By the second century of the Common Era, terms for virtues like humility, rituals like prayer, and beliefs like redemption, attained a quasi-technical status. Study of the scrolls stands to give us special insight into the historical development of these religious concepts, but it also runs the risk of inappropriately absorbing terminological baggage of later religious systems. As we now recognize in the study of religion, religious experiences are not universal: they are the social, cultural, and linguistic constructions of particular religious communities.

The present study will consider the case of repentance, a mainstay of Western religions and a concept that has been called upon to explain aspects of various practices in the scrolls, such as initiation, punishment, and prayer

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(Nitzan 1999; Schiffman 1994: *passim*), all practices that come to play a role in penitential rites at a later date. In particular, it has been said, perhaps through analogy with one common representation of the Jesus movement, that the Dead Sea sect was a penitential movement (Hengel 1974, 1: 179–80), that Israel's repentance was one of its central tasks. I will argue that, on the contrary, it is anachronistic to speak of repentance as a concept operative at Qumran and that the sect had recourse to a significantly different complex of terms, all related to what I will call a notion of 'divine re-creation'.

Most religious movements, of course, favour rejecting one's former way of life, in some fashion, and adopting a new one. But what is at stake is the question of which *theory* of human change a given movement adopts to account for and instil such transformation. The primacy of 'divine re-creation' ultimately provides a much more compelling account of the self-understanding of the sect and how various aspects of sectarian religion function. It also helps us place the thought of the Dead Sea sect within a larger trajectory moving from the biblical prophets through late Second Temple apocalypticism into early proponents of the Jesus movement and sets it against developments within rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity toward the end of the first century.

In the past, studies focusing on the concept of repentance have attempted to emphasize its centrality to the biblical prophets, to the Deuteronomists, to the post-exilic Judaeen community, to Jesus and the movement that he spawned, to the Rabbis, and to the apocalyptic-oriented sect at Qumran (e.g. Sanders 1977: 233–328). All of these are seen to be in some fashion reform movements, and repentance, a fundamental component of a 'common Judaism', was thought to be at the centre of their redemptive visions. Recent research has picked away at this consensus. Claus Westermann has called into question the view of the prophets as (p. 503) preachers of repentance (Westermann 1967). Baruch Schwartz points out that redemption in the book of Ezekiel is deterministic and not based on the people's repentance (Schwartz 1994). Most controversially, E. P. Sanders has maintained that the historical Jesus probably did not preach repentance; it occurs mostly on the level of the synoptic editors, not their source materials (Sanders 1985: 106–13). Elsewhere, I have argued that biblical rituals such as fasting and confession are not meant to signify repentance as they come to do later on in the penitential discipline of Judaism and Christianity (Lambert 2003, 2005).

Most significant for the present discussion is the distinction that should be drawn between biblical *shuv*, connoting a behavioural change (a turn away from sin) and rabbinic *teshuvah*, connoting an internal state (regret over sin). The distinction may seem subtle at first but it bears great functional weight, for *teshuvah* derives from inside the individual and is, by necessity, an act of free will, whereas *shuv* need not be either. The term *teshuvah*, which, in this meaning, has no parallel in the Bible, appears to correspond quite closely to the Greek term *metanoia* and its Latin equivalent, *paenitentia*. The earliest, most compelling evidence for repentance comes not from ancient Judaism but certain anti-Stoical trends within Hellenistic philosophical thought (Lambert 2004). The philosopher is not actually the one who never errs, but the one who regrets and learns from his mistakes when he does. It is this sense of repentance—repudiation of a past act—that finds its way into Judaism and Christianity, and it is of no small interest to determine which sense of *shuv* is at work in Qumran.

Sectarian Initiation Rites

Initiation rites have been a focal point of those who would see a dominant role for repentance in sectarian religion. Indeed, protocol for entrance into the sect constitutes an important arena in which the group can define itself and its purposes. However, sustained consideration of these procedures suggests that their penitential assessment does not emerge from the textual representations of the sect itself, but from the ritual framework of later Judaism and Christianity. Let us then begin with the Community Rule, where depictions of these rituals are most densely clustered.

The scroll itself begins with a series of infinitive clauses. They include such items as 'doing what is good and just' (1QS 1: 3), welcoming initiates (*mitnaddevim*) (1: 7), and rejecting the 'sons of darkness' (1: 10). Scholars have understood these infinitives to be purpose clauses, as if they spell out the impact the book intends to have. It exists 'in order to' teach members how to serve God better. This reading (p. 504) accords with what may be termed the disciplinary view of the Qumran sect: institutional practices, and indeed the sect's literature, consciously aimed to discipline members, to improve their spiritual status (Newsom 2004: 109). While such a reading is possible, a preferred reading would be that the infinitives merely spell out the contents of the book, not its purposes, which

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otherwise would render the work self-referential to an unusual degree for this period. It alludes to the basic categories of legal concern, focusing on behaviour toward willing initiates and toward those who refuse to join the sect respectively. The implication is subtle, but significant for our purposes. The Rule is to be read as a compilation of law, rather than as a self-conscious guide to spiritual improvement.

Next, we turn our attention to the main term used in the Rule to depict initiates: *mitnaddevim*. Since the scroll was first discovered, the term, sometimes translated as ‘those who freely volunteer’, has been taken to indicate that some notion of free will operated at Qumran, that the sectarians saw that no religion could persist, even for those inclined toward determinism, without a sense that people choose their behaviour and hence their fate (Licht 1957). It is unlikely though that this term is meant to suggest all that. Terms for the will in antiquity are notoriously difficult to unpack. To be sure, they should be seen as existing on a complex continuum. Our particular instance probably indicates the presence of a desire to do something and, correspondingly, the absence of any external compulsion. New members are not conscripted from among the populace, but come forward on their own. Thus, in Exodus, the people willingly donate materials for the building of the Tabernacle. However, a notion of desire should hardly be equated with free will. Note the literal phrase employed in Exodus: ‘their hearts moved (*nadav*) them’ (Exod. 35: 29). The term designates compulsion that arises from within rather than from without. And indeed, in the case of our new initiates, it is most likely that, according to sectarian ideology, they are drawn by an inner compulsion, their true nature, to join with the ‘sons of light’. They are ‘those who feel compelled/who desire to perform God's dictates’ (1: 7) and are to be contrasted with the one whose ‘soul loathes’ sectarian ways (2: 26–3: 1). Absent is any suggestion that the initiates have made a rational *choice* to adopt sectarian ways over their own.

We turn now to the first rite addressed in the Community Rule, an annual covenantal ceremony for new initiates and old, within which lies a confession of sin (1: 16–2: 18). In keeping with a common *medieval* understanding of ritual as an external expression of internal feeling, most contemporary scholars view the participants' confession of sin as an expression of contrition, rendering the process as a whole a ceremony of repentance. A careful reading suggests an alternative interpretation of confession's significance. The Levites' recitation of Israel's iniquities must be understood in conjunction with the priests' recitation of the just deeds of God—just as, in the continuation of the passage, their respective recitation of blessings for sectarians and curses for outsiders correspond. The priests confess that all good things to have occurred for Israel are due only to God's mercy. As for (p. 505) the bad things to have befallen Israel, the Levites lead the community representing Israel to a quasi-legal acceptance of responsibility for them; their sins are to blame. We will find that many other scrolls found at Qumran develop this juxtaposition further. Acknowledgement of sin exonerates God for Israel's suffering and thereby presents their current flourishing, manifested through the existence of the sectarian community, as a product of divine grace. The priestly blessings for initiates that follow perform that act of grace, raising those who have just labelled themselves as condemned because of sin to a new blessed status (2: 1–4, cf. 5: 6–7). Nowhere in the representation of this ritual is there any indication that confession, or, perhaps more neutrally, acknowledgement of sin, acts as a ritual expression of contrition or marks the decision to turn away from sin. The desire among the newcomers to adhere to sectarian law is not ritually exercised but assumed to be a given; part of their identity as initiates. In confession, we do not have an inner experience of consciousness, but a performance designed to highlight God's magnanimity and the sect's status as its recipient.

Ritual immersion comes under discussion as part of the privileges denied to those who cannot adhere to the sect's dictates (3: 4–12). Scholars have been quick to point out parallels between the Qumran sect's use of water for initiation and John the Baptist's desert activities, prompting them to designate the Rule's ritual a ‘baptism of repentance’ (e.g. Pfann 1999). This nomenclature proves to be somewhat misleading, for it shifts attention away from the actual force of the act, as it is represented in the scroll. Unlike for Josephus (*Ant.* 18: 116–19), the inner decision or experience of the initiate while immersing appears to be quite beside the point, for the sect. Rather, in conjunction with proper sectarian practice (1QS 3: 8), the waters *produce an effect* upon the initiate; they ‘atone for his sin’ (3: 6–7) ‘purify his flesh’ (3: 8). It is true that only the committed sectarian may gain access to them, but that is precisely because of their peculiar power. The transformation enacted through the initiate's immersion draws its strength not from individual human consciousness but from the ‘holy spirit of the community’ (3: 7), the power God has invested in the sect. Reconstituted, the initiate is now fit to join in the community.

Following the discussion of immersion, the Community Rule presents an elaborate treatise (3: 13–4: 26) to be taught to the ‘sons of light’ (3: 13) by the Instructor. It contains the secrets of creation that are to be vouchsafed to initiates. The implication of the current arrangement—baptism and then special knowledge—is that the treatise's

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contents should be viewed on the model of a revelation to the now purified member of the sect. Newly remade, the initiate gains access to divine secrets. The logic of this ritual and its effects fit better with a notion of re-creation with its focus on external agency than with the penitential framework that presently dominates. Its peculiar efficacy may be seen to derive from the concretization of an eschatological promise for divine intervention: 'I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean: I will cleanse you from all your uncleanness and from all your fetishes' (Ezek. 36: 25).

(p. 506) As scholars now recognize, the scroll of the Community Rule found in Cave 1 may be a composite document. No trace of the columns containing the rituals just discussed were found among the Cave 4 manuscript fragments of the Rule (cols. 1–4), and column 5 seems to mark the beginning of a new document (Metso 1997: 113). Most prominent among the initiation procedures of this document is the vow. The initiate must commit himself to adopt sectarian law and eschew the company of non-sectarians:

Whoever enters the council of the Community...shall swear with a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with whole heart and whole soul, in compliance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok...He should swear by the covenant to be segregated from all the men of injustice... (1 QS 5: 7–10)

The temptation may be great to interpret this ritual act as an expression of the initiate's contrite conscience, especially since it employs *shuv* terminology to depict the *turn* to sectarian practice. However, the functional, as opposed to expressive, aspects of this vow are clearly paramount: it marks a public embrace of sectarian identity, an official adoption of sectarian law. Therefore, special mention is made of the initiate's newly established distance from non-sectarians. Now, the initiate can be expected to uphold the norms of his new group and can be punished accordingly. We find a similar treatment of the vow in the Damascus Document: 'And on the day on which one has imposed upon himself to return to the law of Moses, the angel Mastema will turn aside from following him, if he upholds his words' (CD-A 16: 4–5). Verbal commitment to join the sect *results* in Mastema's retreat. He flees not because the initiate now wills that he leave, but because the initiate only now possesses the status necessary to fend him off (Cf. Kister 1997: 173–4).

Also prominent in column 5 and elaborated further in column 6 is the process of testing to which initiates are subjected at various stages and members undergo yearly (5: 23–4, 6: 13–23). Analogous are the tests that members are subjected to during the process of readmission after their banishment for some infraction against sectarian law (e.g. 9: 2). Most have seen these tests as tests of compliance or even conscience. Is the candidate/errant member truly following the community's standards? Has he sincerely repented and reformed his ways (Shemesh 2002: 59)? But, even at the very beginning of his candidacy, the initiate is tested, better: measured, for 'his mind and deeds' (6: 14)—before *compliance* would be an issue. It seems fairly clear then that we are dealing with a test of *mettle* rather than compliance. Is the individual of a sufficient quality to be a member of the community? If so, at what level? The issue at stake is a sort of innate power, a freedom from Belial's meddling, that has more to do with the sectarian's essential being than any mental processes he has undergone. Over time, one's status could alter, but there appears to be no presumption on the part of the sectarians of growth. The sectarians looked for something constant in human nature, what propelled the initiate to join the sect and the member to faithfully adhere to its (p. 507) dictates. For grave sins, the individual who strayed was given no chance to return, having revealed his true (lack of) worth; repentance was without significance. Even those who were given an opportunity to come back were tested not for their contrition but to see whether their spiritual level was such as to merit them a position in the sect.

Shuv Terminology at Qumran

The most significant (and ultimately misleading) factor in the interpretation of Qumran as a penitential movement comes from the sect's use of *shuv* terminology to depict itself, a use common to the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, and the Hodayot. As noted earlier, recent research has revealed that this root takes on a *new* meaning in rabbinic Hebrew, one that focuses on regret—probably a calque from the Aramaic *tuv*. Qumran's use of the term resembles that of biblical Hebrew, in that it focuses on behavioural practice, but is unique in that it refers, not to a turn away from generic sin, but specifically to a turn away from non-sectarian practice. The proper translation of the phrase *shavey yisra'el* is most likely not 'the penitents of Israel' but 'those who have turned away

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from Israel', i.e. from the transgression of Israel, as represented by the more complete version of the phrase *shavey pasha'*, namely *shavey pasha' ya'akov*, 'those who have turned away from the transgression of Jacob' (CD-B 20: 17). Likewise, the phrase *shavey yisra'el* is explained as 'those who turned aside from the path of the people' (CD-A 8: 14–16) (cf. Kister 1999: 349–50).

At Qumran, *shuv* terminology serves as a technical term for the adoption of sectarian practice, not for the painful internal struggle over one's sins that comes to be known respectively in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as *teshuva*, *metanoia*, and *paenitentia*. Likewise, it does not refer to a continual practice of penitential discipline. The phrase *shavey pasha'* does not apply to anyone currently engaged in a process of turning away from sin, but rather to those who *have already* done so. We see this, for instance, in the Hodayot, where the phrase appears opposite the terms 'offenders' and 'traitors' and parallel to 'those on a straight path' (1QH^a 10: 9–10). Indeed, such is the original context of the phrase, where it appears not as an exhortation but a promise that redemption will come to those who are righteous at the time of God's intervention: 'He [God] shall come as redeemer to Zion, to those in Jacob who have turned back from sin' (Isa. 59: 20).

Why does Qumran choose *shuv* terminology to depict the adoption of sectarian ways? The above-mentioned verse from Isaiah may have played some role in that choice—it could be read as indicating that only those who have turned away from (p. 508) non-sectarian practice will be redeemed—but more important are the two references to *shuv* found in the book of Deuteronomy (4: 28–31, 30: 1–10). Often read as exhortations to repent, these passages were understood by the sectarians as prophecies, divine promises of redemption (Brettler 1999). The people would sin and be exiled; they would then turn back to God and have their prosperity restored. What promised 'turn' in the ways of the people does Deuteronomy depict? The formation of the sect, of course! It alone constitutes the fulfilment of God's promise. It is precisely this point that lies at the heart of the so-called exhortation in 4QMMT. After reminding its audience of the sect's unique position on a variety of legal matters, the letter asserts: 'And *this* is the end of days, when they, among Israel, will turn back to the L[aw]' (C 21). The writer of this letter uses the verse from Deuteronomy not to exhort others to repent (as the Rabbis later do), but to establish that the advent of sectarian law, what is happening right now, is the fulfilment of Moses' prophecy.

Thus, *shuv* does not constitute a desideratum incumbent upon the individual or even the nation, but a foreordained component of God's eschatological plan, a perspective that also emerges clearly in the Words of the Luminaries. There we see that the process of 'turning' is envisioned as a one-time (already completed) act of divine intervention rather than a result of human agency. The author of these prayers praises God for 'bringing it to the people's mind' (4QDibHam^a frs. 1–2 5: 12–13) to turn back to him and 'pouring forth' his 'holy spirit' upon them (4QDibHam^a frs. 1–2 5: 15). We will return to this language of the spirit shortly, but it is essential to see for now that the sect's use of *shuv* terminology does not speak to its penitential concerns but its eschatological self-definition. The sect is the fulfilment of God's promise.

The Notion of Divine Re-creation

How then did they actually conceptualize processes of human transformation? One need not claim that they saw no role for human will, but the question concerns what they chose to emphasize in their rhetoric. To answer such a question, we need to attend with special care to repeating linguistic patterns and images found in the writings of the sect and its library, how the sect itself represents transformative experience. The following passage from the Community Rule is, in many ways, typical:

God...has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time of the visitation he will obliterate it forever...At that time, God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man, perfecting the spirit of injustice from (p. 509) the innermost part of his flesh, and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deed. He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like lustral water (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement of the unclean spirit, instructing the upright ones with knowledge of the Most High, and making understood the wisdom of the sons of heaven to those of perfect behaviour. For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam. (4: 18–23)

Paramount here is the range of purificatory imagery that emphasizes God's agency in the human transformation described. God does not simply forgive past sin; his purification literally changes human nature, enabling members

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of the sect to attain a new kind of glory, 'the glory of Adam', which may even have a visible dimension. Here a cultic metaphor is employed, but other images for a similar anthropological reconstruction also figure among the scrolls, including the circumcision of the heart and the removal of demons. All result in the revelation of special knowledge; transformed, mere mortals attain access to the secrets of the divine realm. The scrolls usually use these kinds of images when contemplating a single eschatological moment—the time God has chosen to fix human nature and end the existence of sin—and locate that moment in the formation of a particular group. A nice example of this can be found in the Barkhi Nafshi texts, which employ the imagery of circumcision in a manner suggesting that the re-creation has occurred already (4Q434^a frs. I 1: 4). The above passage appears at the end of the esoteric history of good and evil revealed to the initiate, apparently after his immersion. Undoubtedly, the sect associates this moment in history with the opportunity for transformation made available by entrance into the sect and, in particular, participation in its baptismal rites, which are presented here as an instrument of that transformation.

The belief in a reconstitution of human nature at the end of time was common to the writings available to and treasured by the sectarians. The Book of Jubilees (1: 7–25), interpreting Deut. 30: 1–10, maintains that the process of *shuv* promised by God will take place as a circumcision of the heart and a removal of the threat of Belial, that is to say, a re-creation of human nature (Lambert 2006: 631–46). Both 1 Enoch (10: 1–11: 2) and Jubilees (5: 12, 10: 1–14) maintain that, through the removal of demons, some transformation of human nature occurred at the time of Noah, a 'first end' (1 Enoch 93: 4), a type of what will transpire in the second and final end. Likewise, there are several fine instances of apotropaic prayer found among the scrolls, e.g. the Aramaic Levi Document (4Q213^a 1: 8–18). This genre never focuses on repentance, but rather puts forward the subtly different request that divine intervention transform the petitioner, usually through purification and removal of the demons that beset him. That apotropaic prayers are found among the scrolls, but not among explicitly sectarian documents, may suggest that sectarians felt such prayer to be no longer pertinent; the awaited transformation had already transpired at the time of initiation into the sect.

The Hodayot Scroll gives particularly clear expression to the link between initiation, divine re-creation, and the removal of inherent human sinfulness:

(p. 510)

The iniquitous spirit you purified from great depravity,
thereby letting me join the array, with the host of the holy;
and enter the group, with the congregation of the heavenly sons.
You cast for a person an eternal lot with the enlightened ones;
to join the glorifying community in praise of your name
and in telling of your wonders in front of all your creatures.
But I, a creature of clay, what am I? Mixed with water,
as whom shall I be considered?
What is my strength?
For I find myself at the boundary of wickedness
and share the lot of the scoundrels. (1QH^a 11: 20–25)

This passage, like many others in the Hodayot (e.g. 1QH^a 11: 29–38), juxtaposes a divine act of human transformation with the author's continued sense of worthlessness, a juxtaposition that one scholar has labelled the 'masochistic sublime' (Newsom 2004: 229). The effect is clear: it is only through God's intervention that the worshipper is purified, forever susceptible to falling back on his true nature. The sense of sin in such passages serves to identify and highlight the extent of divine grace, not to indicate penitent contrition, as many have assumed. The author of this text clearly associates this transformative experience with initiation; the initiate is purified, thereby rising to the level of the angels, i.e. joining the sect. Praise proves to be an effective way of depicting the experience of initiation because it gives adequate expression to the passive elements at its heart. It marks the feelings of exaltation that result from initiation, a quasi-mystical experience replete with the revelation of special knowledge, as a result of being acted upon, affected by some external force. Such a depiction is not at all like the experience of pain or remorse for past deeds described by writers on repentance (Lambert 2004).

Conclusion: Trajectories of Free Will and Determinism

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A propensity to focus on free will and interiority misleadingly contributed to the use of repentance as an organizing principle in the analysis of sectarian religious thought and practice. The religious experience of the sect must be reconstructed from the ground up, using its own language and symbols, rather than on the basis of standard Western vocabularies for depicting spirituality. What emerges is insight into how a cultural-linguistic system that operates in a largely deterministic context might operate. At the same time, these kinds of reconstructions do not place the (p. 511) sectarians in an entirely unique position. In the case of the notion of divine re-creation, there is a line of continuity that can be drawn from prophetic works, especially the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, to apocalyptic literature, such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees, through the Dead Sea Scrolls and on into Paul. The impression one is left with is that, while later interpreters surely made good use of prophetic language and the cultic terminology of Psalm 51 in depicting this notion of divine re-creation, they intended something much more radical than their biblical predecessors, an actual transformation of human nature, a rendering of human beings into something quasi-divine, angel-like, that may indeed possess an immortal sort of existence. The sectarians narrow the scope from national reformation to the actual physical transformation of a group of individuals who will populate the new nation.

The perspective of this strain of writings stands in sharp contrast with those of various other figures and groups from the late Second Temple period. Ben Sira, Philo, and the Rabbis prove to be uninterested in a notion of divine re-creation and very interested in the emerging notion of repentance. In the redemptive miracle-working of Jesus, we see another model of transformation, in this case freedom from starvation, disease, and demonic possession, one that focuses on the intervention of an external power in a less sectarian, more national context. Paul shows little interest in repentance and instead embraces the kind of anthropological reconstitution forwarded by the sect. He, too, closely links such transformation with the baptismal initiation rite, though through the somewhat different imagery of death: immersion kills off the 'old self', the 'body of sin', rendering the individual 'freed from sin' (Rom. 6: 6–7, cf. 1 Cor. 6: 11). The hope for a 'new (human) creation' (2 Cor. 5: 17) remains latent in Western culture, sometimes pulled out by various thinkers, but usually subordinated to the notion of repentance, which was much better suited to the rationalistic and institutional focus of the West.

Suggested Reading

For an overview of religious practice and thought at Qumran, see Schiffman (1994); for an overview of the period, see Sanders (1992). Nitzan (1999) represents the standard argument for repentance's role at Qumran and applies it to various sectarian rites. There has been much recent interest in the role of repentance in post-exilic Judaism; an example is Werline (1998). The full argument for dating repentance later in the history of emerging Judaism and Christianity may be found in Lambert (2004). Helpful in this regard and specifically relevant to the scrolls is the article of Brettler (1999). For other discussions of what we have labelled 'divine (p. 512) re-creation', see Fletcher-Louis (2002) and Hubbard (2002). Another instance of an attempt to consider religious thought and practice at Qumran in light of the broader trajectories of biblical, rabbinic, and early Christian thought may be found in Klawans (2000).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

From the very earliest period after the first discoveries, the Qumran scrolls have been of major interest to New Testament (NT) scholars, and, in retrospect, the impact of the scrolls has considerably shifted the debate in central areas of NT scholarship. The debate touches the essence of history-of-religions research, the question of how to explain alleged parallels and how to prove ‘influences’ on the level of texts, authors, or religious groups. The issues discussed are most generally the Jewish, or more distinctly, the Palestinian, impact on the teaching of Jesus and the Apostles, the primitive community, or the religious language and theology of NT texts. The scrolls also provide a wealth of information that helps in the interpretation of the New Testament – on the Palestinian-Jewish ‘context’ of emerging ‘Christianity’, factions and groups, etc.

Keywords: Qumran scrolls, New Testament, religious history, Jesus, Apostles, Palestinian-Jewish, Christianity

FROM the very earliest period after the first discoveries, the Qumran scrolls have been of major interest to NT scholars, and, in retrospect, the impact of the scrolls has considerably shifted the debate in central areas of NT scholarship. But the utilization of the insights gained from the scrolls provides numerous methodological problems. Thus, caution and the exercise of critical sobriety are required in view of speculative tendencies and sensationalism that have been prominent in the public debate on the scrolls. The debate touches the essence of history-of-religions research, the question of how to explain alleged ‘parallels’ and how to prove ‘influences’ on the level of texts, authors, or religious groups. The issues discussed are most generally the Jewish (as opposed to Gentile, Gnostic), or more distinctly the Palestinian (as opposed to Hellenistic-Jewish), or even particularly the ‘Qumranian’ or ‘Essene’ impact on the teaching of Jesus and the Apostles, the primitive community, or the (p. 518) religious language and theology of NT texts. Quite apart from the question of ‘influences’, the scrolls provide a wealth of information that helps in the interpretation of the New Testament—on the Palestinian-Jewish ‘context’ of emerging ‘Christianity’, factions and groups, themes and tendencies of Scriptural interpretation, literary production and literary genres, language development and contemporary Aramaic and Hebrew, etc. Especially after the publication of the variety of texts from Qumran, we can see their highest value in illuminating all these fields, much more than simply establishing the existence of a Jewish ‘sect’.

The Scrolls and NT Scholarship

After the earliest years, during which time the discoveries were first noticed by Hebrew Bible scholars (interested in the Isaiah Scroll from Cave 1), the debate of the 1950s and 1960s was dominated by NT scholars. In that period of intense discussion (sometimes called the ‘Qumran fever’), the focus was trained on the impact of the scrolls on our knowledge of Christian origins. Due to the character of the scrolls from Cave 1 which were published first, to the predominant role of Christian scholars in that period, and to an agenda set by the quest for the origins of Christianity, scholars started inquiring into the dualism found in the scrolls as decisive for the history-of-religions

background of NT texts, especially the Gospel of John. They sought analogies in scriptural interpretation, e.g. between Habakkuk Peshar and early Christian exegesis, and parallels in messianism and eschatology, in the figure of the Teacher of Righteousness and his fate and in the character and internal discipline of his community, in the communal meals as related to the Lord's Supper, in immersions as related to John's baptism and Christian baptism, and in numerous other real or alleged 'parallels'.

Scholars involved in those discussions were, among others, André Dupont-Sommer and Jean Carmignac in France, Karl Georg Kuhn and Otto Betz in Germany, Oscar Cullmann in Switzerland, Matthew Black, William D. Davies, H. H. Rowley and Geza Vermes in Britain, and William H. Brownlee, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Raymond E. Brown in North America. The debate is summarized in four collective volumes (Stendahl 1957, Murphy-O'Connor 1968, Black 1969, Charlesworth 1972) and in the two-volume account of research by Herbert Braun, a member of the school of Rudolf Bultmann (Braun 1966).

The influence of the Bultmann school also formed the context of the interest of mostly conservative NT scholars in the scrolls. In contrast to Bultmann's views of a Gnostic background of Paul and, especially, John, the scrolls provided a novel type of dualistic thought supposed to provide the 'mother soil' of the Johannine (p. 519) language in a non-orthodox type of Judaism (K. Kuhn 1950: 209–10), thus fostering an alternative reading of John within a more Jewish, or even Palestinian, context (Albright 1956, cf. Brown 1955). The Qumran calendar was adduced to explain the diversities in the dating of the Last Supper (Jaubert 1957), and John the Baptist was linked with the Qumranites (Brownlee 1957), thus providing also a possible link between the scrolls and the Jesus movement.

It should be noted, however, that all these observations and conclusions were based upon the evidence of only a few scrolls from Cave 1 that were accidentally discovered first, extraordinarily well preserved, and then published quickly after the discoveries. Due to the stagnation of the publication of the large number of smaller fragments, the debate trickled away at the end of the 1960s and was only stimulated again by the publication of the Temple Scroll (1977; English in 1983) and then since 1991 by the release of all of the texts from Cave 4.

Patterns of Relating the Scrolls and the NT or Early Christianity

In scholarship and public discussion, the relationships between Qumran and the NT have been described in various ways. Authors advocating a close connection between the Qumran library and the NT or between the Qumran community (or the 'Essenes') and early Christianity developed a number of patterns of relating both parts, which seem to be altogether inadequate or at least questionable from the point of view of current scholarship. But due to their popularity, they should be discussed briefly, before advocating a more cautious view of the relationship between the Qumran library and early Christian texts.

The Qumran Community as a 'Prototype' of Christianity? Startling Analogies

One of the first patterns of interpretation was advanced early on by the French scholar André Dupont-Sommer and popularized by the American journalist Edmund Wilson. Dupont-Sommer cautiously retracted some of his early assumptions. According to this pattern, the Qumran community was seen as a forerunner of early Christianity, and the Righteous Teacher as a prototype of the manner in which Jesus acted or was subsequently described. Even if these views have been completely abandoned in scholarship, some of their implications are still influential in public discussion.

(p. 520) Dupont-Sommer was one of the first scholars to identify the community described in the scrolls with the group of the Essenes mentioned by ancient authors. He was struck by some similarities between the community of the scrolls and early Christianity. The fact that the community used the term 'New Covenant' (1QpHab 2: 3; cf. CD 6: 19, 8: 21, etc.) as a self-designation inspired him to a wide-scale comparison between this Jewish 'New Covenant' and the Christian 'New Covenant' (Dupont-Sommer 1952: 99–100):

Everything in the Jewish New Covenant heralds and prepares the way for the Christian New Covenant. The Galilean Master...appears in many respects as an astonishing reincarnation of the Teacher of Righteousness. Like the latter, He preached penitence, poverty, humility, love of one's neighbor, chastity. Like him, He prescribed the observance of the Law of Moses....Like him, He was the Elect and the Messiah

of God, the Messiah redeemer of the world. Like him, He was the object of the hostility of the priests, the party of the Sadducees. Like him, he was condemned and put to death....Like him, at the end of time, He will be the supreme judge. Like him, He founded a Church whose adherents fervently awaited His glorious return. In the Christian Church, just as in the Essene Church, the essential rite is the sacred meal....And the ideal of both Churches is essentially that of unity, communion in love—even going so far as the sharing of common property....The question at once arises, to which of the two sects, the Jewish or the Christian, does the priority belong? Which of the two was able to influence the other?...In every case...a borrowing... was on the part of Christianity. But on the other hand, the appearance of the faith in Jesus—the foundation of the New Church—can scarcely be explained without the real historic activity of a new Prophet, a new Messiah, who has rekindled the flame and concentrated on himself the adoration of men.

These views, originally formulated already in 1950, were then picked up and popularized in 1955 by the American journalist Edmund Wilson (Wilson 1955: 85–6). Though realizing that Dupont-Sommer's analogies were overstated, he viewed the Qumran community and early Christianity as the successive phases of a single movement. Raising the question why NT scholars had not taken up the subject, he uttered the suspicion that the data from these documents were suppressed because they could be seen as a danger for Christianity by questioning the uniqueness of Christ. In the conviction that it would be an advantage for civilization if the rise of Christianity could be viewed 'as simply an episode of human history rather than...divine revelation' (Wilson 1969: 107), he hoped that the study of the scrolls would lead to more insight into the historical relativity of Christian claims of uniqueness. Wilson's book had a strong impact on the North American public and spread the idea that there was a greater proximity between the scrolls and Early Christianity than some Christian scholars were willing to concede and that some institutions might be interested in hiding the truth. Such a suspicion served later as a tool to sell popularizing books and novels (e.g. Baigent and Leigh 1991).

For a learned theologian, however, there is nothing to fear in the idea that Jesus' teaching and the phenomena of Early Christianity have analogies in biblical and (p. 521) post-biblical Judaism. But the wide-scale analogies initially drawn by Dupont-Sommer were based on some misreadings of the scrolls. In fact, there is no evidence that the Righteous Teacher viewed himself as a Messiah, nor that his followers considered him a messianic figure (Jeremias 1963: 285; Zimmermann 1998: 455–8). In spite of the passage that mentions a persecution of the Teacher (1QpHab 11: 2–8), none of the documents gives evidence for a violent death, let alone crucifixion (on 4Q285 fr. 5 see Collins 1998: 105–6).

More recently, the idea that some scroll texts evidence or even were written by a Messianic figure was renewed in different ways by Michael O. Wise and Israel Knohl who suggested respectively that the Messiah of the scrolls was a certain Judah who died around 72 BCE (Wise 1999) or the Essene prophet Menachem who was killed in the upheavals after Herod's death in 4 BCE (Knohl 2000). Both figures are mentioned by Josephus as Essenes, but there is no evidence that either of them authored texts like, for example, the exaltation hymn 4Q491. Apart from the question of the identity and date of the Teacher of Righteousness, the parallels drawn by both authors are over-hypothetical and far-fetched to allow for the assumption of a suffering and at the same time divine messianic figure in the scrolls (for criticism see Collins 2006). Thus, the idea that the fate of Jesus or the essence of his claims were prefigured in the Teacher or other figures of the scrolls does not stand up to critical scrutiny.

Other analogies between the Qumran community and early Christianity might be explained either by sharing common Jewish traditions or by sociological analogies, but none of them proves any particular influence of the Qumran group on Jesus or on the Primitive Community. Dupont-Sommer's views, inspired by the idea of the nineteenth-century author Ernest Renan that Christianity was the successful branch of Essenism, cannot be maintained. The Qumran community is not a prototype of early Christianity.

Qumran Texts as a Window on Early Christian History? The Problem of Dating

Another popular theory has to be mentioned briefly, although it is completely misleading. A few scholars have claimed that the scrolls actually tell the history of early Christianity in an allegorical manner. Thus, the American scholar Robert Eisenman (1983, 1986, 1996) expressed the view that there was a 'Zadokite' movement encompassing Ezra, Judas Maccabaeus, John the Baptist, Jesus, and his brother James. Jesus with his group and the Qumran group are regarded by Eisenman as parts of a single movement of Jewish protest against Rome. The starting point for these views is the superficial similarity between the term 'Righteous Teacher' and the epithet of

James 'the Just' (added subsequently), which (p. 522) caused Eisenman to identify the teacher with James, the brother of Jesus and, consequently, the 'Liar', a figure who opposed the Righteous Teacher, with Paul. Based on the assumption that the Qumran authors used a particular method of wordplay to conceal the historical events behind dark allusions, the scrolls are read as mirroring Jewish-Christian-Zealot polemic against the apostle Paul, who is viewed not only as an apostate from Judaism but also as an agent of the Romans.

Another, even more fantastic view was developed by the Australian scholar Barbara Thiering (1979, 1992). Like Eisenman advocating a late Herodian, i.e. first-century CE date of the scrolls, she identifies the Righteous Teacher with John the Baptist, while the 'Wicked Priest' and the 'Liar' are thought to point to Jesus himself. Reading not only the scrolls but also the NT texts as allegories, Thiering constructed a bizarre account of the 'new' life of Jesus, from his birth near Qumran, his education by the Essenes and his initiation into the Community by John the Baptist, until his marriages with Mary of Magdala and, later, with Lydia of Philippi, and a journey to Rome where traces of him finally disappear.

The argument that destroys all these constructions is the dating of the texts. A Christian date of the majority of the scrolls was already excluded by palaeography (Cross 1961), and the uncertainties were finally removed by the application of the radiocarbon method that has widely confirmed the earlier palaeographical dating (VanderKam and Flint 2002: 20–33). Eisenman and Thiering neglect or even reject the results of the scientific dating methods. Their fantastic readings are, therefore, beyond the range of sound scholarship. In fact, the Qumran texts are not a reflection of early Christian history, and none of the figures known from early Christianity are mentioned in the scrolls.

Christian Documents within the Qumran Library? The Problem of Cave 7

A view popularized in conservative Christian circles is about the fragments from Cave 7, some of which were purported to represent NT texts. In this cave only Greek fragments were found. Some of them were identified earlier, one (7Q1) as part of a manuscript of the LXX of Exodus, another (7Q2) as a copy of the Epistle of Jeremiah. Others remained unidentified in the DJD edition since the few legible letters did not allow identification with any known text. In 1972, the Catalan papyrologist José O'Callaghan proposed an identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6: 52–3 and 7Q4 with 1 Tim. 3: 16–4: 3 (O'Callaghan 1972). If this were true, it would suggest a date of Mark and 1 Timothy considerably before 68 CE, contrary to the majority views in NT scholarship. The idea that such an early date could help defend Mark's historical reliability and the authenticity of 1 Timothy explains the wide appeal of the theory among some Evangelicals.

(p. 523) The suggestions, however, were immediately rejected by some of the leading scholars on the scrolls (Baillet 1972), on papyrology (Roberts 1972) and NT textual history (Aland 1974). But in 1984, Carsten Peter Thiede—a specialist in literature, but an autodidact in papyrology—started to defend the identification of 7Q5 with Mark 6: 52–3 (Thiede 1984, 1992). Thiede also suggested unusually early dates for other Gospel papyri and utilized new technological tools for improving the legibility of 7Q5 (Thiede and Masuch 2000), but the better images that they produced have instead allowed experts to reject even more firmly the proposed identification. On the tiny fragment of 7Q5 only twenty partial or whole letters are clearly legible, spread over four subsequent lines, and the only complete word is a simple 'and' (KAI). The identification with Mark 6: 52–3 was originally based on the sequence of letters *NNHS* which could be part of the local name 'Gennesaret' but also part of a Greek verb form such as *egennēsen* or some such. If the identification with Mark 6: 52–3 were correct, then there would be three major differences within three lines from the presumed original text of Mark, one of the variants proposed being syntactically quite impossible. Thus, the identification must be regarded as definitively falsified (Stanton 1995: 28–9; Gundry 1999; Enste 2000).

Notably, other fragments from Cave 7 could be identified as parts of 1 Enoch (Nebe 1988; Muro 1997; Puech 1997), and for 7Q5 alternative identifications with Zech. 7: 3c–5 and 1 Enoch 15: 9d–10 were proposed (Spottorno 1999, 72–6). All these suggestions fit much better into the context of the Qumran Library than do NT texts.

The result is clear. None of the fragments from Qumran contains the text of a Gospel or an Epistle from the NT. There is no textual bridge between the NT and the Qumran Library. So, there is also no reason to speculate on the presence of Christians at Qumran.

Personal Links between Essenes and the Primitive Church? The Hypothesis of an Essene Quarter in Jerusalem

A fourth pattern suggests not textual but local and personal links between the Essene movement and early Christianity, due to the presence of an Essene quarter situated on the southwestern hill of Jerusalem (Mt Zion) where moreover later tradition locates the Last Supper and Pentecost (Pixner 1976, 1989; Riesner 1992). If the evidence were conclusive, this archaeological identification might open up the possibility of Essene influences on the Primitive Community. But the interpretation of the data is not indisputable and the conclusions drawn are not beyond serious doubts (Bauckham 2003: 66–74; Küchler 2007: 648–51).

First, the argument is based on the view that the inhabitants of Qumran belonged to the Essenes, who were not only in Qumran but, according to Josephus (p. 524) (*JW* 2.124), spread all over Judaea. From the excavator of Qumran, Roland de Vaux, scholars adopted the view that the site was abandoned for a period of time, presumably due to an earthquake (and fire) in 31 BCE (Josephus, *JW* 1.370–870; *Ant.* 15.121–47). According to de Vaux, the resettlement did not happen before the period of Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE). Taking into consideration that, according to Josephus, Herod the Great (37–4 BCE) favoured the Essenes (*Ant.* 15.373–8), ‘scholars have raised the possibility that the Essenes inhabited the Holy City during a period when the political climate was in their favor’. (Riesner 1992: 207). This suggestion, however, is weakened by a more recent assessment of the archaeological and numismatic evidence that suggests that the settlement was abandoned not before 9/8 BCE and that it was reoccupied soon thereafter (Magness 1995, 2002: 47–72). Thus the link between the time of Herod and the presumed abandonment of Khirbet Qumran can no longer be maintained.

A second, rather fundamental argument is based on Josephus' mention of a gate within the city wall of Jerusalem named the ‘gate of the Essenes’ and a place called ‘Bethso’ in *JW* 5.145. The ‘Essene gate’ was identified with a location discovered by F.J. Bliss as early as 1894, and excavated—albeit not too accurately—between 1977 and 1985 (Pixner, Chen, and Margalit 1995; Riesner 1998: 14–30). The term ‘Bethso’, interpreted as a transliteration of Aramaic *bêt tso'âh* (‘latrine’), was related to a passage in 11QTemp 46: 13–16 on the construction of a latrine outside the city. Thus, it was conjectured that the ‘gate of the Essenes’ was the separate gate used only by the Essenes (according to their purity rules) when going to the latrines outside the city walls. The inference is that their living quarter would be nearby. But even if the interpretation of ‘Bethso’ is correct, it remains uncertain whether and to what extent the laws of the Temple Scroll were observed by the Essenes in Qumran and elsewhere and, moreover, how the ‘gate of the Essenes’ should link with the places where they lived inside or outside the city.

Advocates of the hypothesis try to fill the lacuna by pointing to a number of ritual baths or *miqvaoth* found on Mt Zion in the area of the supposed Essene quarter, including a double bath outside the city wall with a separate entrance and exit, which are often interpreted as a particular feature of Essene baths due to similar constructions at Qumran. However, recent excavations, e.g. near the Temple Mount, have shown that baths like that were much more common and cannot be interpreted as particularly Essene constructions. They are simply public baths (Magness 2002: 146–7; Reich 2000). Thus, the Essene character of the ritual baths on Mt Zion cannot be ascertained.

The last pillar of the theory involves traces of Jewish Christian presence on the southwestern hill in late Roman times (Riesner 1992: 198–206; 1998: 38–55). The evidence adduced for an early Jewish-Christian use of the site includes a niche in the room known as David's tomb which is oriented towards the rock of Golgotha and some graffiti which suggest a Jewish-Christian use of the building. But the tradition of the location of the Last Supper in that area is rather late and cannot be (p. 525) indubitably traced back to the Herodian period. Thus, a Jewish-Christian presence or veneration of the place in the first two centuries is far from established. Even more speculative, therefore, is the view that the earliest Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem (i.e. the apostles) was in proximity to or even personal continuity with a living quarter of the Essenes. Although it is quite plausible that Essenes lived in Jerusalem, the attempts to locate their living quarter precisely or to link it with the earliest Christian community cannot be established with certainty. There is no indisputable evidence for the idea that Jesus and the Apostles were related to the Essenes or that Essenes joined or influenced the Primitive Community. These speculations cannot provide a historical framework for interpreting the relationship between the NT and Qumran texts.

Methodological Considerations

When positing a link between the scrolls and the NT, we have to face two problems:

- (a) Neither Jesus nor any other person known from early Christianity is mentioned in the documents from the Qumran library.
- (b) There is no mention of Qumran or of the group of the Essenes in any NT text.

The latter observation is even more astonishing and calls for explanation. Why do NT authors mention Pharisees and Sadducees but no 'Essenes', although—according to Josephus (*Ant.* 18.20; cf. Philo, *Prob.* 75)—they were not a mere marginal sect but a religious party with a considerable influence. Does the silence of the NT authors signify distance between early Christianity and the Qumran group or Essenism, or close relations? Are the Essenes hidden behind or among other terms, such as Sadducees, Pharisees, Scribes, 'Herodians' (Mark 3: 6, 12: 13; Matt. 22: 16), or 'Priests' (Acts 6: 7)? On these issues one can only speculate. The sources do not provide any clear evidence. In particular, there is no textual evidence for any personal or historical relationship between the Essenes and Jesus or earliest Christianity.

It is, of course, possible that Jesus met Essenes—at least in Jerusalem, where Essenes were most likely present, but also in Galilee. It is also possible or even probable that the earliest Christian community and other followers of Jesus came in contact with some members of this faction, especially in Jerusalem. But considering that Essenes or the members of the Qumran community were bound to conceal 'the secrets of knowledge' (1QS 4: 5–6; cf. 10: 24–5; Josephus, *JW* 2.141), and that the instructor should not 'argue with the men of the pit' but 'hide the counsel of the law in the midst of the men of injustice' (1QS 9: 16–17), we cannot presuppose that the particular insights of that group were discussed publicly. (p. 526) Josephus' account of the Essenes shows how an 'outsider' could perceive the particularities of the Essenes but ignore their ideological, scriptural motivation.

Of course, a certain influence on the Jesus movement cannot be ruled out, but the sources remain silent, and analogies in community organization, communal meals, the community of goods or some other issues might better be explained by similarities in the situation of the respective groups or by the common reception of biblical and post-biblical traditions. The question is, therefore, which textual parallels require us to assume a textual or even personal 'influence'.

It is also possible that some Essenes became followers of Jesus, in the early period (as is sometimes conjectured from Acts 6: 7) or later, after the destruction of Qumran and the Temple in 68 and 70 CE (Charlesworth 1996: 89). But in view of the radical position of the Qumran texts on ritual purity, such conversions would be more astonishing than that of the Pharisee Shaul/Paul. The development within the early Christian community, its growing openness for non-Jews, and the increasing liberality in purity matters were more offensive to a member of the Essenes than to a Pharisee. One cannot assume, therefore, that after 70 CE they simply had to move from one 'messianic' movement to another (thus Charlesworth 1996). Therefore the assumption of a reinforced Essene influence in the NT documents of the third generation (e.g. Matthew, John, Ephesians, or Hebrews) is even more questionable than the speculations on an Essene influence on Jesus or the Jesus movement in the earliest period.

The aporias call for an approach that is not based on speculation but on the sober comparison of the textual evidence. And, in contrast to the early periods of the Qumran debate, the consideration of a large number of manuscripts and fragments and of the recent developments in Qumran research leads to a more sophisticated set of questions. The most important change in research (in contrast with the early debate) was caused by the publication of the fragments from Cave 4, representing a vast variety of parabiblical, calendrical, sapiential, liturgical, and halakhic texts. As a result, the Qumran library now appears much more diverse and multifaceted than before. Moreover, beginning with the publication of the Temple Scroll and Lawrence H. Schiffman's Jewish 'reclaiming' of the scrolls (Schiffman 1994) the agenda has switched from more 'Christian' topics to other issues of literary genre, biblical interpretation, and especially halakhic matters.

The appreciation of the diversity within the library leads to a widely accepted distinction between 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' documents. It is to be considered now that the majority of documents preserved at Qumran were originally composed not by members of the Qumran group, the 'Essenes' or the *yaḥad*, but within other Jewish groups, and were only copied or simply studied and collected by members of the community. They are, therefore, not necessarily significant for the group's views, but give evidence of a variety of views held within other Jewish

groups of the third to first centuries BCE. Probably all the Aramaic documents, most of the sapiential texts, the majority of the parabiblical texts and previously (p. 527) unknown pseudepigrapha, and even a passage such as the well-known 'Treatise on the Two Spirits' (1QS 3: 13–4: 26) belong to the literary treasure the Qumran community inherited from other Jewish circles, or from precursor groups of the *yahad*. Thus, the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Biblical exegesis is based not only on the 'sectarian' texts of the Qumran community, but even more on the non-sectarian texts. These documents have opened up a new and broader perspective on the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, and they demonstrate that Judaism at that time was much more pluriform and multifaceted than scholars previously thought. For the interpretation of the NT it is relevant that we can now draw a much more detailed picture of the religious groups in contemporary Judaism. This also helps us place emerging Christianity within its Jewish context.

Before the Qumran discoveries, there were practically no Hebrew or Aramaic documents from Palestinian Judaism at the turn of the era. Information was available from the Books of the Maccabees, from various pseudepigrapha (mostly preserved solely in secondary translations), from Josephus and Philo, and from later rabbinic sources. Scholars spoke of a 'normative' type of Palestinian Judaism in the world around Jesus drawing on the rabbinic literature and some apocalyptic writings such as 4 Ezra or 2 Baruch. In view of the variety within the documents from Qumran, this has changed completely (Fitzmyer 1988: 609–10). Now it is obvious that there was no normativity, but rich diversity, in Palestinian Judaism before 70 CE, and even the construction of a 'common Judaism' is questionable in light of the scrolls. It is now possible to describe Jesus and Primitive Christianity not only in contrast with some 'normative' type of Judaism, but within a wide matrix of Palestinian Jewish traditions. Numerous terms from the New Testament that were thought to be influenced by non-Jewish, Hellenistic, syncretistic, or gnostic ideas can now be explained from the multitude of Jewish traditions evident within the Qumran library.

So, the type of questions to be asked has changed. Whereas earlier scholarship simply asked for 'parallels' and often drew premature conclusions about an alleged influence of the Qumran community or the Essenes on Early Christianity, the questions deserve to be asked with greater distinction:

- (1) First of all, there is need to describe clearly and classify the parallels: What is parallel? Is it a single term or a specific notion, is it a phrase, an idea, a literary structure or genre, or a feature of the life of a community behind the texts? And what is the 'degree' of the parallel? Is there a very close (or even verbal) correspondence, or is there only a loose analogy?
- (2) Considering the distinction between 'sectarian' and 'non-sectarian' documents, the issue must be refined: Is the assumed Qumran parallel a particular feature of 'sectarian' (or Essene) documents or does it occur also in other, 'non-sectarian' and possibly earlier documents? Are there differences or hints of a development within the Qumran library? And if so, which type or stage (p. 528) comes closest to the NT parallel? Only from such a more precise inquiry can we consider textual relations or influences. In this respect, the 'non-sectarian' documents, e.g. the parabiblical or sapiential documents, provide more 'direct' relations with NT texts than the 'sectarian' or texts that were most probably not accessible to non-members of the group. In many cases, it is more legitimate to interpret the Qumran parallels as a part of the Palestinian-Jewish matrix (Fitzmyer 1988: 610) shared by Qumran and NT texts than as evidence of Qumranian or Essene influences on early Christianity or NT authors.
- (3) In order to develop an adequate view of the history of religions, it is also important to keep in mind that the search for Qumran parallels should not lead to a one-sided view of e.g. Paul or the Gospel tradition. Not everything in the NT texts can be explained from the matrix of Palestinian Judaism. We must also take into consideration the impact of Hellenistic Judaism, not only in the diaspora but also in Palestine, and—to a lesser extent—the impact of the Gentile world. When considering Qumran 'parallels', we should be prepared to ask whether other parallels from other traditions can eventually provide a better explanation for the phrases and ideas in the NT.

Insights on John the Baptist, Jesus, Paul, and John

It is not possible to give a comprehensive account of parallels or possible connections between Qumran and NT texts. Instead, the focus will be on four major areas of NT research. Here a variety of methodological problems can be studied, and scholars can gain a broad variety of insights different from the patterns sketched above.

John the Baptist: A Test Case for Analogies and Differences

An interesting test case for the discussion of similarities and dissimilarities is the figure of John the Baptist, who is often considered to be closely related to Qumran or the Essenes. His priestly descent, his ascetic lifestyle in the desert, and the possible proximity to the place of Qumran led scholars to consider a closer relationship with the community (Brownlee 1957; Robinson 1962; cf. Braun 1966: (p. 529) 1–29; Scobie 1969). John's concern for eschatological purity and his rite of purification by immersion invite comparison with the Essene purification rites. Both are linked to repentance (1QS 5: 1, 8, 14), to atonement of sins (1QS 3: 6–9), and the notion of an eschatological cleansing (1QS 4: 21). Moreover, John's diet and clothing were interpreted not only as a sign of a prophet but also as the refusal to accept provisions from others according to the Essene purity rules (1QS 5: 16–17; Jos., *JW* 2.143), or, even more precisely, as a practice of Essene dietary law (CD 12: 12–15) (Davies 1983; Charlesworth 1999: 367–8; but see Kelhoffer 2004). Scholars have, therefore, speculated that John was possibly raised by the Essenes (cf. Luke 1: 80), that he was influenced by the Qumran community, or was a member until he left them or was expelled and then began his own baptizing ministry, all the while still feeling obliged to the vows of celibacy and separation (Charlesworth 1999). But most interpreters have remained sceptical of such conjectures (Rowley 1959; Pryke 1964; Taylor 1997), because most of the parallels are far from unique, and the differences are also striking.

First, the link with the Judaeen wilderness or even the proximity to Qumran does not constitute a relationship, and the early speculations were too strongly based on the view that linked the 'Essenes' only with Qumran and the desert. Second, the expectation of the eschatological judgement and of an eschatological figure was widespread in contemporary Judaism and by no means confined to the Qumran group, although the Qumran library provides us with many interesting examples. The same is true for the ideological distance from the Jerusalem temple establishment and the contemporary society. Most interesting is the striking analogy in the reference to Isa. 40: 3 in the Community Rule (1QS 8: 12–16; 9: 19–20) and in NT texts on the Baptist, in Mark 1: 3 (cf. Matt. 3: 3, Luke 3: 4–6) and in John 1: 23, where it is even placed on the lips of John himself. Although the use of the passage by the historical John cannot be established, the link between Isa. 40: 3 and the prophecy of the return of Elijah make it plausible that John was inspired by that passage: Isa. 40: 3 is also alluded to in Mal. 3: 1 where the messenger to be sent is closely related to Elijah (cf. Mal. 3: 23). Here we find the image of judgement with fire (Mal. 3: 2–3 and 3: 19), and the message of repentance (Mal. 3: 7 and 3: 24). Elijah is mentioned as the last one who warns before the 'great and terrible day' of judgement (Mal. 3: 23–4).

The reference to Elijah is also important for the place where John acted: according to 2Kgs 2: 6–8, Elijah crossed the river Jordan where Israel had entered the Land, and was then carried away beyond the Jordan. John preached and baptized 'beyond the Jordan' (John 1: 28), possibly near the trade route where people entered the land, thus acting as a new Elijah, calling for repentance and offering a baptism of forgiveness of sins. Whereas most elements are anticipated in Malachi 3, Isa. 40: 3 adds the notion of the desert. Thus, John's appearance could be viewed as a verbal fulfilment of the prophecy of Isa. 40: 3: 'In the desert prepare a way for the Lord'. By contrast, the use of Isa. 40: 3 in 1QS is completely different (p. 530) There, 'preparing the way of the Lord' is linked with the communal study of the Torah: 'This is the study of the Torah which he commanded through Moses to do' (1QS 8: 15). The communal attention to sacred scriptures is viewed as the fulfilment of the prophecy, and one might ask whether the mention of the desert could motivate some members to go to study the scriptures. Drawing on the same scriptural passage, the Essenes and John envisage a divergent mode of 'fulfilment': for the Baptizer, it is linked with the Elijah tradition, which finds no counterpart in the Essene understanding; moreover, the Essene interpretation of Isa. 40: 3 is unrelated to the community's ablutions or the motif of sin and repentance.

Even more striking differences can be seen in the purification rites: whereas for the Essenes immersion was a regular, or even daily practice, John's baptism was granted once. The Essenes practised immersion by themselves; the Baptizer practised baptism in the Jordan. The ablutions of the Essenes were limited to full members who had passed through the stages of initiation, whereas John preached publicly and baptized people willing to repent immediately. Essene purification rituals could be carried out at any place, whereas John baptized in the Jordan, where Israel once had entered the Holy Land and Elijah had been taken away. Thus, the eschatological ritual of John's baptism differs significantly from the Essene purity rites (Stegemann 1993: 306–11).

In the wider context of contemporary Judaism, John's 'spiritual' brothers are not primarily the Essenes but the eschatological prophets. His baptism cannot be explained from the Essene rites. But the Qumran texts on purity,

eschatology, and scriptural interpretation do provide a much more refined tool for understanding the Baptizer in the context of his religious environment.

The 'Historical' Jesus, and New Insights on Messianism and Christology

The situation is much more complex regarding the historical Jesus and early Christology. Here the quest for parallels is hindered by the methodological difficulties of isolating the earliest tradition or even reconstructing Jesus' authentic sayings. In spite of this, the texts from Qumran can illuminate numerous issues in research of the Jesus tradition, of themes, texts, genres, etc. (Evans 1999). The evidence clearly supports the view that Jesus' words and works are firmly embedded in the debates and language of Palestinian Jewish tradition, and it provides a broader background for explaining emerging Christology from the variety of Jewish Messianic ideas. In the present context I can only give a brief and selective overview about some of the most important issues.

(p. 531) Initially it must be repeated that all the earlier theories (influenced in part by the age of Enlightenment) that Jesus was linked with the Essenes, that he had developed his universalistic views in such a 'heterodox' Jewish milieu (in contrast with Jewish 'orthodoxy'), that he was instructed as a healer by the Essenes (cf. Philo's *Therapeutae*), or that he even survived crucifixion through their therapy to start a 'second life', can be dismissed. All these ideas may serve fiction, but are no part of serious scholarship. Nor can the view be ascertained that Jesus might have celebrated the Last Supper according to the Essene calendar (Jaubert 1962) or in the 'Essene quarter'. The differences between the passion chronology in the Synoptics and John cannot be bridged by the assumption that Jesus (or John) used the Qumran calendar.

Soon after the first discoveries, Jesus was often compared with the Righteous Teacher (Dupont-Sommer 1952; Braun 1966: 54–74; Jeremias 1963), but the differences between the two personalities, their situation and intentions, are greater than the parallels. This seems quite obvious regarding the Torah and purity matters: whereas the Teacher advocates a radically conservative, purity-oriented praxis of the Torah, Jesus' intentions are focused not on the Torah but on the 'kingdom of God'. Although phrasing an ethical radicalization of the law in some issues (cf. Matt. 5: 28–9, 34) he did not merely contrast his own *halakhah* with other contemporary views. Instead, he addressed more fundamentally the relation of humans to God, with an argument from creation (e.g. on the Sabbath in Mark 2: 27 or on divorce in Matt 19: 8), or on his own authority ('I say to you'). Thus, although his antitheses in Matt. 5: 21–48 can be formally compared with phrases in 4QMMT B 55, 65, 73 ('but we say...'), the authority claimed by Jesus differs.

In some issues, Jesus took a rather liberal position towards ritual purity (cf. Mark 7: 15 on food), or deliberately transgressed some of the borders when eating with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2: 15–17; Luke 5: 29–30, etc.). This is in marked contrast with the rigid purity praxis at the communal meal in 1QS 6: 16–20. The strongest contrast is between Jesus' approaching the lame, blind, crippled, and lepers, whereas the *yahad* (1QSa 2: 3–11; cf. Lev. 21: 16–24) excluded all those with physical deficiencies from the community, and the Temple Scroll placed lepers as outcasts in a particular section (11QTemp 46). When Jesus invites them to partake at the table (Luke 14: 12–14, 21), he almost seems to present 'an opposing agenda' (H.-W. Kuhn 2000: 405). One might even ask whether the phrase to 'love your neighbour and hate your enemy' (Matt. 5: 43), which is not from the Hebrew Bible, may point to a view such as is expressed in 1QS 1: 9–10 or in the communal liturgy 1QS 1: 16–2: 18.

In contrast to a widespread view that the notion of the 'kingdom of God' was poorly attested to in contemporary Judaism, the scrolls provide a new variety of the use of the term kingdom (*malkut*), especially in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. There, the term denotes a heavenly kingdom (Schwemer 1991), but in the scrolls there is evidence that the heavenly kingdom of God and the kingdom to be given to (p. 532) Israel and/or to her Messiah 'in a certain sense merge' (Evans 1999: 583), or, more generally, that 'Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God finds itself right at home in Jewish Palestine' (Evans 1999: 584). Moreover, Jesus' particular idea of the kingdom as still to be hoped and prayed for (Luke 11: 2) but also already present (Luke 11: 20) in exorcisms and healings has a marked parallel in the Essene awareness of the present communion with angels, the conviction that salvation and 'new creation' (1QH^a 9: 21) are present in the community although still expected in the cosmic dimension (H.-W. Kuhn 1966; 2000: 405–6). However, while the general structure of the 'already—not yet' is comparable, the detailed understanding is different. More generally, the new evidence of a line of Palestinian-Jewish wisdom tradition which is deeply merged with apocalyptic and dualistic ideas in texts such as Instruction or the Book of Mysteries demonstrates that the construct of a 'purely' sapiential, non-apocalyptic Jesus cannot be established within the

context of contemporary Judaism and should rather be dismissed as a product of modern exegetical fantasy.

Other parallels give insights into the history of genres, such as the sapiential series of beatitudes in 4Q525, which provides an important parallel for the sapiential reshaping of Jesus' original beatitudes in Matt. 5: 3–10 (cf. Lichtenberger 2003; Brooke 2005: 217–34), and the document 4Q500 which shows that the vineyard parable Isa. 5: 1–7 was already related to Jerusalem and the Temple so that the design of the parable Mark 12: 1–11 is not necessarily a late development of the Hellenistic community (Brooke 2005: 235–60)—an insight which questions the form-critical 'dogma' that Jesus' parables could not have allegorical overtones and that all scriptural allusions were secondary additions. The *Temple Scroll*, to mention one last example, provides invaluable information about the praxis of crucifixion in Second Temple Judaism (cf. also 4QpNah frs. 3–4 1: 6–9): notably, crucifixion is called 'hanging (*t/h*) on a tree' (11Q19 46: 6–9); it is linked with Deut. 21: 22–3; the curse is mentioned (cf. Gal. 3: 13), and also the demand to bury the crucified 'on the same day' (11Q19 64: 11–13; cf. Mark 15: 43).

An often debated text is the non-sectarian document 4Q521. It mentions the 'Messiah(s?)' (4Q521 fr. 2 2: 1) and enumerates (in 4Q 521 fr. 2 2: 6–13) the works to be done by God himself in the messianic era, including the raising of the dead. The list combines prophecies from Isaiah (chs. 26, 35, and 61) and is most closely paralleled by the list of the works of Jesus in Matt. 11: 5 par Luke 7: 22. It is not certain that the works expected in 4Q521 here should be done through a messianic agent. But against the background of scriptural interpretations such as are documented here, it is quite conceivable that Jesus' works could be perceived as works of the messianic time and that his exorcisms and healings of the lame and blind together with the message of God's kingdom and grace inspired people to view him as a messianic figure. 4Q521 thus provides an important clue for the framework in which Jesus' works could be interpreted (see Becker 2007).

(p. 533) More generally the variety of messianic ideas and concepts in the Qumran library is a striking insight, especially after the release of the numerous parabiblical texts: next to texts without any messianic figure, we can find concepts with a royal, a prophetic, or a priestly messianic agent (cf. Collins 1995, Zimmermann 1998), and at times these aspects are merged or even combined (such as in the well-known concept of 'the two Messiahs', priestly and political, from CD 19: 33–20: 1). In contrast with earlier scholarship it is now clear that there was no unified, 'dogmatic' conception of 'the Messiah' (as a political, Davidic figure) in contemporary Judaism, but rather a variety of eschatological concepts. Within that context it was therefore possible to ascribe 'Messianic' hopes to Jesus even if he was not of Davidic descent and did not act as a political liberator. There are even texts in which a messianic figure is linked with the heavenly world, such as Michael-Melchizedek in 11QMelch or in 4Q491 where the ascent of a human being is described (Smith 1992; Evans 1999: 591–2). And although the identity of the enigmatic 'son of God' of 4Q246 is heavily disputed, and a negative reference of the term (e.g. to Antiochus IV Epiphanes) is also advocated (on the debate see Zimmermann 1998: 153–70), the text provides a striking parallel to Luke 1: 32–5. In any case, the use of the title demonstrates that the Christological title 'son of God' can be well explained from Palestinian Judaism and is by no means a sign that Christology should be rooted in a Hellenistic, non-Jewish milieu (see Hengel 1976; Yarbrow, Collins and Collins 2008).

It is, therefore, no exaggeration to state that, in the light of the scrolls, the question of the roots of Christology must be discussed afresh and that many earlier views on the distance or incompatibility of Judaism and (especially 'high') Christology are to be revised. The Qumran texts show that even the later stages were developed in a largely Jewish matrix of thought.

Paul and Palestinian Jewish Terms: New Light from Non-Sectarian Texts

Another field of remarkable insights is the study of the apostle Paul and the issue of his interpretation of scripture and, especially, the background of his language and theology. In earlier history-of-religions research, Paul's language and thought was often viewed as strongly separated from Palestinian Jewish religion and rather explained from Hellenistic Judaism or even more from pagan concepts of redemption and of dying and rising gods which were thought to have influenced Paul in Tarsus during his youth. This was not only due to scholarly scepticism about Luke's account of Paul's Pharisaic studies in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 5: 34), but also due to the lack of Hebrew or Aramaic texts from post-biblical Palestinian Judaism before 70 CE. Especially Paul's claim to be a Pharisee (Phil 3: 5; cf. Acts 22: 3) could not be (p. 534) affirmed from contemporary sources without making use of the later rabbinic writings. But if it is plausible that Paul's 'pre-Christian' life brought him to Jerusalem to study (Pharisaic) law (Hengel and Deines 1991), one should assume that the themes, terms, and techniques of Palestinian Judaism should have

influenced him even more. The Qumran parallels provide the sources to study this, and they have actually contributed to a deeper understanding of the influence of Palestinian Jewish traditions on Paul's theological language.

The problem is, however, that direct contact between Paul and Qumran cannot be established: Paul's addressees and his missionary activities were outside of Palestine. Although he could read Hebrew and Aramaic, he wrote in Greek. There is no evidence that Paul ever read 'sectarian' texts, or that he ever visited a place like Qumran. Based on early readings of the 'Damascus Document' it was even speculated that Paul's 'Damascus' is actually Qumran. But the story of Paul being converted at Qumran is mere fantasy and cannot be seriously considered as an idea of sound scholarship.

The Qumran texts have brought out a number of terminological and exegetical parallels which can demonstrate the Palestinian-Jewish roots of Pauline thought or, at least, of numerous elements of it (H.-W. Kuhn 1992, 1999; Fitzmyer 1999; Lim 2003). Most significant is the term 'works of the law' (Gal. 2: 16; 3: 2, 5, 10; Rom. 3: 20, 28) which was unparalleled before the Qumran finds, and without any equivalent in the Hebrew Bible and in later rabbinic writings. But now we have the halakhic text 4QMMT (4Q498 frs. 14–17 2: 2–3) where the writer affirms: 'We have sent you some of the precepts of the Torah' (see also 1QS 5: 21; 6: 18: 'his works in the law'). In spite of the difficulties of interpretation and the fact that 4QMMT is written about two centuries before the Pauline epistles, the parallel shows that the Pauline usage draws on a broader discussion within Palestinian Judaism on the deeds prescribed by the law (H.-W. Kuhn 1999: 232).

The Qumran finds have also unveiled the first exact linguistic parallel for the Pauline phrase 'the righteousness of God' (Rom. 1: 17; 3: 5, 21, 22; 10: 3; and 2 Cor. 5: 21) in 1QS 10: 25 and 12: 12 (cf. 1QM 4: 6), so that we can now see that 'Paul did not invent the phrase but rather derived it from a genuine Palestinian tradition' (Fitzmyer 1999: 615).

Most interesting—especially in view of the Qumran texts—are the dualistic expressions in the Pauline epistles. In 1 Thess. 5: 5 Christians are called 'Sons of Light' and 'Sons of the Day'. The phrases make use of the Semitic construction 'sons of' (*b'ney...*) for the classification of human beings. Such a 'dualistic' bifurcation of humanity is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible but frequent in the sectarian writings of Qumran (cf. 1QS 1: 9–11). Whereas earlier scholarship was inclined to explain the 'dualistic' elements in Paul's theology from Hellenistic or even Gnostic sources, the Qumran texts have shown that such a type of thought was also developed within Palestinian Judaism.

(p. 535) Most interesting are Paul's anthropological terms (cf. Frey 2002). The striking use of 'flesh' with the notion of sin (Gal. 5: 17; Rom. 8: 5–8), which is also unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible and unknown to the Rabbis, and his view of justification by divine grace (Fitzmyer 1999: 602) can now be illustrated by impressive parallels from the Qumran documents. In the hymn at the end of the Community Rule the author confesses: 'I belong to evil humankind, to the assembly of unfaithful flesh (*basar 'awäl*)...' (1QS 11: 9), but then praises the experience of divine grace: 'As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my salvation always, and if I fall by the sin of the flesh (*ba'awon basar*), in the justice of God...shall my judgement be' (1QS 11: 11–12). In spite of some specific differences, these texts show remarkable closeness to Paul's idea of justification of the ungodly (Rom. 3: 23–6; 4: 5). Particularly the notion of 'flesh' (*basar*) as a sphere characterized by sin and upheaval, or even as a power which provokes and causes evil deeds goes far beyond the range of meanings of *basar* in the Hebrew Bible and comes closer to the Pauline usage (Becker 1964: 111–12), especially in his antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit' (Gal. 5: 17, Rom. 8: 5–9), than any other parallel, e.g. from Hellenistic Judaism (Jewett 1971: 92–3). But the problem was still that Paul most probably did not read the 'sectarian' documents to be influenced by Essene thought (Becker 1964: 249–50).

The aporia is now solved by the publication of the sapiential texts from the Qumran library which are 'non-sectarian' and probably originate in the time before the formation of the *yahad*. In the Book of Mysteries (1Q27/4Q299–301) and the larger Instruction (1Q26/4Q415–418, 423), 'flesh' (*basar*) is used quite frequently, and already with a negative, sinful notion: the reader is told that he is separated by God from the 'fleshly spirit' and from all that God hates (4Q418 81: 1–2), yet all 'fleshly spirit' shall be destroyed in the end (4Q416 1: 12–13). Here 'flesh' is used in a dualistic antithesis between two groups of beings, a kind of cosmic and eschatological dualism which is similar to the type of dualism in the Treatise on the Two Spirits, 1QS 3: 13–4: 26 (Frey 1997: 298–9). These texts were highly esteemed by the Essenes, who read, copied, and even cited them and adopted some of their

ideas into their own compositions. But the sapiential ideas were also open to others; some of their dualistic views may have been transmitted in Greek in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Thus, the Pauline usage of 'flesh' can now be explained by the fact that he shares traditions of Palestinian Jewish wisdom which might have been discussed in the circles of the sages in Palestine. It is rooted neither in pagan Hellenism, nor in the developments of Hellenistic Judaism, but in Palestinian Jewish traditions that were not confined to the Essenes but are now only preserved in fragmentary texts from the Qumran library. Such a new history-of-religions view has also an impact on the interpretation of the meaning of 'flesh' in Paul, which was later interpreted largely under the influence of Hellenistic traditions hostile to the human body. Thus, the insights from the Qumran texts are by no means theologically irrelevant.

(p. 536) **The Gospel of John and its Dualistic Language: No Qumran Influence**

Dualistic language (of light and darkness, life and death, etc.) is also a particular element in the Gospel of John, and since the very earliest period of Qumran research scholars have assumed that the 'mother soil' of Johannine language can be found in Qumran (K. Kuhn 1950: 210; Brown 1955, cf. Braun 1966, vol. 2, pp. 118–44), especially in the dualistic Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS 3: 13–4: 26) which was thought to provide the basic ideology of the Essenes (Charlesworth 1968–69). Scholars further speculated that the Evangelist was not merely a former disciple of John the Baptist (cf. John 1: 35–9) and thus influenced by Essenes (Brown 1955) but even more a former member of the Essene sect (Charlesworth 1996), or that the Gospel was written to teach Essenes (Schubert 1958: 131). However, in recent scholarship these speculations have been subjected to severe criticism (Bauckham 1997; Aune 2003; Frey 2009). A brief look at the methodological problems is needed.

It is true that the Qumran discoveries caused a 'shift in Johannine scholarship towards recognizing the thoroughly Jewish character of Johannine theology' (Bauckham 1997: 279). And, at first glance, the number of Johannine terms paralleled in Qumran is impressive. It includes the terms denoting the Spirit-Paraclete such as 'Spirit of Truth' and 'Holy Spirit' and especially the expressions within a dualistic framework, such as 'Sons of Light', 'the Light of Life', to 'walk in the darkness' or 'walk in the truth', 'to witness for the truth', 'to do the truth', 'works of God' vs. 'evil works', the notion of God's 'wrath', 'full of grace', and 'eternal life'. Since many of the terms and phrases mentioned occur within the so-called 'Treatise on the Two Spirits' in 1QS, this passage has often been the starting point for the evaluation of Qumran dualism and its impact on the dualism of the Fourth Gospel (Brown 1955; Charlesworth 1968–69). But when carefully analysed according to the refined set of questions (as outlined above), the Qumran parallels cannot prove a particular Qumranian or 'Essene' background of John. Some of them are simply general shared ideas, others refer to or mirror similarities that can rather be explained by sociological analogies. Textual or historical relations could only be supported by precise linguistic and terminological parallels which are unique to the sectarian texts from Qumran and John.

Here, I can only note some significant observations. The term 'sons of light' (John 12: 36) is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible but frequent in Qumran texts as a community self-designation (1QS 1: 9; 2: 16; 3: 13, 24, 25; 1QM 1: 1, 3, 9, 11, 13, etc). But when we see that the term can also be found in Paul (1 Thess. 5: 5) and in the synoptic tradition (Luke 16: 8; cf. Eph. 5: 8), and that in both cases it is equally opposed to the notion of darkness, the idea of an immediate Qumranian influence on John loses its cogency. In addition, we can note that the phrase in Aramaic is already used in 'non-sectarian' writings such as the Visions of Amram (4Q548 frs. 1 (p. 537) –2 2: 10–11, 15–16; cf. 'sons of truth' / 'sons of lie' in 4Q548 frs. 1–2 2: 8–9), so that we must conclude that the term did not originate in the *yahad* but earlier in some priestly circles, and could also be transmitted outside the Qumran community. The (single) occurrence of 'sons of light' in John is by no means a proof of a Qumranian influence on John.

A similar argument can be adduced regarding the phrase 'spirit of truth' (John 14: 17; 15: 26; 16: 13; cf. 1 John 4: 6). Not only is there a remarkable difference between the usage of this phrase in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS 3: 18–19; 4: 21, 23; cf. 4Q177 frs. 12–13 1: 5 and in Aramaic 4Q542 fr. 1 1: 10) and in the Fourth Gospel, but the term can also be found in the Testament of Judah (20: 1–5; cf. 1 John 4: 6) and—independently of John—in the Shepherd of Hermas (Mand. 3: 4). Thus even the particular term for the Holy Spirit in John cannot be explained from Qumran usage (Aune 2003: 297–300).

The same can be demonstrated for other terms and phrases: 'To do the truth' can be found already in Isa. 26: 10

LXX, Tobit 4: 6 and 13: 6, and T.Benj. 10: 3. 'To walk in truth' is also paralleled in the LXX (4 Kings 20: 3), 'to walk in the light / the darkness' have LXX or Masoretic parallels, 'light of life' occurs not only in Qumran, but primarily in the Bible (Ps. 56: 14 etc.), and 'eternal life' basically draws on Dan 12: 3 and can be found in numerous Jewish and early Christian texts, so that the parallel in 1QS 4: 7 does not point to any particular relationship.

The most impressive argument for a Qumran influence on John, however, was taken not from particular parallels, but rather from a more general structural similarity between the dualism in Qumran texts (1QS 3: 13–4: 26) and in John, especially in contrast with the Gnostic type of dualism used to explain the Johannine language in the Bultmann school. In contrast with the Gnostic type of 'ontological' dualism, the observation of an ethical and eschatological dualism in Jewish sources was so impressive that scholars had to abandon the Gnostic paradigm in Johannine studies and to look for a Jewish explanation of the Johannine language. But those early comparisons did not yet recognize the variety of 'dualisms' within the scrolls (e.g. the differences between 1QS 3: 13–4: 26 and 1QM), nor the fact that only a limited number of the Qumran documents shares a dualistic concept. The distinction between sectarian and non-sectarian texts was not yet established, and scholars could not yet imagine that even a text such as the 'Treatise on the Two Spirits' might be a pre-Essene composition (Lange 1995: 126–8; Frey 1997: 295–300) which was then included in the collective manuscript of 1QS (while missing in other S-manuscripts from cave 4) but could not be viewed as the normal type of Qumran sectarian dualism. The angelic leader called 'the Spirit of Wickedness' (1QS 3: 19) is otherwise called 'Belial', and the idea of 'two spirits' is adopted nowhere else in the scrolls, but occurs again only in Greek in T.Jud 20: 1–2. Moreover, the idea of the struggle of two spirits or strivings within the human heart, even pious ones, was hardly satisfying for those who held a strong division between the sons of the light and the sons of the darkness. Qumran sectarian (p. 538) dualism is, therefore, far from being identical with the peculiar type of dualism in the 'Treatise on the Two Spirits'. It is rather a sheer cosmic dualism characterized by a strictly predestined division of humanity into those inside and outside of the community and dominated by opposing angelic figures. Such a pattern can be found in CD 2: 2–13, in the liturgy of 1QS 1: 16–3: 13, or in the curses of 4QBerakhot or in the War Rule (Frey 1997).

If we ask, then, for the possible influence of Essene sectarian dualism on early Christian authors, we should rather think of such a type of sheer cosmic dualism with Belial as the leader of the evil powers. If an early Christian author had been influenced by the dualism of contemporary Essenism, he would probably have adopted the structure and language of that mode of dualistic thought (cf. 2 Cor 6: 15), not the language of a doctrine that the Essenes themselves had adopted only partially and with considerable modification.

On the other hand, Johannine 'dualism', or rather the dualistic elements in John (names of opposing eschatological figures, light/darkness, truth/lie, life/death, above/below) does not form a unity, but the single elements can be explained from different backgrounds. In John, they are used with a particular rhetorical intention, and with a strong Christological focus. Thus, the 'dualistic' terms do not only mirror a traditional religious milieu or a fixed language code that an author might have learned or adopted from somewhere. Therefore the common patterns of explanation established in the early period of Qumran research call for a thorough revision. The contrast between light and darkness that is the most obvious common feature of John and some Qumran texts might have been developed from various sources. Bauckham (1997: 275–8) points to the tradition of Jewish exegesis of the creation narrative, to the use of the light metaphor for the Torah and to some messianic passages in Isaiah (Isa. 9: 1–2; 42: 6–7; 49: 6; 60: 1–3). Aune (2003: 289–91) additionally points to Jewish conversion language in which the transfer 'from darkness into light' is described (*Jos. Asen.* 8.9, cf. 15.12), and which was also adopted in the early Christian mission (Acts 26: 18; Col. 1: 12–3; Eph. 5: 8; 1 Pet. 2: 9; and paraenetically 1 Thess. 5: 4–8; Rom. 13: 12–14).

Consequently, there is no need to conjecture direct or even indirect Qumran influence to explain the use of the light/darkness terminology. The view that Johannine dualism, as a whole or in part, is influenced by the scrolls should be abandoned. There is conclusive support neither in the textual parallels adduced nor in the peculiar structure of the dualistic language used in each corpus. The Qumran discoveries helped to rediscover the Jewish character of the traditions behind the Fourth Gospel. But there are a large number of Jewish parallels from other literary contexts, and some of them provide closer analogies to the Johannine terms and phrases and, moreover, to the structure and function of the dualistic language. The Johannine author and his school seem to be rather eclectic, adopting and developing motifs and phrases from different contexts into their works. (p. 539)

Summary and Perspectives

What, then, is the result of sixty years of comparison between Qumran and the NT texts? A mere collection of 'parallels' cannot suffice, since 'parallels' have to be explained within a wide historical context. More than mere parallels, other insights from the scrolls provide an invaluable wealth of information on the world of Second Temple Judaism in which the Jesus movement began and of which at least part of the NT texts tell.

(1) One negative insight should be mentioned first: all speculations about direct links between 'Essenes' and early Christianity are useless and cannot be demonstrated with an acceptable degree of certainty. Neither John the Baptist nor Jesus, Paul, the author of the Fourth Gospel, or any other NT author can be linked in a reasonable manner with the 'sectarian' texts or viewed to be influenced by the Qumran community or 'Essenes'. As a consequence, the issue to be discussed is no longer the possible relationship between the Essenes and early Christianity but rather, and more precisely, the links between language and theology in early Christian texts and contemporary Judaism as a whole in its many and diverse traditions and groups.

(2) The value of the scrolls is not so much in the fact that they represent the library of a particular Jewish group, but rather, that in this library we face a broad selection of the literary production of Second Temple Judaism in the three centuries before the turn of the era. Despite the fragmentary character of most of the scrolls, it would be impossible to get an adequate view of the literature and thought of ancient Palestinian Judaism without the information provided by the scrolls.

(3) It is of major relevance for NT studies that the scrolls provide information on the textual development, collection, and 'canonization' of the scriptures, on the development, techniques, and forms of scriptural interpretation, on issues of halakhah, purity, calendar, and festivals, on the development of literary forms and genres, on the origins and developments of Jewish apocalypticism and wisdom thought, on the variety and plurality of the idea of eschatological or messianic figures and agents, on the ideas about a last judgement, life after death, angels and demons, etc. etc. Without the information from these texts it would be impossible to get an adequate view of any of these topics. In that respect, the scrolls are the most important and most fascinating corpus of texts from the world around the NT.

(4) One of the consequences of the Qumran debate is that NT scholarship has come to recognize the fundamental Jewishness of NT texts—even if critical debate continues and the distance from other Jewish groups is recognized. NT texts can be read as part of the Jewish literature of the late Second Temple (p. 540) period (and beyond). The 'parting of the ways' that led to an opposition of two separated religions is not yet finished at the end of the first century CE.

(5) Reading the NT texts in their contemporary Jewish context calls for a broader perspective which includes not only the scrolls but—as a matter of course—the LXX and all the 'intertestamental' literature (partly transmitted in translations). Furthermore, we have to consider the texts from the Jewish diaspora, Josephus, and Philo, and as far as possible also the early rabbinic texts, nor should we ignore the field of non-Jewish texts and genres from the Hellenistic-Roman world. Only by such a wide range of research is it possible to reasonably decide on the background of a certain NT phrase and its underlying concepts.

(6) Simply collecting parallels (a symptom of 'parallelomania') is futile and misleading. Instead, every parallel deserves cautious interpretation, considering its own original context, the possible ways of transmission, the nature of the suggested analogies, their possible reasons and also alternative explanations.

(7) For interpretation, hermeneutical consideration is indispensable: what is the consequence (or the possible benefit) if an idea can be demonstrated to be originally Jewish (or, on the other hand, Hellenistic or pagan)? Does this imply that it is more purely 'biblical' and, therefore, more 'valuable'? But what if Second Temple Judaism itself (and also the Qumran texts) already adopted Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic ideas? And what would it mean if, for example, aspects of Jesus' teaching could be traced back to an earlier 'precursor' figure such as the Teacher of Righteousness? Would this endanger the 'originality' of the Christian teaching? Such questions can only be mentioned here, but they also deserve consideration. As modern theory of historiography has shown, every reconstruction of history and 'origins' is also a means of defining one's own individual or social identity. Therefore, scholars should beware of the 'ideological' issues and agendas that are sometimes 'behind' textual and historical theories and the public debates in the field of Qumran.

(8) The scrolls are a test case for the method of history-of-religions research. In view of the fascination that has often stimulated one-sided views and public sensationalism, philological accuracy and caution is absolutely indispensable. Scholars must avoid filling the lacunae in a manner that makes the texts fit their own theory. Due to the fragmentary state of preservation, numerous aspects can no longer be 'explained'. It is especially impossible to find evidence for any 'direct' influence on Jesus, Paul, John, or any other New Testament author. And rather than 'explain' the origin of certain motifs and ideas, the library of Qumran can

help illuminate their wider contexts and particular profiles.

But when adduced with such hermeneutical caution and with the utmost philological skill, Qumran texts provide a still-underestimated wealth of information which helps to understand the background and message of numerous NT texts and early Christian ideas. (p. 541)

Suggested Reading

Earlier scholarship is critically summarized in Braun (1966). From recent scholarship, the collection by Brooke gives a fine overview, especially his introductory article (Brooke 2005: 3–18). See further the articles cited on the different fields of Jesus (Evans 1999), Paul (Lim 2003), and John (Frey 2009).

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Monotheism, Principal Angels, and the Background of Christology

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

In recent decades, there has been an intensively renewed interest in the origins and development of 'Christology', religious practices as well as ideas/beliefs, and earliest 'devotion'. Scholars have explored in what ways Jesus-devotion may have drawn upon Jewish tradition and how it may have represented something innovative. In particular, there are questions about the means by which early believers, shaped by Jewish tradition, with its concern for the uniqueness of God, may have accommodated devotion to Jesus as in some way bearing divine significance. The Qumran texts comprise a major and unique cache of material giving access to Second Temple Jewish religious tradition, and are, thus, integral in all of this investigation. This article describes ancient Jewish monotheism, principal angels, and the origins of 'High' Christology.

Keywords: Jesus Christ, Second Temple, divine significance, Qumran texts, High Christology, Jewish monotheism

In recent decades there has been an intensively renewed interest in the origins and development of 'Christology', or, to use a broader term intended to take into account religious practices as well as ideas/beliefs, earliest 'devotion' to Jesus. In general, this newer work has emphasized the early period and Jewish religious setting in which this remarkable devotion to Jesus first emerged (e.g. Newman, Davila, and Lewis 1999), and scholars have thus explored in what ways Jesus-devotion may have drawn upon Jewish tradition and how it may have represented something innovative. In particular, there are questions about the means by which early believers, shaped by Jewish tradition with its concern for the uniqueness of God, may have accommodated devotion to Jesus as in some way bearing divine significance. The Qumran texts comprise a major and unique cache of material giving us access to Second Temple Jewish religious tradition, and are, thus, integral in all of this investigation (e.g. Segal 1992). (p. 547)

Ancient Jewish Monotheism

For a contextually oriented approach to earliest devotion to Jesus, indeed, and for Jewish religion of the Second Temple period as well, perhaps the most important topic is the uniqueness typically ascribed to the one God of the biblical tradition. Both Jewish and non-Jewish sources of the Second Temple period portray Jews as holding a distinctive religious stance and practice that involve reserving a unique status to the God of Israel, and a firm refusal to worship any other deity (e.g. Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.3; *Let. Aris.* 134–9; and for discussion, Hurtado 1998). Sometimes, the deities of other peoples are referred to in Jewish texts as superstition, their images simply human products and their worship foolishness (e.g. Wis. 13–14), and sometimes these deities are portrayed as real, but evil, supernatural beings (e.g. Jub 22: 16–17; reflected also in 1 Cor. 10: 20); but in any case the worship of these gods by the other nations is typically treated as misguided at best. In characteristic Second Temple Jewish piety, as there is only one true God, who is revealed in Israel's story and witnessed to in the biblical texts, so worship (by any people) is rightly directed solely to this God. That is, this typical Jewish attitude was not simply a national

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commitment to a particular deity, or a simple affective preference of one deity among many; it was instead a universalizing claim that only one deity is the legitimate recipient of the worship of all nations.

Although there seem to have been tendencies in this direction in ancient Judaism from at least as early as the Persian period, it is likely that this stance was hardened especially in response to the attempt by Antiochus IV to enforce a policy of religious assimilation upon the Jews living in Judaea ca. 167 BCE, which resulted in the Maccabean revolt (1 Macc. 1: 41–2: 27). Thereafter, certainly, for devout Jews the recitation of the *Shema*, which commences with the declaration that ‘the Lord our God, the Lord is one’ (or ‘the Lord our God, the Lord alone,’ from Deut. 6: 4), became a regular feature of their piety. The ‘Nash Papyrus’ (second century BCE) and the *mezuzot* found at the Qumran site are physical evidence of the place of this assertion of God’s uniqueness in Jewish piety of the time, these items all reflecting the ritual use of the *Shema* (e.g. Lim 2007). Even for urbane Jews such as Philo of Alexandria, God’s uniqueness is non-negotiable:

Let us, then, engrave deep in our hearts this as the first and most sacred of commandments; to acknowledge and honour one God who is above all, and let the idea that gods are many never even reach the ears of the man whose rule of life is to seek for truth in purity and guilelessness. (*Decal.* 65)

In explaining to his readers that Jewish religion is based on the teaching of Moses inscribed on the two stone tables, Flavius Josephus states, ‘The first word teaches us that God is one and that He only must be worshipped’ (*Ant.* 3.91). Note the close connection between the assertion of God’s uniqueness and the restriction of (p. 548) worship to this one God, a point to which we shall return later. It is worth noting also that the response ascribed to Jesus in Mark 12: 29 to a scribe’s question about ‘which commandment is the first of all’ is a recitation of the *Shema*, reflecting the same religious outlook.

The two main emphases of this Jewish monotheistic rhetoric are God’s universal sovereignty and God’s absolute uniqueness. God (*Yahweh*) is pictured as the creator and ruler of all things, even over nations that do not acknowledge this God and over the rebellious spirit-beings that oppose God’s elect. Even Satan/Belial/Mastema figures are portrayed as rebellious servants and creatures of God, whose vain attempts to thwart God’s will actually only serve it by exposing the sinners (through their cooperation with these beings) and by testing and proving the righteous (who resist evil and stand true to God).

God’s uniqueness is expressed in various ways, e.g. as the sole uncreated one over against all else, and as exalted above all, including all other species of heavenly beings (e.g. Isa. 40: 18–26; 41: 21–4; 43: 11–13; 45: 18, 22–5; Ps. 95: 3–4). Ancient Jewish ‘monotheism’ did not involve the denial of the existence of other heavenly/divine beings, but instead the firm claim that God is superior to all such beings, unique in standing, power, and greatness. These biblical texts are relevant for Second Temple Jewish piety precisely because they were held as sacred and shaped beliefs and practices.

Indeed, ‘the Lord (God) of hosts’ is a frequent biblical epithet that implicitly pictures God being attended by a huge retinue of other heavenly beings (e.g. Ps. 24: 10; 46: 7, 11), even ‘ten thousand times ten thousand’ (Dan. 7: 10; 1 Enoch 14: 22). Moreover, God is often pictured as presiding over a heavenly council of beings that can be referred to as ‘sons of God’ (*b^enēy Elohim/Elim*, e.g. Job 1: 6) and *Elim* (‘gods’, e.g. Ps. 82: 1). Michael Heiser (2004) has persuasively shown that this basic idea, and the usage of these terms, remained prominent in the Second Temple period, as is amply reflected in the Qumran texts (e.g. frequently in 4QShirShabb). In biblical and Second Temple texts, as ‘a great King above all gods’ (Ps. 95: 3–4), *Yahweh* is portrayed presiding in imperial majesty over a vast body of heavenly/divine beings whose net significance is to exhibit *Yahweh*’s greatness.

In addition to the prevalence of this rhetoric of God’s uniqueness and supremacy, Second Temple Jewish piety also typically was characterized by a resolute refusal to offer worship (especially sacrifice) to other deities, or even to the heavenly/divine members of *Yahweh*’s entourage. Indeed, this strong scruple about worship was probably the most outwardly observable and socially significant expression of Jewish ‘monotheism’. As Bauckham rightly noted (1981: 322), ‘In the exclusive monotheism of the Jewish religious tradition, as distinct from some other kinds of monotheism, it was worship which was the real test of monotheistic faith in religious practice’. In the Maccabean struggle and subsequently, when devout Jews were put under pressure to conform religiously, the demand was that they participate in the worship of other deities (e.g. 1 Macc. 1: 51), and the refusal of Jews to (p. 549) honour the gods was regarded as perhaps the most anti-social feature of their religion by pagans (e.g. Amir 1987). It should be noted that in the ancient world generally, worship was the key expression of one’s religion: the god(s)

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one worshipped, and how and when one worshipped. Moreover, the general view was that all the gods were worthy of worship and to refuse them worship was socially offensive and even irreligious. We see the tension created by Jewish refusal to follow this practice reflected in the stories told in Dan. 3: 1–18 and 6: 1–28, narratives which seem intended to show that devout Jews can give loyal service to pagan rulers, so long as they are not expected to compromise their exclusive devotion to their God.

In keeping with other Jewish evidence of the period reflecting Jewish prayer (e.g. as reviewed by Johnson 1948; and Enevalm-Ogawa 1987), the Qumran texts also exhibit this exclusivist practice. *Yahweh* is the sole object of prayer and worship (e.g. Falk 1998; Schuller 2000). The elect join with the heavenly angels in praise and worship to God, as reflected in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, but these beings, though glorious and powerful, are never themselves the recipients of worship. In texts such as the Hodayot (1QH^a ; 4Q427–432), God alone is consistently addressed, praised, and petitioned. Moreover, unlike the more typical pattern of temples of the larger Greek and Roman environment, which often had images of and altars for several associated deities, in the Jerusalem Temple, sacrifice was offered solely to God, and there was no altar or devotional ritual for any other figure. Although the Roman ruler might be treated as divine by other peoples and had images, priesthoods, and cultic rituals devoted to him, in the Jerusalem Temple sacrifice was offered *on behalf* of the Roman Emperor, but not *to* the Emperor.

Some scholars have questioned whether ‘monotheism’ is the right term for this Jewish outlook, however, because the typical dictionary definition of the term is belief in the *existence* of only one deity. Hayman (1991) and others subsequently have noted that in so far as the term connotes the denial of the existence of other heavenly/divine beings it does not seem appropriate. Macdonald (2003: 5–21) has shown how the term ‘monotheism’ originated and acquired its typical meaning in European philosophical debates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Heiser (2004: 9–18) weighed the adequacy of ‘monotheism’ and other terms for describing Second Temple Jewish faith, e.g. ‘henotheism’ (belief in one deity presiding over others), ‘monolatry’ (‘intolerant henotheism’, the insistence that only the supreme deity be worshipped), and judged that each had its limitations.

Noting these sorts of questions about the term, Hurtado (1998) urged that use of the term ‘monotheism’ should always be informed by the beliefs and practices of real religious groups, not by artificial definitions framed in abstraction from actual cases of religious belief/practice. If ‘monotheism’ were to be restricted to the belief that there is only one heavenly/divine being, then very few Jews, Christians, or Muslims have ever qualified as monotheists. If a definition of a term does not accurately define a real form of religiousness then its usefulness is dubious! In the (p. 550) case of ancient Judaism, ‘monotheism’ can only mean the claims of God's uniqueness and supremacy over all other beings (including a vast diversity of other spiritual beings), and the strong restriction of worship to this one God alone.

We may also note that this hesitation among some scholars to use the term ‘monotheism’ for ancient Jewish religion is curious, given that other scholars of Roman antiquity readily speak of ‘pagan monotheism’, which typically refers to the idea that the many gods are all valid manifestations of some common divine essence (e.g. Athanassiadi and Frede 1999). If this latter sort of view can count as one type of ‘monotheism’, it is surely even more legitimate to use ‘monotheism’ for the ancient Jewish emphasis on God's uniqueness. But we must also note the crucial difference, both in belief and practice. Devout Jews typically distinguished sharply between the biblical deity and all others, and likewise restricted cultic worship to this deity. Over against the inclusive tendencies of some philosophical views of the gods, typical Jewish piety involved a singular exclusivity in faith and practice.

In short, ‘Jewish monotheism’ had its own quite distinctive character in comparison with what is called ‘pagan monotheism’. Whatever the term preferred, e.g. ‘monotheism’, ‘intolerant henotheism’, ‘universalizing monolatry’, this distinctive religious stance is the crucial phenomenon that marked off Second Temple Jewish religiousness from its larger religious environment. Moreover, this strong concern to maintain the uniqueness of the one God is also the key feature of the Second Temple Jewish religious matrix of earliest Christianity, in the light of which early Christian devotion to Jesus takes on special historical significance.

Principal Angels

As noted already, for ancient Jews the emphasis on the one God was fully compatible with beliefs about other spiritual beings, including those dubiously worshipped by other peoples and also the many heavenly beings that formed *Yahweh's* entourage. Indeed, in the Second Temple period there seems to have been an increased interest

in the latter (e.g. Bietenhard 1951). With a very few exceptions, such as the 'commander of the army of the Lord' whom Joshua encounters (Josh. 5: 13–15), the references to 'the angel of the Lord' (e.g. Judges 13: 3–22), and the mysterious angel in whom God's name is placed and who is assigned to guard and lead Israel into the land prepared for them (Exod. 23: 20–1), in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament generally God's heavenly host and/or divine council are largely an undifferentiated body. In the Second Temple period, however, there was a marked interest in identifying ranks and orders of the heavenly host, and also in naming particular (p. 551) angelic figures, who were sometimes associated with specific functions (e.g. 1 Enoch 9–10; 20). In some cases, this or that high angel is portrayed in remarkably exalted terms, functioning as God's vizier (Hurtado 1988: 71–92; Carrell 1997: 53–76; Collins 2000), a chief-agent figure who acts with special authority, making these figures of particular interest for scholars concerned with the origins of Christological claims.

Olyan (1993) showed that often the names of the various angelic orders/ranks and individual angels appear to have been developed by exegesis of particular passages in biblical texts. So, for example, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Hayyot, Ophanim, Ma'asim, and other orders (as reflected e.g. in 1 Enoch 61: 10) developed via exegesis of texts such as 1 Sam. 4: 4; Isa. 6: 2–3; and Ezek. 1 and 10. But Mach (1992) has provided probably the fullest diachronic study of ancient Jewish beliefs in angelic beings, describing an explosion of interest in them in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Davidson (1992) analysed references to angels in 1 Enoch and the Qumran sectarian texts, noting the influence of dualistic thought in the counterposed good and evil spirit/angel beings portrayed in these writings. Although this dualism involves two principal angel-beings in opposition to each other, a 'Prince of Light' (Michael) set against Belial and the spirits allied with him (e.g. 1QM 13: 10–18), Davidson concluded that 'there is never a cosmic dualism in which God stands opposite his equal or near-equal' (p. 309). Noll's thesis (1979: 171–84, regrettably never published) helpfully lists the names and ranks of heavenly beings in the Qumran texts: e.g. 'elim' ('gods', e.g. 1QM 14: 16; 18: 6), 'elohim' ('gods', e.g. 4Q400 fr. 2, line 5), 'holy ones' (numerous instances in 1QH; 1QSb; 4QShirShabb), 'warriors' (1QH 5: 1; 8: 11), 'assembly (of God/holy ones)' (e.g. 11QMelch 2: 10), a special group of angels called 'chief princes' (e.g. 4Q403 1: 10–25), and others.

Noll also noted (1979: 184–93) in the Qumran texts the importance of the theme of the elect being joined with heavenly angels, especially in worship, which seems to be the key point of the text known as 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' (of which there are remnants of several copies, 4Q400–407; Charlesworth and Newsom 1999). Sullivan (2004) traced this and associated themes (e.g. the portrayal of angels in human-like form, and the portrayal of exalted humans in angelic-like form) more broadly through Second Temple Jewish texts, with a particular interest in how Jewish angel-speculation might have been drawn upon in early Christological beliefs (a matter to which we shall return in the final section of this discussion).

We have a ready illustration of the interest in particular angels in the representation of Raphael in the book of Tobit, a case where a high angel is portrayed as disguising himself as a mortal. As typical of the named angels, 'Raphael' is really a divine epithet ('God heals'). In a dramatic climactic scene he reveals his prior role in conveying the prayers of Tobit and Sarah to God, and declares himself to be one of seven principal angels given special access to God (Tob. 12: 12–15). To cite another example, in Daniel (8: 16; 9: 21), the angel Gabriel ('God my hero') is specially assigned by God to help Daniel understand God's plans for Israel.

(p. 552) Michael

But surely the most prominent high angel is Michael ('who is like God?'), first mentioned in biblical texts in Dan. 10: 13–21, where he is referred to as 'one of the chief princes' (v. 13) and 'your prince' (v. 21). The latter phrase probably means that Michael has a special responsibility for Israel, which is made explicit in Dan. 12: 1, where he is referred to as 'the great prince, the protector of the sons of your people', who will arise in the future time of Israel's deliverance and the resurrection of the righteous. Traditions about Michael flourished both in early Judaism and then in early Christianity (Hannah 1999). As Hannah noted (p. 33), the earliest references to Michael (1 Enoch 1–36, third century BCE; and Daniel) seem to take for granted that readers know of the figure, which means that interest in him must be very early indeed.

From his survey of evidence, Hannah (1999: 38) judged that 'the tradition of Michael as Israel's champion and guardian was well established in the apocalypses' of the Second Temple period. One of the titles applied to Michael

is 'Chief Commander' (Greek: *archistratēgos*, e.g. 3 Bar. 11: 4–8; 2 Enoch 22: 6; 33: 10 [long recension]; recension A of Test. Abr.), suggesting both pre-eminence and likely a military leadership role. Michael also is heavenly intercessor for the righteous in some texts (e.g. Test. Abr. 14: 5–6), but refuses to perform this service for the fallen 'Watchers' (disobedient heavenly beings) in 1 En. 68: 2–5. In 3 Baruch 11–15 Michael is portrayed as the heavenly priest who 'holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (11: 2) and receives the prayers and merits of the elect and presents them to God. 3 Baruch is widely thought to have a late first-century CE provenance, but it likely reflects ideas from still earlier.

Although in some early texts Michael is one of a restricted number of elite angels, Hannah judged that by the first century CE 'Michael had become *the* principal angel, if not everywhere, at least in many circles' (Hannah 1999: 48). It is likely that Michael is 'the angel of the Presence [of God]' in Jub. 1: 27–2: 1, a phrase thought to derive from the *Qere* of Isa. 63: 9 ('In all their distress...the angel of his Presence saved them'), both texts alluding to the angel who conducted Israel out of Egypt (Exod. 14: 19–20).

On the other hand, in the Apocalypse of Abraham, Yahoel is the angel through whom the ineffable name of God operates (10: 3–8), probably an allusion to Exod. 23: 20, which refers to an angel indwelt by God's name who will guide and exercise authority over Israel. So it appears that the idea of such a principal angel was reasonably widespread, even if the precise identity of the figure varied somewhat.

Principal Angels in Qumran Texts

The Qumran texts amply attest the notion that God has a particular angelic figure who acts as God's special deputy in the care of the elect and the eschatological (p. 553) conflict with evil. Because of the fragmentary condition of the texts, however, it is sometimes not completely clear whether there was one such figure or several, designated by varying names and titles.

In some texts, Michael is explicitly singled out, as in 1QM 17: 6–8, where the elect are assured that in the appointed time when 'the prince of the dominion of wickedness' is to be subdued, God will send 'everlasting aid to the lot of his covenant by the power of the majestic angel with the authority of Michael in everlasting light', and will 'exalt the authority of Michael over all the gods, and the dominion of Israel over all flesh'. 1QS 3: 17–26 describes how God created two spirits, 'the Angel of Darkness' exercising dominion over 'the sons of deceit', and 'the Prince of Lights' who holds dominion over 'all the sons of justice/righteousness', and the text promises that 'the God of Israel and the angel of his truth will assist all the sons of light'. Though not named, it is a reasonable inference that 'the Prince of Lights' and 'the angel of truth' are the same figure, and that in turn this angel given special authority and care over the elect is Michael (so also e.g. Hannah 1999: 65).

There are other references to Michael as well, but the very fragmentary texts in question make it difficult to be certain as to what precisely is said about him. Nevertheless, it is clear that Michael was a prominent figure in the religious outlook reflected in the Qumran scrolls. In 4Q470 Michael apparently mediates a covenant with a certain Zedekiah between God and 'the congregation' (of the elect). 4Q285 refers to a 'Prince of the congregation', who may be a human Messiah-figure, but the text also mentions Michael, although we cannot say confidently what role is ascribed to him here. The opening of 4Q529 (or 4QWords of Michael) refers to 'words of the book which Michael spoke to the angels', which appears to have been some sort of visionary text that promises God's merciful remembrance of creation. Clearly, Michael here has a prominent status, but, again, the incomplete nature of the text makes it difficult to be more specific.

Other texts mention a principal-angel figure but do not name him. 4Q491 (4QWar Scroll) refers to 'the chief [sar] of his angels' who will direct the eschatological battle against the forces of evil (line 3). In 4Q177 (4QCatena), we have another reference to God's 'Angel of Truth', who 'will help all the Sons of Light', delivering them from 'the hand of Belial' (lines 7–9). In the 'War Scroll' (1QM 13: 10–14), we have another reference to 'the Prince of Light' (previously noted in 1QS 3: 20), who seems to be a principal-angel figure assigned the role of leading the good angels in battle on behalf of the righteous against Belial and the spirits linked with him. Editors restore yet another reference to this 'Prince of Light' acting in the same capacity in line 2 of 4Q495, which is commonly taken as fragments of another copy of the War Scroll. Though the epithets vary, the similarities in functions make it a reasonable inference that these references all reflect the notion that God has a particular principal angel who acts as God's chief deputy in charge of God's angels and is authorized to lead them in the eschatological battle of the

forces of light and darkness.

(p. 554) In some other texts we have references to a 'Melchizedek' (whose name probably means 'my king of/is righteousness'), who seems to be a principal angel who likewise bears a grand status and is counterposed to Belial, very similarly to the figures designated by the other august epithets previously noted (Kobelski 1981; Hannah 1999: 70–4; but cf. Rainbow 1997). The most extensively preserved such text is in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), which interprets a number of biblical passages as referring to this figure, and portrays him in remarkable terms. According to this text, 'the sons of light' (who may be angels or humans) are paralleled to 'the men of the lot of Melchizedek' (2: 7–8), who are certainly the righteous human elect, both groups thus notably identified with reference to him. Still more remarkably, the text goes on to interpret the statement in Ps. 82: 1 that 'God [*Elohim*] will stand in the assembly of God [*EI*]' as referring to this Melchizedek's prominent role in eschatological judgement, leading the heavenly armies of God to victory over evil. Likewise, the text here interprets the statement in Ps. 7: 8–9 that 'God [*EI*] will judge the peoples' as referring to Melchizedek, who 'will carry out the vengeance of God's judgements' upon 'Belial and the spirits of his lot' (2: 10–13). Then, in 2: 24–5 yet again, the text claims that the statement 'your God [*Eloheyka*] reigns' (Isa. 52: 7) refers to Melchizedek, who is to free the elect from 'the hand of Belial'.

This Melchizedek figure may also be referred to in other Qumran texts, including 11Q17 2: 7 and 4Q401 fr. 11, line 3 and fr. 22, line 3 (these manuscripts are part of the extant remains of copies of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). Unfortunately, however, this is yet another instance where the terribly fragmentary state of these particular manuscripts makes it hard to be sure about what was originally claimed. But it seems plausible that Melchizedek may have been ascribed the sort of prominence in these texts that is incontestably attributed to him in 11QMelchizedek. Newsom (Charlesworth and Newsom 1999: 7) proposed that the reference to Melchizedek in 4Q401 fr. 11, line 3 alludes to Ps. 82: 1 and the interpretation of this verse that is explicit in 11QMelchizedek, where Melchizedek is the *Elohim* who exercises leadership over the heavenly council and leads in securing the eschatological redemption of the elect.

Many scholars conclude that Melchizedek was originally referred to explicitly in another incompletely preserved Qumran text known as the 'Visions/Testament of Amram' (preserved in fragments of several manuscripts, 4Q543–548). In 4Q544 Amram (Moses' father) dreams of two figures contending over him, one of them of 'dreadful appearance' and the other one with a more friendly face. Then, apparently, an angelic interpreter tells Amram that the fearful figure is named 'Melchiresha' (= 'king of evil') whose 'work is dark and in darkness' and who 'rules over all darkness'. It is widely thought that this Melchiresha is the same figure elsewhere called 'Belial', and that the figure against whom he is portrayed as contending in 4Q544 is Melchizedek, who is then described as having been made 'ruler over all the sons of light' (a restored reading in fragment 3).

(p. 555) In spite of the frustrating lacunae in these Qumran texts, it is still commonly accepted that they reflect a belief in a particular principal angel, who may be designated variously as the 'Angel of Truth', 'the Prince of Light(s)', and 'Melchizedek', and who is likely also the same angel identified as 'Michael'. Notwithstanding disagreements about some specifics (e.g. whether Michael and Melchizedek are the same figure), it seems clear that the Qumran texts reflect a belief in a principal-angel figure who will act in the eschatological situation as chief of God's angelic armies to execute God's judgement upon Belial and the forces of evil and to bring about the vindication and exaltation of God's elect. If the commonly accepted reading of 11QMelchizedek is correct, this principal-angel figure can even be portrayed as acting so closely as God's chief deputy that he can be called 'God' (*Elohim*), and Melchizedek's eschatological prominence can be regarded as the fulfilment of biblical passages celebrating God's supremacy.

That is, we may conclude that the Qumran texts in their own way reflect what seems to have been a view shared more widely in Second Temple Jewish tradition that God has a particular principal-agent figure, a heavenly vizier or viceroy of sorts, who has a status over all God's other heavenly courtiers and hosts. Also, as is often the case in other texts as well, in the Qumran references this figure is a high angel. Moreover, as we have seen, this figure can be so closely linked with God's rule and plans that the actions of this figure are the execution of God's own actions, God portrayed as acting in a remarkably direct manner through this figure. Indeed, as noted, in some cases this principal-angel is described as indwelt by God's name, and can be referred to as 'Elohim' (as rather clearly seems to be the case in 11QMelchizedek), the supremacy of this figure portrayed as achieving God's own supremacy and reign.

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The reference to the elect as 'men of the lot of Melchizedek' (11QMelchizedek 2: 8) is unusual and particularly noteworthy, identifying the elect specifically with reference to this figure. It is more typical in the other texts from Qumran for the elect to be identified as God's 'lot' (e.g. 1QS 2: 2; 1QM 1: 5; 13: 5; 15: 1; 17: 7; as noted by Hannah 1999: 71), who are contrasted with Belial's 'lot' (e.g. 1QM 13: 2, 4). This further illustrates how closely this particular principal-agent figure is associated with God's purposes, such that the elect are explicitly linked with him.

On the other hand, it is equally apparent that in all the texts that we have considered here none of these variously-titled figures is ever a rival to *Yahweh*, and none ever eclipses God; instead they are all consistently portrayed as serving God's purposes. So, for example, Michael will lead the angelic armies in triumph over Belial and the forces of darkness and will bring vindication of the elect, but this will simply be the means by which God's triumphant purposes are accomplished.

It must be emphasized that, whether Michael, or the 'Angel of Truth', or the 'Prince of Light(s)', or the mysterious 'Melchizedek', or the principal-angel figures mentioned in other texts, such as 'Yahoel', this sort of figure is always unquestionably the *agency* for God's own victory. Indeed, given the ancient imperial settings in (p. 556) which Second Temple Jewish religious thought was developed, it seems highly likely that this emphasis on such principal-agent figures was actually intended to avoid any impression that Belial or any other force was any real threat or competitor for God. Instead, God assigns this principal-agent figure to deal with, and dispatch effectively, Belial and all his host.

But the fully subordinate status and role of these figures is perhaps most clearly evident in the evidence of the expression of ancient Jewish religious devotion. For all the exalted descriptions of these various principal-agent figures, they are not themselves the objects of worship. As noted earlier, there are no Jewish sacrifices to them, no altars erected in their honour, neither at Qumran nor in other settings identified as Jewish, and prayers are rather consistently addressed to God. Michael or Raphael may be portrayed as specially involved in seeing that the prayers of God's elect come before God, and angels may be able to act as intercessors on behalf of humans (e.g. 1 Enoch 9: 3; 40: 6), but they are not themselves the ones to whom prayers are directed. Indeed, it is all the more striking that in the very same texts and circles in which the heavenly hosts are highlighted and principal-angel figures are given special attention the prayers of the righteous are addressed directly to God (e.g. 2 Bar. 48: 1–24; Tob. 13).

There is some indication that some Jews did engage in 'magical' practices that included the invocation of angels. But these sorts of actions are not represented in the texts that seem more directly indicative of the piety that was affirmed openly and corporately among Second Temple Jews. That is, it would appear that the direct invocation of angels (instead of God) was something done secretly and did not represent the piety socially approved and affirmed among devout Jews of the Second Temple period. In later texts of the rabbinic period we have warnings against undue reverence for angels such as Michael (Schäfer 1975: 67–72). Jews then and subsequently were not monolithic in their practices. Nevertheless, the impetus that drove the interest in principal angels that we have surveyed here did not arise from a weakened view of God's uniqueness or a diminished sense of God's accessibility to the devout.

In his own examination of principal-angel references in Second Temple Jewish texts, Carrell (1997: 53–76) reached the same conclusion. Contrary to contentions that figures such as Yahoel represent some sort of 'bifurcation' of God (e.g. Rowland 1982: 94–113; Fossum 1985), Carrell judged that these beings rather clearly remained angels, distinguished from and subordinate to God, and, most importantly, not the objects of worship.

Unquestionably, however, the interest in particular principal angels represents a notable development in ancient Jewish beliefs, and has received justifiable attention from scholars in recent decades. In particular, scholars concerned with the origins of Christological beliefs and wider devotion to Jesus in early Christianity have explored and debated the evidence of Jewish interest in principal angels and related phenomena, and to this discussion we turn in the final part of this study. (p. 557)

Origins of 'High' Christology

To reiterate a point made at the outset of this discussion, one of the key results of the recently renewed interest in the origins of devotion to Jesus and the exalted Christological claims that feature in early Christian writings is that

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these phenomena can be traced back to the earliest years of the young Christian movement and that they originated among circles of Jewish believers (e.g. Hurtado 1988: 93–124). This in turn means that crucially the initial and immediate context in which these influential developments occurred was the Jewish religious tradition of the first century CE. To be sure, the Jesus devotion that appeared so robustly and so soon after Jesus' crucifixion was not an inevitable development that can be paralleled in or accounted for simply on the basis of Jewish religious tradition of the time (much less on the basis of 'pagan' phenomena). But a number of scholars have explored how earliest Jewish believers might have found in their traditions expectations and also conceptual resources that they drew upon particularly to accommodate and articulate the exalted status of Jesus as a figure distinguishable from and yet also linked uniquely with God.

This was the main concern of Hurtado's 1988 monograph, which in turn helped to stimulate and shape a number of subsequent studies, including especially other analyses of the relevance of Jewish monotheism and the traditions about high angels. Hurtado contended that the various Christological claims reflected in the New Testament and other early Christian texts all essentially represent Jesus as God's 'chief/principal agent', and draw upon Jewish 'divine agency' traditions about this or that principal-agent figure. In ancient Jewish texts, God's principal agent is sometimes a biblical worthy such as Enoch or Moses, or God's personified Wisdom or Word, but perhaps more commonly this status is attributed to the sort of chief-angel figures surveyed earlier in this essay (Hurtado 1988: 93–9). Indeed, chief-angel figures may be particularly relevant, for, as in the case of the resurrected/exalted Jesus, they were represented as holding a heavenly status supreme over all God's other creatures, including other heavenly/divine beings.

Hurtado also concluded, however, that earliest Jesus-devotion represented a novel and very significant 'mutation' in Jewish monotheistic and 'divine agency' tradition, in that Jesus was included programmatically into early Christian devotional practice alongside God in an unprecedented and highly notable manner. In a subsequent essay (Hurtado 1999: 63–97), he laid out more fully this 'binitarian' shape of earliest Christian worship, in which Jesus was revered, not as a second deity, but as the unique agent and expression of the one God, as reflected in a constellation of devotional actions.

These devotional actions quickly became conventional in Christian circles and really have no true precedents or analogies in Jewish piety of the time in the treatment of any other principal-agent figure. They included the invocation of (p. 558) Jesus' name in the initiation rite (baptism), the ritual invocation of Jesus in the worship setting, the corporate ritual confession of Jesus' exalted status ('Jesus is Lord'), prayer either to God in Jesus' name or even directly to Jesus, the singing of hymns honouring him as a regular component of corporate worship, and the designation of the Christian corporate meal as a fellowship with the risen Jesus ('the Lord's Supper'). In short, Hurtado argued that earliest Jesus-devotion both drew upon and strikingly modified Jewish principal-agent traditions, and so represented both obvious continuity with, and a singular innovation in, Jewish religious tradition of the time.

A somewhat similar point about the significance of early worship of Jesus as a second figure alongside God had been made somewhat earlier by Bauckham (1981). In particular, Bauckham drew attention to passages in certain Second Temple Jewish texts in which a high angel appears to a human seer, who is so struck by the glory of the angel that he starts to worship him but, crucially, is then forbidden to do so by the angel (e.g. Tob. 12: 16–22; Apoc. Zeph. 6: 11–15). Bauckham then noted that we have this topos reflected also in two passages in Revelation (19: 10; 22: 8–9). This indicates that the author of Revelation affirmed this strong scruple that God alone was to be worshipped. Bauckham also emphasized how significant it is, thus, that Revelation pictures Jesus as receiving worship along with God (especially 5: 1–14). That is, the inclusion of Jesus as recipient of worship in this text which robustly affirms Jewish 'monotheistic' concerns must signal a singularly high view of Jesus' status.

Bauckham's astute observation about the topos of angelic refusal of worship in certain Jewish texts was followed up in Stuckenbruck's published doctoral thesis (1995), an important study in which he conducted a thorough survey of all references to the veneration of angels, and the limitations of it, in ancient Jewish texts, inscriptions, and magical material. Stuckenbruck noted that there was no evidence of a fixed 'cultic devotion' to angels, in the sense of angels being the recipients of corporate worship in the ways that God was in ancient Jewish settings. But he also contended that there were various uses of 'venerative language' with reference to angels: e.g. (1) occasional invocation of angels (but usually with God) for help, vengeance, or protection; (2) angels presented as exemplary worshippers of God (e.g. 4QShirShabb); and (3) expressions of thanksgiving (to God) for actions attributed to

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angels (Stuckenbruck 1995: 200–3).

Yet he judged that none of these various kinds of ‘angel veneration’ was conceived as a substitute for, or infringement on, the worship of the one God, noting that ‘most often the venerative language [for angels] is followed by an explanation which emphasizes the supremacy of God’ (Stuckenbruck 1995: 201). So he urged that this makes it misleading to link this ‘angel veneration’ in ancient Jewish religion with some alleged weakened sense of God's uniqueness (Stuckenbruck 1995: 202).

With regard to the question of the historical relationship of Jewish ‘angel veneration’ to the cultic devotion given to Jesus in early Christian circles, Stuckenbruck agreed with Hurtado that there was ‘a religio-historical discontinuity as to (p. 559) the kind and intensity of worship’ involved, but also ‘a certain traditio- and religio-historical continuity’ in the concern to accommodate venerative attitudes toward figures distinguished from God within a firm monotheistic stance. Granting that the kind and level of devotion given to Jesus in early Christian circles represented a significant development beyond the veneration given to principal angels in Jewish tradition, he nevertheless judged that the latter may have provided ‘a significant underlying model’ that allowed early Jewish Christians such as the author of Revelation to combine reverence for Jesus alongside a commitment to one God (Stuckenbruck 1995: 272–3). In a subsequent study (2004), Stuckenbruck returned to this subject, essentially registering the same conclusions.

Peter Carrell's 1997 monograph (noted briefly earlier) likewise focused on the possible relationship of Jewish interest in angels and the Christology of Revelation, his study prompted in part by Rowland's proposal that the portrayal of the risen Jesus in Rev. 1: 13–16 was shaped by Jewish angel-traditions (Rowland 1980), and Fossum's somewhat similar contention that in ancient Jewish tradition the divine name and ‘angel of the Lord’ represented a real divine duality. Carrell concluded, however, that these proposals were not sustained by the evidence, noting in particular that angel-figures such as ‘Yahoel’ remain distinctly angels and are not recipients of worship. So, although a principal angel could even be portrayed as a ‘(junior) partner to God’, there is no pattern of angel worship (1997: 73–5).

In a study that originated as a PhD thesis supervised by Fossum, Charles Gieschen (1998) sought to make a maximal case for the import and influence of Jewish principal-angel traditions on early beliefs about Jesus. Gieschen's study is useful in bringing together such a wide variety of texts, including many Christian texts of the first few centuries, but he has rightly been criticised for his handling of some evidence, and a somewhat over-simplified synthesis. It is, for example, not clear that Samaritan texts of the fourth century CE and later can so easily be used as evidence of first-century Samaritan religion (cf. Gieschen 1998: 303–6), or that Poimandres and the Pseudo-Clementine literature can be used to describe the tradition-historical background of Philippians 2: 6–11 (Gieschen 1998: 337–9).

Though focused on the question of early Christological appropriation of traditions about Michael, Darrell Hannah's published Cambridge thesis (Hannah 1999) takes account of wider angel-traditions in Second Temple Judaism. Hannah offers a sophisticated analysis and argues for careful and cogent conclusions. He proposes at least three distinguishable types of ‘angelic Christology’ in early Christian texts: (1) a view of OT theophanic figures such as the ‘Angel of the Lord’ as the pre-incarnate Christ, reflected in writers such as Justin Martyr, Theophilus, and Irenaeus; (2) a genuine ‘angel Christology’ in which the pre-incarnate Christ was seen as ontologically an angel, as seems to have been the view of the Elchasaites and some Valentinian Christians, and perhaps some ‘Ebionites’; and (3) an appropriation and transformation of principal-angel traditions as reflected in a number of NT texts including Revelation, Hebrews, and perhaps passages such as Phil. 2: 6–11 (p. 560) and John 17 (Hannah 1999: 214–17). But Hannah concluded that angel traditions were only one of several influences shaping earliest beliefs about Jesus (p. 220).

Crispin Fletcher-Louis (1997) controversially contended that in ancient Jewish tradition certain human figures are sometimes portrayed as genuinely divinized (e.g. the high priest in the Jerusalem Temple and the Judaeen king), and that the line between humans and angels was very fluid. Indeed, Fletcher-Louis claimed that the Jewish high priest was actually worshipped as the ‘manifestation of the one Jewish God’ (p. 125). On this basis, Fletcher-Louis argued that the worship of Jesus can be explained readily. Early Jewish Christians saw the resurrected Jesus essentially as having been transformed into an angelic being, who as messianic king and heavenly high priest was seen as the rightful recipient of worship. Fletcher-Louis' analysis of ancient Jewish texts has come under criticism,

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however, and his conclusions have not won wide support. In particular, Fletcher-Louis' claim that the Jewish high priest was worshipped as a manifestation of God seems to most scholars to be unfounded.

Kevin Sullivan's 2004 monograph canvassed impressively the relationship between humans and angels in ancient Jewish texts and the NT, part of his purpose being to test Fletcher-Louis' contentions about the supposed fluidity between human and angelic beings. Sullivan granted a few ambiguous cases in which humans may be portrayed as transformed into angelic beings (e.g. Jacob/Israel in the Prayer of Joseph, an apparently Jewish text quoted by Origen). But Sullivan concluded that, although in ancient Jewish texts angels and humans interact in various ways, 'the evidence does not support the idea that there was in the first century a coherent angelomorphic humanity concept that in turn could have been a building block for early Christology' (Sullivan 2004: 232). Nevertheless, he also contended that Jewish angel traditions did provide earliest Christians with conceptual resources for understanding how Jesus could be understood as 'a superhuman or heavenly being' (Sullivan 2004: 234).

In this body of scholarly studies there remain some differences of emphasis, and one or two more significant disagreements. Of these, perhaps the most significant is whether, as alleged by Fletcher-Louis and a few others, the idea of a human figure bearing angelic or even divine status was a part of ancient Jewish tradition, making the divine significance attached to Jesus in early Christianity simply another expression of this. As indicated already, this view has not found wide favour, and is very much a minority opinion.

There is broad agreement also that ancient Jewish speculation about principal angels does not account for the appearance of early Christological claims. That is, angel speculation did not generate Christology. Instead, the impetus of earliest Christological claims lies in the formative experiences of early believers, especially experiences which they understood as encounters with, and visions of, the risen and glorified Jesus. Nor does ancient principal-agent speculation provide a full analogy or precedent for the rich Christological claims reflected in the NT. Instead, (p. 561) we should think of Jewish traditions about principal agents, among which principal angels feature significantly, as among the conceptual resources drawn upon, and appropriated by, early Christians as they sought to articulate the significance and status of the risen and exalted Jesus.

The evidence of ancient Jewish interest in various principal-agent figures is useful in that it helps inform our picture of the religious and conceptual context in which earliest devotion to Jesus emerged. Early Jesus-devotion is not a simple case of borrowing, however. There is, for example, no indication of any direct connection of earliest Christians with Qumran. But the Qumran material is valuable nevertheless in showing the lively and diverse nature of Second Temple Jewish tradition, and more specifically in illustrating the sort of concepts and terminology available to earliest Jewish believers.

It is also important to note developments and differences as much as connections and similarities. Any living religious tradition develops and so changes, and new religious movements within a tradition typically adapt and re-configure (sometimes in striking ways) ideas drawn from the parent tradition. In the case of earliest Christianity, there are rather widely noted developments, or what Hurtado has described as 'mutations', that reflect the Jewish matrix in which Christian faith first appeared, and that also represent significant and distinguishing features that mark off early Christian faith as an identifiable new religious movement.

Another of the notable features of early Christology is the combination of various honorific categories used in portraying Jesus' status and significance. Among the earliest Christological claims is Jesus' messianic status, Jewish hopes/expectations of Messiah figures drawn upon in framing this claim. But Jewish messianic ideas were also distinctively modified in the early Christian conviction that Jesus' crucifixion was a core part of his divinely-ordained messianic work (e.g. 1 Cor. 15: 1–8).

In addition it is clear that a wide variety of other honorific categories were drawn upon, particularly 'principal agent' ideas, which included speculations about particular high angels given unique status above all God's other retinue. So, for example, Jesus is portrayed as Messiah who brings eschatological redemption (e.g. Acts 2: 36), but also as the unique agent through whom God created the world (e.g. 1 Cor. 8: 4–6; John 1: 1–5), the very image (*eikon*) of God who bears and reflects God's own glory (e.g. 2 Cor. 4: 4–6; Heb. 1: 1–4), the Michael-like commander/leader of the angelic army who will lead in the final battle against evil (e.g. Rev. 19: 11–16), and the one exalted to share the divine name and receive universal acclamation (Phil. 2: 9–11). In short, early Christians seem to have drawn upon a wide array of traditions, attributing to Jesus multiple honorific categories to an extent that seems without real precedent or parallel.

But, to underscore a point registered already, the most striking innovation in early Jesus-devotion was the programmatic incorporation of Jesus as recipient of (p. 562) formal, cultic devotion. The Christological rhetoric of earliest Christianity rather consistently can be seen as the appropriation of Jewish/biblical 'principal agent' traditions, Jesus portrayed as God's unique agent of creation and redemption. But, unlike what seems to have been the case with other principal-agent figures, Jesus was accorded the sort of corporate devotion that was otherwise typically reserved for God alone in devout Jewish circles of the time. In this, too, neither Qumran nor other evidence from Second Temple Jewish tradition gives us an analogy or precedent.

So, it appears that their inclusion of Jesus as co-recipient of worship with God amounts to a new 'binitarian' devotional pattern. Perhaps we come closest to something analogous in the Similitudes (or Parables) of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71), where in predictive/visionary scenes 'the Elect One' (often referred to as a 'Son of Man' figure) is to sit upon a glorious throne in eschatological triumph (45: 3; 51: 3; 61: 8; 62: 2) and receive the submission and acclamation of all who live on the earth (48: 5; 62: 3–9). But even here we do not have a true analogy. These scenes in 1 Enoch may well be roughly comparable with the sort of future universal acclamation of Jesus held out in Phil. 2: 9–11. But we have nothing comparable to the incorporation of the exalted Jesus as co-recipient of devotion by the gathered circles of believers, which seems to have been characteristic of early Christian groups, both Jewish and gentile. That is, their regular cultic reverence of Jesus was a novel and unprecedented development in the context of typical Second Temple Jewish devotional practice.

In summary, in Second Temple Jewish tradition a firm commitment to the uniqueness of the one God, expressed both in religious rhetoric and in cultic practice clearly sat easily with beliefs about powerful and exalted adjutant figures, among which principal angels were prominent, sometimes portrayed as uniquely deputized to act in God's name as God's chief agent. In its earliest expressions, Jesus-devotion was a distinctive example of this, albeit novel in ways noted and, of course, particularly noteworthy in terms of its historical impact, the risen/exalted Jesus portrayed as God's uniquely glorious agent of creation and redemption. The Qumran texts have added enormously to our store of evidence concerning Second Temple Judaism, and help us thereby to reconstruct the religious context of earliest circles of the Christian movement.

Suggested Reading

For further discussion of 'monotheism' in Second Temple Judaism, see Hurtado (1998). On the roles of various principal angels and other heavenly figures and the likely relevance for early Christian beliefs about Jesus, see Hurtado (1988), Collins (2000), and Sullivan (2004). (p. 563)

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

This article describes and discusses some aspects of biblical interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, aspects that in some way seem to suggest common concerns, whether in terms of content, of form, or of method. It looks at the topic of exegetical traditions that are shared between the compositions preserved in the scrolls found in the eleven caves at and near Qumran and those to be found in the books of the New Testament. Amongst the key issues that need to be kept in mind are: the variety of the witnesses to the Jewish scriptures in the late Second Temple period, whether in Hebrew or in Greek; the rich variety of types of exegesis that extend far beyond eschatologically motivated prophetic fulfilment in both sets of literature; and the range of exegetical methods in both corpora.

Keywords: Qumran scrolls, New Testament, Dead Sea Scrolls, exegetical traditions, Jewish scriptures, Second Temple period

Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses some aspects of biblical interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, aspects that in some way seem to suggest common concerns, whether in terms of content, of form, or of method. There has been a long interest in such comparisons: ‘it would be difficult to find a more ideal set of documents to illustrate the New Testament use of the Old Testament than the Qumran scrolls, in which we see how contemporary Jews made use of their Scriptures’ (Fitzmyer 1960–61: 298; 1971: 4). Before embarking upon such a comparative exercise, some words are in order to describe the two literary corpora, so that it is fully appreciated that the comparison is not exactly like for like. Furthermore, readers need to remind themselves that this essay is not about the (p. 566) broader issues of the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament (see e.g. Puech 1997; Brooke 2005), whether in terms of how that relationship might illuminate specific aspects of early Christian theology, such as eschatology or messianism, or early Christian organization and practice, such as baptism or self-description as the Way (cf. 1QS 4: 22; 8: 10, 18, 21; Acts 9: 2; 24: 14, 22; Bauckham 2003), even though directly or indirectly such matters may be informed by scriptural beliefs, practices, or idioms.

Between 900 and 1,000 scrolls have been recovered from the eleven caves at and near Qumran. It is widely agreed that these scrolls were most probably deposited in the caves before the Romans overran the Qumran settlement in 68 CE. Some of the caves, such as Cave 4, could have been in use as working depositories well before then, perhaps during most of the period of the occupation of the Qumran site; even some of the caves in which there were sealed jars containing manuscripts, such as Cave 1, might have received their deposits some decades before the Roman onslaught. Whatever the case concerning the dates of deposit, most of the scrolls were penned before the turn of the era, some probably at Qumran, but the majority elsewhere, being brought to Qumran possibly by those who were attached to the group there or by visitors. It is indeed possible that somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent of the manuscripts, mostly in Hebrew and Aramaic with a few in Greek, were penned in

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the late first century BCE or in the first half of the first century CE (Webster 2002: 374–5), making them more or less contemporary with John the Baptist, Jesus, and the first generation of Christians. But such contemporaneity does not take into account the likely dates of composition of the texts that are included on such first-century manuscripts, more than forty of which are in any case simply copies of parts of the Jewish scriptures.

The earliest books of the New Testament belong to the period of the activity of Paul from the very late 40s onwards. Some others, such as the Epistle of Jude, are also likely to predate the fall of the Temple in 70 CE. The Gospels (with the possible exception of Mark), the Acts of the Apostles, and the Book of Revelation, together with some of the smaller Deutero-Pauline and Catholic letters whose authorship is disputed, most likely belong to the period after the fall of the Temple. Nevertheless it is likely that nearly all of the New Testament documents reflect some earlier Palestinian Jewish-Christian traditions, directly or indirectly, whether as source materials of teachings going back to the first decade after the death of Jesus, or as recollections of early narratives or hymns. Thus, although the vast majority of the New Testament was written originally in Greek, outside Palestine, in environments where Jews were minorities and nascent Christians few and far between, the dependence of these writings on earlier traditions from Jewish Palestine is widely recognized.

The subject of this chapter is a comparative consideration of some of the exegetical traditions in some sense shared by these two literary corpora. At one level this would seem straightforward enough. Even acknowledging that the two (p. 567) bodies of texts only partially overlap in time, only indirectly overlap in place, and barely overlap in language, the Jewish roots of much of the New Testament are not questioned. In the light of the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls the character of that Judaism is now understood to be far more diverse than was previously thought. Furthermore, the crude differentiations by some scholars of previous generations between Palestinian and non-Palestinian Judaism have dissolved as the penetration of Hellenism into all levels of society throughout the eastern Mediterranean has become increasingly apparent. Moreover, since the release of all the previously unpublished fragmentary Cave 4 and Cave 11 manuscripts in 1991, much greater place has been given to the way the non-sectarian and pre-sectarian compositions found in the Qumran collection inform the modern reconstruction of early Judaism, including that involving the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part. The contexts where interpretation might have taken place can also be reconstructed in a similar way: the members of the Qumran community or the wider movement of which it was a part on the one hand and the small Christian enclaves on the other might share their understandings of their authoritative scriptures in small study sessions or during times of prayer and worship. Thus there is a prima facie case for comparing the various features of these two bodies of literature in the expectation of discovering several similarities and items of mutual illumination, whether this concerns exegetical traditions or other features of Jewish belief and practice.

However, for all that there is a natural predisposition towards highlighting the similarities, there are also several complicating factors that need to be borne in mind. Recollection of one or more of these will often explain why more cannot be said when individual cases of exegetical similarities are being described and assessed. The first major part of this essay outlines some of these issues. In the second part three examples of shared exegetical traditions will be discussed in more detail.

Key Issues

The Character of the Textual Authorities

A variety of forms of authoritative scriptural texts was obviously known in antiquity. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls this variety was most obvious in the evidence of the versions, the translations of the Jewish scriptures into Greek, Aramaic, Latin, Syriac, and other languages. One of the most important contributions of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the understanding of Judaism in antiquity has come from the so-called 'biblical' manuscripts. About 200 of the manuscripts from the Qumran caves are copies of those writings that were later to (p. 568) be included in Jewish and Christian Bibles. While these manuscripts have confirmed the view that the medieval Jewish scribes preserved the Hebrew (and Aramaic) text of the biblical books with remarkable faithfulness, nevertheless it has become apparent that what they preserved so carefully was for most books of the Bible but one emergent form of the text.

The evidence from Qumran shows that for most books of the Bible in the Second Temple period there was a

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complicated history of transmission that often involved the production of more than one edition. Although it is possible that not all these editions were contemporaneously of similar authority, it is also unlikely that at any one time before 70 CE there was only ever a single authoritative version of a scriptural book recognized by all Jews. As far as each scriptural book or collection of books is concerned, no one copy that has survived from the Qumran caves is entirely identical to another. Whereas in a previous generation, scholarship might attribute this to poor copying habits amongst scribes, it is now acknowledged that it is more likely that before the form of the text was largely fixed in an agreed way by those who dominated the Judaism of the post-70 period, Jewish scribes considered themselves as part of the ongoing transmission of a developing text. Each new copy was an opportunity for the incorporation of adjustments, usually of a minor sort, but sometimes of a much more significant kind.

It has been widely acknowledged that the Qumran covenanters and the authors of the New Testament shared much by way of a 'canon within the canon' (Brooke 1997). For both groups, priority was given to Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, the Twelve, and the Psalms (see Moyise and Menken 2004, 2005, 2007). There were probably some changes over time. For the New Testament such changes have been intriguingly described as follows:

It is very meaningful to observe the proportion of the most-quoted OT books in the NT. The first two are Psalms and Isaiah, but the third one changes as Christian literature takes shape: In the quotations in Jesus' mouth, it is the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets; in the total of NT quotes, it is Deuteronomy, whereas in Paul and the second-century Fathers, it is already Genesis (Trebolle Barrera 2007: 595)

It has also been suggested that these changing preferences amongst a particular subset of authoritative writings were not merely a matter of some kind of theological predilections. Rather those five books, with the possible exception of the Psalms, belong to a group of texts whose textual diversity can be described in terms of previously known textual types, whose variation from one another is significant but relatively minor. Other scriptural books, notably those belonging to the latter prophets (Joshua–2 Kings) together with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, reflect much greater textual variety, often with major differences in size or order (Trebolle Barrera 2000: 95–8). With some exceptions, such as the use of parts of Ezekiel 1 and 10 in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Book of Revelation 4–5 (Brooke 1992: 332–6; Alexander 2006: 140–1; Ulfsgard 2009: 257–64), it is just those books, (p. 569) together with the bulk of the Writings, that are not used much either in the sectarian literature from the Qumran caves or in the New Testament.

However, even though a distinction can be made between these two groups of scriptural books, the textual variety even in the group involving Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, the Twelve, and the Psalms should not be underestimated. It is also possible that collections of books, such as those of the Twelve Minor Prophets, were also extant in more than one form, as the existence of the order of the books (Malachi then Jonah) in 4QXII^a seems to attest (see Brooke 2006). Furthermore, in addition to the variety amongst copies of the same scriptural book or groups of books, it is now likely that there were also several secondary forms of the major collections of the Pentateuch and the Psalms, such as the Temple Scroll, forms that were authoritative for the groups that created and used them. This new data has caused widespread reconsideration of the character of what has become known as rewritten Bible. Although several scholars wish to restrict this term to being a genre label referring to the kinds of rewriting activity to be observed in compositions such as the Genesis Apocryphon, the book of Jubilees, Josephus' Antiquities, or Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, others are more inclined to view the phenomenon in a more open-ended way, as an exegetical strategy. The implication of this is that it is likely that in different places or at different times, or both, there was pluralism in the way the authoritative texts were presented. That pluralism ranged from those manuscripts containing minor variations from what might have been supposed to be an earlier form of the text to full-blown rewriting activity, some of which, such as the Books of Chronicles or the book of Jubilees, subsequently became fully authoritative, even canonical, for some groups.

These complexities in the transmission of authoritative Jewish texts before the fall of the Temple in 70 CE are significant for how scholars describe and evaluate textual variants. Whereas, even for the first generation of scholars handling the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the question might be put as to whether an interpreter had introduced a variant into a cited text in order to make the citation concur with the interpretation, now it is realized that this is a misconstrual of how the texts of scripture were transmitted. The assumption that interpretative variants belong exclusively to the process of interpretation and are secondarily introduced into what might

otherwise be deemed to be a stable or fixed text now seems inadequate. Although all scribes can indeed introduce mistakes into the copies of the text that they are making, all pre-70 CE scribes should be understood not as mere copyists but as in some way co-authors of the texts they copy out. The minor changes that they introduce for clarificatory purposes or the major rewriting that some scribes engage in are all severally part of the transmission process of the scriptural text.

How does this effect what becomes apparent in the comparison of the handling of scripture in the scrolls and in the New Testament? First, the New Testament authors are generally quoting or referring to the Jewish Greek scriptures. In the (p. 570) light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other manuscripts like Papyrus Fouad 266, it is now clear not only that the books of the Hebrew scriptures often existed in variant forms but also that the Greek Bibles known to us from the great uncial manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries CE do not preserve the only form of the Greek text that was available in the first century. Thus, in identifying the precise source of any Greek scriptural citation in the New Testament, it has to be recognized that the New Testament text could be reflecting an element of the textual variety either of the Hebrew or of the Greek sources of the late Second Temple period. Furthermore, the kind of creative adaptation of some parts of the citation which are evident in many places in the New Testament might be best understood as yet another set of examples as to how the authoritative text was being transmitted, rather than as deliberate secondary manipulation of an earlier authoritative form of the text for some contemporary theological or ideological point of view.

Let us also mention briefly some examples of how the variety of forms of the scriptural text in its New Testament uses is illuminated by the scrolls.

(1) The citations of the text of Amos 9: 11 in 4Q174 4: 12 and Acts 15: 16 share certain minor but distinctive features over against both the MT and the LXX (Waard 1965: 24–6). Despite Acts and 4Q174 sharing a common messianic concern, Greek Acts does not depend on knowledge of the Hebrew text of 4Q174; rather, both merely reflect a common text tradition of Amos that differed both from the MT and from the *Vorlage* of LXX Amos.

(2) The exegetical argument of Gal. 3: 10–14, in which curse is turned into blessing, depends upon the use of Deut. 21: 23, in which the one who is hung on a tree is cursed. After an introductory formula, the precise form of the quotation in Gal. 3: 13 is *epikataratos pas ho kremamenos epi xulou*; in the LXX *kekatēramenos hupo theou pas kremamenos epi xulou*. The variations in the initial word of the citation and the absence from Galatians of *hupo theou* appear to be the result of a catchword assimilation by Paul of his text to Deut. 27: 26 (*epikataratos pas*) which he has used earlier in Gal. 3: 10 (Watson 2004: 422; Ciampa 2007: 103–4). However, apart from Paul's minor adjustment of the citation, the more important point is that in Deuteronomy, both in the MT and the LXX, the hanging on a tree happens after the offender has been executed by some other means; it is not the method of execution as it is for Jesus. Anybody engaging with Paul's argument in the light of MT or LXX Deuteronomy could readily point out the flaw in his logic. But, the Temple Scroll (64: 8, 10–11) intriguingly reflects a reading of Deut. 21: 23 that has the sequence of actions the other way round, making the hanging on the tree the means of execution. While the variant in the Temple Scroll might have been introduced to reflect the practices of some Jews in relation to capital offences, to several scholars it now seems very likely that Paul knew of this textual tradition (e.g. Wilcox 1977: 99; Fitzmyer 1978: 509–10; Betz 1979: 151–2; Lim 1997: 165–7) and that he then (p. 571) exploited it in his argument. The same argument, probably based on a similar reading of Deuteronomy 21, appears in Acts 5: 30 and 10: 39.

(3) More broadly put, the scrolls have shown that several of the textual traditions of scriptural books attested in Syriac need to be reconsidered. Frequently they seem to reflect early Jewish material from Palestine. For the scrolls this is most obvious at the level of the macro-variants in the Psalms Scroll (11Q5 28: 3–14; 18: 1–16; 24: 3–17; Sanders 1965: 53–76). In an apparently authoritative version of the Psalter (or part of it) from Qumran cave 11, three of the five Syriac psalms known in the *Book of Discipline* by the tenth-century Nestorian bishop Elijah of al-Anbar, in a Nestorian twelfth-century manuscript of the Psalter, and elsewhere, occur in a Hebrew form. For the New Testament the significance of the Peshitta has long been recognized, for example, in relation to the text-form of the so-called fulfilment quotations in Matthew 1–2 (Stendahl 1954: 98–112). It is now widely agreed that in general Matthew, in common with his sources where he uses them, followed some form of the LXX remarkably faithfully, but that the text-forms of the fulfilment quotations in his infancy narrative sit awkwardly with such a general observation. There are several possible explanations for the differences, such as that they are derived from one or more sources with a particular textual character, or

that Matthew himself intervened with some form of received text for his own theological purposes, or even made the translations from Hebrew himself. Stendahl's textual analysis, making use of the full range of versions, including the *targumim* and the Peshitta, showed that they were likely to be the reflection of earlier Palestinian readings.

Types of Exegesis

Pesher Habakkuk was amongst the first of the Cave 1 scrolls to be published. Somewhat unfortunately, the form and content of its running commentary has come to characterize sectarian exegesis for modern scholars, as is indicated by the publication in a series of introductions of two related volumes, one dedicated to exegetical texts and another devoted solely to the *pesharim* (Lim 2002), or by the treatment of such texts alone in relation to the use of scripture in the New Testament (e.g. Skarsaune 2000: 663–4). The section-by-section quotation of the unfulfilled prophetic text and its interpretation in relation to the contemporary circumstances of the interpreter has become the excuse for the widespread use of the terms 'pesher', 'pesherite', or 'pesheresque' to describe all kinds of such interpretation in antiquity, including the New Testament. While this may be appropriate in some circumstances, it often does not give sufficient weight to the differences between the materials nor does it allow room for the truly wide range of types of scriptural interpretation that are to be found in both the scrolls and the New (p. 572) Testament. Before returning to make some specific observations about *pesher* and the New Testament, something of the range of exegetical activity in the scrolls and the New Testament will be outlined.

Legal Interpretation of Scripture

It is apparent that there are broadly speaking at least five types of scriptural interpretation to be found in the scrolls and that each of these has various counterparts in the New Testament, if not exact parallels (Brooke 2000). To begin with, since the publication of the Temple Scroll in 1977 and other halakhic compositions since 1991, the range of legal interpretation in the scrolls has become self-evident. This has caused a significant reconsideration of the overall exegetical character of the collection from the Qumran caves. A major feature of these halakhic materials is the way that two or more scriptural passages are combined to create innovative interpretations of the tradition that permit the application of scriptural authority to new situations. This has encouraged, for example, a fresh investigation of the rules contained in the Rule of the Community, in which it is possible to discern a scriptural basis, often the combination of scriptural passages, for what is being presented for community use (Shemesh 2008).

In the New Testament, one can set some features of the halakhic debates in the Gospels against a background that is illuminated by sectarian legal interpretations, such as for the Sabbath (combining Deut. 5: 12 with Isa. 58: 13–14 as in CD 10: 14–11: 18; cf. Doering 1999) or in relation to marriage and divorce (combining Gen. 1: 27 and 7: 9 with Deut. 17: 17 as in CD 4: 19–5: 11; cf. Instone-Brewer 2002: 61–72, 141–50), or concerning matters of purity (cf. Kazen 2002). For the Sabbath, Jesus is generally portrayed as engaged in understanding how it should be observed in ways that stress its significance for immediately enhancing life, whereas sectarian texts from the Qumran library are more concerned to emphasize similar enhancement through the opportunities it provides for obedient observance. For divorce, both the sectarian compositions and Jesus seem to take a similar strict stance, based on the same scriptural texts (Gen. 1: 27; 7:9), though the Gospel traditions variously give nuance to what is associated with Jesus (Mark 10: 2–12; Matt. 9: 3–12).

The ordering of communal life can also be a matter of halakhic exegesis. In Matthew 18 there is a section on discipline in the community. Similar passages in the Qumran scrolls have drawn the attention of scholars (García Martínez 1995). The point to note is that although there is a parallel passage in Luke 17: 1–4, in Matthew the discipline is clearly based on an understanding of Lev. 19: 17 combined with Deut. 19: 15 and developed independently in the light of those scriptural texts as a general rule of juridical process. The similar process outlined in CD 9: 2–8 is explicitly based on Lev. 19: 16–18 and it is not unlikely that in fact Matthew has replaced what he received from Q with a small section more closely modelled on practices in Palestinian Jewish groups in which various scriptures were applied in (p. 573) particular ways. Indeed, the persistence of the use of Leviticus 19 in Jewish and early Christian contexts has often been pointed out (e.g. Kloppenborg 2005: 199–203; Ruzer 2007: 35–70). Thus Matthew's use of scripture may have been mediated to him through such Jewish community rulings rather than being taken from scripture *simpliciter* (Stanton 1992: 23–42). Furthermore, the strength of his interest in anchoring matters in scriptural antecedents has long been recognized as marking him out from the other

Gospel writers.

Narrative Retellings

A second type of interpretation is to be observed in the narrative retellings of earlier scriptural stories. The purpose of such retellings is sometimes directed at elucidating problems in the plain sense of the original, but it can also be more explicitly didactic or entertaining. For the scrolls, the most frequently cited example of such narrative retelling is the re-presentation of various sections of Genesis, especially those concerning Noah and Abraham, in the non-sectarian so-called Genesis Apocryphon. This Aramaic text follows the sequence of the narratives in Genesis but it both omits some matters and sometimes supplements the narrative in various ways, some of which explain why the characters in the story behave the way they do and some of which may reflect a particular ideological perspective, since some additional details are also found in the quasi-sectarian book of Jubilees.

Although no such extensive retelling of scripture appears in the New Testament in quite the same fashion, in two respects there is some similar narrative interpretation. To begin with it is apparent that there are some summary presentations of the story of Israel (e.g. Rom. 9). One of these occurs in Stephen's speech in Acts 7, which runs over matters from Abraham to Solomon and includes some explicit quotations of scripture as it proceeds; some of its details, such as that Joseph had seventy-five relatives (Acts 7: 14) depend upon the LXX (Gen. 46: 27; Exod. 1: 5), rather than the MT, though 'seventy-five' is now also attested in the Hebrew of 4QExod^b (Exod. 1: 5). The purpose of such retellings of scripture is commonly to place the author's Christian audience at the end of the story as the true heirs of the scriptural promises in the divinely ordained historical trajectory—to provide the narrative markers of a new spiritual identity.

In addition to such summary narrative representations, there are some instances where the scriptural narratives are treated in a more episodic fashion and in a typological manner. In the scrolls, for example, the episodic use of narrative elements in relation to the life and times of Jeremiah as a feature in the Jeremiah Apocryphon serves some typological purpose as readers or hearers may have variously appropriated for themselves the significance of Jeremiah and his message as a role model (cf. Jer. 1: 5, 10; 23; 18: 1–12 in 1QH^a 7: 21–39; and Jer. 1: 5 in Gal. 1: 15). Several examples of such narrative interpretation in the New Testament could be cited, but amongst the most notable is the typological use of the Elijah and Elisha (p. 574) narratives in the Gospel of Luke (Drury 1976: 66–75; Brodie 2004: 290–446) to depict and explain some features of the prophetic ministry of Jesus. Sometimes merely a single motif, such as a 'well' (Num. 21: 16–18; CD 6: 3–4; John 4; Aageson 2006: 163–8) or a 'rock' can conjure up a whole scriptural narrative.

Exhortation

Third, there is the exhortatory or paraenetic use of scripture (VanderKam 2006). In some respects this can have overlaps with narrative interpretation since many exhortatory uses are recollections of stories for exemplary purposes. For example, the roll call of heroes and heroines of faith in the letter to the Hebrews (Heb. 11: 4–38), which runs from Abel to Samuel, is a list of positive examples to encourage similar diverse but positive attitudes in the writer's audience. The scriptural examples cited in Hebrews function in a didactic fashion. A similar admonitory didactic narrative sequence occurs in CD 2: 14–3: 12, a paraenetic pattern which runs from the Watchers to Israel at Sinai and includes both negative and positive examples of behaviour. Or again, the idea of being reckoned as righteous (Gen. 15: 6) is an exhortatory motif common to the sectarian *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* (4Q398 frs. 14–17 2: 7) and, with the figure of Abraham even more explicit, to the letters of Paul (Rom. 4: 3; Gal. 3: 6).

A closer pair of paraenetic parallels between the scrolls and the New Testament can be observed in the ways in which in both sets of writings the flood and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah are used as parts of exhortations. In the scrolls this is apparent in several compositions, especially in the recollection of the destructive power of the flood in the non-sectarian so-called Admonition Based on the Flood (4Q370): the opening words of the principal extant fragment resonate with the phraseology of Deut. 8: 7–10 and Neh. 9: 25–7, which shows that 4Q370 is addressed to people who have occupied the land after the generation of the flood, and yet the recollection of the destruction brought on the wicked by the flood is used to good effect to warn the reader or listener against behaving like the last generation before the flood which followed the 'thoughts of the evil inclination of their heart'. A not entirely dissimilar exhortatory use of the flood account is to be found in Jesus' teaching according to Matt 24: 36–44 and Luke 17: 22–37: 'Keep awake therefore, for you do not know on what day your

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Lord is coming'. In the same passage of Luke there is a recollection of an exhortatory warning of Jesus concerning Lot and the destruction of Sodom; a paraenetic use of the Sodom and Gomorrah narratives is apparently also to be found in the sectarian Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252 3: 2) and in a fragmentary *peshet* (4Q172 fr. 4, line 3).

Poetic Use

Fourth, there is the poetic use of scripture. In this broadly conceived category, there is appeal to scriptural passages by way of anthology, putting choice passages (p. 575) together usually without any explicit citation. This category thus includes all kinds of poetry proper, notably liturgical poetry, but also many forms of wisdom instruction that implicitly use scriptural motifs, even including various aphorisms and parables. Readers or hearers are left to pick up the allusions to make of them what they will. Although there is a large amount of non-sectarian poetry, especially of a liturgical kind, amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, perhaps the best example of this kind of anthological use of scripture is to be found in the collection of poems known as the Hodayot, some of which quite possibly were compiled by the Teacher of Righteousness who had a significant role in the formation of the community, part of which eventually took up residence at Qumran. Because of that, one of the major purposes of the Hodayot has been recognized as to do with community formation and identity.

In the New Testament there are several obvious poetic passages. Most of these are pastiches of scriptural phrases and allusions. They serve various purposes, but predominantly they seem to align the early Christian communities, through the activity of God made visible in the life, death, and afterlife of Jesus, with the story of Israel or with the divine meta-narrative as constructed by the prophets in terms of promise and judgement, or as imagined by the Torah as a whole in terms of blessing and curse. One or two more specific examples can be mentioned. In the Magnificat (Luke 1: 46–55), motifs from the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2: 1–10) provide both the structure and much of the content of the poem. Within the poem, however, are allusions to several other psalms and prophetic passages, notably the use of Ps. 89: 11 in Luke 1: 51; intriguingly the same psalm occurs in a non-sectarian scroll (4Q236) in a form that shows it was variously read and used in antiquity.

In the Benedictus (Luke 1: 68–79) there is a similar mingling of scriptural allusions. For example, phrases from Ps. 106: 10 and 45 are combined with similar idioms from Ps 105: 8 and Lev. 26: 42: 'That we would be saved from our enemies and from the hand of all who hate (Ps. 106: 10) us. Thus he has shown the mercy (Ps. 106: 45b) promised to our ancestors, and has remembered his holy covenant (Lev. 26:42; Ps. 105: 8; 106: 45a)'. These same scriptural verses resonate through several sections of the sectarian Damascus Document, especially CD 1: 4–5: 'But when he remembered the covenant with the forefathers, he saved a remnant for Israel'. This section of the Damascus Document is a piece of admonitory poetic rhetoric. This parallel poses the question whether the Lukan rewriting belongs to a tradition of scriptural interpretation that shared some social history with those responsible for putting the Damascus Document together. The poems in Luke's infancy narrative have been thought of as borrowings of psalms compiled in the Maccabean period.

Another example, which is on the borderline between wisdom and prayer, concerns the development and persistence of the macarism or beatitude in Second Temple Judaism as exemplified in the scrolls, notably in 4Q525, and also in the New Testament. One feature of the development of this genre is the use of scripture. This (p. 576) may come under the heading of the scripturalization of prayer; it can be argued that Jewish prayer in late Second Temple times is increasingly expressed in scriptural terms (Newman 1999), as has already been implied above for the liturgical poems of Luke's infancy narrative. For the beatitude, this can be seen in the shared exegetical adaptation of Ps. 51: 10 in both 4Q525 frs. 2–3 2: 1 ('[Blessed is the one who...] with a pure heart, and does not slander with his tongue') and Matt. 5: 8 ('Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God').

Prophetic Interpretation

In fifth and last place there is prophetic interpretation, which is wholly a matter of applied exegesis. A key to prophetic interpretation is the atomistic identification of items in the scriptural text being quoted, identification that often specifies how the text is referring to or is fulfilled in some contemporary events or experiences. It is in prophetic exegesis that a particular difference in motivation can be seen between the sectarian scriptural interpreters discernible behind many of the scrolls, including the *pesharim*, and those of the New Testament communities. In the sect of the scrolls that primary motivation is provided by the historical circumstances of the interpreting community. In the early Christian communities prophetic passages of scripture find their fulfilment most

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particularly in the figure of Jesus. Both sets of interpretation are eschatologically oriented, but the Christian fulfilment is predominantly a matter of Christology.

In the sectarian scrolls, prophetic interpretation is of at least three kinds. The most well known are the continuous running commentaries (*pesharim*) on Isaiah, several of the Twelve Minor Prophets, most famously Habakkuk (1QpHab), and the Psalms which were understood as prophecy. The prophetic text is quoted explicitly in pericope of a few verses and then given particularist interpretation that is formulaically introduced. Scholars have for a long time designated this approach 'atomization' or 'specification': a general item in the text is made to refer to something specific in the interpreter's concerns. A few interpretations within these running commentaries are echoed in the New Testament, such as the interpretation of Hab. 2: 4 in 1QpHab 8: 1–3 ('Its interpretation concerns all who do the Law in the house of Judah whom God will deliver from the house of judgement on account of their suffering and faith in the Teacher of Righteousness') and its similar use in Rom. 1: 17: 'For in it [the gospel] the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, "The one who is righteous will live by faith."' However, it is not until the running commentaries of the church Fathers that there is anything on a grand scale that looks similar to these continuous *pesharim*.

Another example can be seen in the interpretation of Ps. 37: 11. It is used to express an eschatological aspiration in Matt. 5: 5 ('Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth'), and in a similar prophetic way in the running commentary on Ps. 37 as follows:

(p. 577)

But they who hope in YHWH will possess the land (Ps. 37: 9). Its interpretation: they are the congregation of his chosen ones who carry out his will. *A little while, and the wicked will be no more. I will stare at his place and he will no longer be there* (Ps. 37: 10). Its interpretation concerns all the wickedness at the end of forty years, for they will be completed and upon the earth no [wic]ked person will be found. (4QpPs^a frs. 1–10 2: 4–8)

The aspiration of the community to possess the land is represented by the straightforward way in which they, as the congregation of the chosen, are identified with those who hope in the Lord, but it is possible that their further identification as the ones who 'carry out his will' is the result of a pun, since 'land' ('rṣ) and 'will' (rṣwn) share similar sounds. The interpretation of Ps. 37: 10 continues the straightforward identifications, the 'wicked' of the Psalm being identified with collective wickedness, and the 'little while' being seen to correspond with the final forty-year period, known from other sectarian compositions (1QM 2: 6–14; CD 20: 15). In addition, the reference to 'earth' or 'land' in the interpretation may take forward the aspiration of the previous lemma: those who hope in the Lord will indeed be able to possess the land because all the wicked will have been removed.

A second form of sectarian prophetic interpretation is found in several so-called thematic *pesharim*. Rather than continuous passages of scripture, in these instances selected passages of prophetic texts are quoted explicitly and given some kind of comment. In the largest extant fragment of the most well known of these thematic commentaries (4Q174) there is an interpretation of Nathan's oracle from 2 Sam. 7: 5–16 which is followed by a *peshar* commentary on some Psalms, beginning with Psalm 1. The interpretation of the 'house' of 2 Samuel 7 is a playful interweaving of eschatological remarks about the temple, both in the present as made of humans, and in the future as divinely appointed, and about the house of David, which is made to refer to the future 'branch of David'. The *peshar* interpretation of the Psalms depends on the citation of their initial verses only, but it seems, nevertheless, that the anointed one of Psalm 2 is understood as a reference to the whole community of 'elect ones', rather than as a reference to the messiah. This exegetical combination of 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 has been compared with the similar juxtaposition in Heb. 1: 5, where Ps. 2: 7 and 2 Sam. 7: 14 are both given messianic interpretations.

A third form of prophetic interpretation in sectarian compositions occurs when isolated verses from prophetic texts are used to support an ongoing argument or narrative description. In these cases the scriptural passages function as proof texts. In particular there are several instances in the Damascus Document: Hos. 4: 16 (CD 1: 13–14); Ezek. 44: 15 (CD 3: 21 – 4:4); Isa. 24: 17 (CD 4: 13–19; cf. Luke 21: 35); Mal. 1:10 (CD 6: 12–14); Isa. 7: 17 (CD 7: 9–13); and, most well known, Amos 5: 26–7 (cf. Acts 7: 42–3) combined with Num. 24: 17 (CD 7: 14–21; cf. Matt. 2: 2; Rev. 2: 28; 22: 16). In the New Testament the most widely recognized use of proof texts is the (p. 578) collection in Matthew's infancy narrative (Isa. 7: 14; Mic. 5: 2; Jer. 31: 15; Isa. 11: 1). Also readily identifiable are

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the several features of the gospel passion narratives that depend upon and are connected with scriptural proof texts, notably the Psalms, and amongst them chiefly Psalm 22. Here the narrative seems to be partially constructed out of the incidental use of scripture.

Multiple Uses

Of course, it is also the case that the same scriptural passage can be used in different ways by various authors. So, for example, Gen. 49: 9–10 is understood as an unfulfilled blessing and is used as the basis of a piece of prophetic interpretation in Commentary of Genesis A (4Q252 5: 1–7) that refers to the messiah of righteousness and the men of the sectarian community. In Rev. 5: 5 the same verses of Genesis 49 are used typologically in a passage of consolation to provide the language for the description of the royal conqueror. A similar difference can be seen in the way that the figure of Melchizedek from Gen. 14: 17–20 and Ps. 110: 4 is used in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), where he features as a heavenly representative of God at the time of judgement, and in the letter to the Hebrews (7: 1–25), where he is the archetype of a certain kind of priesthood (Mason 2008).

Another significant example of difference comes in the use of Isa. 40: 3 in the Rule of the Community and in the Gospels. Although several scholars have followed the lead of Brownlee (1955: 73) in thinking that the use of Isa 40: 3 in both places must indicate that John the Baptist was aware of the Essene use of the text, or have argued that Mark at least was aware of its widespread eschatological use (Evans 2006: 100–3), most interpreters now highlight the differences between the text in its various contexts (e.g. Taylor 1997: 25–9) or suitably omit mention of it altogether (Hooker 2005: 35–8). In any case the Gospels reflect the text of the LXX, which identifies the voice as calling in the wilderness, whereas the Rule of the Community with the MT understands that the way of the Lord will be prepared in the wilderness and the verse is interpreted somewhat cryptically as meaning that the Law will be correctly understood. In the Rule of the Community the use of Isa. 40: 3 does not necessarily imply an actual move to the wilderness by the text's community.

Thus, before concluding this section that has tried to describe something of the range of the exegetical variety to be found in both corpora, it is worth adding a note of caution. In any comparison it is always worth asking whether like is being compared with like. For the most part exegetical outcomes in the Dead Sea Scrolls, whether sectarian or not, can be set alongside the interpretations of scripture in the New Testament writings for their mutual illumination. But sometimes the differences do indeed outweigh the similarities.

(p. 579) Exegetical Methods

Consideration of prophetic interpretation as can be found in the continuous *pesharim* and in the use of fulfilment quotations in compositions such as the Matthean infancy narrative provokes comparison not merely in content but in method. Even when the content of the exegesis in the scrolls, especially the sectarian scrolls, is rather different from that in the writings of the New Testament, it is nevertheless instructive to consider briefly how the methods of interpretation used in each literary corpus illuminate each other.

To begin with, in several instances authoritative scriptural texts in both bodies of literature are taken at face value, in their plain sense. Sometimes the scriptural passage is cited because there is thought to be some problem in the plain meaning that needs to be addressed.

In other instances a known textual variant can be exploited. Most of such textual variations are not doctrinally significant but not uncommonly they open up exegetical possibilities. One small well-known example discloses that the ancient commentator was fully aware of such variant scriptural texts. In Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab 11: 8–14) we read:

You have been sated with dishonour instead of glory. Drink you also and stagger (hr'l). The cup of the right hand of the Lord will come round to you and (will be) shame upon your glory (Hab. 2:16). Its interpretation concerns the wicked priest whose dishonour exceeds his glory, for he did not circumcise (h'rl) the foreskin of his heart and he walked in the ways of drunkenness to quench the thirst. (Lim 1997: 50)

It is noteworthy that the reading 'stagger' is reflected in the Septuagint, Aquila, the Syriac, and the Vulgate, whereas the reading of 'being uncircumcised' is found in the Masoretic Text. Which reading is the more original we

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will never know, since the metathesis (the interchange of letters), probably accidental, could be in either direction and could have taken place at any stage in the text's transmission in the Second Temple period.

In addition to the plain meaning and the exploitation of variants, several devices or techniques are variously used in the exegesis of the scrolls and the New Testament. These include paying attention to various minutiae, such as a particular grammatical form, e.g. Paul's interest in making the collective singular 'offspring' refer to an actual singular, 'one person, who is Christ' (Gal. 3: 16); or making use of a conjunction where none might have existed in the text being cited: in this way Ezek. 44: 15 in CD 3: 21–4: 1 is made to refer to three groups, 'the priests *and* the Levites *and* the sons of Zadok', when the MT and the LXX both present the terms asyndetically in apposition as referring to one group, 'the levitical priests, the descendants of Zadok'. Sometimes there can be wordplay: in 4Q174 it is clear that 'house' in 2 Samuel 7 is played out in the interpretation in terms both of the sanctuary and the familial house of David, and it is likely that the phrase *ma^cašê* (p. 580) *ha-torah* ('works of the Law') is hinted at in the pun *ma^cašê ha-todah* ('works of thanksgiving') that are to be offered in the community that is conceived as a sanctuary.

The influence of scriptural intertextuality in these wordplays should also be noted (Hogeterp 2006: 100–4). For the New Testament Matt. 2: 23 might fall into this category. The text reads as follows: 'so that what had been spoken through the prophets might be fulfilled, "He will be called a Nazorean" '; either this is a play on words in an apparent allusion to Isa. 11: 1 (*nšr*), or it is a reference to a variant scriptural text, perhaps of 1 Sam. 1: 11 or 1: 22 ('I will offer him as a nazirite [*nzyr*] for all time'; NRSV citing 4QSam^a) (Ulrich 2000: 78–9).

A significant method in early Jewish exegesis is the association of authoritative scriptural texts through catchword. This is often a key principle in legal or halakhic interpretation in which the juxtaposition of scriptural passages through some kind of verbal commonality permits the expansion of the law for a new situation. But the catchword principle is discernible in many other combinations of texts. The combination of Amos 5: 26–7 and Num. 24: 17 in the exegesis of the Damascus Document depends upon their common use of the word 'star', even though the term is not part of both explicit citations. A beautiful example of catchword exegesis is discernible in the chain of citations in Rom. 3: 10–18: in particular the list of the parts of the body (without repetition) provides a view of the whole sinful person, but each item is linked to the next through catchword, as, for example, 'tongue' in Ps. 5: 10, 140: 4 and 10: 7 (Rom. 3: 13–14), even though that body part is mentioned only once explicitly (for Ps. 5: 10).

Some comment has already been given on the way in which atomistic modernization takes place in the handling of prophetic texts. What is going on in such interpretation? The significant process in the interpretation is one of identification. In the *pesharim* the identification is with the historical circumstances of the interpreter's community, circumstances that are read eschatologically. This kind of specification is not unlike the process that takes place in allegorical interpretation. In such cases the interpreter already has in mind a particular matter and then identifies that symbolically with something in the authoritative text. In the running commentaries at Qumran the process of identification is controlled somewhat by the authoritative text, so that it is clear that not every major contemporary experience can be identified in the prophetic text. In thematic commentaries, or in the use of proof texts, it is easier to select just those scriptural passages that are then claimed to be speaking about the topic at issue. In this way it is such items of prophetic interpretation that most resemble the 'this is that' kind of particularization that is not unlike the kinds of identification that take place in allegory (cf. Gal. 4: 24–7 complete with Isa. 54: 1 as a proof text). For these reasons, there should not be too sharp a distinction drawn between Jewish and Greek types of exegesis. (p. 581)

Examples of Shared Exegetical Traditions

In these three examples, all from the Gospels, it will soon become readily apparent that it is very unlikely that the Gospel writers knew the texts from the Qumran caves that now illuminate their use of scripture so thoroughly. Rather, it seems to be the case that in the three instances cited here, the compositions from Qumran are early instances of the same or very similar interpretations of scriptural passages that are later to be found in the Gospels. The evidence from Qumran both simplifies and complicates the picture: it simplifies it by authenticating the New Testament traditions as part of ongoing interpretative trajectories in late Second Temple Judaism; it complicates it by providing a set of compositions whose content has to be added to several long-standing and unresolved debates: those concerning the relationship to one another of the Synoptic Gospels, the likelihood of

ever retrieving the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, and the character of New Testament Christology. The issues are only touched upon briefly here, but they provide a glimpse of the wealth of material on scriptural interpretation that is to be found in the scrolls from the Qumran caves, interpretations that are shared in some way by the New Testament authors and their sources.

Isaiah 35 and 61 in 4Q521 and Q

Since its preliminary edition by Puech (1992), 4Q521 has attracted very wide attention. Such interest has been focused around the identity of the messiah and whether it is he or God himself who 'makes the dead live' (*wmtym yhyh*, 4Q521 frs. 2 + 4 2: 12). In fact, apart from all the parallels listed at the outset by Puech, little detailed work has yet been done on the scriptural phrases alluded to in 4Q521 frs. 2 + 4, col. 2. For the sake of this study the parallels in Luke 7: 18–23 and Matt. 11: 2–6 will be allowed to control which lines of these two fragments of 4Q521 are investigated here. The picture is very complicated; although both 4Q521 and the Jesus saying contain reference to 'giving life to/raising the dead' and 'preaching good news to the poor', in that order, it is far from certain that the author of the Sayings source knew 4Q521 (but cf. Collins 1994: 107; 1995: 122; also cf. Pao and Schnabel 2007: 300).

If Luke 7 is taken as the starting point for comparison, then there are six elements in what Jesus is supposed to have said to John the Baptist's disciples concerning how they and their master should be able to recognize the significance of who he is: (1) 'the blind see' (*tuphloi anablepousin*; LXX Isa. 35: 5 reads *anoichthēsontai ophthalmoi tuphlōn*; *anablepō* occurs in Isa. 61:1); (2) 'the lame walk' (only the noun is in Isa. 35: 5); (3) 'lepers are cleansed'; (4) 'the deaf hear' (both noun and verb are derived from Isa. 35: 5); (5) 'the dead are raised'; and (6) 'the poor have (p. 582) good news preached to them' (Isa. 61: 1 with inverted word order). This list is commonly supposed to be based on a combination of LXX Isa. 35: 5, which mentions 'the blind', 'the deaf hearing', and 'the lame', together with LXX Isa. 61: 1, which mentions 'the poor having good news preached' to them and 'the blind seeing'. There seems to be no parallel in the LXX for the lepers being cleansed nor for the dead being raised. The former does recur in Matt. 10: 8, an independent version of the saying which makes the picture more complex still, as it lists 'healing the sick', 'raising the dead', 'cleansing lepers', and 'casting out demons'. The latter, 'giving life to the dead', is common to Luke 7: 22 (// Matt. 11: 5) and 4Q521.

There are two lists in 4Q521 frs. 2 + 4, col. 2 in close proximity to one another which are relevant to this discussion. In the first, in line 8, there is mention of the release of captives, giving sight to the blind, and raising up the bowed down (*mtyr 'swrym pwqh 'wrym zwqp kp[wpym]*). This list is an almost verbatim representation of Ps. 146: 7–8 (*yhw h mtyr 'swrym yhw pqh 'wrym yhw zq kpwpym*), though giving sight to the blind is also in Isa. 35: 5 and 61: 1 (LXX); the influence of Psalm 146 is discernible elsewhere in 4Q521 as well, such as in the use of Ps. 146: 6 in lines 1–2. The second list in 4Q521 is in lines 12–13: 'heal the wounded' (*yrph hlym*) (cf. Matt. 10: 8, 'heal the sick'), 'give life to the dead' (*mtym yhyh*) (cf. Luke 7: 22 // Matt. 11: 5; Matt 10: 8), 'preach good news to the poor' (*'nwym ybšr*) (cf. Isa. 61: 1; Luke 7: 22 // Matt. 11: 5), 'satisfy the weak' (*[dly]m yšb[y]*), 'lead the outcast' (*ntwšym ynhl*), and 'enrich the hungry' (*r'bym y'šr*) (cf. Ps. 146: 7). The opening item in this second list is intriguing, since it is echoed in the list in the independent saying in Matt. 10: 8, but more significantly seems itself to echo Isa. 61: 1—not in the form found in the MT or the Qumran manuscripts, but in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Isa. 61: 1 LXX, the second element of which is 'to heal (*iasasthai*) the broken-hearted', an element which strangely is not in any witness for the programmatic quotation of Isa. 61: 1 in Luke 4: 18 or the lists in Luke 7: 22 // Matt. 11: 5. Furthermore, the combination of 'healing' and 'giving life' is to be found in Deut. 32: 39 (Puech 1992: 493).

Only two elements are common to the second list in 4Q521 and Luke 7: 22 // Matt. 11: 5, 'giving life/raising the dead', and 'preaching good news to the poor' (Becker 2007: 271). The first of these elements is unique to these two lists, and the order of the two elements is the same in both. Beyond that the parallels end. Luke 7: 22 // Matt. 11: 5 is a complex combination of parts of Isa. 35: 5 and 61: 1. Apart from 'preaching good news to the poor', 4Q521 is a combination of different elements of Isa. 61: 1 with motifs from other passages, possibly Isa. 49: 9, Ps. 107: 9, and Ps. 146: 7, the last of which, if correctly restored, neatly ties the second list in 4Q521 back to the first, which is exclusively from that Psalm. It should also be noted that Ps. 146: 6 is used by Peter and John when they are released from custody in the context of healing (Acts 4: 24).

What can be made of all this? When it is remembered that in the one striking parallel pair, 'giving life to/raising the dead' and 'preaching good news to the poor', (p. 583) the first element is represented in the two traditions

partially in synonymous translation, then the similarity of the pair is slightly weakened. Overall, strings of scriptural passages mostly from Isaiah and the Psalms lie behind the two developments in 4Q521 and Luke 7: 22 // Matt. 11: 5. In one pair of elements there seems to be a striking similarity that needs to be qualified slightly; in the rest the scriptural passages are re-presented in a rich variety of ways, suggesting anything but literary dependence. The relationship between all the Gospel passages where Isaiah 61 is used is also very complex with no agreed description (Neiryck 1997). Here is a collection of scriptural passages to be associated with the activity of God (and his anointed agent) in the last days, for which the parallel between Luke 7: 22 and 4Q521 'can be helpful as an example of the *topos* of a description of the time of salvation' (Neiryck 1997: 62). The scriptural texts suggest each other, and this suggestive intertextuality is inherited and expressed variously in these later traditions.

Isaiah 5 in 4Q500, Mark, and its Synoptic Parallels

4Q500 is a very fragmentary manuscript; its principal fragment contains the remains of seven lines as follows:

- 2]** may your [mulb]erry trees (2 Sam. 5: 23–4 (// 1 Chr. 14: 15; Ps. 84: 7) blossom (Song 6: 11; 7: 13; Qoh. 12: 5) and ...[
- 3]** your winepress (Isa. 5: 2) [bu]ilt with stones[
- 4]** to the gate of the holy height (Ps. 102: 20) [
- 5]** your planting (cf. Isa. 5: 7; 60: 21; 61: 3) and the streams (Ps. 46: 5) of your glory ...[
- 6]** ... the branches of your delights (Isa. 5: 7) ...[
- 7]** your [vine]yard. (Isa. 5: 1) [

J. M. Baumgarten (1989) has clarified that the blessing is clearly addressed to God and he has convincingly placed the fragment within Jewish exegetical tradition concerning the vineyard, a tradition in which the image is variously linked with the temple and the garden of Eden. In addition to several allusions to Isaiah 5, of particular note is a possible echo of Ps. 84: 7. That psalm in praise of God for dwelling in Zion associates the pilgrim's approach to the temple through the valley of Baca, the mulberry valley, with the welling up of water. For Baumgarten the likely combination of ideas lying behind 4Q500 is confirmed in two treatments of Isaiah 5 in Jewish tradition. In Tg. Jon. Isa. 5: 2 is rendered as *wbnyt mqdšy bynyhwn w'p mdbh̄y yhbyt lkpr' 'l t'yhwn*, 'And I built my sanctuary among them and also my altar I gave as atonement for their sins'. This text is often cited in studies on the parable of the vineyard in the Gospels. It seems as if it is clear that the tower of the Isaianic allegory refers to the sanctuary and the winepress to the altar, the blood from which may be envisaged as flowing like wine out from the temple. This (p. 584) understanding seems to be further reflected in T. Suk. 3: 15, *wybn mgdl btwkw zh hykl yqb ḥšb bh zh mzbh̄ wgm yqb ḥšb bw zh hšyt*, 'and he built a tower in its midst, this refers to the temple; he dug a winepress in it, this refers to the altar; and also he dug a winepress in it, this refers to the channel'. The winepress has a double referent: the altar and the channel in which the sacrificial blood flows away.

4Q500, therefore, almost certainly uses the Isaiah 5 vineyard material in interpretative association with a description of the temple, either heavenly, or, more probably, earthly, which is the suitable place for the people (Isaiah's own interpretation) to bless God. The overall suggestion of this brief study is that perhaps in 4Q500 fr. 1 we possess not just a link between the vineyard text of Isaiah 5 and its interpretative use in Jewish exegesis of the second century CE and later, but that the combination of motifs in 4Q500 fr. 1 provides the opportunity for the better appreciation of the parable of the vineyard, in which several of the same motifs occur in association with yet other scriptural material (Mark 12: 1–12; Matt. 21: 33–46; Luke 20: 9–19).

The parable of the vineyard as it features in Mark is usually divided into three sections: the parable proper with its narrative conclusion in terms of audience reaction (Mark 12: 1–8, 12), the logion of Jesus in the form of a question (Mark 12: 9a) which either he answers for himself or is answered by his audience, and the proof text from Ps. 118: 22–3 (Mark 12: 10–11). Since the narrative conclusion comes after the logion and proof text in all three gospels, it is clear that the three elements are understood to belong together and should be interpreted together. Most modern approaches to the parable do not allow for the possibility that the original parable, if that is ever knowable, could have contained more than one point, even if only because more than one scriptural passage may have been in mind as it was told and rehearsed and, quite possibly, more than one kind of hearer was known to be in the audience and in need of being addressed. The use of Isaiah 5 and other scriptural images in 4Q500 shows that it is quite possible that in the parable of the vineyard, in whatever canonical form we read it, we are dealing with mixed metaphors, all gloriously intermingled, not a text with a single point.

Quite apart from what any original form of the parable may have looked like, it is clear in the triple tradition that it is an allegory, not least because of the dependence of its phraseology, at least in large part, on LXX Isa. 5: 1–7. This is most explicit in Mark and Matthew which both include the details of the hedge, the winepress, and the tower. But, though Luke omits those details, he clearly is aware of the scriptural allusion, since he alone gives the distinctive question by the landlord in Luke 20: 13, 'What shall I do?', echoing the *ti poiēsō* of LXX Isa. 5: 4.

Juxtaposition of the use of Isaiah 5 in 4Q500 with the parable of the vineyard enables suggestions to be made on three matters concerning the interpretation of the parable. First, it is likely that the catchword combination of scriptural passages (Isa. 5: 1–5 and Ps. 118: 22–3) is not a secondary development. Second, the combination of scriptural passages makes it difficult to interpret the parable as a single (p. 585) point story. Third, it is likely that the narrative context of the parable, associated with Jesus at the temple, is also credible as a possible historical scenario: the temple context is a suitable setting for the pericope's use of scripture from start to finish.

However, if contemporary Jewish understanding of the vineyard as Jerusalem or as its cult is allowed some credence, especially since the date of a fragment like 4Q500 fr. 1 cannot be gainsaid, then the conclusions of several scholars that the parable is primarily about Israel in miniature, that is Jerusalem, its temple, and its cult, fits very well. In relation to this, before 4Q500 was published, Donald Juel (1977: 136–7) has especially stressed the relevance of Tg. Jon. Isa. 5: 2 in linking the vineyard to Jerusalem and the tower to the temple. Even more particularly, Craig Evans (2001: 224–8) has argued persuasively that in early Jewish interpretation the association of Isa. 5: 1–7 not only with the temple but also with its destruction justifies understanding the parable of the vineyard as juridical, as designed to force its audience into self-condemnation, as is made explicit in Mark 12: 12. For Evans the identification of the vineyard and its constituent parts in relation to the temple facilitates taking the quotation of Ps. 118: 22–3 integrally with the rest of the parable, a juxtaposition that seems entirely plausible.

4Q500 and its targumic counterparts do not provide the sources which Jesus or others used, but they show what exegetical traditions were current in Palestine at the time of Jesus.

Psalms 2 and 82 in 4Q246, Luke and John

In the principal extant fragment of the Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246), the so-called 'Son of God Text', a seer interprets a vision to a king. Several theories about how best the text should be understood have been in circulation and none has yet decisively won the day (Collins 1995: 155–7). The text presents in parallel the two titles 'son of God' and 'son of the Most High'. The first is most likely a reflection of the use of the title in Ps. 2: 7 and 2 Sam. 7: 14; the second is likely to reflect a specification of the plural 'sons of the Most High' of Ps. 82: 6. In the sectarian scrolls 2 Sam. 7: 14 is understood of the Davidic messiah in 4Q174 3: 10–12 (cf. Juel 1988: 61–88) and the subsequent interpretation of Psalm 2 seems to apply Ps. 2: 7 eschatologically to the chosen people of God. In addition the use of Ps. 82: 1–2 in 11QMelchizedek 2: 11–14 in the discussion of the role of Melchizedek implies that he specifically fulfils the role of divine judge, even though as an angel he would properly be associated with the sons of the Most High in the psalm.

The combined titles 'son of God' and 'son of the Most High' in 4Q246 have been taken both negatively and positively. On the one hand are those who have followed the earliest editor of the composition and argued that the character designated as 'son of God' and 'son of the Most High' is wicked, either a particular king, such as Alexander Balas (Milik apud Fitzmyer 1979: 92) or Antiochus Epiphanes himself, or (p. 586) even the Antichrist (Flusser 1988: 207–13). On the other hand the majority of interpreters have identified the titles as referring to a positive character (Fitzmyer 1979: 102–7), Melchizedek (García Martínez 1992: 172–9), or a messiah (Collins 1995: 169), possibly the earliest interpretation of the Son of Man in Daniel 7 as an individual figure.

The text of 4Q246 or something very like it was probably known in the collection of Judaeen source materials that was variously used by Luke and by the redactor of the Fourth Gospel. The correspondences between 4Q246 and Luke 1: 32–5 are striking. Collins comments that these correspondences are 'astonishing' and that 'it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Luke is dependent in some way, whether directly or indirectly, on this long lost text from Qumran' (Collins 1995: 155). Here then in Luke's infancy narrative we have an example of the messianic reading of the text, and a reading that took the figure as an individual.

In John 10: 22–39 the narrative and its dialogues are presented against the backdrop of the Feast of Hanukkah.

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The Jews demand that he tells them 'plainly' whether he is the Messiah. Jesus' answer is cryptically clear: 'the Father and I are one' (John 10: 30). The Jews perceive Jesus, though only a human being, to be making himself God. Jesus tacitly affirms that he has a distinct but not exclusive status through using Ps. 82: 6, and eventually he describes himself as 'Son of God' (John 10: 36). VanderKam (1990: 211) has brought out the parallels between Hanukkah and John 10 most suitably. He has written:

It should be recalled that Antiochus IV not only banned the practice of Judaism and the temple cult but that he also imposed new forms of worship which included veneration of himself as a god in Jerusalem's temple. Jesus' strong assertions that he and the father are one (10: 30), that he was the Son of God (10: 36), and that the father was in him as he was in the father were uttered at a time when the blasphemous pretensions of Antiochus IV to be a god would have been particularly fresh in the minds of Jewish people.

Thus, as with Luke 1: 32–5, John 10: 22–39 contains mention of the Son of God, the implied mention of the Son(s) of the Most High, and a debate about whether Jesus is making himself, we might say 'calling' himself, God. All these ingredients can be found in 4Q246. Thus in this instance both Luke and John are reflecting a Jewish tradition, probably messianic, in which interpretations of Psalms 2 and 82 have been combined; that tradition is now most plainly visible to us in 4Q246.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have taken a brief look at the topic of exegetical traditions that are shared between the compositions preserved in the scrolls found in the eleven (p. 587) caves at and near Qumran and those to be found in the books of the New Testament. It has not been possible to present a thoroughgoing survey of all such shared traditions, nor even merely of those that have been most discussed in the scholarly literature. Rather, this essay has drawn attention to several key issues that should be considered in any such comparative exercise and then a few examples have been discussed in more details.

Amongst the key issues that need to be kept in mind are included: first, the variety of the witnesses to the Jewish scriptures in the late Second Temple period, whether in Hebrew or in Greek; second, the rich variety of types of exegesis which extend far beyond eschatologically motivated prophetic fulfilment in both sets of literature; and third, the range of exegetical methods in both corpora. In the light of the three examples of shared exegetical traditions that are discussed in more detail it is easy to see both that there are several intriguing similarities in the handling of the Jewish scriptures and also that there are often significant differences. The weighing of the similarities and the differences is a difficult balancing act. The most suitable way of explaining what is shared is to set everything within the context of common exegetical tendencies in Judaism of the time, some of which may seem particular to Jewish sectarianism of the period, but which could also belong in Judaism more broadly. The differences suggest that there was probably not any direct literary dependence of the New Testament authors on the scriptural interpretations preserved in particular compositions now found in the Qumran collection of manuscripts.

Suggested Reading

Several significant studies that indicate the range of the shared use of the Jewish scriptures in the Qumran literature and the New Testament can be found in the writings of Fitzmyer (1971; 1979; both reprinted together in 1997) and Brooke (2005), and the collection edited by Carson and Williamson (1988: 87–336). Much of the understanding of the first generation of scholars can be found in summary form in Braun (1966, 2: 301–26); Braun's work is in need of a counterpart for scholarship since 1965. Amongst the more useful recent resources are the introductory essays on Psalms, Isaiah, and Deuteronomy provided in the volumes edited by Moyise and Menken (2004; 2005; 2007). A helpful way to discover some recent comparative information is through the use of the indexes in the collection of studies edited by Beale and Carson (2007).

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for knowledge of *halakhah* in late antiquity. Because of this finding, there is now original first-hand information on *halakhah* as practised by a specific Jewish group during the Second Temple period. Previously, the only other extant collections of halakhic material were the corpora of *mishnah* and *midrash*. While these incorporate some first-century material, they were redacted in the third or fourth centuries, thus postdating the scrolls by at least 200 years. This article portrays these two bodies of literature. It examines their structure and content, depicts their fundamental assumptions with regard to the origins and authority of *halakhah*, and explores the relationships between them. The article uses the ‘Essene hypothesis’ and refers to the laws and religious customs found in the scrolls as representing the *halakhah* practised by the Essenes.

Keywords: Qumran halakhah, Dead Sea Scrolls, Second Temple period, mishna, midrash, Essene hypothesis

Introduction

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for our knowledge of *halakhah* in late antiquity. Thanks to this finding we now have original first-hand information on *halakhah* as practised by a specific Jewish group during the Second Temple period, or at the very least, information on how certain authors thought *halakhah* should be practised. Previously, the only other extant collections of halakhic material at our disposal were the corpora of *mishnah* and *midrash*. While these incorporate some first-century material, they were redacted in the third or fourth centuries, thus postdating the scrolls by at least 200 years. The aim of this article is to portray these two bodies of literature. It will examine their structure and content, depict their fundamental assumptions with regard to the origins and authority of *halakhah*, and explore the relationships between them.

(p. 596) Before I begin, a few methodological notes are in order. The prevailing view concerning the identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the ‘Essene hypothesis’ is based on the triangulation of the scrolls found in the caves near Khirbet Qumran, the inhabitants of the site, and the Essenes as portrayed by Flavius Josephus, Philo of Alexandria, and Pliny the Elder (Vermes and Goodman 1998). This hypothesis posits that the scrolls were composed by Essenes at Qumran, who hid them in the caves. Though the Essene identification is open to question, it remains the most useful working hypothesis (A. Baumgarten 2004; Ullman-Margalit 2006; Broshi 2007). I therefore rely on this hypothesis and refer to the laws and religious customs found in the scrolls as representing the *halakhah* practised by the Essenes.

Josephus (*War* 2.119–20; *Ant.* 18.16–19) reports that the Essenes were one of the three philosophies of the Jews during the Second Temple period, along with the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Our knowledge of Sadducee halakhic practice is very limited: most of our information comes from rabbinic sources that record traditions about

halakhic disputes between Pharisees and Sadducees.

An important development in the study of *halakhah* in the second temple period occurred with the publication of *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* (4QMMT; Qimron and Strugnell 1994). First Joseph Baumgarten (1980) and later Jacob Sussmann (1990) both noted that some of the topics discussed in the scroll correspond to Sadducee–Pharisee disputes recorded in rabbinic literature and that in all these cases, the author's halakhic stance coincides with the view of the Sadducees, and the view of his opponents is identical to that of the Pharisees. This finding led Sussmann to conclude that though the Sadducees and the Essenes formed two different sociological entities, they shared the same legal system, fundamentally different from the Pharisaic one, which may be termed 'priestly *halakhah*'.

Although some scholars disagree, and argue that the similarity between some Sadducean regulations and the laws found in the scrolls does not necessitate a 'generic' connection between the two (Kister 1999), Sussmann's proposal is quite useful as a working hypothesis. Not every law in the Dead Sea Scrolls was practised by the Sadducees, but assuming a common legal background for the two has proven a heuristic methodological tool. I am, therefore, inclined to disagree with some of my colleagues who differentiate various compositions within the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus itself (e.g. Himmelfarb 2006: 112–). Legal concepts identical to those of the Damascus Document and MMT are presented in both Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, neither of which is ascribed by scholars to the Qumran sect (Jubilees was probably composed before the founding of the sect—VanderKam 1997; Segal 2007: 32–8—and some scholars propose the Temple Scroll emanated from Sadducee circles: Schiffman 1994: 258, 271). Even if minor differences between them can be identified, they are probably literary variants, not exemplars of separate legal traditions. (p. 597)

Halakhic Writings in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Although legal issues are of prime concern in the scrolls, most of them are not legal texts per se and would be better described as compositions containing legal material (e.g. MMT). Though it enriched our knowledge of the law at Qumran greatly, the intention of its author was not the creation of a code, but a polemical document. This, of course, shapes the issues mentioned therein. Other scrolls, no doubt, do intend to present the law. A number of scrolls treat a single halakhic topic, e.g. 4QTohorot^{a,b,c} dealing with purification; 4Q264^a (*halakhah*^b) whose sole concern is Sabbath Laws; and 4Q249 (Midrash Sefer Moshe), which is probably concerned with the laws of leprosy. Others anthologize a wide range of different legal issues. Of this latter type, most prominent are the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll which are also the prime representatives of the two distinct genres of halakhic writings within the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Temple Scroll

The language of the Temple Scroll (TS) is biblical in nature and thus may be assigned to the broad category of rewritten Bible. Even the pericopes containing innovative content are worded in biblical form. For example, Deuteronomy 12 permits those living at a distance from the Temple to slaughter sheep and cattle for consumption. TS (53: 4– 8) introduces two changes to this law. Halakhically, TS adds the obligation to cover the blood with dust, taken from the injunction in Leviticus 17: 13 to cover the blood of a captured bird or wild animal. The incorporation of Leviticus' requirement to *cover it with dust* in the deuteronomic verse extends this obligation to cattle as well. This is typical priestly exegesis, termed 'homogenization' by Jacob Milgrom, a technique used to resolve perceived contradictions between different commandments (Milgrom 1989). The biblical source is indistinguishable from its exegetical innovation, which is seamlessly incorporated into the text. The exegesis is thus implicit, never explicit as in formal commentaries, such as the *pesharim*.

The second change is linguistic in nature. A prominent feature of the Temple Scroll is its use of direct divine speech, often shifting from third to first person, as in the conclusion of this passage: 'And you shall do what is right and good in my sight, for I am the Lord your God'. This contrasts with the biblical 'for you will be doing what is right in the eyes of the Lord'. The intent of this shift is to convey the statements as the unmediated words of God: it is not Moses speaking in God's name as in Deuteronomy but as a direct divine command issued at Sinai/Horeb. In short, the Temple Scroll does not refer to the biblical text; it presents itself as the Torah.

Of the same literary nature as TS is the group of texts known as Reworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 4Q364–7). These

documents are not primarily halakhic; they (p. 598) contain citations or paraphrases of different biblical pericopes, some of which happen to be halakhic. These texts share the distinctive attributes of the Temple Scroll outlined above: they are written in biblical language with no differentiation between innovation and Pentateuchal text, and the text dovetails verses from various places in the Pentateuch to create a single harmonious unit. The reworking consists also of non-biblical additions, mainly exegetical in nature, which range from one to eight lines in length. At least one of these (4QRP [4Q365] fr. 23) is an halakhic addition not found in the Pentateuch treating the Festivals of Wood and of Fresh Oil. These additions, exegeses, and harmonistic alterations are all formulated in biblical language and compose an organic text, linguistically indistinguishable from their Pentateuchal base. It should be noted, however, that some scholars argue that these texts are not rewritten Bible at all; rather they should be considered as alternative Pentateuchal texts (Crawford 2000: 777).

The Damascus Document

Of all the Dead Sea documents, the Damascus Document (CD) contains the largest organized corpus of laws. Unlike the Temple Scroll, CD makes a clear distinction between biblical sources and exegesis in the details of the law. The majority of the legal material of the Damascus Document is arranged by topical units. Each unit begins with a heading—one of three variations: ‘concerning X’ (e.g. ‘concerning purification by water’, 10: 10); a citation from a related biblical verse marked by ‘and as to that which he said’ (e.g. ‘and as to that which he said “You shall not take vengeance nor keep grudge against the sons of your people” ’, 9: 2), or a combination of the two: ‘Concerning X as to that which he said’ (e.g. ‘Concerning oaths: as to that which he said “Let not your hand help you” ’; 9: 8). The laws themselves are apodictic, without scriptural proof, and are worded as either positive commandments (‘Anything in which a man shall violate the Law and his fellow sees it, he alone, if it is a capital case, he shall report it to the Overseer in his presence...’; 9: 16–18), or negative ones (‘a man may not go about in the field to do his desired activity on the Sabbath’; 10: 20).

Even in those instances where the unit begins with a citation, it does not necessarily follow that the *halakhot* in question were derived from the verse itself. Rather, the citation functions as a topical heading. The writers provide no clues as to the exegetical process by which the halakhic details were derived. Even if scholars can hypothetically reconstruct the exegetical process, the intent of the *halakhah* as stated is to establish its existence, rather than to reveal to the reader how it was created. CD 16: 6–9 is a good example:

As for that which he said ‘observe what comes out of your lips’ (Deut. 23: 24), it means to abide by every binding oath in which a man promises to do anything from the Law: he may not break it, even at the price of death. Any promise a man makes to depart from the Law he shall not keep, even at the price of death. (p. 599)

This pericope contains two injunctions: the first enjoins anyone who has taken a vow to observe a biblical commandment to keep his oath; and the second forbids an individual who has taken an oath to transgress a biblical commandment to fulfil this oath, requiring that he not deviate from the Torah. As the rubric testifies, these two *halakhot* are linked to the biblical injunction found in Deut. 23: 24. It can even be conjectured that the double *halakhah* of the Damascus Document is grounded in the duality of the verse: ‘you are to keep, and you are to do’: ‘keep’—avoid doing what is prohibited; ‘do’—implement what should be done. Nonetheless, this is the reader’s reconstruction: no explicit statement as such appears in the *halakhah* itself. Furthermore, and this is the crux of the matter, the legist nowhere indicates how he derived the severe and absolute nature of these obligations, which must be adhered to, even at the price of death. It is also noteworthy that the biblical verse in its original context does not treat the fulfilment of commandments; rather, it treats the case of someone who has made a vow.

The same is true for those instances where a *halakhah* is followed by a verse, prefaced by the formula ‘as it is written’ or the like. Though the use of the word כִּי indicates that this verse is the source for the *halakhah* in question, the legist does not explain the derivation of the *halakhah* from the verse in question.

The basic literary style of TS is an imitation of the Pentateuch and the basic arrangement of the text is also closely dependent on it. Each unit in the scroll is based on the biblical pericope that it aims to interpret and rewrite. At the same time, somewhat paradoxically, the Temple Scroll dissociates itself sharply from the Bible by presenting itself as the authoritative text and as the words of God, not dependent on any earlier ‘Holy Scripture’. By contrast, the style of the Damascus Document has nothing in common with the Pentateuch. The rules are topically arranged and

phrased in short apodictic sentences. On the other hand, by quoting the relevant verses, the Damascus Document openly relies on the authority of the Torah. The Damascus Document presents itself not as the work of a legislator, but as the work of an authorized messenger conveying the correct meaning of the will and intention of the Torah.

Halakhic Works from Qumran and Rabbinic Literature

Very much like Qumran literature, rabbinic halakhic writings also form two very distinct genres: *midrash* and *mishnah*. Comparison between these two rabbinic literary genres and the Qumranic compositions surveyed above reveals some interesting affinities and differences. Like the Temple Scroll and other 'rewritten (p. 600) Bible' compositions from Qumran, *midrash* follows the sequence of scripture and relates to each verse one after the other. *Mishnah*, on the other hand, is arranged topically, like many of the sections in the Damascus Document and the related compositions. This is a common observation, presented in almost every introductory book on the scrolls (e.g. Schiffman 2003). More interesting is the fact that the *mishnah*, like the Temple Scroll, presents itself as the authoritative text independent of any previous holy scripture, while *midrash*, by quoting and relating to the Torah, puts itself in the position of the commentator and not in that of the legislator. In this respect *midrash* is similar to the Damascus Document rather than the Temple Scroll.

There is, however, one fundamental difference between the legal literature from Qumran and that of the rabbis. Qumranic literature continues the biblical tradition in that it is unified and unanimous. There is only one voice, and no names are mentioned. Rabbinic literature introduces an innovation—the explicit dispute *mahloket*. Scholars already singled it out as the single feature most characteristic of rabbinic literature (Halbertal 1997: 50–4). Though aiming at unified norms and therefore constantly occupied with decision making, both *midrash* and *mishnah* record different opinions of the rabbis, including rejected *halakhot*.

What forms the background for the fundamental dichotomy of uniformity versus plurality between Qumran and rabbinic literature is the theological dispute concerning the source for the authority of the compositions.

The Authority of the Law in Qumran and Rabbinic Literature

There is no work found at Qumran that claims prophetic authority. However, all halakhic compositions found at Qumran adopt a premise of divine revelation of *halakhah*. The nature of the divine origin of the law claimed by the Temple Scroll and other 'rewritten Bible' compositions is different from that of the Damascus Document; both correspond to their literary genre as portrayed above.

TS does not explicitly express its authoritative claim or reveal its sources, except by presenting itself as the word of God. We may infer this by comparing it to another 'Rewritten Bible' composition of the Second Temple period, the book of Jubilees.

Jubilees' self-characterization is found in its opening words: 'These are the works regarding the divisions of the times of the law and of the predestined history (*hatorah vehateuda*)...as...related to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the stone tablets—the law and the commandments (*hatora vehamitzva*)'. (p. 601) The law and the commandments are what we know as the Pentateuch, and Jubilees itself is designated here as 'the law and the predestined history' presented to Moses when he went up on Sinai to receive the stone tablets. Later in the chapter the author of Jubilees relates how Moses stayed on the mountain for forty days and forty nights 'while the Lord showed what (had happened) beforehand as well as that which was to come. He related to him the divisions of all the times—of the law and the predestined history'. God then commanded Moses to write what he was told on the mountain in a book (1: 4–5). Thus, upon his descent from Mount Sinai Moses had two written torahs in his possession: the law and the commandments (*hatora vehamitzva*) and the law and the predestined history (*hatora vehateuda*), namely, Jubilees, which is the Torah and its exegesis (Werman 2002; Najman 1999, 2000; Kister 2001). It is apparent that the source of the *halakhah* and biblical exegesis found in this work derive from Sinaitic revelation, as does its claim to authority.

Although the first column of TS has not been preserved, contextual clues enable us to infer that the underlying rationale for its halakhic authority resembled that of Jubilees. Column 2, a rewriting of biblical material based mainly on Exodus 34, describes Moses' second ascent to Mount Sinai to receive the second set of tablets. This beginning,

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common to Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, supports the contention that both works connected their halakhic authority to revelation at Sinai.

The Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community exhibit a different approach to the authorization of the law. It is based on the belief that the Torah that God commanded to Israel contains commandments of which some are revealed (*niglot*) and some are hidden (*nistarot*). The revealed commandments are those explicitly mentioned in scripture, whereas the hidden ones are those divulged to the members of the sect alone, and remain unknown to the rest of the people (Wieder 1962; Schiffman 1975).

This distinction is clearly based on Deut. 29: 28: 'The hidden matters (*hanistarot*) belong to the Lord our God, and the revealed matters (*haniglot*) belong to us and our children forever, so as to do all the words of this Torah'. This verse stands at the heart of Moses' exhortation of the people of Israel (Deut. 29–30), in which Moses elaborates the historical process that will be set in motion when the Israelites sin in the future. There will be individuals among them who will bless themselves in their hearts, saying 'I will have *shalom*, though in the stubbornness of my heart I will walk' (v. 18). God, however, will exile them from their land 'in anger, wrath, and great fury' (v. 27), and the land will be desolate (v. 22). Deuteronomy 29 concludes with MT verse 28, while chapter 30 proceeds to narrate Israel's future, prophesying the ingathering of the exiles (v. 3). Following the description of the future redemption, Deuteronomy predicts Israel's true return to God, its true commitment to his commandments and his laws, which are 'not too extraordinary for you', or 'too far away' (vv. 10–11).

A similar exposition of a historical process involving sin, destruction, return to God, and redemption, is found in three places in the Damascus Document (1: 3–11; (p. 602) 3: 9–20; and 5: 20–6: 11). However, the Damascus Document relates the circumstances of return and redemption to the sect alone, not to Israel as a whole (Shemesh and Werman 1998). The sect's self-perception as *shave Yisrael* should be understood in this context (CD 4: 2; 6: 4). This designation bears a dual meaning: 'penitents of Israel', which refers to their spiritual state, and 'returnees of Israel', which refers to the group's history. These two meanings are interrelated. The nation's misconduct caused corruption of the halakhic traditions, and it is the sect's task to return to the Torah of Moses, whose true meaning is now revealed to them.

The Damascus Document depicts the process of revelation through the allegory of digging a well:

And God recalled the covenant with the first ones, and he raised up from Aaron men of discernment (*nevonim*) and from Israel wise men (*hakhamim*); and he allowed them to hear. And they dug the well (of which it is written,) 'the well was dug by the prince and excavated by the nobles of the people, with a ruler' (Num. 21: 18). The 'well' is the Torah and those who 'dig' it are the penitents of Israel who depart from the land of Judah and dwell in the land of Damascus. God called them all 'princes' (*šarim*), for they sought him (*drashuhu*) and their honour was not rejected by anyone's mouth. And the 'ruler' (*meḥokek*) is the interpreter of the Torah (*doresh ha-Torah*), of whom Isaiah said, 'He takes out a tool for his work' (Isa. 54: 16). And the 'nobles of the people' are those who come to excavate the well with the statutes (*ba-meḥokekot*) which were ordained by the ruler to walk in them in the entire time of evil, and (who) will obtain no others until the rise of one who will teach righteousness in the end of days. (CD 6: 2–11; cf. CD 3: 12–16)

The author of this passage endowed Numbers 21: 18 with a contemporizing, allegorical interpretation. Each of the seven words in the verse is expounded: the 'well' is the Torah, its 'excavators' are the penitents of Israel, that is, the members of the sect, who are also the 'chieftains' and the 'nobles' who come to 'excavate' the well with the 'statutes' ordained by the 'ruler', who is the interpreter of the Torah. By means of this *peshet*, the author of the Damascus Document weaves a conception of the revelation of hidden laws that integrates divine inspiration and human intellectual creativity. The aspect of divine inspiration is realized in the figure of the interpreter of the Torah sent by God to provide the tools for its interpretation, while the actual process of interpretation is carried out by the sect as a whole in their discernment and their wisdom.

The prophetic element of this divinely inspired exegetical process finds an even clearer expression in a passage from the Rule of the Community:

Everything that has been concealed from Israel and is found by 'interpreter' (*ūish ha-doresh*)—he shall not conceal it from these out of fear of a backsliding spirit. And when these have become a community in Israel

in compliance with these arrangements they are to be segregated from within the dwelling of the men of sin to walk to the desert in order to open there His path. As it is written: 'In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make level in the desert a highway for our God.' (Isa. 40: 3) This (alludes to) *midrash ha-Torah* that he (p. 603) commanded through Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed from time to time, and by what the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit. (1QS 8: 11–16)

The link between *midrash ha-Torah* and the revelation of concealed things appears twice in the passage. First, in the injunction that the interpreter should not conceal his discoveries, and second, in the application of the proof text from Isaiah to the study of the law to enable the sect to comply with what is revealed from time to time.

What is the nature of this 'midrash ha-Torah' mentioned here, and who is the 'interpreter' (*ûrîsh ha-doresh*)? These terms can be read in two distinct ways with regard to the prophetic nature of the process. Some scholars read it 'strongly' and claim that this is a process of revelation in a prophetic vein, basing their argument on the use of the verb 'darash', which they understand as 'one who seeks'. Thus, the interpreter is one who seeks God, and, based on the concluding statement, 'as the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit', the *midrash ha-Torah* revealed from time to time is prophetic in nature (Licht 1965: 177). I prefer a 'softer' reading of the passage, which gives more room for human activity in the process. Accordingly, the *midrash ha-Torah* referred to in this passage is the exegetical study of the Torah.

This reading is supported by the author's reliance on a verse from Isaiah (40: 3). For him, the sect's seclusion and relocation in the wilderness represent the fulfilment of this biblical injunction, whose purpose is to prepare the way of the Lord. The activity of preparing the way is a metaphor for the sect's exegesis of the Torah in the desert, whose ultimate result will be divine revelation: 'The presence of the Lord shall appear, and all flesh, as one, shall behold—For the Lord himself has spoken' (Isa. 40: 5, which is not cited in the passage). The above two passages thus present similar pictures of the sect's understanding of the law as a result of a divinely inspired activity described in a prophetic vocabulary.

In contrast to the Qumranic stance, the rabbis promoted the idea of human autonomy. Within rabbinic circles, there was a clear distinction between homily and halakhic derivation on the one hand and prophecy on the other (Frenkel 1991, vol. 2: 480). It is almost customary for scholars to illustrate the rabbis' denial and rejection of any divine intervention in the exegetical process using the famous anecdote about the dispute between Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and his colleagues regarding the purity of a certain oven (Rubenstein 1999: 314–15, n. 1–3; Noam 2006). A dominant motif in the versions of this story in both the Babylonian (b. Meṣi'a 59b) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Mo'ed Qaṭ. 3: 1, 81d) is Rabbi Eliezer's attempt to obtain heavenly confirmation for his halakhic stance by inducing supernatural events. A carob tree is uprooted, water flows backwards in an aqueduct, the walls of the study house incline to fall, and even an echo from heaven declares explicitly: 'The law (*halakha*) follows Eliezer, my son'. Nevertheless, the sages insist: 'It is not in heaven' (Deut. 30: 12). According to the majority of the sages, in contrast to Rabbi (p. 604) Eliezer's viewpoint, *halakhah* is a product of human activity and is determined by a human process, not by divine, supernatural events. Notice, however, that according to this tradition Rabbi Eliezer, as in many other cases, is holding fast to the ancient view, similar to that expressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Gilat 1984; Noam 2006).

The Source of Halakhah: Tradition versus Scripture

Josephus describes one of the fundamental religious differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees: 'The Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducean group, who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down (in Scripture), and that those which had been handed down by former generations need not be observed' (*Ant.* 13: 297). Indeed, the Pharisaic view regarding the binding authority of tradition is also attested in rabbinic literature. The following *baraita* from the Babylonian Talmud (b. Sanh. 88b; cf. t. Hag. 2: 9) is a mythical (Sanders 1992: 458–90 and Goodblatt 1994: 77–130, *pace* Alon 1952: 121–4; Safrai 1974, 1: 379–80) description of the procedure for determining the *halakha* during the time of the Temple:

If a matter of inquiry arose, the local court was consulted. If they had a tradition [thereon] they stated it; if not, they went to the nearest court. If they had a tradition thereon, they stated it, if not, they went to the

court situated at the entrance to the Temple Mount; if they had a tradition, they stated it; if not, they went to the one situated at the entrance of the courtyard, and he [who differed from his colleagues] declared, 'Thus have I expounded, and thus have my colleagues expounded; thus have I taught, and thus have they taught.' If they had a tradition thereon, they stated it, and if not, they all proceeded to the Hall of Hewn Stones, where [the Great Sanhedrin] sat from the morning *tamid* until the evening *tamid*....The question was then put before them: if they had a tradition thereon, they stated it; if not, they took a vote: if the majority voted 'unclean' they declared it so; if 'clean' they ruled so.

While the final decision is made according to the opinion of the majority, priority is given to tradition in every stage of the procedure: 'if they had a tradition thereon, they stated it'.

The Sadducees on the other hand argued that the only binding regulations are those written down in scripture. It should be noticed that the practical upshot of the Sadducees' principled rejection of precedent was a reform by which any customary norm which has no scriptural basis should not be followed. Though (p. 605) Josephus did not tell us what was the view of the Essenes on that matter, the Sadducee stance fits nicely with the Qumranites' self-perception, as portrayed in the scrolls. A central theme in the sectarian writings is the desire to 'return to the Torah of Moses' (CD 15: 12; 16: 1–2, 1QS 5: 7; compare 1QS 5: 20; 6: 15). The claim for returning to the origins is a common strategy within reform movements which claim that their proposed changes are not changes at all, but rather a genuine attempt to restore the old, lost, true tradition.

To further explore the halakhic consequences of the Sadducee claim to be returning to the written law, and the way the Pharisees meet the challenge put to them, I will focus on the famous controversy regarding the marriage of an uncle and a niece recorded in the Damascus Document.

And they marry each one his brother's daughter or sister's daughter. But Moses said: 'To your mother's sister you may not draw near. For she is your mother's near relation.' Now the precept of incest is written from the point of view of males, but the same (law) applies to women, so if a brother's daughter uncovers the nakedness of a brother of her father, she is (forbidden) a close relationship. (CD 5: 7–11)

This short passage is one of the rare cases where a sectarian author explicitly explains and rationalizes his legal ruling. The author accuses his opponents—the Pharisees (Kister 1992)—of practising this illicit union, which he considers to be fornication, *zenut*, and thus forbidden.

Some scholars believe that the view of the Damascus Document represents the traditional norm practised within Jewish society at this time and that it was the Pharisees who objected to it and introduced a more lenient approach (Krauss 1913; Rabin 1957: 91–3; Ginzberg 1976: 23–4; and cf. Epstein 1942: 251). Historical evidence indicates otherwise: we know of not a few individuals from the Second Temple period, including Herod himself, who married their nieces (Schremer 1995). It is thus more likely, as others hold, that the Sadducees made the change and declared the hitherto permitted union to be forbidden (Büchler 1912–13, 1956: 64–98; Falk 1963; Herr 1979).

The scroll's overt reason for this prohibition is that: 'the precept of incest is written from the point of view of males, but the same (law) applies to women'. In other words, the prohibition against marrying an aunt, when read from the point of view of women, prohibits women from marrying their uncles, which means a man cannot marry his niece. Yet, assuming that the Damascus Document is consistent in its halakhic principles, at least two additional prohibited marriages should emerge from the application of this same hermeneutical principle to the Levitical list of illicit unions. Leviticus 18: 10 decrees: 'You shall not uncover the nakedness of your son's daughter, or of your daughter's daughter'. A reading of this verse from the female point of view should prohibit a woman from marrying her grandson, the son of either her son or daughter. Or again in other words: a man could not marry his paternal or maternal grandmother. Similarly, Leviticus (p. 606) 18: 17 reads: 'You shall not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter, and you shall not take her son's daughter or her daughter's daughter to uncover her nakedness'. Once again, reading this verse as with women in mind would forbid the union of a woman with her husband's grandson; that is, a man could not marry the wife of his grandfather (either his father's father or his mother's father). Why then does the Damascus Document attack the Pharisees only on the issue of uncle-niece marriages?

I suggest, that there was indeed no dispute about these two cases, and that all parties of the Jewish society agreed these relations were forbidden, though not listed in the Bible. This is evident from rabbinic tradition, as well. The

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Mishnah distinguishes between two degrees of incest: those that are forbidden by Scripture and those that are 'of a second degree—the words of the scribes' (b. Yevamot 2: 3–4). These second-degree forms of incest are listed in t. Yebam. 3: 1. The first two are: (1) his mother's mother and his father's mother; and (2) the wife of his father's father and the wife of his mother's father, which correspond exactly to the two cases mentioned above as resulting from a reading of the list in Leviticus from a female perspective. The labelling of these prohibitions as 'second degree incest—the words of the scribes'—means that it is an old tradition and its origin is not known to the rabbis, and at the same time it also stresses that it is not biblical and has a lesser status.

Thus, it was customary within Jewish society of the late Second Temple period to avoid some kinds of marriages of relatives, even though they were not banned by the Torah. Marriage with a grandmother or step-grandmother was considered to be illicit. People did not ask themselves why and who said so, they just knew that this was their tradition. I would argue that uncle-niece marriages were not part of this tradition. On the contrary, as the historical precedents mentioned above suggest, this was a rather common practice.

The first move towards halakhic change was made by the Sadducees, as portrayed by Josephus, who had a tendency to reject any unwritten regulation. They had to justify these extra-biblical norms by linking them to scripture. The need to seek the biblical source of every common practice was an unavoidable consequence that emerged from their new theological claim. This urgency is the background for the creation of the hermeneutical principle 'the precept of incest is written from the point of view of males, but the same (law) applies to women'. It was first used to explain the customary norm of avoiding marriage with a grandmother or step-grandmother. The explanation was that these unions are actually explicitly prohibited by the Torah, because they are the result of the feminine reading of the prohibitions on taking a granddaughter or a wife's granddaughter.

The second stage in the development of the process was that the exegetical principle turned into a tool for the creation of new laws. The Sadducee rationale for introducing the new prohibition against uncle-niece marriage was very simple: if the ban on marrying a grandmother is part of the prohibition against marrying (p. 607) the granddaughter, and if the ban on marrying the wife of the grandfather is identical to the biblical prohibition against marrying the grandson's wife, then the biblical prohibition against marrying an aunt should include a ban on marrying a niece, as well.

It was exactly this move that the Pharisees opposed. According to Josephus' report, the Pharisees, contrary to their rivals, the Sadducees, adhered to their ancestors' tradition. In accordance with their general tendency toward leniency, the Pharisees tried to stay away from adding unnecessary extra prohibitions (Shemesh 2000). They preferred to explain the extra illicit unions that were commonly avoided in their time as non-biblical prohibitions, that they attributed to 'the scribes'. By rejecting the Sadducean attempt to reconcile tradition with scripture they also rejected its inescapable consequence—the new prohibition against uncle-niece marriage.

The above suggestion is in accordance with the argument that Ephraim E. Urbach made in the 1950s that *midrash* as a source for *halakhah* originated within priestly Sadducee circles (Urbach 1958). My addition is that it all started with the need to reconcile the tradition with scripture: what had begun as a hermeneutical technique turned into a creative tool. More recently, Adiel Schremer has taken this notion one step further. In a 2001 article, he suggested that it was this tendency of the Sadducees to appeal to scripture for practical religious instructions that challenged the Pharisaic adherence to tradition and fostered the creation of Tannaitic *midrash* and the heightened emphasis on Torah study among the sages (Schremer 2001; Mandel 2007). The Pharisees and their heirs, the rabbis, had to develop their own hermeneutical techniques in order to anchor their traditions in the text by homily. Surprisingly enough, the same development that occurred to the Sadducees took place, only much later, within rabbinic circles, as well. *Midrash*, which initially was meant to play only an exegetical role, to defend the tradition and to link it to scripture, quickly became a creative tool that resulted in new regulations now ascribed to scripture.

Characteristics of Qumran Halakhah

The Sadducees disputed their rivals the Pharisees over numerous halakhic details. The question that arises in light of these differences is whether we can characterize the two halakhic systems in a way that enables us to explain them. Can we point to any fundamental assumptions that cause these halakhic disputes? In the following I will survey two such attempts: one is that of Jacob Sussmann and the other of Daniel Schwartz.

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Jacob Sussmann portrayed the Sadducean *halakhah* as stringent, as opposed to the Pharisaic *halakhah*, which he saw as tending to be more lenient. This is especially (p. 608) evident from MMT, where the author accused his opponents of defiling the Temple by not adhering to his strict halakhic norms with regard to the appropriate conduct of the Temple service (Sussmann 1990).

Yaakov Elman challenged Sussmann's assertion (Elman 1996). He first cites at least one case in which the Temple Scroll has a more lenient stance than that of the rabbis. While according to rabbinic *halakhah*, Num. 19: 18 is interpreted to include human bones from a live person as impure and defiling objects, the TS 50: 5 limits impure bones to dead persons (Sifre Num. 127, m.^cEd. 6: 3, b. Kelim 1: 5; see also Yadin 1983, vol. 1: 335). More important is Elman's general claim that it is exactly this assumption concerning the stringency of Sadducean *halakhah* that led scholars to interpret many halakhic passages from the scrolls incorrectly.

Though Elman's arguments are at times truly challenging and should warn us of superficial interpretations of Qumran legal rulings based solely on the assumption that they opposed rabbinic *halakhah* and should exhibit a stricter stance in principle, Sussmann is no doubt right. This is because the stringency of priestly *halakhah* is not merely a matter of statistics (namely the many cases in which priestly *halakhah* is stricter than that of the Pharisees as against the few cases of greater leniency), but a state of mind. This is evident, as Sussmann himself already noticed, from the sectarian accusation that the Pharisees chose the easy way: 'Its [interpretation] concerns the Man of Lies who misdirected many with deceptive words, for they have chosen easy things (*baḥaru baqalot*) and did not listen to the Interpreter of Knowledge' (4QpPs^a frs. 1–2 1: 18–19 [4Q171]). Furthermore, it is for this very reason that they called the Pharisees *dorshe ha-halaqot*. This nickname is literally translated as 'seekers of smooth things', but the expression means: 'those looking for easy interpretations'. It has been rightly suggested that this denomination is a wordplay on the Hebrew *dorshe halakhot* (exegetes of *halakhah*), which is how the Pharisees thought of themselves.

The tendency of priestly *halakhah* toward stringency may be better understood in light of Sadducean religiosity as it emerges in Josephus' depiction in *Antiquities* quoted above and from some passages in the scrolls. The Sadducean rejection of tradition as a reliable source for God's will and their sole dependence on scripture, developed their religiosity to be what modern sociologists have termed a 'text based religiosity' (Soloveitchik 1994). This had some unavoidable consequences, of which one is this tendency towards stringent halakhic norms. While members of the Pharisaic society feel relatively greater confidence in their actions, which they perform in the accustomed manner, the sectarians lived in a constant anxiety about whether they were fulfilling their religious commitments properly. This is the picture that emerges from various Qumran texts. Thus the author of the Thanksgiving Psalms (Hodayot) prays: 'I will find the proper reply, prostrating myself and...for my rebellion, seeking a spirit of...encouraging myself by [Your] h[oly] spirit, clinging to the truth of Your covenant, [serv]ing You in truth and a perfect heart and loving [Your holy name]' (1QH^a 8: 14–15). The desire 'to return to (p. 609) the Law of Moses [according to all he commanded] with all his heart and with all his mind', (1QS 5: 8–9) necessarily leads to enhanced halakhic stringency, because in every case where there is a seeming gap between the demands of the text and actual practice, the text takes precedence over accepted convention. Moreover, wherever the text is open to various explanations, the most exacting interpretation prevails (Schremer 2001: 67–8).

Sectarian rhetoric against the Pharisees is, therefore, an expression of their psychological and theological frustration in the face of the religious behaviour of their rivals. While they were investing so much energy in living an ascetic lifestyle in order to fulfil the commandments of the Torah properly, the Pharisees were conducting relatively easy and comfortable lives and still considered themselves to be righteous. Ridiculing an opponent using contemptuous language is the weapon of the weak. It is useful only for internal purposes, to strengthen the community's members, but it is ineffective for winning a real battle.

Daniel R. Schwartz has suggested a different characteristic of the priestly *halakhah*. He portrays priestly *halakhah* as realistic, as opposed to Pharisaic *halakhah*, which is nominalistic. As defined by Yohanan Silman (upon whom Schwartz based his argument) a realistic conception of *halakhah* views commandments as 'guidelines, based in independently existing situations, which man, due to the grace of the wisdom-giving God, may introduce among his considerations by accepting the yoke of the commandments'. Put simply, *halakhah* forms a legal system that is bound to nature and reality. A nominalistic approach, on the other hand, views the commandments as 'orders resultant from the will of the commanding God' (Silman 1984–85). According to this worldview, it is the Torah that creates the legal status of objects and activities. *Halakhah* itself decides what is permitted and what is prohibited,

what is pure and what causes impurity.

Schwartz was criticized, partly justifiably, by others (Elman 1996, Rubenstein 1999b). Two main arguments have been raised against his reading. The first is that within rabbinic literature itself, there are not a few statements grounded in the realistic view. The second is that defining any stance as realistic or nominalistic is by and large subjective. Corpse impurity, for example, may be seen as a natural result of death, and thus a reflection of reality for some people. It can also be seen, in accord with the nominalistic view, as representing God's arbitrary decree and as not bound to any realistic circumstances; it may well be that some of the halakhic examples Schwartz cites in demonstration of the rabbinic nominalistic view were, in the rabbis' own eyes, a simple result of reality (see the updated rebuttal in Schwartz 2006).

Nevertheless, as far as Qumranic *halakhah* is concerned Schwartz is correct. This is because its realistic worldview can be found in overt statements in the scrolls and is not simply deduced from its rulings. Two explicit comments appear in the Damascus Document regarding Creation as the basis for the law. The author of the Damascus Document justifies his objection to polygamy as practised by the (p. 610) Pharisees because 'the foundation of the Creation is "male and female he created them" ' (Gen. 1: 27; CD 4: 18–19). He rules that 'all species of locusts [should not be eaten unless] put into fire or water while alive, for this is the precept of their creation' (CD 12: 14–15). Moreover, the realistic approach clarifies and explains several halakhic issues in the scrolls. These explanations in their turn reestablish and strengthen the theory as a whole.

However, whereas Schwartz characterized 'realism' simply as a legal system based on nature or reality, I suggest that the sect's own understanding of the law was somewhat more complicated. It is not just that the law supposedly is based on reality and nature, but rather, that reality is supposed to reflect the law because God created the world according to the law. It therefore quickly becomes apparent that the principle of the 'foundation of the Creation' in the Damascus Document is very similar to (or even identical with) the Jubilee's idea of 'laws written on the heavenly tablets'.

In no less than nineteen instances, Jubilees notes that various laws implemented in the patriarchal period were written on the heavenly tablets. Sometimes, we find after the description of an act '**for so** it is written on the heavenly tablets'. On other occasions, the concluding comment of the passage is: 'it was **therefore** (*ʿal ken*) written on the heavenly tablets'. As Cana Werman notes, all the events or actions described by the latter phrase are not random human decisions, but rather an outcome of divine intervention in the world, implying that God administers his world in a just and proper manner, a manner that was engraved on the heavenly tablets (Werman 2002). In both cases, the laws written on the heavenly tablets preceded Creation, or, in other words, the laws are the foundations of Creation.

Qumran marriage law is a good example of the interrelationship between the two legal concepts: 'the foundation of creation' and 'the laws written on the heavenly tablets'. The above mentioned passage from the Damascus Document (4: 18–19) actually forbids not only polygamy but also remarriage after divorce. The author of the Damascus Document accused his opponents for 'taking two wives in their lives, while the foundation of the creation is "male and female he created them" '. Most scholars agree that the words 'in their lives' mean that neither the man nor the woman is allowed to remarry as long as their former spouse is still alive (Vermes 1947; Fitzmyer 1978; Brin 1997; Broshi 1992: 66). Now, while the ban on polygamy is justified by the argument: 'the foundation of the creation is "male and female he created them" ', where, we should ask, did the author of the Damascus Document take the prohibition on remarriage after divorce from?

This I suggest is based on Genesis 2:24: '**Therefore** (*ʿal ken*) a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh', which in light of the above discussion, may be translated in a Jubilees-like manner as: 'For so it is written on the heavenly tablets, that a man leaves his father and his mother and (p. 611) clings to his wife, and they become one flesh'. A 'realistic' reading of this verse would point to the source for the fundamental principle of Qumranic matrimonial law, and that is that marriage is constituted not by a contract or any other legal agreement, but by the physical union between a man and a woman (Shemesh 1998). Such an understanding of marriage bears several halakhic consequences: the most important is that as a result of the physical aspect of the union between the man and his wife, the marital tie is unbreakable and cannot be untied as long as both are alive. Indeed, the same law later appears in the New Testament in the name of Jesus: 'But from the beginning of Creation, "God made them male and female. " "For this reason a man shall leave his father and

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mother and be joined to his wife and the two shall become one flesh.” So they are no longer two, but one flesh. What therefore God has joined together, let no man put asunder’ (Mark 10: 6–9). Here, too, the verse quoted as the origin of the law is Gen. 2: 24, and it is introduced with an expression very similar to what is used in the Damascus Document: ‘from the beginning of Creation’.

To sum up, we may say that the laws of marriage are a classic example of the Qumranic conception of ‘laws written on the heavenly tablets’ that are reflected in nature and reality. It was written on the heavenly tablets that ‘a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh’. Therefore, their physical union creates the unbreakable marital bonds between them.

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The two-hundred-year gap between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Mishnah* enables two different models to describe the relationship between these two bodies of halakhic literature. According to one model, which I term ‘developmental’, Qumran *halakhah* represents ‘old’ halakhic traditions, whereas rabbinic *halakhah* is the result of a new, post-destruction development. According to the other model, which I term ‘reflective’, rabbinic *halakhah* is an accurate reflection of the legal tradition of their forerunners: the pre-70 CE Pharisees. It assumes that halakhic disputes between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Tannaitic literature reflect already existing Second Temple period disputes, namely, that they represent the differences between Pharisee and Sadducee *halakhah*.

In fact both models coexist and they even interact to some extent. The ‘developmental’ model applies when Qumranic sources do not mention other opinions (explicitly or implicitly), but just state the legal requirement, and the opposing rabbinic view is known to us only from post-70 CE literature. It is (p. 612) even more so in cases where traces of ‘old’ *halakhah* can still be detected in the Tannaitic corpus itself. Scholars have already noted that in not a few cases, when sectarian parallels are available, the views of the school of Shammai or the halakhic stance of Rabbi Eliezer (who himself was from the School of Shammai), are identical or at least similar to those found in the scrolls. In such cases, we may assume that the *halakhah* in the scrolls represents the accepted norm of their day, an assumption that explains why the school of Shammai and Rabbi Eliezer still hold fast to this halakhic tradition. It was most probably the School of Hillel and their followers who were responsible for promoting changes in *halakhah*.

Rabbi Eliezer represents ‘old’ *halakhah* not only with regard to its rulings but also with regard to its conceptions. He was the one who, in line with the sectarian view of the divine origin of their exegesis, asked for heavenly support for his halakhic stance in the course of his debate with the rabbis. In line with the developmental model, this means that the shift from divine origin to human authority with regard to scriptural exegesis was a relatively late development that took place within rabbinic circles themselves. I argued above that the uniformity of the scrolls is a necessary component of the belief in the divine origin of *halakhah* and that the emergence of the phenomenon of disputes in Tannaitic literature was possible due to the belief in human autonomy and freedom to interpret God’s commandments. Indeed, we can still detect some textual units in the early layers of the *mishnah* that are unanimous and unified. Such, for example, are the lists of transgressors and their various punishments found in the second half of tractate *Sanhedrin*. Throughout this substantial textual unit, not a single dispute is recorded nor is any sage’s name mentioned, just as in Qumranic literature.

On the other hand, the recommendation of the rabbis in t. Qidd. 1: 4 for men to marry their nieces complies with the ‘reflective model’. As evident from the Damascus Document, this matter was disputed by the Pharisees, who permitted it, and the Sadducees, who forbade it, during the time of the Temple. Nonetheless, this is only a partial picture of a more dynamic and complicated picture. As I argued above, the prohibition of the priestly *halakhah* on uncle-niece marriage was an innovation, the result of a creative legal *midrash*, which was a secondary development of the basic *midrash*, which originally served only to authorize an existing halakhic norm and ground it in scripture. The Pharisees resisted this Sadducee notion at first, and held fast to their ‘traditional’ religiosity. Over time, however, the rabbis developed highly sophisticated midrashic techniques themselves, a process that reached its highest refinements in the school of Rabbi Akiva, which resulted in new halakhic norms as well. This gradual shift of rabbinic literature towards the ‘textual’ religiosity as described above marks an unnoticed silent victory of the Sadducees over the Pharisees. (p. 613)

Suggested Reading

This article is based on my book, Shemesh (2009). Sanders (1992) is a useful and balanced introduction to Judaism as practised before the destruction of the Temple. Schiffman's studies (1975 and 1983) are detailed and comprehensive discussions of the Sabbath Code in the Damascus Document (1975) and Sectarian Law (1983). An early important collection of articles discussing various aspects of Qumranic halakha is J. Baumgarten (1977). Kahana (2006) is the most up-to-date survey of the Tannaitic collections of legal *midrash*, and Strack and Stemberger (1996: 15–130) is a basic introduction to rabbinic hermeneutical principles.

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The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

Prayer as a service to God by the people is one of the most far reaching of religious practices, forming a central part of the religious practice of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; yet there is still much uncertainty about how this developed within Judaism and why. Scrolls from Qumran provide the most important corpus of evidence to shed light on the critical period during the days of the Second Temple. This article presents a case study for prayer in ancient Judaism. It is organized around the types of questions being asked: questions of definition and classification, textual questions, historical questions, questions concerning context, and questions of ideology and theology. There is a good deal of overlap between these categories, but they are to be treated separately for heuristic purposes.

Keywords: prayer, ideology, theology, Judaism, Qumran scrolls, Second Temple

PRAYER as a service to God by the people is one of the most far-reaching of religious practices, forming a central part of the religious practice of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, yet there is still much uncertainty about how this developed within Judaism and why.¹ Unquestionably, scrolls from Qumran provide the most important corpus of evidence to shed light on the critical period during the days of the Second Temple. Although it is impossible to give a precise catalogue (see Chazon 1998: 244, 258; Lange 2002: 136–9; Schuller 2004), there are more than a hundred different prayers and at least a hundred previously unknown different religious poems represented among the manuscripts from Qumran. In addition, there are (p. 618) parts of 125 psalms known from the Psalter of the Hebrew Bible (see Flint 1997), three other psalms known from ancient versions (Pss. 151, 154, 155), and a few other prayers known from the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g. prayers in Tobit; the wisdom poem in LXX Sir. 51: 13–20; and the prayer of Levi in the Aramaic Levi Document; see Schuller 2004: 416–17). Beyond the sheer size of the corpus, the nature of the prayer material is unique. Many of the prayers and psalms are not in narrative contexts but in liturgical collections, often with rubrics indicating occasions of use, for example days of the week, days of a month, Sabbath, festivals, and purification rituals.

Furthermore, these were all found in the context of a community about which we have unprecedented information, from archaeology, texts preserved and composed by the group, and possible third-party descriptions (Philo, Josephus, and Pliny on the Essenes). The data also include descriptions and instructions for corporate prayer in the rule books (e.g. 1QS 6: 7–8), and artefacts related to prayer practice (*Tefillin*). In short, this is the richest case study for prayer in ancient Judaism, and among the richest for any group in the ancient world. So far, however, the work of integrating this evidence into broader descriptions of Jewish prayer remains in its early stages.

This article will be organized around the types of questions being asked: questions of definition and classification, textual questions, historical questions, questions concerning context, and questions of ideology and theology. There is a good deal of overlap between these categories, but they will be treated separately for heuristic

purposes.

Questions of Definition and Classification

So far, most scholarship on the prayer material from Qumran has been pursued primarily as a *literary* task, focusing on prayer as textual and verbal (e.g. Nitzan 1994: xiii). In various attempts to classify the data (Chazon 1998: 258–68; 2000b; Falk 1999a; Schuller 2004: 418–22) one finds a mixture of functional categories (distinguished by occasions of use) and literary categories (poetry, literary context). Esther Chazon proposes seven categories: (1) liturgies for fixed prayer times; (2) ceremonial liturgies; (3) eschatological prayers; (4) magical incantations; (5) psalmic collections; (6) Hodayot hymns; (7) prayers embedded in narratives. Eileen Schuller questions whether these are all meaningful distinctions and recommends streamlining them to four categories: (1) Liturgies for fixed prayer times; (2) ceremonial liturgies and eschatological prayers; (3) poetic prayer compositions; (4) prayers embedded in narratives.

(p. 619) Focus on texts is inescapable, since the accessible evidence is almost entirely textual. The phenomena of prayer, however, are far broader than the textual and verbal. Our data are limited not only by the fragmentary nature of texts and the chance preservation of certain texts, but by the fact that the vast majority of relevant prayer data—the non-textual and non-verbal aspects of the phenomena of prayer—are almost entirely beyond our grasp. Texts—constituting the vast majority of our accessible data—represent merely a subset of the phenomena of prayer. A text, however, is not a prayer. Prayer involves intention and significance. A holistic study of the phenomena of prayer (see Hoffman 1987) pays attention to its meaning, intent, and effect in the totality of the living community. For this, it is necessary to draw on insights from cross-cultural studies of religion in the social sciences (e.g. Geertz 1973; Bell 1997).

Russell Arnold (2006: 8) draws on the definition of prayer by Bruce Malina (1980: 215; see Neyrey 2007: 14–20) based on cross-cultural theories of communication: ‘Prayer is a socially meaningful act of communication, bearing directly upon persons perceived as somehow supporting, maintaining, and controlling the order of existence of the one praying, and performed with the purpose of getting results from or in the interaction of communication’. Such a definition, informed by anthropological studies, allows for non-verbal aspects of prayer, and explicitly focuses on the intended effect rather than on surface features. Malina, for example, distinguishes whether the aim is a transformation or confirmation of status (see Neyrey 2007: 56–60). A useful example of the value of such an approach is the genre-bending case of the Qumran covenant ceremony (1QS 1: 18–2: 18). Because of the confession of sin, scholars have often compared this ritual with penitential prayers such as Nehemiah 9, but there are important differences: the Qumran texts have blessings on the congregation and curses on outsiders instead of a petition for forgiveness (Falk 1998: 219–26). Considering the ritual holistically, these are not minor adaptations of form; rather, the ritual has a fundamentally different function and meaning: it serves primarily as a ceremony of confirmation rather than a ritual of transformation (Arnold 2006: 54–80; 2007). Indeed, this example is symptomatic of the difficulty in trying to define such a category as penitential prayer in literary terms. Schuller (2007) suggests that it might be more productive to consider the function of confession and penitence within prayers (cf. Chazon 2007; Nitzan 2007).

A further problem concerns terminology. Eileen Schuller (1998) has noted the inappropriateness of using terminology and classifications derived from form-criticism of the Hebrew Bible. She suggests that it may be preferable to use the Hebrew terms employed in the texts themselves (e.g. *tefillah*, *berakhah*, *mizmor*, *tehillah*, *hodah*, *shir*; verbs *barakh*, *shabach*, *hallel*, etc.). Still, such terms do not seem to be used in a technical or consistent manner. It is not clear that different terms correspond to distinct types of prayer. The matter requires a more thoroughgoing synchronic study of prayer terminology in the Second Temple period. **(p. 620)**

Textual Questions

Because numerous scrolls contain a collection of prayers or poems of similar type, the reconstruction of the scroll affects how one perceives the formal character and content of the prayers/poems. Until fairly recently, scholarly discussion of the Hodayot and the Words of the Luminaries was based on incorrect arrangements of the scrolls. An authoritative critical edition of the largest Hodayot manuscript (1QH^a) has recently been published (Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom 2008 [DJD XL]), and an edition of the Words of the Luminaries is in process (Chazon). With a

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number of the prayer scrolls, all attempts at reconstruction remain unsatisfactory. This is especially true with two important liturgical collections. Daily Prayers (4Q503) is a collection of formulaic blessings for evening and morning of each day of a month. A correction to the positioning of a few fragments reveals that on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month may be allusions to Passover, raising the possibility that this is a collection of prayers particular to the month of Nisan (Falk 1998: 29–35, 2000). It also seems that prayers falling on Sabbath mention the holy character of the day and praise in common with angels (Chazon 1992–93).

Discerning motifs tailored to the occasion depends on a correct reconstruction of the scroll, and many of the fragments so far defy reliable placement. Similarly, the identification of prayers in Festival Prayers (1Q34; 4Q507, 4Q508, 4Q509+505) is very uncertain. It is probable that the collection contains petitions for each festival throughout the year, but there is only a single heading identifying a prayer for the Day of Atonement. Scholars have tried to identify the other prayers by means of motifs and the order of prayers starting with the autumn New Year (see Falk 1998: 157–82), but no reconstruction has so far succeeded in producing a convincing order of festivals, casting considerable uncertainty over the understanding of the overall scroll. Are there multiple prayers for some festivals? Are the festivals presented in their annual sequence? Do the four copies present the festivals in the same order? None of this is clear. A more extensive reconstruction of both of these works is necessary.

Second, in collections of highly formulaic prayers, the editor used recurring formulas as a major tool in reconstructing a scroll and restoring lost content (esp. the prayers in DJD VII). Such restorations were offered tentatively, but through repetition in subsequent translations and discussions they have produced a misleading impression that the prayer formulas are more consistent than what the actual data supports. In fact, the extant data shows only a tendency toward consistency, with generous variation.

Beyond matters of establishing the text, it is worth pausing to reflect on what it means to study prayer—a social phenomenon—with textual tools. The (p. 621) ultimate object of study is not the reconstructed history of a text and the theology articulated in those texts, but access to the community at prayer (Hoffman 1987; 1991: 38).

Physical aspects of prayer texts are primary evidence for the social function of prayer, but hitherto this has received little attention. First of all, the very existence of written prayers at Qumran—and moreover in liturgical collections—is meaningful. It is necessary here to distinguish between prayers in literary contexts and textualized prayers. Literary prayers may be a more or less accurate record of a prayer that was prayed or it may be purely the author's creation. Either way, to some degree it may reflect actual prayer practice, but it is written primarily to advance literary purposes. A great deal of the surviving prayer evidence in the Greco-Roman period is of this kind, and there are numerous studies that examine such prayers for what can be learned about the practice of prayer, and about the literary function (e.g. prayers in Josephus, Jonquière 2007; Greek prayers, Pulleyn 1997).

Textualized prayers are written for a purpose related to the function of prayer. Such prayer texts, including the numerous examples at Qumran, constitute actual artefacts of prayer. In the Greco-Roman world, written prayers appeared in various forms and served various purposes, well surveyed by Klinghardt (1999). Most relevant for comparison to Qumran are cult liturgies (e.g. the Iguvine Tables) and various magical texts (see Graf 1991; Levene 2005; Wright 2005). In consideration of the broader context in the Hellenistic world, the Qumran liturgical scrolls are not unusual for the practices they attest so much as for what survives: it is a surprise to find prayer scrolls actually extant, and especially scrolls of prose prayers. They provide evidence, then, not only for the study of Jewish prayer, but also for the broader phenomenon of the use of prayer texts in voluntary associations in the Hellenistic world, yielding the most useful examples.

What was the status of the prayer scrolls at Qumran? Were they prepared and handled with special reverence? Much of the relevant data on physical features of scrolls and scribal practice are available in the exhaustive research of Emanuel Tov (2004). These need to be analysed carefully for evidence on liturgical scrolls, but even a quick survey of the readily apparent characteristics shows rich potential for further study. Prayer texts were significantly more prone to be written on papyrus and/or as opisthographs than any other genre at Qumran (see Tov 2004: 44–53, 68–73, 289–97). Other considerations include size, quality, and scribal conventions. A further consideration is the language of prayer. Although Aramaic was common for popular prayer at the time (e.g. Jesus; see Heinemann 1977: 159, 190–2), all of the liturgical texts at Qumran are in Hebrew, as are also the statutory prayers of the synagogue. (p. 622)

Literary Questions

With regard to the prayer texts, there are four large literary questions requiring further research.

Classification of Prayers at Qumran

Not surprisingly, the investigation of prayer material among the Dead Sea Scrolls has been dominated by perspectives, questions, expectations, and categories drawn from the study of the Hebrew Bible—especially form-criticism of the Psalter—and the later synagogue liturgy. For example, Nitzan's study of Qumran prayers (1994) described them in terms of formal categories and genres developed by Gunkel and others on the basis of prayer and poetry in the Hebrew Bible. Certainly there is continuity and much scope for comparison in a developmental trajectory, but approaching the Qumran prayer data with external concerns and categories fails to do justice to the evidence on its own terms, and these formal categories are inadequate to describe the new developments of liturgical prayer attested at Qumran. On the one hand, they can appear as decayed versions of classical forms originally associated with the Temple cult—as the poetry from the Dead Sea Scrolls has often been judged. On the other hand, they can appear as early experiments anticipating what emerge as new classical forms of the synagogue (e.g. the rabbinic *berakhah*). Either way, they are assigned as an intermediate stage between the 'no longer' and 'not yet'. There is need for a comprehensive form-critical classification of the prayers from Qumran in their synchronic context. This study should pay attention to prayer forms that are group-specific.

Scriptural Influence on Prayer

One of the most prominent literary features of Jewish prayers in the Second Temple period—and those at Qumran in particular—is the abundant use of language, images, and motifs from authoritative texts. Although scholars have long recognized the phenomenon—sometimes described as a mosaic or anthological style—in recent years there has been growing appreciation of the diversity of this usage and its creativity (see Schuller 1986: 10–12). There have been attempts to classify various aspects of this scriptural influence on prayer (e.g. Kittel 1981: 48–55; Newman 1999: esp. 202; Hughes 2006: 41–55; Langer 2007), for example distinguishing use of scriptural wording, formal patterns, or more general imagery, style, and interpretative tradition; whether such use is deliberate or unconscious; and whether the goal is emulative or interpretive. Esther Chazon (2006) demonstrates in (p. 623) *Words of the Luminaries* four different techniques of incorporating scriptural material: a scriptural passage as a model; a chain of linked scriptural passages; a patchwork of 'biblical quotations, allusions, and expressions together with new material'; and 'free composition using isolated biblical expressions, motifs, and formulas' (28). She makes the important observation that this negates a common assumption that 'different types of biblical use and borrowing reflect different attitudes toward Scripture and its authority' (41).

Detailed studies reveal at times sophisticated ways that scripture is adapted and brought into midrashic interactions in prayers that seem to bear meaning. The midrashic use of the priestly benediction (Num. 6: 24–6) as a basis for new blessings has long been recognized (1QS 2: 2–4; 1QSb). Sometimes a prayer uses one scriptural text as a base that is modified by interaction with other passages, for example Nehemiah 9 as a framework for the Communal Confession 4Q393 (Falk 1999a); Ps. 103 as a basis for the Berakhot (Nitzan 1999); Psalm 40 as a model for the petitionary prayer in 4Q160 (Jassen 2006); and similar phenomena in the laments (Berlin 2003).

Further research is needed, but with some additional considerations. First, the matter should be studied as part of the broader phenomenon of intertextuality, rather than constrained by somewhat anachronistic notions of 'scripture'. For example, see the possible influence of Jubilees 1 in the Communal Confession of 4Q393 (Falk 1999a: 142–5). Second, in comparison with the larger corpus of prayer in the Second Temple period, is there any evidence for group-specific distinctives with regard to techniques and passages used? Third, comparison should also be made with rabbinic prayer. Continuity between Qumran and rabbinic prayer is mostly due to shared scriptural language, models, and conventions for prayer (Sarason 2001: 175–7). The types of passages and methods of incorporating and adapting merit detailed comparison, as well as the different ideologies concerning the relationship between prayer and scripture (see Naeh 2006 and other articles in Kugel 2006). Fourth, a comparison with intertextuality in contemporary Greek hymns may also shed some light.

Interaction with Other Genres at Qumran

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Another aspect of intertextuality is the interaction with texts of other genres at Qumran. Although the Berakhot (4QBer) seem to be related to the Covenant Ceremony (1QS 1–2), there are close similarities with the blessings and curses of the War Rule (see Nitzan 1999). Some scholars find in the Hodayot influence from the covenant ceremony (1QS1–2; Holm-Nielsen 1960: 344–5), and from wisdom texts (Tanzer 1987; Goff 2004). There seems to be some intertextual relationship among the various hymns of times of prayer (1QS 10: 1–14; 1QH^a 20: 4–11; 1QM 14: 12–14; 4QBer^a fr. 1 2: 8–11).

(p. 624) Multiple Recensions

There seems to be evidence of different recensions of some prayers and liturgical texts. The eight Hodayot manuscripts show variant orderings of hymns and collections of different character (Schuller 1994; 1999; 2001b; Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom 2008). 1QH^a, the best known and most complete copy, is a mixed collection of what scholars often call Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns, but among the Cave 4 copies are collections with different arrangements, and shorter collections with perhaps only Community Hymns (4QH^a, 4QH^e) or only Teacher Hymns (4QH^c). It is possible that some of this may be due to development or redaction, but such variation may alternatively reflect selection for different purposes, including liturgical or study. There is only minor variation in the content of hymns. One hymn, however—the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn—appears in two different recensions (Eshel 1996; Wise 2000): a long version appears in three collections of Hodayot hymns (4QH^a [4Q427] fr. 7 col. 1; 1QH^a 25–26; 4Q471b/4Q431). There is a single copy of a shorter recension (4Q491c), lacking some of the language comparing the speaker to the angels but also including other unique material, for example a contrast with other humans and a reference to establishing the horn of the Messiah. How the two versions might be related (Eshel 1996: 201; Wise 2000: 213–16), and whether both were used liturgically in some way remains unclear. It is not impossible that the short version is an instance of a different genre incorporated into a hymn.

The five manuscripts of Berakhot (4Q286–290; see DJD XI) seem to be related to the liturgy for the covenant ceremony described also in the Rule of the Community (1QS 1: 18–2: 18), including confession, blessings and curses, a census of the community, and expulsion of sinners (Nitzan 2000a). Nitzan (1999) argues that the blessings in two copies (4QBer^a and 4QBer^b) follow the same outline, but are different in content. Furthermore, they differ from the formulations in 1QS 1–2. The suggestion requires further examination, but with caution: 1QS 1–2 should not be treated as a text of the liturgy, and the fragmentary nature of the Berakhot manuscripts makes it very uncertain how they are related to each other.

There seem to be two recensions of a war prayer in the manuscripts of the War Rule: one version in 1QM 19: 1–8 and 4Q492 fr. 1, and a more expanded version in 1QM 22: 7–16 (Yishay 2007). Apparently there are also two different versions of Psalm 154, one lacking the messianic reference to raising up the horn of Jacob (4Q448; 11QPs^a 181–16; see Eshel 1996: 193). It is important, then, to keep open the possibility that other cases of multiple copies of prayers—such as the Non-Canonical Psalms, Barki Nafshi, and the Festival Prayers—could also represent different recensions. (p. 625)

Historical Questions

The main historical questions that have dominated scholarship on Qumran prayers are primarily diachronic in concern: when and how did a certain feature develop? Looking backward, scholars have traced lines of development from prayers and songs attested in the Hebrew Bible (although it is not proper to speak of a ‘Bible’ per se at this point). Looking forward, there has been even more effort to trace lines of continuity with the liturgy of the later synagogue and with Christian liturgy.

There are excellent summaries of the main theories on the historical development of Jewish liturgy (e.g. Sarason 1978; Reif 1993: 1–21); all that is necessary here is to point out the broad trends and relevant questions.

(1) One model posits that there was an official institution of the main elements of the synagogue liturgy—chiefly the *Shema* and *Amidah*—early in the Second Temple period. This model is especially associated with Leopold Zunz in the early nineteenth century and Ismar Elbogen and Louis Finkelstein in the early twentieth century, who sought to reconstruct the *Urtext* of prayers by means of philological study of medieval rites and Talmudic evidence.

(2) The predominant model over the last several decades is somewhat the reverse of this: diverse prayer forms flourished in various settings during the Second Temple period, and only after the destruction of the Temple did the rabbis institute official prayer forms, drawing on these resources. This is particularly associated with the form-critical research of Joseph Heinemann (1977; orig. pub. 1964), who emphasized the popular and oral nature of prayer in the Second Temple period, and the gradual development of themes and formulations. Standardized prayer texts were not fully achieved even in the Talmudic period (Hoffman 1979; Reif 1993).

(3) Ezra Fleischer has championed a third model in a series of Hebrew articles since 1990 (see summary and bibliography by Langer 1999, 2000; Fleischer 2000): that the essence of rabbinic liturgy is its conception of communal prayer as an obligatory service to God and that this was a unique innovation of the rabbis at Yavneh in the decades after 70 CE to compensate for the loss of the Temple. This required fixed texts instituted from the beginning, and neither the conception nor the prayers had earlier precedent. In general, Fleischer's theory has earned some support for its emphasis on the uniqueness of rabbinic prayer, and criticism for its optimism that fixed texts of prayers achieved wide authority already in the Tannaitic period (see Langer 2003; Sarason 2003, 168–70; Tabory 2006: 308–11; also Reif 1993: 53–121; Tabory 1999).

Where does the Qumran evidence fit into this discussion and how does it contribute? There is still no thorough integration of the data from Qumran in a broad synthesis of early Jewish prayer, apart from piecemeal use, although it is (p. 626) much needed (see Reif 2006: 33–49). In part, this is due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts and the state of research, the details of which are little known outside of a small circle of specialists. But of equal impact, there is a fundamental disagreement among scholars about the possible relevance of the Qumran prayers for Judaism more generally. There are three main positions:

(1) The Qumran prayers are evidence that major elements of the synagogue liturgy were established in the Second Temple period (first model). For example, Moshe Weinfeld argued on the basis of thematic and verbal similarities that certain prayers of the synagogue were known at Qumran: one of the blessings of the *Shema* (*Yotzer Or*), the morning benedictions (*Birkot ha-Shakhar*), the morning prayers known as *Pesukei de-Zimra*, a cluster of benedictions in the *Amidah*, and the Grace After Meals (Weinfeld 1976, 1979, 1988, 1992a, 1992b, 2005). Following David Flusser (1995), Stephen Hultgren (2008) argues on the basis of thematic and verbal parallels that the Messianic Apocalypse 4Q521 shows knowledge of the *Amidah* among the pre-Christian Hasidim. It is questionable whether the proposed parallels can support these conclusions.

(2) The Qumran prayers are examples of the diversity of prayer traditions in the Second Temple period (second model). Thematic and verbal similarities between these—as well as other prayers such as in Ben Sira, the books of Maccabees, Psalms of Solomon, and the Apostolic Constitutions—and the rabbinic liturgy are due to the fact that the latter drew on the common stock of prayer traditions represented by the former. This was the view of Heinemann on the basis of the limited amount of Qumran prayer material known to him, and some modified variation of this is held by most experts on Qumran prayer (e.g. Chazon 1994; Nitzan 1994; Falk 1998, 2003; Eshel 1999; Reif 2003).

(3) The Qumran prayers are of little relevance to the historical development of rabbinic prayer except as a remote analogue (third model). They are the unique products of a sectarian group as replacements for the sacrificial cult from which they had withdrawn, in some ways anticipating the rabbinic development of prayer after the destruction of the Temple (Talmon 1989). For Fleischer they are essentially the exception that proves the rule that there was no precedent for the rabbinic institution of obligatory communal prayer in Second Temple Judaism.

In order to take the Qumran data seriously into account, then, the issues of provenance and motivation are critical. To what degree are the practices unique or representative at the time? Did they spring from sectarian impulses, for example as part of a socio-religious withdrawal from the Temple cult? Some liturgical materials are explicitly sectarian (see Newsom 1990), such as blessings related to the covenant ceremony (4QBer; 11QBer; see 1QS 1: 18–2: 18), but there is uncertainty and disagreement over others (e.g. Daily Prayers and Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice; Falk 1998: 22–9, 126–30). Nevertheless, two observations are particularly important. On the basis of its presentation of history and its early dating (middle (p. 627) of the second century BCE or earlier), a strong case can be made that the collection of prayers for days of the week labelled Words of the Luminaries was not the product of a separatist sect (Chazon 1992). Furthermore, as a group, the liturgical prayers found at Qumran are not uniform, but are of diverse origin (Falk 1998: 253). The implications of these points are profound: they would

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seem to point to phenomena wider than the scope of a sectarian community needing to find a substitute for the Temple cult. How widespread, though, is still very much up for discussion. There is no basis for assuming a generally observed liturgy of prayers among Jews of the time.

In general, similarities between prayer practices attested at Qumran and rabbinic liturgy include the conception of communal prayer as a religious obligation with regulated times and wording, the occasions for prayer (daily as well as Sabbath and festivals), a liturgical cycle including a similar variety of types of prayer (blessings, petitions, praise), an impulse to frame prayers with blessing formulas, and thematic and verbal similarities. Most of the parallels with rabbinic liturgy that have been proposed by various scholars are of little consequence (see Sarason 2001), but some are particularly noteworthy (for bibliography and discussion see Falk 1998: 49–53, 73–8, 149–52, 208–13; Chazon 1994: 277–84):

- special praise and avoidance of petition on the Sabbath (Words of the Luminaries; Daily Prayers; Chazon 1992–93);
- morning blessings for the renewal of light (Daily Prayers; cf. *Shema* blessing);
- certain dominant motifs (election, gathering of exiles, spiritual strengthening);
- a cluster of petitions for knowledge, repentance, and forgiveness (Words of the Luminaries, etc.; cf. *Amidah*);
- certain specific phrasings without biblical precedent: ‘who chose us from all the nations’ (Daily Prayers, cf. rabbinic Torah blessing); ‘to implant Torah in our heart’ (Words of the Luminaries, cf. Torah blessing); ‘circumcise the foreskin of our heart’ (Words of the Luminaries, cf. *Amidah*).

These are mostly in prayers judged to be of non-sectarian origin, and show continuity with other prayers from Second Temple period.

Such similarities do not, however, suggest identity or even linear relationship. The differences are also significant. Although both share the concept of appointed times for prayer, neither the times nor the rationale are necessarily the same. In fact, even among the Dead Sea Scrolls it is not clear that there is a singular pattern of daily times of prayer (see Chazon 2000c) or a uniform model (astronomical cycle, Temple sacrifice, or angelic praise). The systems of the prayer cycles differ. The rabbinic liturgy primarily uses a small number of prayers that are repeated every day with modifications for Sabbaths and festivals, whereas the evidence at Qumran attests unique prayers for each day, Sabbath, and festival. The use of blessing formulas in the prayers at Qumran shows a tendency toward consistent style and usage that is reflected also in other prayers of the Second Temple period, (p. 628) and a similar inclination to the rabbinic usage (Schuller 1990; Falk 1998: 79–84). On the whole, the evidence concerning benediction forms accords well with the theory of Heinemann. Nevertheless, both in theory and form the rabbinic *berakah* is consciously unique, and not simply a further development of Second Temple practice (Tabory 2006: 284–6). The customizing of prayer forms to reinforce socio-religious identity requires further study.

With regard to specific prayers, some find allusion to the practice of daily recitation of the *Shema* in the poem on times of prayer at the end of the Community Rule (1QS 10: 10–14), perhaps along with the Decalogue and blessings (Falk 1998: 113–18), but as others have pointed out, this may be reading too much into the poetic language. The numerous *Tefillin* found at Qumran show similar selection of passages as in rabbinic practice (Tov 1997; Schiffman 2000), but there is no description of their use and hence no certainty that these imply a practice of prayer (with a framework of blessings) as opposed to meditation (see Let. Arist. 159). A collection of short blessings for sunrise and sunset (4Q503 Daily Prayers) emphasize God's renewal of lights and common praise with angels, themes associated with one of the blessings before the *Shema* in the synagogue liturgy. The possibility that this is a collection of blessings to be recited with the *Shema* is intriguing, but speculative. It shows a practice of blessings at the same time with similar themes, but there is no certainty for positing a connection between the two.

The situation is similar with the *Amidah*. Although there is a collection of daily petitions at Qumran (Words of the Luminaries) with thematic and even some verbal similarities to parts of the *Amidah*, it cannot be said to be an early version of that prayer. There are a number of prayers from the Second Temple period that give evidence of various series of blessings with some similar themes but quite different character (Falk 1998: 75–78; see Tabory 2003). The idea of joining with the heavenly praise is prominent in the Qumran prayers, but there is no evidence for recital of the angelic song analogous to the Qedushah that finds a place in the *Shema* and *Amidah* of the rabbinic liturgy (see Chazon 1999). It is also unknown whether blessings were recited in connection with Torah reading,

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either at Qumran or in Second Temple synagogues, although this seems probable (see Tabory 2006: 288–96). No prayer at Qumran can be certainly identified for this purpose.

In short, no prayer has turned up at Qumran that corresponds to a synagogue prayer, and this is true for all the evidence from the Second Temple period. On the one hand, Fleischer is correct to emphasize the uniqueness of the rabbinic liturgy established after 70 CE (see Sarason 2001: 177; Reif 2004: 446;). He is also correct to emphasize the distinctive nature of communal prayer as an obligatory service that is regulated by time and formulation. On the other hand, he underestimates the significance of this phenomenon attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and, as others have pointed out (see references above), overestimates what was accomplished at Yavneh. Overall, the Qumran evidence suggests various practices of communal prayer among different groups, with different styles and different motivations.

(p. 629) The larger lesson, however, is that asking questions of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the concerns of the history of the synagogue liturgy fails to do justice to the evidence. What is needed is a synchronic study of Jewish prayer in the Second Temple period (see e.g. Egger-Wenzel and Corley 2004; van der Horst and Newman 2008), and in the broader cross-cultural context of ancient Mediterranean society (see e.g. Kiley 1997; Sterling and van der Horst 2008), on its own terms, with the Qumran evidence as central. This needs to be carried out without being burdened by two common underlying assumptions: the centrality of a unified synagogue liturgy, and the exceptionalism of Jewish (and Christian) practice (see Harland 2003: 210–11; also Kiley 1997; Klinghardt 1999; van der Horst 1999).

Some ways forward emerge, which require more exploration. First, the importance of the Temple as the main source for the cross-fertilization of prayer practices in Jewish society needs to be taken seriously (Falk 1998: 254–5; 2000; with different argument, Regev 2005; see also Embry 2005). Second, one needs to take into account the diversity of Jewish religious associations in terms of character, function, and ideology (Richardson 1996; on the synagogue see Binder 1999; Levine 2000; Runesson 2001). There would be a marked difference between synagogues as household groups versus synagogues as large public institutions (e.g. the large Alexandrian synagogue described by Philo). Also, synagogues at a distance from Jerusalem would function differently from synagogues in Jerusalem, which would service the large pilgrim traffic and much of the focus would be the Temple. Third, one needs to consider the function of prayer in associations of various kinds in ancient Mediterranean society. There are analogues to communal prayer that is regulated and required in some societies of the Hellenistic world (Harland 2003: 71–2, 232).

Besides the collections of liturgical prayers, there were found at Qumran a large number of Psalms scrolls, and a large body of other religious poetry of various kinds (see Schuller 2003). Scholars are divided as to whether there was a place in the liturgy at Qumran for the singing of psalms and/or other poetry, or whether the communal liturgy consisted mostly of more simple prose prayers. Once again, discussion of the Qumran evidence has largely followed concern for a historical question about the synagogue: whether singing was a part of the synagogue liturgy during the Second Temple period. Many studies—and especially those concerned with the Jewish origins of Christian liturgy—have assumed that the singing of psalms was an established part of formal synagogue worship by the first century CE (e.g. Dix 1945: 39; Werner 1959; Sendry 1969). The main arguments in favour of this are the evidence for singing in early Christian assemblies and the incorporation of psalms and other poetry (*piyyut*) in the later synagogue liturgy. As others have shown, however, actual evidence for singing in pre-70 synagogues is lacking, and the rabbinic evidence mostly suggests that psalms became formalized in the synagogue liturgy only later, around the fourth century CE (McKinnon 1986; Wilson 1998; Rabinowitz 1944; Smith 1984; Smith 1994; Porter 2000; Hoffman **(p. 630)** 2003). Hence, there is interest in the question whether ‘canonical’ psalms and other poetry were used liturgically at Qumran.

A couple of initial comments are in order here. First, it must be admitted that the question both in general, and with regard to Qumran in particular, is hindered by incomplete evidence and tenuous arguments from silence. Second, the Qumran evidence is of uncertain relevance to what Jews did elsewhere, let alone in synagogues.

The problems have been well surveyed by Eileen Schuller (2003). References to songs, singing, and music in the scrolls are of uncertain significance because it is not clear whether the language is metaphorical or technical. The large number of Psalms scrolls (at least thirty) points to their importance and some kind of use, but although the existence of three Psalms commentaries (*pesharim*) and other evidence shows that the Psalms were the subject of

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study, there is no unambiguous evidence that they were recited or sung in communal liturgy at Qumran. There are a few features in some of the scrolls (e.g. addition of refrain to Psalm 145, apparent liturgical groupings) that might suggest liturgical use, but it is unclear whether they would pertain to use apart from the Temple.

With regard to other religious poetry found at Qumran, the question of possible liturgical use has focused mostly on the Hodayot, with very mixed conclusions. Some scholars have been inclined to regard the collection as not for liturgical use but for private devotional and instructional use, on the basis of features that it shares with much of the known 'extra-canonical' Jewish poetry of the Persian and Greek periods: a didactic character, abundant reuse of 'scriptural' language so that it appears derivative, a 'disintegration' of form and poetic style in comparison with the Psalter (e.g. Mowinckel 1967, vol. 2: 104–25). Bilhah Nitzan (1994: 321–65) adds two other features: its concrete references to personal experience and its overloaded style make it unsuitable for communal liturgical use, in contrast to the simple style and universal appeal of the liturgical prayers from Qumran and in the later synagogue.

Arguments in favour of a liturgical use of the Hodayot have often focused on their suitability for the annual covenant ceremony (see most recently Arnold 2006: 209–14) or at communal meals on the analogy of the Therapeutae banquets described by Philo (see most recently Newsom 2004: 202). Evidence from reconstruction of the Hodayot manuscripts has added other possible hints: rubrics associating hymns with the liturgical master—known as the *Maskil*—with times of prayer, and with intentions for both prayer and instruction, showing that these are not incompatible purposes (see Falk 1998: 100–3). Schuller has shown that the Cave 4 manuscripts represent different collections revealing more liturgical markers than previously appreciated, including calls to praise and first person plural speech (2003: 179). The implications of all this are still not clear. The Hodayot manuscripts do not represent liturgical orders like the collections discussed above, and their possible use in liturgy at Qumran remains uncertain.

(p. 631) Directions for Further Study

There are some lessons and directions to pursue.

Function in Qumran Poetry

First, the question of function needs to be considered systematically across the entire corpus of religious poetry now available from Qumran—some of which has yet received little study—as well as generally in Judaism of the Second Temple period, and more broadly in the ancient world (see Lattke 1991; Furley and Bremer 2001). There is no question that there is some liturgical poetry at Qumran. Some poetic pieces are included in liturgical collections that are otherwise predominantly prose prayers, especially the hymn for Sabbath in the Words of the Luminaries and a litany in the Festival Prayers (see Nitzan 1994: 345–8), both of which were probably not sectarian compositions. There are two poetical liturgical collections occurring in multiple copies—the probably sectarian Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (nine copies at Qumran, 4Q400–407, 11Q17; one at Masada) and the Berakhot (4Q286–290; 5 copies) for the sectarian covenant ceremony. Nitzan (1994: 345–8) has argued that there is a prosodic difference between liturgical and non-liturgical works at Qumran: liturgical works are either prose or with only simple and/or partial poetic features. This needs to be thoroughly reconsidered in a systematic study of the character of Jewish poetry in the Second Temple period (see e.g. Holm-Nielsen 1979) that includes all of the Dead Sea Scrolls data, and in relation to later liturgical poetry of the synagogue (*piyyut*; see van Bekkum 2008). There is some significant continuity of style and content between the litany that appears in the Festival Prayers (4Q509 frs. 12–13) and also in a Lamentation text (4Q501 fr. 1) and a later *piyyut* (see Falk 1998: 209–212). Newsom (1999: 6) finds similar linguistic features in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and those of the *piyyutim* and Hekhalot hymns as reflecting 'a mannered and artificial style characteristic of certain post-biblical liturgical poetry'. Such a broad investigation also needs to reassess the other common objection to liturgical use of this poetry, its studied use of scripture. Newman (1999) has highlighted the phenomenon of 'scripturalization' of prayer as typical in the Second Temple period. Laura Lieber (2008) has shown that the earliest *piyyutim* (the *selichot*) from around the fourth century CE are characterized by a densely allusive intertextual use of scripture in a listing style. Taken together with all this, the Qumran evidence adds more likelihood that religious poetry was used in communal worship in non-Temple settings. For example, a number of the Psalms of Solomon end with closing blessings on Israel similar to 4Q503 Daily Prayers.

Instructional and Devotional Functions

Second, liturgical use is not incompatible with instructional and devotional functions. Song addressed simultaneously to God and as instruction to others is (p. 632) attested in Philo's description of songs of praise among the Therapeutae (*Contemp. Life* 80–9), in the description of early Christian songs in Col. 3: 16 and Eph. 5: 19, and also a heading in the Hodayot as reconstructed by Émile Puech (see Falk 1998: 102). More work is needed on the connection of prayer with wisdom circles (see Ben Sira), revisiting and revising some of the earlier insights of Mowinckel (1967, 2: 114–25).

Variety in the Psalter

Third, it is misleading to think of the canonical Masoretic Psalter as the Temple psalm book (see Fabry 1998: 151–2) or to give it a prejudicial place in the historical study of psalmody in the Second Temple period. Clearly there was a body of authoritative psalms in continuity with it, especially in the first parts, as is amply attested by the Qumran manuscripts and commentaries, citations and intertextuality throughout early Jewish writings (e.g. see Leonhardt-Balzer 2001: 144–6 on Philo's Psalter), and use of psalms as models. Also, there is little doubt that psalms known from the Masoretic Psalter were sung by Temple singers and pilgrims. But it is unlikely that any known Psalter contains an exclusive or comprehensive collection of Temple songs. The Dead Sea Scrolls contribute three important lines of evidence concerning the Psalter:

(1) There was development to the Psalter throughout the Second Temple period, and at least three different Psalter collections known at Qumran (Flint 1997, 2006). Flint notes that the one most prominent at Qumran—attested in three copies, 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b, 4QPs^e—is most different from the Masoretic Psalter, with a very different order and a number of psalms not in the Masoretic Psalter. Despite its prominence at Qumran, this collection of psalms was probably not compiled there, but represents wider use (Flint 1997: 198–201).

(2) The different collections show diverse arrangements of grouping psalms (see Flint 1997: 172–201), and at least part of this seems to reflect liturgical groupings. In 11QPs^a, apparent liturgical groupings include: Psalms 104, 147, 105, 146, 148 as a grouping of hallelujah psalms; Psalm 145 with a liturgical refrain grouped with two hallelujah psalms (135, 136); a shorter collection of Psalms of Ascent (120–132), and plausibly Psalms 113–18 as hallelujah psalms, although only 118 survives. This point is not affected by the continuing debate whether 11QPs^a was an alternative 'scriptural' edition (e.g. Flint) or a 'liturgical' arrangement (e.g. Talmon).

(3) Songs associated with David and/or sung at the Temple were not limited to the 150 canonical Psalms of the Masoretic Psalter. At least two of the psalms collections at Qumran include psalms not in the Masoretic Psalter, intermingled with them. Some of these are known in other ancient translated collections and have liturgical features (especially Psalms 151, 154, 155; Sanders 1997: 163–92). Also in 11QPs^a the prose work David's Compositions enumerates (p. 633) 4,050 songs composed by David through prophetic inspiration, including 446 psalms to be sung over Temple sacrifices for each day of the year, and each Sabbath and festival. Despite the hyperbole, this assumes the idea at least of a broader collection of liturgical songs not limited to the 150-psalm canonical Psalter. There is also evidence suggesting liturgical use of some other 'scriptural' songs outside the Psalter, especially the Song of Moses (Exod. 15; Deut 32). According to the Talmud, it was a Sabbath Temple song (*b. Rosh Hash.* 31a). Whether or not this is accurate, Philo's descriptions imply acquaintance with choral singing of the Song of Moses, and not just among the Therapeutae (Leonhardt-Balzer 2001: 162–7; see also Josephus), an impression reinforced by Rev. 15: 3. At Qumran is a small manuscript (4QDeut^q = 4Q44) containing the Song of Moses of Deuteronomy 32—and apparently only this song—in poetical arrangement, most likely for liturgical use.

With regard to the Second Temple period, the most important distinction to be made is not chronological—'biblical' versus 'post-biblical' (cf. Nitzan 1994), but sociological: poetry composed by and for Temple singers versus poetry composed in other circles, especially those with wisdom concerns and with strong group identity. It must be allowed that there may be much overlap among these.

Settings for Singing

Fourth, the typical way the question is framed—in both positive and negative assessments—is based on misleading assumptions of a unified synagogue liturgy that could serve as a unifying factor in Second Temple Judaism, and there is no evidence for this (see Miller 1999). Rather than searching for evidence of singing related to a hypothetical formalized synagogue service—which itself is a relatively late development—it is best to ask more

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broadly about settings for singing in corporate worship. This brings more evidence into the picture, and the Dead Sea Scrolls add considerable colour. The singing of psalms was a prominent part of worship at the Second Temple, in relation to the daily and Sabbath cult and especially festival pilgrimage (Falk 1998: 194–9; e.g. 1 Chron. 23: 30–31; 2 Chron. 30: 21; Sir. 47: 9–10; 50: 18; 1 Macc. 4: 52–59; 2 Macc. 1: 30; 10: 6–8; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.193–5). This involves formal performance by the Temple singers, but the use of refrains points to participation of pilgrims, and there are also references to popular singing by pilgrims, both at the Temple and on the way home.

Other settings in which the singing of songs is attested include victory celebrations (e.g. 1 Macc. 4: 24; Jos. *Ant.* 12: 349) and festival celebrations at home (esp. Passover seder: Philo, *Laws* 2: 148; Jos. *Ant.* 2: 346; cf. *Jub.* 49: 6; Wisd. 18: 9; Mark 14: 26; see Bokser 1984). It is difficult to know whether the celebration of the Alexandrian community with singing of hymns on the beach at the news of the arrest of Flaccus (Philo, *Flaccus* 116–25) is to be understood as an eruption of spontaneous victory songs or as also reflective of festival celebration which normally would have (p. 634) taken place in their synagogue. There is also perhaps an allusion to psalms in Sabbath assembly (Ps.-Philo 11: 8; but cf. McKay 1994: 13), and to private songs in the morning (Pss. Sol. 3: 1–3; 6: 4–5).

With regard to the data at Qumran, the occasions for which there are some indication of songs among the sectarian scrolls at Qumran are similar to those mentioned above: victory songs (War Rule, e.g. 1QM 14: 2; 15: 4–5), praise at appointed times/festivals of the year (4Q511 fr. 2 1: 8–9; 4QBer^a fr. 7 1: 3–4; see also 1QS 10; 1QH^a 5: 12–14; Falk 1998: 102–3, 188–91), and Sabbath songs (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). A thanksgiving song for Sabbath is also attested in the non-sectarian Words of the Luminaries (4Q504 frs. 1 + 2, col. 7 recto 5–12). Daily songs sunrise and sunset are enumerated in 4Q334 and possibly alluded to in other texts (1QM 14: 12–14; 1QS 10; 1QH^a 20: 4–11; Falk 1998: 98–110), but it is uncertain whether these references actually point to daily singing in a non-Temple setting. Another occasion for songs attested in the scrolls has to do with healing and protection from evil: 11QPs^a David's Compositions mentions four Davidic 'songs for singing over the stricken', and these may be provided in another scroll (11QP^sAp^a; see Puech 1990); there is also a collection of Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511) to terrify demons. Songs for such purposes are known in other sources (e.g. Jos. *Ant.* 6.166–8, 214), but the setting of such songs is uncertain: was this private or in a context of public worship? There are some hints this might sometimes be in a communal setting (see 4Q510–511).

Institutional Influences

Fifth, in seeking to explain the roles for song represented in the Qumran scrolls, there is no indication that any of this is specifically related to synagogue practice. It will be more productive to pursue analogues and lines of influence from institutions in which songs certainly played a prominent role. On the one hand is the Temple (Falk 2000). To a certain degree, the Qumran scrolls reflect the broader cultural impact of the Temple on Jewish society through pilgrimage, not only through formal liturgy but perhaps even more so the popular songs of pilgrims. Evidence in the scrolls, however, points to a much deeper impact of Temple ritual on this movement because of their priestly character and Temple ideology. On the other hand, as Schuller has noted (2003: 188–9), we should also expand the field of view to consider influence of the practice of song in various types of voluntary associations more broadly in the Greco-Roman world (see Harland 2003: 71–3; Smith 1984; Wilson 1998). In comparison with festal songs in Greco-Roman associations we must also include two other particular Jewish groups in the Second Temple period with strong cohesion: the use of song at the festival banquets of the Alexandrian Therapeutae (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 80–9) and the weekly assemblies of the early Christians (e.g. 1 Cor. 14: 26; Eph. 5: 18–20; Col. 3: 16–17; McKinnon 1986, 1987). Features in common among these three communities include the centrality of a ritualized meal, and the use of both ancestral songs (p. 635) (probably Temple psalms) and new songs. Especially the prominence of new songs means that one cannot explain the early date of Christian communal singing as merely an extension from the Hallel Psalms of the Passover Seder.

Ideological Influences

Sixth, as Schuller has noted, it is valuable to consider what group-specific features might have given singing a special place in these communities. With regard to Qumran, the case is largely a circumstantial argument, but there are three elements of group-specific ideology that likely contributed to a heightened role for song and that beg further exploration.

First, there is the Temple ideology mentioned above. Second, Eileen Schuller points to the suggestion of Devorah

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Dimant (1996) that the core of the Qumran self-identity is that it constituted an 'angel-like priestly community' (see also Frennesson 1999; Fletcher-Louis 2002). Because an important activity of angels is singing praise to God, it could be expected that the community would make songs of praise a prominent part of its worship (Schuller 2003: 188–9). Following the angelic model would require a comprehensive liturgy of singing, because of ideas that angels praise God daily at sunrise (e.g. Job 38: 7, esp. LXX; Ps.-Philo 18: 6; 11QPs^a Hymn to the Creator 26: 11–12), but also on Sabbaths (Jub. 2: 21), and perhaps festivals (4Q511 fr. 2, lines 8–9). Third, in the eschatological outlook of living in an age of distress under demonic dominion, songs of praise belong to the arsenal of fighting demonic powers. In general, the use of songs in protective ritual against spirits is widely attested in the Mediterranean culture in the Hellenistic period, for example with the traditions about Orpheus (Johnston 1999). In Jewish tradition, it is especially associated with David and Solomon (e.g. Ps.-Philo 60: 1–3; Jos. *Ant.* 8.45–8; 11QPs^a David's Compositions; 11QPsAp^a 1: 2). At Qumran, besides incantations spoken against demons (e.g. 4Q444; 4Q560), are songs of praise directed to God in order to 'frighten and terrify' evil spirits (4Q510–511 Songs of the Sage). As Nitzan (1994: 227–72, esp. 250, 252) notes, what is distinctive about these is the eschatological orientation, and that the 'word of power' is the song of praise itself rather than the recital of divine names as incantation. Nitzan argues that such songs might be for recitation at particular times of supernatural danger, for example transition days between the seasons. Although the Songs of the Sage are for the *Maskil*, a liturgical master, it needs to be considered whether this eschatological outlook and apotropaic function for praise contributes to the use of song more generally in the community. In the song of the *Maskil* at the end of the Community Rule, praise in affliction and distress is an expression of continuous praise (1QS 9: 26; 10: 15, 17; cf. 11: 13). (p. 636)

Questions Concerning Context

Social-scientific studies of religion, and especially the field of ritual studies, highlight the multifaceted nature of prayer that sets it apart from ordinary speech. A holistic understanding of prayer involves much more than texts (see Hoffman 1987), but requires studying the act of prayer in the context of its entire set of related behaviours and meaning relationships. So far, there is very little research attempting to apply these approaches to the Qumran liturgical data (Kugler 2002; Arnold 2006).

There are many non-verbal features that are meaningful in transforming words into prayer as ritual, including time, location, orientation, gesture, posture, dress, and voice (see Ehrlich 2004; Bell 1997: 138–69). With regard to Qumran, the most abundant evidence concerns times of prayer. A number of the liturgical scrolls include rubrics that indicate occasions (daily, Sabbath, festivals) and times of recital. Some explicitly attest twice-daily prayer at sunrise and sunset (e.g. 4Q503 Daily Prayers; 4Q408; 4Q334), and this may be implied for the Words of the Luminaries. This may also be the intent of a poetic list of times of prayers that occurs in three sectarian hymns (1QS 10: 1–3; 1QM 14: 12–14; 1QH^a 20: 4–11), but others have found in these reference to three, four, or six times of prayer. It is not clear how the reference to nightly prayer in 1QS 6: 7–8 relates to this. Besides prayer in relation to the sun, some prayers are associated with the time of sacrifice: the probably sectarian Songs for the Sabbath Sacrifice, and the non-sectarian 11QPs^a David's Compositions. It is not certain, but these two models probably coincide (Chazon 2000c; but cf. Heger 2005). It should be noted that in Greek prayer, twice-daily prayer at sunrise and sunset is normal, accompanying sacrifices (Pulleyn 1997: 157–8). A much-needed study of the development, motivation, and socio-religious significance of daily times of prayer in Second Temple Judaism is currently in progress by Jeremy Penner (PhD dissertation, McMaster University).

The numerous *Tefillin* found at Qumran represent ritual objects, although it is uncertain whether they were directly related to prayer. Their form and the passages they contain are meaningful in group-definition (Genot-Bismuth 1990), and they seem to represent three patterns (Tov 1997). Most interesting is the size of the *Tefillin*. They are extremely tiny, and hence the opposite of the ostentatious tendency criticized in Matt 23: 5 (Arnold 2006: 116–18).

The reference to a 'house of prostration' (CD 11: 21) is one of the few clues as to a place for prayer in the scrolls, but it is still debated whether this refers to the Temple (Falk 1998: 242–5) or a place of prayer in the community (Steudel 1993). The archaeology of Qumran shows concern for sacred space (Magnez 2002: 105–33), but whether there was a dedicated place for communal prayer is uncertain.

There are other scattered hints to posture and gestures in both narratives and liturgical directions: prostration (e.g. 4Q427 fr. 7 1: 18); standing (e.g. 1QM 19: 13; (p. 637) 4Q509 fr. 22, line 3); face and hands turned to heaven

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and arms and fingers stretched out (e.g. 4Q213a fr. 1 1: 8–10; 11Q5 24: 3; 4Q512 frs. 42–4 2: 6); praising God 'in the row of men' (1QS 10: 14). There are also allusions to the manner of recitation (in unison; prayer leader with congregational response; antiphonal); use of voice (crying out; singing; murmuring [4Q405 fr. 19, line 7; fr. 20, col. 2–fr. 22, line 12]; silence [4Q213a fr. 1 2: 10]; see van der Horst 1994). It is difficult, however, to know whether such language gives reliable indication of practice, especially with regard to metaphorical references to musical instruments (e.g. 1QS 10: 9). A comprehensive study of such data in the Dead Sea Scrolls is necessary, in light of comparison with other contemporary Jewish evidence (e.g. see Johnson 1948: 56–7; Leonhardt-Balzer 2001: 135–6; Jonquière 2007: index s. v. 'prayer posture/gesture') and in Greco-Roman prayer (e.g. Pulleyn 1997: 188–95; van der Horst 1994).

Johann Maier (1990) emphasizes the need for plotting the functionaries in prayer and their roles, and has made a start toward this. Although it is very speculative to assign prayers to particular function groups (priests, Levites, *ma'amadot*, lay; see also Falk 1998: *passim*), the exercise is of some use in differentiating various socio-liturgical features. Particularly important is the distinction between rituals led by a ritual expert (various *Maskil* prayers, especially exorcism songs), a representative individual with communal response ('Amen, Amen', e.g. Words of the Luminaries and Festival Prayers), a representative group (the priests and Levites in the covenant ceremony, 1QS 1: 18–2: 18), or the congregation as a whole. There are various possibilities for prayers of the congregation. The switch in addressee in Daily Prayers (4Q503) from God to the congregation suggests a blessing recited in unison followed by a (priestly?) blessing on the people ('Peace on you, Israel'), although this is not certain (Chazon 2000a). Other possibilities include responsive chanting, or antiphonal recitation (e.g. as Philo reports for the Song of Moses and of the Therapeutae; Leonhardt-Balzer 2001: 162–7, 171). Were the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice recited antiphonally like the angelic songs (see Nitzan 1994: 277–82)? The manner of recitation for many prayers is uncertain.

The dynamics among the functionaries can both reflect and reinforce group identity (Arnold 2006: 29–40; see also Talmon 1989). Again, consideration of functionaries needs to include cross-cultural comparison. For example, a comparison with the *goês* in the ancient Mediterranean (guide of initiates, ghost expert; see Johnston 1999) may shed more light on the role of the *Maskil* as teacher, liturgical master, and exorcist than comparison with functionaries in the Hebrew Bible and synagogue.

Only recently has there been an attempt to apply the insights of ritual studies to the prayers at Qumran. In a preliminary study, Robert Kugler (2002) outlined a catalogue of the prayers at Qumran using the taxonomy of rituals by Catherine Bell (1997: 91–137): rites of passage, feasts and fasts, calendrical rites, rites of affliction, political rites, and rites of communion. He shows that ritual at Qumran pervades every facet of life, and that many of the ritual practices diverge from other Jewish (p. 638) practice. This 'ritual density' and 'ritual change' (Bell 1997: 173–252) are typical of dissenting groups attempting to establish a new orthodoxy, which is usually based on a new interpretation of authoritative texts. That is, the study allows Kugler to demonstrate how liturgy at Qumran is related to religious conflict and identity (see earlier Talmon 1989).

Russell Arnold (2006) recently carried out a full-scale analysis of the Qumran liturgical data according to Bell's classification of ritual. This provides a methodological framework for studying the rituals as they work together in a system, and enables a more precise analysis of the relationship of ritual to ideology. Arnold's study particularly demonstrates how liturgy functions to express and nurture group identity and ideology, focusing on the context at Qumran. This works best for sectarian rituals. Most distinctively, the covenant ceremony adapts earlier ritual forms (covenant renewal and penitential prayer) to a new ritual in which confession of sin—without corresponding petition—has the rhetorical function of affirming one's place in the covenant (Arnold 2007; earlier Falk 1998: 222–5). This reading understands the confession as a declaration of election by the entire community rather than act of repentance by the initiates (cf. Lichtenberger 1980: 94–6; Tukasi 2008: 65–71).

Carol Newsom also points out deeper levels of rhetorical function of sectarian prayer. She argues that recitation of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice fulfils a need of the community for an experiential validation of their priestly claims (Newsom 1990). She also argues for a liturgical use of the *Hodayot*—both the Hymns of the Community and the Hymns of the Teacher—that would fulfil a rhetorical function in the construction of self-identity and community loyalty (Newsom 2004: 191–346; see also Collins 2003).

Not all of the prayers found at Qumran were composed by or for that community, however, and so it is essential to

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distinguish between the use and meaning of prayers at Qumran and other contexts where they might have been used. Treatments of the function of Qumran prayers (e.g. Nitzan 1994; Chazon 2000a; Maier 2003) tend to address them in the context at Qumran. A major problem, however, is that there is no certainty that all of the liturgical material found at Qumran were used together in a system there, rendering many conclusions about the function and meaning of liturgy somewhat tentative. More work is needed on this question.

Eyal Regev (2007) has shown that there are considerable insights to be gained from cross-cultural comparative study with analogous sectarian movements in the modern period. He includes only minor discussions concerning prayer: confession and self-guilt (74–80, 280–81), renewal rituals (283–4), and mysticism (351–76). Such a study focusing on prayer would be very fruitful in fleshing out the potential dynamics of a living context.

There are other contextual questions about prayer that are still unresolved. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice have songs for only thirteen weeks. Was the cycle repeated each quarter, or was it recited only during the first quarter of the year, (p. 639) from Passover to Pentecost when the covenant ceremony was held (Newsom 1985: 18–19, 59)? The Daily Prayers present a similar problem since they contain prayers for each day of one month, but also allusions to Passover. Was this for just the first month of the year, or was it repeated each month? What was the use and meaning of the eschatological liturgies (Rule of the Congregation; Rule of Blessings; War Rule)? Is there support for the theory that the War Rule was performed as a cult drama (Holm-Nielsen 1960: 345; Krieg 1985)? In addressing the use of Psalms in early Judaism, Hoffman (2003) urges liturgists not to view prayer as separate from study: 'as midrash, liturgy is the presentation of an alternative world of reality supported by the selective perception of Scripture, largely psalms. Regular worshipers encounter this *de facto* canon, on which they stake their lives' (56). This is an important perspective that needs to be explored in the Qumran evidence: how scripture, interpretation, and prayer belong together (1QS 6: 6–8), and how prayer functions as a selective canon, and as interpretation.

Questions of Ideology and Theology

So far, most studies have treated the ideology and theology of prayer at Qumran in a relatively flat manner: reading theology from the text as propositions (about God, the cosmos, humanity, the self, etc.; e.g. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 273–300), and explaining the ideology in terms of prayer as replacement for sacrifice (e.g. Nitzan 1994: 47–9). This fails to get at the special complexities of meaning in liturgy: how does prayer as a multifaceted ritual work to form and nurture religious identity? More nuanced approaches are needed, drawing on interdisciplinary approaches to liturgy (see Hoffman 1987).

It is necessary to make three distinctions: (1) ideology underlying and motivating the practice of prayer from ideology and theology that is communicated by prayers; (2) ideology and motivation of the original prayer from its meaning in context at Qumran; and (3) the surface meaning of the language from its rhetorical and ritual functions. The third distinction is perhaps best illustrated in the case of the covenant ceremony mentioned above, in which surface language of confession functions to affirm elect status more than as an act of penitence (Falk 1998; Arnold 2007). Examples of greater precision on these matters include the application of rhetorical studies to the Hodoyot by Newsom (2004), and the use of ritual studies by Kugler (2002) and Arnold (2006).

The second distinction listed above cannot be made with certainty because of the impossibility of determining precise provenance of the prayers, but in one respect the distinction is of great theoretical significance: whatever the meaning of prayer (p. 640) at Qumran, what was the ideology that motivated the development of communal liturgical prayer in groups that had not withdrawn from participation in the Temple cult (Falk 2007: 131–3)? The most likely candidate (although not the only possible factor) is an ideology of continuing exile which is attested among various pious groups in the Second Temple period, and not only dissenters from the Temple cult. Werline (1998) and Falk (2007) have expounded the scriptural resources influential in a theory of regularized prayer as both reparation and preventative for exile: interpretation of the Deuteronomistic prescription to 'turn and seek' (Deut. 4: 30) as penitential prayer and study of Torah, and cultic confession as necessary reparation along with sacrifice to expunge the covenant offence that resulted in exile (Leviticus 26).

For the sectarian groups attested in the scrolls, there are additional overtones to a self-conception of being in exile (Regev 2007: 124–6). Adele Berlin (2003) has shown how the Laments found at Qumran (4Q179, 4Q501)—although they show no particularly sectarian content—could resonate in such a dissenting community with deeper meaning

as poems of alienation.

Some examples can illustrate the first distinction made above. It has been common for scholars to highlight content in prayer texts (especially the Hodayot) that expresses sectarian views of determinism and dualism (e.g. Becker 1964; Osten-Sacken 1969; Sanders 1977). At a deeper level, however, these are part of the ideology that motivates a comprehensive liturgical system in a sectarian community that is precisely regulated in terms of time and words. Arnold (2006: 47–51) argues that the determinism in the sectarian ideology extends to times of prayer and also pre-ordained language and the prayers themselves. By praying the proper prayers with proper language at the proper times, the community harmonizes with the divinely ordained cosmic order and fulfils righteousness. Closely connected with this is the idea of prayer as divine revelation, as expressed concerning David's songs and prayers (David's Compositions 11QPs^a 27: 2–11): 'All these he spoke by prophecy which was given to him from before the Most High'. Prayer (especially poetic) as divine words is also attested in other religions of the Greco-Roman world (Klinghardt 1999: 29–45). Jeremy Penner (2008) argues that in the context of the sectarian ideology of cosmic dualism between light and darkness, prayer at sunrise and sunset has special significance. He suggests that the community experienced the dualism between these two kingdoms daily in the alternation of day and night, and that prayer at the beginning of the time of 'terror and dread' (1QS 10: 15–16) refers to the beginning of night; the reign of dark powers. Also related are the ideas of praying with the angels and against the demons.

Much attention has already been given to the self-conception as a priestly community, and the community as Temple. A central function of the community is to make atonement by means of prayer (e.g. 1QS 9: 3–6). In carrying out this function the community fulfils holiness (Arnold 2006: 41–43; Nitzan 2000b).

(p. 641) One of the most debated problems in the ideology of prayer at Qumran is the tension between determinism and petition. Israel Knohl (1996: 29–30) argues that 'The doctrine of predestination, which was dominant in the Qumran sect, does not allow for petitionary prayer in the usual sense of the word. At most, the person who is chosen by God may ask God to deepen and complete the kindness which God has freely given' (see similarly Tukasi 2008). Arnold (2007) asserts even more forcefully the incompatibility of true petition with the determinism at Qumran, arguing that implicit petitions appearing in the sectarian texts belong to pre-ordained speech that is required. Schuller (2000), on the other hand, finds examples of real petition in sectarian scrolls and points out the presence of petition where we might least expect it in this deterministic worldview: in eschatological settings. Especially the 'prayer in time of war' recited by the high priest at the final battle (1QM 15: 5)—which would seem to be a petition for victory—is surprising given the view that victory is assured. In comparison with the greater amount of petition in non-sectarian prayers among the Dead Sea Scrolls, Schuller concludes that the sectarian community predominantly composed 'psalms and hymns of praise that confessed and acknowledged the sovereignty and power of the God who has determined all things in his wisdom', but that petition also was part of the liturgy of the community primarily through the use of traditional prayers.

A few more observations may be added. In the Hodayot, there are thirteen petitions dispersed in seven hymns in all three blocks of material. In 4QMMT, the writer appeals to the reader—who is assumed to be in the wrong—to repent and supplicate for forgiveness and protection from evil. In the purification rituals (4Q284; 4Q414; 4Q512) there is surprisingly little petition, but mostly the prayers recited are praise and thanksgiving that God has forgiven and has not abandoned. But there is at least a reference to penitential supplication: apparently in the midst of the people 'to ask mercy for all [my] hidden faults' (4Q512 fr. 34, line 15). Similarly, there is generally no petition in the exorcism prayers (e.g. Songs of the Sage 4Q510–511; 4Q444), for example to banish the demon or protect. For the most part these challenge the demon in the name of the Lord. But there is one exception in the Songs of the Sage: 'Save me, O God' (4Q511 fr. 10, line 9), although it is not clear who utters it. In the sectarian Florilegium, Testimonia, and Catena (4Q174, 175, 176, 177), many of the biblical extracts are from petitions of Moses and David. What is the effect of a collection of petitions by biblical exemplars?

On the whole, there is no question that petition is generally muted in the sectarian texts from Qumran: given the ideology of prayer as sacrifice to atone for the land, it is striking that there is no sectarian petition to this effect. Also surprising is the general lack of petition in the purification liturgies and exorcism. It seems likely that this is related to the deterministic outlook of the sect. Nevertheless, apparently there is no theoretical incompatibility of petition with the theology at Qumran. They do recite petitions, and compose some petitions of **(p. 642)** their own. They regard petition as belonging to divinely ordained speech along with praise. But we can say that they used petitions mostly composed by others, and their own prayers tended toward praise for God's sovereign control, as

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noted by Schuller. We should also note that traditional prayers with customary language can have very different meaning and effect in a different group in a different setting.

More work is needed, but the question is an important reminder that liturgy does not work like systematic theology. A useful way forward may be the approach of Newsom (2004), who emphasizes the function of prayer to form the self by figuring reality. The experienced tension expressed in many of the sectarian prayers between a sense of nothingness and exaltation—what she calls the masochistic sublime—allows the speaker to explore ‘the terrifying paradox of his being—a part of sinful humanity and yet one of the redeemed elect’.

Suggested Reading

There are several good surveys of the liturgical texts found at Qumran: Chazon (1998; 2000b), Falk (1999b), and Schuller (1994; 2001a; 2004). Schuller (2006) provides a succinct summary of the major features of prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls. For an annotated catalogue of the texts see Lange (2002: 136–9). The scholarly editions are published in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, especially volumes 7 (1982), 11 (1998), 29 (1999), and 40 (2008). The texts with translations are conveniently assembled in Parry and Tov (2005). Davila (2000) provides good translations, introduction, and commentary for the most important texts. For general surveys of early Jewish prayer material, see Charlesworth (1982, 1986) and Flusser (1984).

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Reviewing the Links between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Cairo Genizah

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Abstract and Keywords

The question has often been raised about the relative importance of the Genizah vis-à-vis the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls have undoubtedly attracted wider attention because they are so closely linked in location and chronology with the world of Jesus and the emergence of early Christianity. The Genizah texts, on the other hand, cover a wider variety of literary genres and historical events and represent a unique source of illumination for the early medieval period. This article delineates the similarities and differences of the two collections with regard to such obvious literary themes as the Hebrew Bible and its interpretation, Hebrew grammar and Masorah, Jewish religious law, and the composition and use of liturgy. It also considers disposal; survival; palaeography and codicology; contents and dating; languages and function; discovery, accessibility, and location; and description and exploitation.

Keywords: early Christianity, Genizah, Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew Bible, Jewish religious law, liturgy, palaeography, codicology, Masorah

Introduction

The question has often been raised about the relative importance of the Genizah (henceforth: G) vis-à-vis the Dead Sea Scrolls (henceforth: DSS). How do they compare and is there any connection between them? The DSS have undoubtedly attracted wider attention because they are so closely linked in location and chronology with the world of Jesus and the emergence of early Christianity. The G texts, on the other hand, cover a wider variety of literary genres and historical events and represent a unique source of illumination for the early medieval period. If the comparison is to range more broadly than this, and to have any real value, it is necessary to analyse the two collections from a significant number of perspectives. Such an analysis needs to begin by delineating their similarities and differences with regard to such obvious literary themes as the Hebrew Bible and its interpretation, Hebrew grammar and Masorah, Jewish religious law, and the composition (p. 653) and use of liturgy. It is, however, also necessary to go beyond the conventionally literary and to deal with 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 the relevant data. Here the subjects will be disposal; survival; palaeography and codicology; contents and dating; languages and function; discovery, accessibility, and location; description and exploitation.

In treating and comparing the two collections, it is important to recall that various matters remain unclear about their earliest provenances, the manner in which they were assembled and the circumstances in which they survived. It is often assumed that while the DSS were scattered throughout the Judean Desert, the G materials were all stored in the Ben Ezra Synagogue in the Fustat area of Cairo. There is, however, a growing body of evidence and opinion in favour of acknowledging that here too the earliest contexts of the collections may have been in a number of different locations in the broader Cairo area. It was a set of special circumstances that led to their coming more closely together in one way or another, or being regarded as a unit, in the nineteenth century.

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Special attention will also have to be given here to some intertestamental items that are common (and in some respects unique) to both collections. It will then be possible to offer some conclusions. For the purposes of this overview, DSS has, where appropriate, been taken to include the various sets of documents found not only near Qumran but also in various other locations near the Dead Sea.

Hebrew Bible

The biblical texts were obviously authoritative for those whose copies of them have been preserved among the DSS since they are extensively represented and cited. The content of the Pentateuch and the Prophets appear to be more fixed than those of the Hagiographa although this may more simply reflect the later date of the last-mentioned group rather than doubts about its inclusion in the biblical corpora. Esther is the only book that is missing from the DSS and it is unclear whether this was by accident or design. When compared to the other textual witnesses to the Hebrew Bible, the statistics reveal that 60 per cent of the DSS fragments have their closest affinity with what has been dubbed the proto-Masoretic tradition, 20 per cent with an idiosyncratic orthography and morphology, 5 per cent each with the Septuagint and proto-Samaritan text types, and the remainder without any obvious alignment. There are many individual variants that are of major importance for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, the most significant being found in the works known as Isaiah A, Samuel B, Jeremiah B and D, and Palaeo-Exodus. (p. 654) The considerable variation of order and content in Psalms may indicate variant recensions or reflect the fact that there were scrolls of that book that were used liturgically rather than canonically. Although papyrus was used in a few instances, the dominant material was a thick leather that was only minimally treated and the sheets were usually sewn (and sometimes glued) together to form a scroll. There is some degree of consistency but no standard format with regard to the dimensions of the sheets and of the columns. Spaces usually indicate word division while both final and non-final forms of letters are written at the end of words. The Assyrian or Aramaic letters are much more common than the palaeo-Hebrew ones. Correction is done by using dots, reshaping letters and employing scribal signs, as well as by scoring through, erasure and the insertion of superscript (Tov 1992: 100–117, 201–33; Schiffman 1994: 161–80; Lange 2002; Tov 2002; van der Kooij 2002; Tov 2004: 57–235).

By the time that the G texts of the Hebrew Bible were being copied and transmitted, there was a great deal more consistency and standardization. The contents of the Hebrew Bible were undisputed and the consonantal texts generally followed one or other of the major codices (Aleppo, St Petersburg, and Cairo). While they are therefore of limited value for textual criticism, the discovery of three major systems of Hebrew pointing (Tiberian sub-linear, Palestinian supra-linear, and Babylonian supra-linear), as well as other more minor variations, has proved of major significance for the history of Masoretic and philological studies. Equally remarkable is the evidence testifying to variations in the Pentateuchal and prophetic lectionaries both between Babylonia and the land of Israel, and within the two traditions themselves and the rites that they spawned.

The rabbinic authorities in Babylonia of the immediate post-Talmudic period undoubtedly devoted most of their intellectual and educational attention to the Talmudic and halakhic spheres but the intensive interest of the Karaites in the Bible and the Hebrew language, as well as the major part they played in their punctilious transmission and educational promotion, embarrassed these authorities and encouraged them to pay greater attention to these topics. The widespread adoption of the codex by Jewish communities in the eighth and ninth centuries meant that biblical texts came to be recorded not only on scrolls for synagogal use but also on codices, of very brief as well as much lengthier format, for other purposes including the liturgical and the pedagogic. Both the scrolls and the codices developed more technically advanced scribal systems that produced greater consistency, attractiveness, and authority. One of the post-Talmudic tractates, Massekhet Soferim, was to a large extent devoted to the topic of scribal practices and ensured that only religiously approved methods were adopted and passed on through the generations (Reif 2000a: 98–120; Davis 1978–80; Davis and Outhwaite 2003).

It may then be concluded that the centrality and authority of the Hebrew Bible was subject to something of a threat arising out of rabbinic Judaism's educational priorities but was, apparently under the influence of the Karaites, ultimately (p. 655) restored. The central importance of variation for the literary historian moves from the consonantal text to the manner in which it is pointed, illuminating thereby the emergence of medieval Hebrew philology. Where there appears to have been some distinction between ritual and liturgical use in the DSS, such and similar distinctions become more numerous and more varied in the G. The physical recording and transmission of biblical texts makes considerable progress in both historical contexts but is subject to greater centralization and

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authorization in the later one. What is intriguing is that in both cases the number of texts discovered seem to point to a more extensive use of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the book of Isaiah than of any of the other biblical books. This has its parallels in sectarian documents as well as in the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament.

Biblical Exegesis

As far as biblical exegesis is concerned, the primary form of interpretation occurs in the simple translation from one language to another, as is to be found in the Ancient Versions. The successful rendering of one language into another demanded of those who composed the Versions an identification of the sense, an appreciation of semantic fields, and a definition of equivalence in the secondary language. Two Versions, the Septuagint and the Targum, are represented among the DSS texts and in both cases the rendering is a literal one and appears to reflect an early stage in the evolution of that authoritative translation. Examples of such a concern for the plain sense are also to be found in the Genesis Commentary, while the Genesis Apocryphon and the Temple Scroll smooth out difficulties in the biblical text, and CD derives legal rulings from it.

What constitutes the unique contribution of the DSS to Jewish biblical interpretation is the *pesher* method, the technical term for which is derived from a root that is linked with dream interpretation in early Hebrew. Choosing to ignore or obliterate their original contexts, this method utilizes biblical texts of prophetic and visionary content for the theological purposes of the groups represented in the DSS. The texts are specifically related to past events connected with the group, to its current situation, and to its hopes for the future. *Pesher* exegesis such as is applied—through its own exegetical techniques—to Habakkuk, Nahum, and Psalms refers to the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of Lies, and the Wicked Priest, alludes to the Romans and the Seleucids, and reflects deep animosity towards the Hasmonean dynasty of the second and early first centuries BCE (Nitzan 1986: 29–79; Tov 1992: 121–54; Schiffman 1994: 211–41; Brooke 2002).

(p. 656) The G materials also contain Greek and Aramaic renderings of the Bible, the former in the palimpsests whose original sixth-century texts constitute parts of Aquila's version—as well as in a few Judaeo-Greek translations of some centuries later—and the latter in numerous Targum versions, some of them familiar while others are previously unknown. These latter include lengthy elaborations of the text, poetic versions of the narratives, and halakhic interpretations of verses that run counter to what is found in the Talmudic sources. Hundreds of G fragments written in the east provide older and more reliable textual traditions relating to standard *midrashim*. In addition, new *midrashim*, anthologies, and commentaries have been discovered, both halakhic and aggadic in nature, and a new picture has been drawn of the colourful and heterogeneous Jewish exegesis of the Hebrew Bible in the early Middle Ages, some of it highly fanciful, apocalyptic, and mystical. Also recorded are the more rational, linguistic, and philological commentaries of the tenth to the twelfth centuries that were inspired by the geonic resentment of the Karaite pre-eminence in such exegetical methods. Such pre-eminence (also well represented in the G) was based on an almost obsessive concern with the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, with an enthusiasm for literal translation, and an interest in alternate renderings—'scientific literalism', as it has been dubbed. Unlike the *midrashim*, which are written in Hebrew, these more 'rational' rabbinic commentaries, such as those by Sa'adya Gaon and Samuel ben Hofni Gaon, are often written in Judaeo-Arabic, perhaps indicating a closer link to the more academically technical fields of philology, philosophy, and theology than to the direct use of the biblical text for communal edification and inspiration (Reif 2000a: 106–11; Halkin 1983; Polliack 1997: 278–91).

Continuity is here represented by the obvious need for translation into languages of scholastic status or vernacular value, by interest in literal rendition, and by the desire to justify legal-religious practice by reference to a scriptural source. Conversely, although there are some *midrashim* that reflect certain aspects of *pesher* exegesis and methodology, the established rabbinic genre generally eschews direct references to the history and plans of its own religious group, demonstrating a preference for more broadly based and allusively expressed elements of ideology and lore.

Religious Law

With regard to the history of Jewish religious law, the DSS have complicated some issues to a considerable degree while also clarifying others. It is no longer justifiable either to maintain that the contents of the Mishnah are a totally

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novel (p. 657) phenomenon in the development of Jewish practice or indeed that they date en masse from pre-Christian times. Caution must also be exercised in the use of the term *halakhah* to refer to non-rabbinic legal traditions, and in categorically identifying a set of laws exclusively with a particular group. Similarities between the practices of one sect and another do not exclude the possibility that there were other sects who also subscribed to these practices or that they were even a matter of wide consensus.

What emerges from a dispassionate analysis of the texts is that various (perhaps even most?) groups of Jews in the Second Temple period were interested in following an intricate system of Jewish religious law and that they often reached different conclusions about its application. Nevertheless, it was often the case that, in reaching such varied conclusions, they quarried the same scriptural sources to justify their views, shared much of the same historical and literary background, and proceeded from certain theological notions that were similar if not the same. Such works as the Rule of the Community, the Damascus Document, the Temple Scroll, and above all the Halakhic Letter (MMT) reveal a concern with laws relating not only to the administration of their specific communal life and liturgy but also to sabbath, calendar, oaths, courts, ritual purity, and the sacrificial cult. Such concerns have their parallels in Pharisaic and rabbinic traditions but have in many cases been shown to be more closely related to Sadducean and/or Essene interpretations. If broadly assessed, such interpretations—and the sabbath laws provide a number of good examples—appear to encourage the premise that the Pharisaic and proto-rabbinic traditions stood between those of the early Christians and those of the DSS in their degrees of stringency (Baumgarten 1977: 3–35; Schiffman 1975: 13–21; Sussmann 1994; Stemberger forthcoming).

In the post-Talmudic period, when the authority of the Babylonian Talmud became greater and more widespread, it became necessary to provide guidance in the matter of the detailed halakhic structure that it had generated, and various methods were developed for doing this, including the compilation of laws, the writing of responsa, and the composition of legal monographs. The first of these developing genres included the system of deriving a particular ruling from the interpretation of a biblical verse, as was done in the compilation known as the *She'iltot*. Much information has been gleaned from the G about all these methods and one of the central points that emerges is that there was considerable friction and variation between the rabbinic schools of Babylonia and Palestine in the interpretation and application of *halakhah*. Those in the homeland were under such pressure and subject to such criticism from their more powerful, influential, and prolific colleagues to the east that they made a point of recording those instances in which their decisions (*ma' asim*) differed. With regard to the sources of the compilations, there was, in spite of Babylonian animosity, some Palestinian input into such works as the eighth-century Halakhot Pesuqot and the Halakhot Gedolot of a century later. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the G fragments (p. 658) that have survived deal with highly practical topics such as ritual slaughter and marital matters.

Also well represented among the fragments are the responsa that constituted the second part of the tripartite legal methodology of the rabbinic authorities. These were sent around the Jewish world, sometimes covering such distances as that from Babylonia to Spain. The themes dealt with are not restricted to the technicalities of religious rituals and customs but are often concerned with mundane matters of financial, familial, and communal significance. Monographs on halakhic themes complete the picture and their uniqueness lies in their preference for presenting the contents in thematic rather than Talmudic order (Danzig 1997: I–XI; Reif 2000a: 130–7).

Another source of friction and tension in matters relating to the interpretation and application of Jewish religious law was the relationship between the Karaites and the Rabbanites. The former were antagonistic to rabbinic *halakhah* and followed their own customs. Sometimes such customs, and the relevant terminology relating to them, have their parallels among the DSS. Examples include the dating of the 'omer offering, more stringent views of what has to be forbidden on the sabbath and what may not be eaten, and attitudes to priesthood. The problem for the historian is that there are varieties of Karaism between the eighth and twelfth centuries, just as there are different views represented among the DSS, some closer to Sadducean ideology, others to that of the Essenes or indeed the Pharisees. The general term is employed to refer to a variety of Jewish but non-rabbinic religious traditions that were championed by such scholarly personalities as Anan ben David, Benjamin al-Nahawendi, Daniel al-Qumisi, Jacob al-Qirqisani, Solomon ben Yeroḥam, Tobias ben Moses, and Judah Hadassi, and found their largest number of adherents in Mesopotamia, the land of Israel, and the Byzantine countries (Wieder 1962[2005]: 53–94; Erder 2004: 314–16; Astren 2004: 158–82).

None of the legal works represented among the DSS had anything like the impact that the Talmud subsequently did and there is no evidence in the earlier period of systematic efforts to structure, expound, and disseminate widely a

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whole scheme of religious law. There are, however, common factors relating to both periods. Among these are the reinterpretation of biblical texts for legal purposes, the tensions and antagonisms between different groups and their interpretations, and the need for an awareness that the origins of a law or a system of law may have to be sought in more than one context. In addition, subjects covered provide an important key to religious interests and priorities, as long as the examples are numerous enough to be statistically significant. With regard to the search for those who later transmitted some of the religious laws recorded among the DSS, there is little doubt that Karaism provides a significant set of remarkable parallels, even if it is not yet clear how the historical and theological connection is to be mapped. (p. 659)

Liturgy

Given the breadth of the liturgical materials found among the DSS, it seems likely that they originated in a variety of contexts, among them the Jerusalem Temple, the priesthood, levitical groups, communal gatherings, pietistic and mystical circles, and popular practice. The texts indicate clearly that the groups represented in the DSS were committed to the practice of reciting regular prayers at specific times even if there is no obvious standardization of text and context for these. Many of the hymns and prayers found among the DSS may well represent the religious activities of many Jews, or even groups of Jews, during the Second Temple period. The DSS's liturgical texts have biblical precedents but reflect the composers' own practices, predilections, and theological motivations. The notions of elected Israel, the city of Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Temple that underlie the various textual constructions are common to various Jewish groups but have their own interpretation within each. Among other themes are the cosmic order, the heavenly luminaries, and the angelic choirs. Divine attributes such as *ʾuv*, *hesed*, and *rah̄amim* are regarded as the models for human piety and idealistic behaviour and some texts are of major importance for tracing the origins, use, and formulation of the liturgical benediction, the recitation of the *shema* and its benedictions, some of the topics covered in the *amidah*, and the supplicatory prayers of rabbinic Judaism. There is also a prayer for the welfare of, or possibly aimed against, 'King Jonathan'—probably the Hasmonean ruler, Alexander Janneus (104–76 BCE).

The liturgical developments recorded in the DSS should be plotted at a point between the biblical beginning and the rabbinic progression that is close to the position occupied by the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature. Just as the DSS record views that reflect distress about the politicization and corruption of the Jerusalem cult and apply its best aspects to their own liturgical practice, so later Christian and Jewish prayer take close account of what they regard as the temple in its ideal form in order to construct something that will be as spiritually moving and significant within their own developing traditions (Nitzan 1994: 35–87; Chazon 1998; Falk 1998: 253–5; Chazon 2003; Schuller 2004; Reif 2006a: 33–49).

The Genizah evidence permits the reconstruction not only of the liturgical practices preferred in the Babylonian centres but also the rites used in the pre-Crusader land of Israel. The two centres exchanged customs as well as theological abuse in the matter of their prayer customs and, despite the Babylonians' best efforts, it took some time for their traditions to become dominant and standard. Lost benedictions have come to light; variations in the form and content of such central prayers as the *shema*, the *amidah*, the grace after meals, the *qiddush*, the *qaddish*, and the Passover *haggadah* have been discovered; and the terminology (p. 660) used to refer to the sabbaths and festivals is much broader than previously thought. The original provenances range from the rational to the mystical, and touch on the eschatological as well as the legal. The G texts testify to a variety of customs relating to the pentateuchal and prophetic lectionaries used in the synagogue, and to the use of the Hebrew Bible and the Torah scroll in the rabbinic liturgy. There are special prayers for circumambulating the walls of Jerusalem and for the military success of a twelfth-century caliph.

It should not be forgotten that a number of such practices and customs were developed and championed by the Karaites and that this sometimes led the Rabbanites to emulate their example while at others it inspired a polemical rejection. While the Talmudic tradition was inspired by the Psalms, it preferred its own liturgical vocabulary and terminology. The Karaites, on the other hand, adhered closely to the Psalms for form and content of their prayers, and were early influenced by Islam. Only later were they inclined to adapt their practice to that of the Rabbanites (Frank 2003). If the Genizah data constitute a breakaway from or an adaptation of what was authorized by the Talmudic rabbis, then that thread of tradition was clearly not as strong in the late Talmudic period as some have argued. If, however, they represent alternative versions that had existed from Talmudic, or even Tannaitic times,

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they testify to a greater degree of variety than is often supposed. Either way, the existence of one sanctioned form for each rabbinic prayer and benediction, that would not tolerate variation, seems highly unlikely (Reif 1999; 2004). It emerges from the G evidence that while the manuscripts of the prayer-books of Naṭronai Gaon and Sa'adya Gaon appear to be sound witnesses to what these leading Babylonian rabbis codified for those who addressed questions to them, the texts that we have inherited of Amram Gaon's liturgy belong to later centuries and other geographical contexts and have been subjected to alterations that reflect the liturgical practices of each of those who participated in the transmission (Brody 2006: 63–6).

The G texts document the existence of a structured and authoritative Jewish liturgy, for both Rabbanites and Karaites, while the DSS appear to be only at the early stage of such a development. Psalms and Psalms-like structures are common to both periods but it is the Karaites who rigidly opt not to formulate non-Psalms liturgy. The two periods also share other characteristics. They derive from a variety of sources and reflect changing social, religious, and political circumstances, as well as an ongoing tension between continuity and adjustment. Both sets of manuscripts provide data of novel and even revolutionary significance but have to be analysed with considerable caution. With regard to some thorny problems, a variety of interpretations is possible and definitive conclusions must await the discovery of additional data. (p. 661)

Disposal

The collection and storage of these two manuscript collections are in themselves interesting. The synagogue officials in early medieval Cairo followed the centuries-old custom of depositing materials that might in some way contain sacred (or heretical) content, in the expectation of ultimately burying them or simply leaving them to rot. The deposit was made, without concern for order or survival, in one or a number of the synagogue rooms, as seems to have been done in antiquity, or in a special container near the cabinet where the scrolls were kept. Indeed, both the scrolls and the texts consigned to the process of *genizah* (meaning 'deposit', 'storage', 'burial') may have originally shared the same physical space. The history of the 'Cairo Genizah', as it has come to be called by scholars, is difficult to trace clearly because the materials were only sometimes removed to a cemetery and were on occasion exchanged between synagogues of different theologies and liturgical customs (Bar-Ilan 2006; Hamitovsky 2007).

Nor does there appear to have been any consistency in the disposal of the DSS. Some caves give the impression of an original system of storage and retrieval while others appear to testify to the occurrence of an emergency that required a swift consignment to a special and possibly temporary home. Although the DSS are often alternatively described as the texts from Qumran, they were located not only at Khirbet Qumran but also in Wadi Daliyeh (15 km north of Jericho), Masada, Wadi Murabba'at, Nahal Hever, Wadi Seiyal, with some other items found in Nahal Mishmar and Khirbet Mird. Again, the historian is denied any simple solution to their early history. Were they brought to these desert locations from other places and do they represent a cross-section of Jewish literature composed by a variety of religious groups? Were they at any stage deposited in such storage places in a process of *genizah* (Schiffman 1994: xxi; García Martínez 1994: xxxii–xxxv)?

With regard to both collections, the evidence does not clearly indicate their earlier history or contexts or the immediate intentions of those who deposited them in the locations where they were discovered. Neither is therefore accurately to be defined as a systematic archive; both appear to have been collected and deposited in a somewhat haphazard fashion.

Survival

The material that has survived in one form or another from the ancient and medieval worlds may or may not represent the most significant and characteristic items from these periods, since there is undoubtedly an element of chance in what has been (p. 662) transmitted to us or what has been discovered in hidden-away sites. Different discoveries might have led to alternative scientific conclusions. On the other hand, a careful comparison of what has been carefully copied and passed down through the ages, in manuscript and then in print, with what modern scholarship has unpredictably encountered through archaeological and epigraphical discoveries permits the reconstruction of the Jewish history and literature of the periods to which such discoveries relate, albeit with a certain degree of caution about how precise the historian may be in completing the details of the overall picture.

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The climate has played a role in the preservation of both major collections. The lack of rain and the low humidity of both the Dead Sea and Cairo have meant that many items have been preserved that would no doubt 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. However welcome their survival, such items are generally in a poor state of preservation so that conservators have a challenging task in preparing them for study and for display and specialists require impressive degrees of knowledge, experience, and skill in their attempts to rejoin pieces that have become detached and deciding how the original manuscripts looked, and what they contained, before their consignment to caves or *genizot* (Schiffman 1994: xx–xxi; Reif 2000a: 11–14).

With regard to both the DSS and the G, it must therefore not be forgotten that serendipity played a part in what survived and that texts and ideologies may have been more variegated than those that are currently available to historians. At the same time, the two collections are so extensive, compared to what was known before their discovery, that it is perfectly justified to utilize them in order to describe in much greater detail than previously possible the two worlds from which they sprung and to which they bear testimony.

Palaeography and Codicology

Before the discovery of the first G texts in the final decade of the nineteenth century, and of the DSS in the middle of the twentieth century, students of both the early Middle Ages and the Second Temple period were faced with massive gaps in the history of Hebrew and Jewish manuscripts. For those interested in the latter period, as well as the centuries immediately afterwards—amounting to virtually a whole millennium—there was virtually nothing other than inscriptions to attest to the writing used for texts (Richler 1990: 14–19; Sirat 2002: 26–34). The most exciting manuscript item was the Nash Papyrus—a small text, possibly used as an amulet, (p. 663) containing Hebrew versions of the Decalogue and the *shema*’ discovered early in the twentieth century in Egypt and housed at Cambridge University Library—and every little piece of papyrus that was newly discovered received attention far beyond what its meagre size and content deserved (Reif 1997a: 65). Arthur Cowley at the Bodleian Library made the point that Hebrew papyri were so rare that no excuse was needed for publishing them (Cowley 1903: 1). The history of Hebrew palaeography underwent a revolutionary change when the thousands of manuscript fragments from the DSS became available and this even led to an earlier dating of the Nash Papyrus to around 200 BCE. Such DSS texts were of course written mostly in scroll format on animal skin, with only some papyrus material, and the famous Copper Scroll as a rarity (García Martínez 1994: xlvi–xlvi).

A similar situation obtained with regard to the early medieval period. Before Genizah fragments began to make their appearance, most of the manuscripts which 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 discoveries provided fresh information not only concerning 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. There is also convincing evidence that the introduction of the codex among the Jewish communities of the Eastern Mediterranean around the eighth century brought about a major expansion of Jewish literacy which affected the literary form of Hebrew literature no less than its physical medium. Although there is, as yet, little alternative literary source material with which to compare it, it may be possible that the DSS for their part testify to a similar literary revolution in Judaea in the two or three centuries before the foundation of Christianity (Brody 1990; Reif 2006a: 181–206).

The DSS and G collections point to a substantial degree of literacy among the communities that produced them, provide novel data for periods that were previously virtually bereft of primary sources, and significantly illuminate the history of Hebrew script and the manner in which it was employed for the physical transmission of the national literary heritage.

Content and Dating

The literature found among the DSS may be subsumed under the headings of biblical texts, apocryphal literature, and what may be styled—for terminological convenience but not in any value judgement—‘sectarian’ books. The biblical books (all represented with the exception of Esther) match the later Masoretic texts, or the Septuagint or

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Samaritan versions, or the local Hebrew dialect presumably used (p. 664) by the Qumran sect. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphical items are the earliest manuscript testimony to the works later preserved primarily by the Church but with some limited occurrence in rabbinic literature. They do, however, include many previously unknown items. The so-called 'sectarian' items refer to the special interests of one or more of the groups that preserved—and presumably transmitted—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 take account of the finds made in the other sites earlier listed, they contain, in addition, legal documents, letters, and personal archival material. Dating of all DSS texts gives a wide range of about the fourth century BCE to the eighth century CE 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 BCE to the second century CE (García Martínez 1994: xxxii–xxxv; Schiffman 1994: 31–5).

With regard to activities on which writing might in any way have impinged within the Jewish communities of the Eastern Mediterranean of the 'high' Middle Ages, it is difficult to identify an area which is not significantly represented among the literary and documentary riches of the G. 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 the current discussion, there are also 'sectarian', apocryphal, and pseudepigraphical works. Karaism as well as Rabbanism is represented in abundance. What S. D. Goitein and his school have defined as documentary rather than literary material relates to historical events, mundane matters, and daily activities. Dating of the G manuscripts provides a wide range of about the sixth century CE to the nineteenth century CE but that is to include those fewer items at the furthest points of the chronological graph. The vast majority of pieces are to be dated from the early tenth to the late thirteenth centuries (Reif 2000a: 98–207; Brody 1990: 124–6).

What may be called the active period for the two collections is consequently (and rather surprisingly) about 400 years in each case and the broader spectrum about eight or nine centuries in excess of that period. The common subject content is as expected of a post-biblical Jewish community or set of communities, but the G materials are undoubtedly much richer in content, touching on the more mundane matters of life.

Languages and function

Hebrew is the language used in some 80 per cent of the DSS texts, whether the form used in the Hebrew Bible or the post-biblical style that straddles the period between the latest of the biblical books and the earliest rabbinic formulations. The Aramaic (p. 665) used in most of the remaining items is a form that again represents the transitional period between biblical and later styles of the language, with both western (Palestinian) and eastern elements represented. There are also a few Greek and Latin items. Given that the DSS probably had their earliest origins within a variety of different groups belonging to various periods and contexts, and were discovered in a number of locations, it is not surprising that the functions of the texts are not uniform. Such texts include religious works 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 (García Martínez 1994: xxxii–xxxv; Schiffman 1994: 32–3).

Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic are the major languages of the G texts. Hebrew and Aramaic occur in their biblical and post-biblical forms, with Aramaic texts in both eastern and western idioms, while the Arabic language does occur in a minority of cases in its classical style and script but is much more commonly represented in what has come to be known as Judaeo-Arabic. Although Hebrew accounts for a large majority of the G fragments, Judaeo-Arabic may be represented (sometimes only briefly) in anything between 40 and 50 per cent of them and is the primary language in at least 30 per cent. In what is an intriguing example of Jewish linguistic innovation, the G material contains substantial evidence of special Jewish vernaculars that used Hebrew vocabulary and script to Judaize their own versions of another language, such as Judaeo-Spanish, Judaeo-Greek, Judaeo-Persian, and Judaeo-German, and even some French glosses written in Hebrew script. In the matter of function, the G texts relate to the total lifestyle of the Jewish communities of the medieval Islamic world and also supply interesting and significant evidence of their relationships with contemporary Muslims and Christians (Reif 2000a: 214–24, 230–1).

The total linguistic picture reveals that Hebrew and Aramaic consistently remained at the centre of Jewish linguistic and literary activity. In the matter of secondary, or tertiary languages, the Greek and Latin of the Classical period

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have effectively given way to the Arabic of the Islamic world. The only substantial dialectal variations that are documented in the DSS relate to the respective evolutions of Hebrew and Aramaic, while in the G communities such variation has been extended into a variety of Jewish vernaculars.

Discovery, Accessibility, and Location

In the course of the six decades during which the DSS have been discovered, deciphered, and published, the involvement in such processes has by no means been limited to scholars, museums, and learned societies, with the allegedly purer (p. 666) motives of academic research and the pursuit of knowledge. There has also been keen interest on the part of Beduin tribesmen, dealers in antiquities, clergymen, journalists, and governments, each with its own inducement, not always unrelated to greed, sensation, politics, and conceit. The areas around the Dead Sea were combed, haphazardly and then systematically, from 1946 or 1947 until the early sixties 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 bulk of the manuscripts was denied to many scholars, especially those of Jewish and Israeli identity.

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 western part of Jerusalem. The widespread frustration with the failure to publish and make accessible all the manuscripts had inspired the Israel Antiquities Authority to make new arrangements that were intended to rectify this situation already 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 almost 900 items and thousands of folios, were quickly made available to all with an interest (García Martínez 1994: xxxvi–xliv; Schiffman 1994: 3–31).

On the matter of the Cairo G, it is important to bear in mind that matters were already proceeding in the two decades before Schechter made his way to Cairo and brought back his 'hoard of Hebrew manuscripts'. Adolf Neubauer had already reported in 1876 to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford on the (second) Firkovich Collection in St Petersburg, arguing its special value for the history of the post-Talmudic period, the evolution of Hebrew philology, and the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible by both Karaites and Rabbanites. He concluded his report with a piece of advice for manuscript explorers and researchers that demonstrated a remarkable degree of foresight. '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' (Neubauer 1876: 7). His comments appear to indicate that already then there was an enthusiasm for exploiting oriental *genizot* and synagogal collections in the search for individual items for interested parties. Certainly, from then 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 an enthusiasm was increasingly indulged and progressively successful.

As a result of such an interest, some 70 per cent 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 (p. 667) 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 DC, Geneva, Strasbourg, Birmingham (UK), Kiev, and Frankfurt am Main. Some primitive efforts were made early in the twentieth century to conserve such material, and photographic copies were made available to scholars and academic publications, but the years of the two World Wars and the economic downturns of the period between them saw little further progress. The establishment of the State of Israel and its educational institutions, 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, and the foundation of the Friedberg Genizah Project first inspired and then developed comprehensive projects, now reaching completion, to make available all the worldwide collections, which total over 200,000 items (Richler 1994: 61–4; Reif 2000a: 234–60; Reif 2006b; FGP).

It is not only purely scholarly considerations that lead to the building of important manuscript collections; such a result may also sometimes be brought about by political developments and theological concerns. There are many major collections in the world's most important research libraries and museums and they do not always receive the priority they deserve. It often requires special circumstances or determined personalities to ensure that the requisite level of attention, staff, and funding is properly directed towards them.

Description and Exploitation

In spite of, or perhaps even because of, the fact that there were groups working on the DSS on both sides of the Israel/Arab armistice lines, many of the more major and lengthier items were published within the first few years of their discovery. Schiffman has estimated that, by 1961, 511 manuscripts of Cave 4 had been identified and arranged on 620 museum plates; while 25 plates of material remained unidentified. The work on the Israeli side had been virtually completed by 1956 but the exclusively Christian team that had been working on the scrolls in Jordanian East Jerusalem had to a degree tended to see the corpus in the light of Christian theological history rather than Jewish literary development and was making only slow progress by the time that the Six-Day War of 1967 overtook events. This situation changed with the relocation to the Israel Museum and the appointment by the Israel Antiquities Authority of a whole new international team led by (p. 668) Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The intensity and speed of the research improved considerably and the broader historical, literary, and linguistic perspectives that were brought to bear 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 (García Martínez 1994: xxvi-xliv; Schiffman 1994: 3–31).

The new and unexpected material that became available in the quarter-century from the first G discoveries until the First World War generated great interest and excitement. During the succeeding three decades, until after the Second World War, the pace of progress slowed considerably, with institutions making little progress on their collections and only individual scholars making their mark on limited areas of research. Although matters improved with the attention given to the exploitation and publication of G texts by Goitein and his students during the 1950s and 1960s, the vast majority of the fragments, wherever they were located, remained unpublished, and what was published rarely appeared as a fully transcribed, translated, and annotated item (Goitein 1967–88; Shaked 1964).

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 thirty years until the present. Cambridge is perhaps most and best illustrative of the situation. The bibliography of published items in the Cambridge Genizah Collections relating to the years 1896 to 1980 contained 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 (Reif 1988; Jefferson and Hunter 2004). Topics that were literary and historical (such as commentaries and chronicles) had given way to those that were more documentary (for instance, letters) and conventional literature had to a considerable extent moved over in favour of the more eccentric areas of, say, medicine and magic (Schiffman and Swartz 1992; Isaacs 1994; Lev and Amar 2008; Bohak 1999 and 2008: 215–21).

It was Voltaire who stated almost two and a half centuries ago, 'le mieux est l'ennemi du bien' (*La Béguéule: conte moral*, 1772). It seems that this adage has often been ignored by G scholars in arranging and carrying out their research projects. They have at times opted to provide a high quality of detailed analysis rather than a more generally useful account of overall content and its historical or literary significance. That is to say, research on both the DSS and the G manuscripts has often eschewed concern with the briefer but more numerous descriptions that would redound to the benefit of the majority in favour of the selfish concerns of the individual whose preference was to concentrate on highly detailed but considerably fewer treatments. Political and theological considerations have also at times played (p. 669) their parts in holding back scholarly progress. With hindsight it has also become clear that what is in one period considered of marginal significance to scholarship may come to be regarded by later generations as of indispensable centrality to their academic studies.

Special Finds

Now that these general comparisons concerning the DSS and the G have been made, the discussion may move on to what are often regarded as the most remarkable connections between the two collections (Reif forthcoming). 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 neither Pharisaic nor rabbinic, he first thought that they were Samaritan, subsequently 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 therefore published them thirteen years later as *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Schechter 1910).

The degree to which other scholars expressed views that were at variance with those of Schechter demonstrates how difficult it was, and indeed is, to identify with any precision the nature of Jewish sects and their ideologies from the Second Temple period 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'. For his part, D. S. Margoliouth regarded them, like all the G material, as valueless, no more than 'the contents of a huge waste-paper basket' (Reif 2000b; Margoliouth 1913:157, 159, 164). 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, it has become clear that the Damascus Document (CD), as it came 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 DSS texts. An authentic version then re-appears among the manuscripts emanating from tenth-century Cairo (Broshi 1992; Stegemann 2000).

(p. 670) The second example of the remarkable connections between DSS and G 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 regarding them as no more than part of the 'whole Rabbinic farrago' while Schechter thought them part of an authentic transmission but 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 (Margoliouth 1890: 21; Reif 1997b). 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 Judaea (Segal 1958: 47–69, 375–8; Beentjes 1997b). If Bacher's rejection of Margoliouth's persistently negative theories ('which rose, like a soap bubble, from the Sirach enquiry, only to burst after a short brilliancy') 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 1963–64 of a version that matched most closely MS B from Cairo put to rest any serious negation of the reasons for Schechter's great excitement. With regard to the transmission between the Second Temple period and the Middle Ages, 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' (Bacher 1900: 106; Yadin 1965; Beentjes 1997b: 6).

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 (Pass and Arendzen 1900; Charles and Cowley 1907). 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 (Pass 1901; Reif 2000a: 66). Dating from the third or second century BCE, 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 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 (p. 671) textual overlap with the G fragments.

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The first of these DSS versions was published by J. T. Milik in 1955.

It is particularly important for the purposes of this essay that the content of Aramaic Levi is not typical of many of the other DSS works but appears to be earlier and perhaps to have circulated more broadly. 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' (Stone 2000; Schiffman 1994: 167). Interestingly, it has only been fairly recently that thorough studies and complete text editions have been published by Israeli scholars Jonas Greenfield, Michael Stone, and Esther Eshel, and by Henryk Drawnel, who teaches at the Catholic University of Lublin in Poland (Greenfield, Stone and Eshel 2004; Drawnel 2004). 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 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 (Scheiber 1970: 117, 120 and 1980: 97). In 1978, Simon Hopkins, then a research assistant in the Genizah Research Unit, included brief descriptions and photographs in his published hand-list of T-S A45 (Hopkins 1978: 96–101, 106–7). 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 BCE and the first century CE (Fitzmyer 1995a and 1995b).

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 a semi-cursive Sephardi hand no later than the fourteenth century and has been identified by S. Hopkins as following the same recension as the printed edition 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 (Zimmermann 1958: 133–6; Spencer 1999; Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck 2004: 32). The second fragment (T-S A45.29) can 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 Zimmermann as a medieval recasting, in the biblical idiom, for popular story-telling and it has been (p. 672) suggested by Stuckenbruck that it may have originated in the shorter Greek version of Codex Vaticanus (Zimmermann 1958: 137–8; Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck 2004: 56; Stuckenbruck 2005).

According to Fitzmyer, none of these medieval versions have any direct links with the Qumranic forms, but Stuckenbruck has wisely added the assessment that 'none are simply direct translations of the texts known to us in Latin and Greek' (Fitzmyer 2000: 949; and Stuckenbruck and Weeks 2005: 86). 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.

Conclusions

No accurate assessment of the evidence provided by these two collections should ignore the fact that they have, in a sense, survived by the luck of the draw and that it was never by any means certain that they would be acquired and housed by great centres of learning and ultimately described and researched there. Indeed, had one Cambridge librarian's advice been taken by his superior officers in the University Library, a substantial part of its G collection might well have been committed to the flames, as soon as the initial sorting of the most obviously exciting items had been completed (Reif 2000a: 242, 257). To what extent, therefore, may these two great collections be defined as characteristic of what existed *in toto* in the periods from which they emanate?

Such caution has some justification but should also be balanced by recalling that all the works of literature from many centuries that have come into our hands through more conventional and continuous systems of transmission have succeeded in reaching us because it suited the motivations of particular religious traditions to preserve them. Another factor that militates against exercising too extreme a degree of caution concerns the uniquely extensive

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nature, and lengthy period of coverage, of both collections. This surely adds weight to the arguments that they may well represent at least an important part of the Jewish and related literature of their day. What is more, both collections testify to a considerable degree of literacy, usually in at least two languages and ranging over a variety of human endeavours, and a trend to create Jewish linguistic dialects. Given such broad literacy, it should not be surprising if it found expression in texts that were not a rarity in their day. Undoubtedly there is something of 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, (p. 673) and practices as is recorded among the DSS. In any event, what is today considered fascinating may be dull fare to tomorrow's specialist. A limited degree of caution is therefore wise, as well as an admission that we can interpret only as well as current sources and academic fashions permit and that the situation regarding evidence and its interpretation may change drastically from generation to generation.

Are we not then entitled to conclude that the four so-called 'sectarian' items that are found in both collections demonstrate that such literature was familiar, maybe even well known, to the Jews of both periods and that it functioned for them in some specific literary and religious contexts? While the Pharisees and proto-rabbis of the earlier period and the Talmudic authorities of the later one may have had their suspicions about the theological value of such items, and may even indeed have attempted to suppress them, there may well have been other groups of Jews who found them useful and attractive. The different languages in which the items were preserved may point to their survival and transmission in changing environments and if we are to take them so seriously then it may also be possible that they represent only a tiny proportion of a much more extensive literature that belonged to circles that were not always blessed with the power to dictate choices and directions. The questions that arise with regard to such apparently 'non-establishment' literature are whether they had a continuous existence between DSS and G times, whether they were at some stage more within the literary establishment, and whether they were always the exception rather than the rule.

It is often claimed that it was only when Karaism discovered sectarian scrolls in caves of the Judaeian 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 Karaites were in this matter motivated by intense interest in establishing an historical link with the Jewish sects of the past. Those making such a claim contend that there is no convincing evidence for such links and that the reports in the Muslim sources which appear to point to them are confused, inconsistent, and unreliable (Ben-Shammai 1987).

There is, however, a strong opposing argument to such claims about the Karaite use of material found in caves. The Karaites, no less and perhaps even more than the Rabbanites, were concerned to demonstrate that their way was long-standing, traditional, and ancient, and not an innovative one. Could they, in that case, in all honesty, simply adopt the contents and lifestyle described in manuscripts that they had accidentally found in the desert? In addition, it should not be forgotten that, throughout the first Christian millennium, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all had a variety of groups with their own ideas and practices that were frowned upon and even suppressed by the dominant authorities within each of these monotheistic faiths. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to suppose that ideas that had been recorded in Qumran and around the Dead Sea had the opportunity of finding friendly surroundings in which to hibernate or perhaps simply to exist in low key (p. 674) before being incorporated into the powerful Karaite movement between the ninth and twelfth centuries.

There are so many laws relating to such topics as 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. Almost half a century ago, a pioneering study by Naphtali Wieder clearly demonstrated the massive debt that Karaism owed to the literature preserved among the Judaeian scrolls. What is more, it is historically naive to propose that there were always clear lines of demarcation between rabbinic and non-rabbinic ideas and practice and/or to accept uncritically the explanation of the enemies of Karaism that such a movement emerged suddenly as the creation of one individual or a few rebels (Erder 1987, 2003, 2004; Wieder 1962).

A recent study has described the appearance of Karaism in the following terms:

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

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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 Judaeo-Muslim hybrids who were unwilling to make the final commitment to Islam. (Astren 2004: 39–40)

That assessment by Fred Astren seems clear and convincing and it follows that the overall picture is what is important for the current discussion and not whether some early medieval Muslim sources have been entirely accurate about broader theological developments or the specific connections between the religious ideologies of various groups. There can be no doubt about the existence of many non-establishment groups during the centuries under discussion and they would have provided a perfect haven for the safe containment of the kind of literature represented by the four items earlier described. Some medieval manuscripts of those items have recensional parallels in the DSS while others have no recensional link, suggesting that they derive from alternative, live manuscript traditions. Once they had been included in the Karaite religious corpus, did they remain exclusively there or were they also to be found in other contexts more closely related to the Rabbanite tradition? Perhaps that tradition had its more ecumenical periods, as well as its bursts of increased literacy, during which it demonstrated a less antagonistic approach to the reading and writing of such items in its own communities or within circles closely related to it. In that case, there were probably other times within the history of Rabbanism when such literature was assessed as heretical and, as such, rapidly consigned to a *bet genizah*. (p. 675)

Suggested Reading

Important overall coverage of the Dead Sea Scrolls is provided by Schiffman (1994), by Schiffman and VanderKam (2000), and by García Martínez (1994). Equally important for the Genizah material are Goitein (1967–88), Reif (2000a) and the Friedberg Genizah Project's website (FGP). Tov (1992) and (2004) are of central significance for the textual history of the Hebrew Bible while Richler (1990) and (1994) provide essential guidance to the history of Hebrew manuscripts and their research. The literary, historical, and theological significance of Karaism is well treated by Wieder (1962), Polliack (2003), Erder (2004), and Astren (2004).

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Notes:

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Rhetorical Criticism and the Reading of the Qumran Scrolls

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[–] Abstract and Keywords

Since rhetorical criticism is a method that is all but absent from the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this article attempts to make the case for its usefulness. In order to do this, it defines the relevant terms and sets them in historical perspective, examines the distinctive features of Qumran literature that make rhetorical criticism both important and problematic, and discusses whether and in what way rhetorical criticism is in fact a method. The article presents two case studies to illustrate ways in which rhetorical criticism might be conducted. The first is on the Rule texts, which include the Damascus Document and the Community Rule. The second is on the Hodayot or Thanksgiving Hymns.

Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran literature, rhetorical criticism, Hodayot, Thanksgiving Hymns, Community Rule, Damascus Document

SINCE rhetorical criticism is a method that is all but absent from the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this essay will attempt to make the case for its usefulness. In order to do this, it will be necessary to define the relevant terms and set them in historical perspective, to examine the distinctive features of Qumran literature that make rhetorical criticism both important and problematic, and to discuss whether and in what way rhetorical criticism is in fact a method. Given the rather unsystematic nature of rhetorical criticism, many modern handbooks of rhetoric introduce their subject by a variety of case studies, and here, too, it seems best to complement general discussion by a set of examples that illustrate certain aspects of rhetorical analysis. (p. 684)

Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism—A Capsule History

Rhetoric is the art of using language effectively and persuasively. Although in some sense every culture has its implicit norms and recognizes in a pragmatic sense what counts as speaking well, the self-conscious study of rhetorical technique was developed by the ancient Greeks in the fifth century BCE. Since the modern Western conception of rhetoric derives from this tradition, a capsule history of the ways in which rhetoric has been understood is helpful in determining what is involved in developing a rhetorical criticism suitable for Qumran studies. (This summary follows Conley 1990 in significant measure.)

Throughout the centuries rhetoric has had a chequered history. In fifth-century Athens developments in legal and civic culture put a premium on the ability of its citizens to speak persuasively in cases where ‘truth’ was in dispute and the shaping of opinion was necessary for taking action. Even in its earliest formulations rival theories of rhetoric placed more weight respectively on rational argumentation (Protagoras) and eloquence (Isocrates). Rhetoric was viewed with suspicion by Plato for its assumption that truth was inaccessible, but Aristotle was able to give it a philosophical foundation by arguing that there are different kinds of knowledge, some of which are amenable to dialectical reasoning and some (particularly probabilistic forms of knowledge) suitable to rhetorical argumentation.

Rhetorical Criticism and the Reading of the Qumran Scrolls

Despite the prominence of Aristotle in modern understandings of rhetoric, it was the Isocratean tradition that was more influential in antiquity, especially as it was developed by the Roman rhetorician Cicero. In Hellenistic society and in republican and early imperial Rome rhetoric was the foundation of a good education and a primary means of social advancement in the administrative structures of kingdoms and empires. The Ciceronian ideal of 'the good man skilled in speaking' embodied a model of eloquence in the service of philosophy and statesmanship that provided a cultural ideal which remained influential into the nineteenth century. Perhaps in part because it was such a self-consciously cultivated skill in later Roman culture, the practice of fine speaking eventually became a rather artificial enterprise, though it continued to enjoy significant cultural prestige. As a pagan cultural practice, rhetoric was viewed with ambivalence by early Christian intellectuals, many of whom were, however, well educated in rhetorical theory. In *De Doctrina Christiana* Augustine developed a theory of Christian rhetoric that appropriated and transformed pagan rhetorical norms for the purposes of the new faith. Although the influences on Augustine have been debated, recent work sees him as largely working out of a Ciceronian model (Conley 1990: 77). He does, however, use both the Psalms and the writings of Paul as models of eloquence to be imitated by his readers. If Augustine represents the tradition of Ciceronian (p. 685) eloquence, Boethius preserves the Aristotelian emphasis on enthememic argumentation as central to rhetoric. Both traditions were influential in the rhetorical education in the Western Middle Ages.

With the renewed interest in classical culture in Renaissance humanism a new flourishing of rhetorical study developed. As Conley observes, the Renaissance was a time of both political and intellectual turbulence and uncertainty. Rhetoric was prized 'not so much as an alternative to uncertainty as a way of managing it' (Conley 1990: 110). But whereas some of the earlier Renaissance rhetorics focused on methods of developing probabilistic arguments on either side of disputed issues, the highly influential work of Peter Ramus reduced rhetoric to matters of style and delivery, truth being the province of dialectic, understood essentially as syllogistic logic. In the seventeenth century, too, rhetoric was excluded from claims to truth, which was increasingly seen as the province of science and philosophical rationalism. But a growing attention to human psychology concluded that it was not so much reason that persuades as it is the affections and sentiments. Thus for both good and ill, rhetoric, which manipulates the affect, was seen as the means by which persons are persuaded.

During the eighteenth century, philosophy largely rejected the significance of rhetoric. Rhetoric, however, found fruitful ground by recasting itself as the means by which the standards of taste in polite society were established. Cultivation in *belles lettres* and elocution provided a rising middle class with the means by which they might be recognized as ladies and gentlemen. Rhetoric in the nineteenth century generally followed in the tracks laid out by rhetoricians of the previous generation and, although important in education, was an intellectually marginalized field. The twentieth century, however, saw an astonishing revival of interest in rhetoric, which was conceptualized in ways that were both novel and yet a return to the political concerns of its classical roots. In part as a result of the deep distress at the ways in which propaganda had been involved in the violent conflicts and totalitarian movements, interest turned to the ways in which rhetoric could provide a critique of the uses of language for mystification as well as the construction of a 'new rhetoric' that could provide the basis for a rational culture of argumentation (e.g. Burke 1968, 1969; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969). The linguistic turn in philosophy also brought forth a new rapprochement between philosophy and rhetoric, including claims for the epistemic significance of rhetoric (Brummett 1999; Scott 1999). Social-scientific interest in the functions of language, in such fields as anthropology, socio-linguistics, and cultural analysis, has also drawn upon rhetorical theory to analyse how language use is related to the construction of knowledge and culture. How far rhetoric has moved from its nineteenth-century conceptualization is evident in Lloyd Bitzer's definition:

Rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse....The rhetor alters reality by bringing into existence a (p. 686) discourse of such a character that the audience, in thought and action, is so engaged that it becomes [a] mediator of change. (Bitzer 1999: 219)

While this very brief account of the career of rhetoric cannot do justice to its complex history, it does indicate how variously the study of rhetoric has been understood and the often culturally specific contexts within which those reformulations of rhetoric have taken place. In light of this sprawling history of rhetoric, one might be forgiven for wondering whether it is appropriate or helpful to attempt to fashion a rhetorical criticism for a collection of Semitic texts which have only recently become part of the West's cultural heritage. What has Athens to do with Khirbet Qumran? The response to this doubt, however, is that one of the trajectories in the study of rhetoric is the

recognition that while the particular sense of what constitutes speaking well may differ from one culture to another, the persuasive use of speech is a human universal. This recognition is especially characteristic of the modern study of rhetoric. Nevertheless, the recognition of cultural diversity and the lack of a self-conscious reflection on rhetorical practice in ancient Semitic cultures means that there is a risk of drawing on the classically derived Western rhetorical tradition in ways that could produce anachronistic and inappropriate approaches to Qumran literature. These methodological concerns are addressed more directly below. Before turning to that topic, however, it is necessary to review briefly how rhetorical criticism has been appropriated in biblical studies.

Rhetorical Criticism in Hebrew Bible and New Testament Studies

Although rhetorical criticism of the Bible has roots as old as the patristic period, the modern application of rhetorical analysis to the critical repertoire of biblical studies is quite recent, especially in respect of the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, it is usually dated to James Muilenburg's 1969 essay, 'Form Criticism and Beyond.' As the title suggests, Muilenburg's purpose in calling for a rhetorical criticism was an attempt to reform and extend form criticism's preoccupation with ideal types and to focus as well on concrete instances of discourse in which various ideal forms were imitated and combined in distinctive ways for the purposes of a historically specific utterance. Even so, Muilenburg tended to focus his own analysis on literary features within the texts rather than on their social functions as means of persuasion. Those who followed Muilenburg were even less attentive to issues of occasion, audience, (p. 687) and persuasive force, so that what began as a call for a rhetorical criticism became instead a form of literary stylistics (e.g. Trible 1994).

A number of studies on the prophets, however, have focused on their presumed roles as orators addressing specific rhetorical situations with a variety of rhetorical techniques. Some of these studies have attempted to use Aristotelian categories (not entirely productively, in my opinion; see Gitay 1981), while others have been more eclectic in their approach (e.g. Fox 1980; Clifford 1984). Other texts as well, including narrative ones, have been analysed with respect to their rhetoric (see the essays in Porter and Olbricht 1993; 1996; 1997). Nevertheless, there has been relatively little methodological reflection on the outlines of a proper rhetorical criticism in Hebrew Bible studies. Even Alan Hauser's (1994) survey article in *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible* opts to conflate rhetorical and literary criticism.

The situation has been quite different in New Testament studies. There, rhetoric is explicitly understood in its traditional sense, in which the text is 'a vehicle of communication and interaction between the author and the audience', and rhetorical criticism 'investigates the use of traditional devices to produce an effect in an audience' (Fiore 1992: 716). Although there were occasional analyses of rhetoric in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New Testament scholarship (e.g. Weiss 1897; Bultmann 1910), most rhetorical criticism of the New Testament has been produced since the 1970s. Because the New Testament writings were composed in Greek by authors who were arguably acquainted to some degree with the norms of Hellenistic rhetoric, classical rhetoric has dominated New Testament rhetorical criticism, especially of the epistles (Betz 1979; Kennedy 1984). While there are recognizable Hellenistic rhetorical techniques in the epistles of Paul, he also appears to exhibit a suspicion of the suitability of rhetoric for Christian preaching (Lim 1987: 145–8), thus raising the question of the extent to which his own writings should be understood as a studied attempt to embody rhetorical eloquence.

This application of classical rhetorical analysis to the New Testament approach has also been criticized from other perspectives, however, as overly rigid, as unnecessarily limiting the scope of rhetorical criticism, and as misleadingly privileging classical rhetorical categories for a literature that also draws on Jewish traditions of composition that have different norms for effective speech (Watson and Hauser 1994: 111; Robbins 1997: 40–1). Thus some attempts have been made to derive norms also from Hebrew forms of speech and composition (e.g. Brodie 1984). Others have championed the use of the rich resources of modern rhetorical theory as a necessary complement to the classical tradition (Thurén 1990; Wuellner 1991). The most programmatic proposal is that of Vernon Robbins (Robbins 1996a; 1996b; 1997), who calls for a 'revalued and reinvented rhetorical criticism' that partners literary, rhetorical, and theological approaches with a variety of social-scientific ones (hence 'socio-rhetorical criticism') to move beyond what he sees as the 'restrained' rhetorical analysis characteristic of most New Testament scholarship (Robbins 1997: 26–7). Although beginning with specific texts, Robbins' (p. 688) approach goes beyond what has traditionally been understood as rhetorical criticism and moves in the direction of cultural studies.

Rhetorical Criticism and the Reading of the Qumran Scrolls

The issues confronting the development of a rhetorical criticism for the Dead Sea Scrolls are not, of course, exactly the same as those found in New Testament (or even Hebrew Bible) studies. But the robust methodological discussion that has taken place particularly among New Testament scholars is an important resource for this enterprise (see Watson and Hauser 1994 for overview).

Rhetorical Criticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Prospects and Problems

The near absence of rhetorical criticism in Qumran studies is both surprising and unfortunate. Although virtually any text lends itself to rhetorical criticism, the literature of a sectarian community has particular affinities for this type of analysis. As Kenneth Burke once observed, rhetoric 'considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another' (Burke 1969: 22), certainly an apt description of the way sects position themselves and make their appeal. As a sectarian organization that drew extensively upon adult converts for its membership, the Qumran community was deeply involved in using language to effect persuasion. To join the community required a decision to separate oneself from previously held identities, perspectives, and beliefs, and to embrace new ones defined by the community. This new world of meaning was not totally new, of course, but was constructed in relation to the central religious and cultural symbols of the broader Jewish community. Thus the community's texts are often engaged in explicit and implicit struggle with other ways of understanding the meaning and significance of these symbols. Since the sectarian movement existed in the midst of a variety of other ways of being Jewish, the plausibility of the community's own structures, practices, beliefs, and dispositions required continuing acts of self-persuasion by members. These were enacted through formal instruction and examination, rituals, liturgies, biblical interpretations, and a variety of other formal and informal speech practices, as well as non-verbal forms of symbolic communication.

Applying rhetorical criticism to the sectarian texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls offers both serious challenges and great rewards. (Although my focus in this discussion is on the sectarian texts, much of what is said applies also to the non-sectarian ones.) Perhaps the most obvious challenge is that we do not know precisely how the various texts from Qumran were used and by whom. Thus important aspects of the rhetorical situation are simply unknown. But the problem (p. 689) may not be as serious as it first appears. Scholars can make educated guesses about the likely purposes and contexts of use for particular texts, even if the specific details remain elusive. And, as discussed below, the rhetorical situation need not be construed simply as some necessarily objective state of affairs to which a speech or a text is a response. Deducing the rhetorical situation is in many respects simply a particular instance of the hermeneutical circle.

A second challenge is that the texts found at Qumran, even the specifically sectarian ones, may come from different periods within the community's life and in many cases have been reworked numerous times to meet changing needs. Thus the very model of *an* author addressing *an* audience in a *particular* context is too simplistic. It is important to remember that one does not have access to any particular author's psychological intentions in a text. What is being analysed is the force of the language itself. Indeed, even to speak of *the* community is somewhat misleading, since the people who occupied the site of Qumran and who were responsible for the preservation of the scrolls appear to have been only one part of a much larger and more complex religious movement. Scholars have not yet been able to determine with certainty how the communities referred to in the texts relate to one another.

A third difficulty is that, since there was no self-conscious, second-order reflection on the characteristics of persuasive speech among Semitic scribes comparable to what developed in Greek culture, the more informal norms for what constituted persuasive and eloquent speech have to be inductively identified. While some work has been done on comparative norms for halakhic argumentation (e.g. Schwartz 1992), little attention has been given to this question more generally.

Finally, many of the texts are poorly preserved and fragmentary. Beginnings and endings, crucial loci for understanding the rhetoric of texts, are often missing. Some things that one would like to know simply cannot be known. Nevertheless, so long as one is aware of the limitations of the evidence, there is a great deal that can be learned about the general nature of the persuasion that various texts undertake.

Rhetorical Criticism as a Method

To what extent is rhetorical criticism a 'method'? Here, as with the question of definition, the issue is disputed. Both Kennedy, who champions a relatively narrow conception of rhetorical criticism, and Robbins, who advocates a highly expansive understanding, outline their programmes in five logically coordinated steps, though Robbins does not necessarily see his as sequential (Kennedy 1984: 32–8; Robbins 1996b). Robbins does, however, claim for both of these approaches the (p. 690) status of 'scientific' inquiry (Robbins 1996b: 132; 1997: 26). Many modern rhetoricians have a more relaxed attitude toward the issue of method, and some reject the terminology of method altogether, preferring that of critical practice (McKerrow 1999: 450–2). While rhetorical criticism is a disciplined and self-conscious way of asking questions about a text and its intended effects, it cannot helpfully be reduced to a series of steps to be followed in each case by every critic. Rhetorician Edwin Black's comments are apt.

Methods, then, admit of varying degrees of personality. And criticism, on the whole, is near the indeterminate, contingent, personal end of the methodological scale. In consequence of this placement, it is neither possible nor desirable for criticism to be fixed into a system, for critical techniques to be objectified, or critics to be interchangeable for purposes of replication, or for rhetorical criticism to serve as the handmaiden of quasi-scientific theory. (Black 1978: x–xi)

From this perspective, with which I sympathize, the effective rhetorical critic is less in need of a technical method than of a well-equipped toolkit, the skill to use the tools, and the discernment to know which one is needed.

Whether for Qumran texts or biblical ones, the selection of appropriate tools will depend in part on the scope and focus of the rhetorical analysis one is undertaking, whether it is (1) the analysis of the rhetoric of a single text, (2) the inductive recovery of the norms of persuasive argumentation within a culture through the comparative examination of similar texts, (3) elucidating the implicit cultural conversation within which the text is situated (i.e. the rhetorical situation construed in larger socio-cultural context), or (4) some combination of these aims. It may be helpful, however, to discuss some of the most frequently used forms of analysis.

Identifying the Rhetorical Situation and Problem

Persuasive speech attempts to effect change of some sort. The often cited though rather cumbersome definition of Bitzer (1999: 220) is as follows: 'a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence'. While seemingly commonsensical, the definition is misleadingly objective and especially problematic for analysing texts in which the record of the actual circumstances of composition and delivery are unknown. What is lacking in Bitzer's definition is an appreciation of the extent to which the rhetor by his rhetoric actively shapes the situation to which his utterance is simultaneously a response (see Vatz 1999). Speakers, for example, may have reasons for using the language of crisis to create a sense of urgency on (p. 691) the part of the audience whether or not an objective crisis exists. Thus, just as one distinguishes between the actual author of a text and the implied author constructed by the text, so one might think in terms of an implied rhetorical situation called into being by the text.

Assessing Genre

Genres serve as proffered contracts between writers and readers, providing common expectations for what the text in question is intended to do and what means it is likely to use. Thus the type of rhetorical techniques, the nature of the arguments and warrants employed, and even the emotional affect induced will differ depending on the genre of the text in question. The audience, in recognizing the genre of a speech or text, will index a repertoire of similar texts. That genre is properly a rhetorical as well as a literary category, however, is suggested by Burke's understanding of form in psychological terms, as 'the creation of an appetite in the mind of the auditor, and the adequate satisfying of that appetite' (Burke 1968: 31). The rhetorical force of an utterance, however, might also consist of surprising or even frustrating that appetite.

Recognizing Types of Rhetoric

Classical rhetoric categorized three main types: judicial, deliberative, and epideictic. As George Kennedy defines

the terms 'the species is judicial when the author is seeking to persuade the audience to make a judgment about events occurring in the past; it is deliberative when he seeks to persuade them to take some action in the future; it is epideictic when he seeks to persuade them to hold or reaffirm some point of view in the present, as when he celebrates or denounces some person or some quality' (Kennedy 1984: 19). Although these categories are derived from the characteristic speech situations of Greek civic culture, they are fairly generalizable. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to attempt to use them as a procrustean bed. Rhetorical theorist Thomas Farrell makes use of a different grid, identifying 'speaker-centred', 'message-centred', and 'constituency-centred' forms of rhetoric, each of which correlates with different argumentative emphases and core values. Speaker-centred rhetoric, not surprisingly, correlates with arguments emphasizing ethos and with the norm of authority. Message-centred rhetoric emphasizes *stasis* (issues) and the norm of integrity, whereas constituency-centred rhetoric is oriented to *krisis* (judgement) and the norm of conscience (Farrell 1999: 91). These and other analytics should be used heuristically, since their value is in helping to clarify what the speaker is attempting to do with words and what strategy she is employing.

(p. 692) Observing Relationships Between Speaker and Audience

The speaker/audience relationship is key to understanding rhetoric. Yet even texts that are not overtly rhetorical may be analysed in this fashion. As James Boyd White observed, every text constructs a character for the author and reader and establishes the relationship that exists between them (White 1984: 14–18). Sometimes these identities and relationships are explicitly named in the text, but often they are implied simply through the tone, style, or diction. In either case, the reader or hearer is invited to recognize him- or herself in that character or to become more like that character. Thus rhetorical persuasion may not simply be about changing one's ideas or emotions but even one's very identity or sense of self.

Analysing Argumentation

Classical rhetoric, with its passion for reducing the multiplicity of rhetorical phenomena to a small number of categories, divides the modes of argumentation into three: *ethos* (focusing on the character of the speaker), *pathos* (the appeal to the emotions of the audience), and *logos* (logical argumentation), which itself can be analysed in terms of inductive and deductive arguments. Here again, though the categories can be helpful, they can easily become artificially restrictive, as they only begin to scratch the surface of the infinite ways in which speakers actually construct arguments. For the rhetorical critic who wishes to develop an ear for the subtleties of argumentation, immersion in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's *The New Rhetoric* (1969) is invaluable. One of the rare articles on rhetoric in a Qumran text also attempts to identify inductively the nature and norms of argumentation in 4QMMT (Sharp 1997).

While it is not possible to survey all of the possibilities for argumentation, there are a few issues worth highlighting. First is the relationship between rational argument and explanation on the one hand and metaphors and tropes on the other. Where parties share many of the same assumptions, explicit arguments may be the preferred form of persuasion; but where world views are strongly divergent, then evocative metaphors, narratives, and other such tropes may predominate, because there is no common ground for arguments to have persuasive power. The difference in these strategies, as a recent essay discussed, is that between 'giving evidence' and 'making evident'. Giving evidence through arguments addresses the level of *beliefs* as they bear on a problem. Making evident through vivid evocation addresses the more fundamental level of the *grounds* that underlie beliefs (Jost and Hyde 1997: 12–20).

Second is the way the text frames the issue with which it is concerned. Just as a photographer frames a scene, including some things and excluding others, so does the author of a text. An issue may be narrowly framed or in a panoramic manner, (p. 693) and what is excluded from view may be as important in persuasive speech as what is said. Closely related to such framing is what Burke called 'vocabularies of motives' and 'terministic screens', that is choice of particular terms of value by which the author wishes his audience to construe the issues at stake. But as Burke observed, 'even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality' (Burke 1966: 45). Thus persuasion takes place even in the most seemingly straightforward accounts of a situation. These key terms of value, however, may often be empty signifiers, that is, terms widely used in the society but requiring to be given

specific content in any particular utterance, for example terms such as 'righteous' and 'wicked'. Or, the critical terms may be those whose meaning is contested in a given society (e.g. 'covenant' or 'purity'), so that the text attempts to give the ideologically critical term its own accentuation by using it in novel ways or associating it with a different repertoire of value terms than occurs in the speech of others (Bakhtin 1981: 275–85; Voloshinov 1973: 21–2). What is done *to* words is a part of what is done *with* words.

Recognizing What is Not Said

Classical rhetoric recognized in the *enthememe* a form of logical argument in which often one of the premises of the argument was not stated, precisely because it was based on such widely held opinion (*doxa*) that it could be taken for granted. As Michael Calvin McGee (1999: 71) puts it, '*doxa* is silent, and it should be kept silent, unless it becomes itself the source of grievance'. In modern rhetorical theory the notion of *doxa* has been expanded to include the internalized sense of reality in a community by which a culture produces a sense of its own naturalness and inevitability. These assumptions are, in Bourdieu's formulation, what '*goes without saying because it comes without saying*: the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition' (Bourdieu 1977: 167; italics in original). In bringing to consciousness what is hidden, perhaps even from the speaker himself, and in seeing where *doxa* becomes the source of grievance and so becomes suddenly visible, rhetorical criticism joins ideological criticism.

Reflecting on the Significance of Formal Features

Although style has been demoted from the previously dominant position that it held in rhetorical theory, formal features of the text (e.g. repetition, use of contrast pairs, crescendo effects) should be scrutinized. Not only are they often indicators of points of emphasis, but in some cases they even embody aspects of the argument or assumptional background (e.g. a strongly binary style and a dualistic worldview).

(p. 694) The list of possible matters to be examined in an act of rhetorical criticism could be extended indefinitely, but these should serve to suggest some of the places one might begin. To complement the theoretical discussion, two case studies illustrate ways in which rhetorical criticism might be conducted.

Case Study I: The Rule Texts

One of the novel genres discovered in the sectarian literature of Qumran is the *serekh* or 'rule'. Texts of this type include the Damascus Document, the Community Rule, and the Rule of the Congregation. (Although the War Scroll also uses the term *serekh*, it refers to the order for the conduct of the eschatological war and so will not be considered here.) These texts appear to be composite documents that describe the way of life in the community. Although scholars have debated the possible functions of these rules, there is a general consensus that they were associated in some fashion with instruction in the ethos, beliefs, and practices of the community. Perhaps they were to be read and studied by the *maskil*, the figure Philip Alexander (2000: 800) calls 'the spiritual mentor' of the community, or perhaps they were used more directly in instruction of new members, even being memorized by initiates, as James Charlesworth (1994: 1) suggests. In either case, one of the important purposes of the texts is to serve in the formation of the sectarian. Significantly, both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule begin with an explicitly motivational section, before turning to the more detailed information about the sectarian community. In these motivational sections one can see examples of a rhetorical appeal designed to consolidate the member's commitment to the life of the community. Despite the similar function, however, the rhetoric in these two texts is quite different.

The Damascus Document

The Damascus Document exists in multiple fragmentary copies from Caves 4, 5, and 6, as well as in two partial but relatively well-preserved medieval copies found in the Cairo Genizah (see Hempel 2000). This rule consists of a long hortatory section, usually termed the Admonition, followed by a collection of laws. The basic structure thus suggests that the admonition serves to provide the motivation and self-understanding that would make the reader/listener receptive to the laws that follow. Indeed, as one looks at the Admonition itself, it moves from more general exhortation at the beginning to incorporate discussion of particular legal positions (p. 695) held by the sectarian community in the latter parts. Although the very beginning of the Admonition is preserved only in very

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fragmentary fashion in 4QD^a, the section with which the Cairo Genizah manuscript A begins gives a good sense of the general rhetorical strategies of the Admonition.

The Admonition is quite explicit about giving its audience an identity, as it addresses them directly. 'And now listen, all you who know righteousness and who understand the works of God' (CD 1: 1–2). Any contemporary reader would recognize the style of the address: the speaker takes up the position of a wisdom teacher addressing his students (cf. Prov. 5: 1–2; Ps. 78: 1–4; Sir. 3: 1; 1 Enoch 91: 3). Later the admonition will make reference to important teachers in Israel's history (CD 1: 11; 4: 8; 6: 2–3, 7, 11), so that the speaker implicitly claims to stand in continuity with an ancient authoritative tradition of instruction. In contrast to the typical wisdom custom of referring to students as 'my sons', however, the speaker explicitly attributes ethical and religious understanding to his audience. They are neither unformed nor uninformed. This rhetorical positioning is significant. It lessens the distance between the speaker and the audience and it sets up an implicit contrast between themselves, as those who possess this vital knowledge, and others who do not. Thus the sectarian interest in drawing a line between insiders and outsiders is already established through the characterization of the speaker and his audience.

As the speaker turns to the content of his message, he also invokes language that the audience would recognize as like that of the prophets: 'For he [God] has a dispute with all flesh and will execute judgment against all who spurn him' (CD 1: 2). Thus the speaker adds to his own authorization. But in contrast to much prophetic rhetoric that often directed its indictments to the people, who are themselves portrayed as guilty (cf. Micah 6), here the audience has been characterized as those who *do not* spurn God. What the speaker will tell them will be directed not toward getting them to change their identity but to reinforce their existing identification with the good and their sense of separation from and opposition to the evil. The polarizing language also strategically simplifies reality. While many people might have considered the choices that Jews must make about the interpretation of God's will and law to be complex and subject to much debate, the rhetoric of this address allows for no such ambiguity. There are two options: right and wrong. And the speaker and his audience belong to those who have it right.

Since the speaker's task is not to change the minds of his audience so much as to confirm them in their identity, he proceeds by reciting to them several versions of their own history (CD 1: 1–2: 1; 2: 2–4: 6; 5: 15–11). He seeks to give them a sense of how they have emerged out of a much longer story about Israel, and indeed, about the history of the world. That this is not a previously unknown story is evident from the fact that it is narrated in a very allusive fashion. Scholars have difficulty in identifying all of the references with certainty, because often very little information is given. But those who are members of the community would have had little (p. 696) difficulty in making the connections. This is a story that they already know well, and the recitation of it serves not to give new information but to reinforce their solidarity with this vision of their place in the world. Despite the allusive style, the major elements of the story are intelligible to the biblically literate reader.

The first recounting of the history runs from CD 1: 3 to 2: 1. It is framed, as the introductory lines indicate, as the story of God's judgement against those who scorn him. Thus the focus is primarily on the villains. No story has an absolute beginning, of course, and it is rhetorically important where a speaker chooses to begin. This speaker frames the story by reference to the Babylonian destruction of Judah and the Temple, more or less as it had been interpreted in the Deuteronomistic tradition. 'For when, in their unfaithfulness, they abandoned him, he hid his face from Israel and from his sanctuary and gave them over to the sword' (CD 1: 3–4). Later references to Nebuchadnezzar confirm the reference. The traumatic event of the Babylonian destruction of the Temple was a central experience in early Jewish self-understanding, and so makes an effective rhetorical point of reference.

But is the destruction of the Temple for the people's unfaithfulness not the end of the story rather than the beginning? Here the speaker makes use of another traditional prophetic motif, the notion of a remnant saved from the destruction (CD 1: 4–5; cf. Jer. 31: 7; Mic. 2: 12; Zeph. 3: 13). Thus an ending makes way for the story of an unexpected beginning, one that takes place at divine initiative. Just as stories do not have objective beginnings, neither must they deal with time in a uniform fashion. The speaker skips over what is not relevant to the story he is shaping and selects for emphasis what is vital. So here, some 390 years is passed over to get to the next relevant event, God's visiting the remnant, now referred to as 'the shoot of the planting' to cause them to grow. Here one approaches the more recent history of the audience, perhaps a generation or so before the speaker's present.

The allusive style makes it uncertain exactly when this part of the history takes place (if the 390 years are symbolic rather than literal), though the original audience would have recognized the events immediately. The time

that the speaker refers to is in critical ways presented as analogous to the judgement on Judah at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, since this period, too, is referred to as 'a time of wrath' (CD 1: 5). Most likely, it is an allusion to the time of the crisis in Jerusalem that led up to the persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 175–165 BCE). By establishing this analogy, the speaker rhetorically prepares the audience for a similar development in the plot—danger and destruction followed by a divine nurture of a chosen remnant. But as the story comes closer to the present, the events are more detailed and complex. Instead of being simply the passive recipient of God's salvation, the community at this point in its history is described as 'like blind persons' for some twenty years (CD 1: 9–10). The critical act in their salvation thus is God's decision to 'raise up for them a Teacher of Righteousness, in order to direct them in the way of his heart' (CD 1: 11). The story of their salvation is thus the story of right (p. 697) teaching. The speaker's own teaching is a conduit for the knowledge imparted by the Teacher of Righteousness. Moreover, the audience has been addressed from the beginning of this section as 'you who know righteousness'.

Just as the beginning of the section established a contrast between the audience and their opposites, 'those who spurn' God, so here their identity is framed by the contrast with 'the congregation of traitors' (CD 1: 12). Significantly, the speaker spends far more time describing the congregation of traitors than those to whom he is speaking. Their awful fate in fact forms the climactic conclusion to this section and illustrates what happens to those who spurn God. 'The wrath of God was kindled against their congregation, to destroy all their multitude, for their deeds were unclean before him' (CD 1: 21–2: 1). Presumably these are also events that the ancient audience could have readily identified and which would have served as confirmation that what the speaker said was true.

But it is not finally the audience's ability to correlate the speaker's interpretation with events that is the lynchpin of the act of persuasion. More significant is the speaker's ability to relate the events of the recent past to scriptural prophecies: 'This is the time concerning which it was written...', continuing with a citation of Hos. 4: 16, 'like a straying heifer, so has Israel strayed'. While the correlations that the speaker makes may seem arbitrary to a modern reader, within scripturally oriented sectarian communities, the ability to correlate events of the present with scriptural predictions by means of an allegorical hermeneutics is a powerfully persuasive tool. That the speaker uses it at the climax of the first movement of his speech is certainly intentional. Although he will repeat and expand his arguments in the following sections of the Admonition, the speaker has already accomplished his purpose of reinforcing the community's identity by locating them within a meaningful history, distinguishing them sharply from outsiders who are very negatively characterized, and situating their choice as literally one between life and death.

The Community Rule

Like the Damascus Document, the Community Rule is also a text for the *maskil* or instructor in his work in the formation of members. It is in many ways quite different from the Damascus Document, however. Possibly, the Damascus Document reflects life in the sectarian communities that existed in the towns and villages of Judah, while the Community Rule pertains to the more rigorous form of sectarian life practised at the site of Qumran itself; but it is not possible to be certain.

Even more than the Damascus Document, the Community Rule appears to have been assembled from a variety of pre-existing materials. It also exists in more than one edition, some longer or shorter, some having different materials at the (p. 698) beginning or end of the document (see Metso 1997). Nevertheless, there are indications of intentional rhetorical shaping, most clearly in the placement of motivational material before discussions of sectarian theology and procedure. One of the shorter versions (4QS^b = 1QS 5–9) began with a motivational section presented as a series of infinitives and a treatment of a ritual of entry into the community (the solemn oath), followed by sections dealing with the procedures of life within the community. In the expanded version represented by 1QS, four columns of material were added at the beginning, but replicating the same rhetorical shape—first a motivational paragraph cast in infinitives (1: 1–17), then a description of a ritual of entry (the covenant ceremony, 1: 18–3: 12). Afterwards comes a theological teaching (3: 13–4: 26). Although this additional material gives the document something of a reduplicated structure, the basic rhetorical movement from motivation to instruction is preserved and even emphasized.

1QS shows additional evidence of rhetorical shaping in the materials chosen for the conclusion. After the body of diverse procedural and regulatory materials, the document concludes with two sections pertaining to the *maskil* himself, instructions for the *maskil* (9: 12–26) and a hymn of the *maskil*, couched in the first person singular (10:

1–11: 22). Since the *maskil* embodied the highest values of the community, it makes sense that the materials pertaining to him are placed at the end. He represents the epitome of what the disciplines and teaching of the community were designed to produce. That these materials are very intentionally placed here is indicated by the fact that there are strong verbal echoes between the introductory materials in cols. 1–2 and the materials pertaining to the *maskil* in 9: 12–11: 22. The shift from third-person instruction to first-person confessional speech in the concluding hymn provides a powerful representation of just the sort of ‘I’ that the sectarians aspired to become through their training. Thus the rhetorical shape of 1QS as a whole shows a clear progression analogous to the life of the sectarian: from motivation to admission, to instruction, to life together, and finally to the ideal figure embodied in the leadership of the *maskil*.

It is frustrating not to know how 1QS was actually used, since much of the rhetorical effect of a text depends on how a reader or hearer engages it. Recent studies, however, have emphasized the widespread practice in antiquity of memorizing texts that served as a kind of educational curriculum, a practice referred to as ‘writing on the tablets of the heart’ (Carr 2005: 124–34). Given these practices, it seems likely that the Community Rule would have been memorized, at least by the *maskil* himself, and likely by the members he taught. Moreover, the existence of two very small, ‘portable’ copies of the Community Rule (4QS^f and 4QS^j) lends credence to the use of these scrolls in some sort of private study (Alexander and Vermes 1998: 5). Thus the rhetoric of the document would be internalized and become part of the self-understanding of the sectarian.

Although one might expect that the motivational rhetoric of the Community Rule would follow the same pattern as that of the Damascus Document, it is quite (p. 699) different in its tone and strategy. Whether these differences reflect different times and social settings in the history of the movement’s development, and hence different audiences, or simply the different tastes of different instructors is difficult to say. Whereas the plural imperatives of the Damascus Document and the recitation of a mutually known history give a highly personal quality to its opening motivational rhetoric, the Community Rule begins with a highly formalized and quite impersonal form of speech. The first several lines are couched in infinitives, forms of speech that give no information about the speaker or the addressee. Infinitives rather shift the focus to purpose: ‘in order to do x’, or ‘for doing y’. Thus, rather than conferring identity by means of reminding people of who they are and the place they occupy in a history of God’s judgement and salvation, the Community Rule’s infinitives do two things. They identify the purposes of the teaching and thus the desires that motivate those who seek this teaching—you are what you desire. It is difficult to render the style of the Hebrew adequately in English. Translators often add a phrase to smooth out the translation, e.g. ‘(The Instructor shall teach them) to seek God... (he shall teach them) to do what is good and upright’. But the sequence of infinitives is actually an allusion to the way the book of Proverbs opens, ‘The proverbs of Solomon son of David, king of Israel: For learning about wisdom and instruction, for understanding words of insight, for gaining instruction in wise dealing, righteousness, justice, and equity; to teach shrewdness to the simple, knowledge and prudence to the young’ (Prov. 1: 1–4| NRSV). This allusion implicitly likens the discipline of life in the community to the discipline of learning wisdom. Although using a rhetorical strategy and verbal style different from the Damascus Document, the Community Rule also presents itself as a wisdom teaching and the *maskil* as a wisdom teacher.

But what is it exactly that the Community Rule presents as the desires of those who seek its wisdom? The first few lines are framed in value terms that would express the desires of any good Jew of the Second Temple period:

To seek God with [a whole heart and soul] in order to do what is good and right before Him as he commanded by the hand of Moses and by the hand of all his servants the prophets; and to love all that he has chosen and to hate all that he has rejected, in order to keep far from evil and to cling to all good works; and to do truth and righteousness and justice in the land, and not to walk any longer in the stubbornness of a guilty heart and promiscuous eyes, to do all manner of evil. (1QS 1: 1–7)

This is Deuteronomistic-style rhetoric, widely used in religious literature of the period. If one understands the sectarian community to have drawn many of its members from adult seekers, then the rhetoric of the opening lines addresses the person not from the beginning as an ‘insider’ of the sect but in terms of the values he shares with virtually all Jews. The purpose of the teaching of the Community Rule, however, will be to transform the outsider into an insider, as it teaches him (p. 700) that the only way in which he can actually fulfil those desires is through the special knowledge and disciplines available within the sectarian community.

Thus, as the motivational introduction continues, it recasts, and one might say reinterprets, those words of common value in terms of specifically sectarian vocabulary and concepts:

And to bring in all those who volunteer freely to do the statutes of God in the covenant of grace, to be united in the council of God, in order to walk before Him in perfection [according to] all that he has revealed with respect to the times appointed for them, and to love all the children of light, each man according to his lot in the council of God, and to hate all the children of darkness, each man according to his guilt in the vengeance of God. (1QS 1: 7–11)

Whereas the initial lines had used the unmarked vocabulary common to all Jews, here the 'covenant' is understood in relation to the sectarian 'council of God': walking in perfection can only be done in light of 'all that he has revealed'. The predestinarian worldview of the sect is reflected in the phrase 'the times appointed for them'. And the general reference to loving what God has chosen and hating what he has rejected is recast in sectarian terms as the 'children of light' and 'children of darkness'. While everyone may have the same religious desires to serve God, only those who are 'brought into' the sectarian community will be able to fulfil them.

What one sees reflected in this motivational introduction is an index of the highly competitive religious marketplace that was late Second Temple Judaism. As Kenneth Burke observed about rhetoric in general, it is concerned with 'the ways in which the symbols of appeal are stolen back and forth by rival camps' (quoted in Heath 1986: 212). Many teachers and movements competed to represent themselves as the true or correct way, and the rhetoric of the opening of the Community Rule situates itself within that horizon of rival teachings.

Case Study II: The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns)

The Admonition section in the Damascus Document referred to an important period in the formation of the community when, after twenty years of blindly groping for direction, God sent them a 'Teacher of Righteousness' who guided them in the right way. It may well have been through his leadership that a somewhat disorganized religious movement crystallized into a sect with a strong sense of identity and purpose. For reasons that are not clear, the sectarian documents do not (p. 701) give the personal names of their leaders, so scholars have not been able to identify this important religious leader, other than to ascertain that he was a priest, perhaps even the high priest who served from 159 to 152 BCE (see Knibb 2000). Both the Damascus Document and the Qumran *pesharim* indicate that he was engaged in controversies with an opponent referred to as 'the scoffer' (CD 1: 14) and 'the liar' (1QpHab 2: 1–3; 5: 9–12; 1QpPs^a 1: 26–2: 1), and was harassed and persecuted by a figure called the 'wicked priest', probably Jonathan the Hasmonean (1QpHab 11: 4–8). While it is not possible to ascertain whether or not the Teacher was the author of any of the Qumran sectarian literature, as has sometimes been suggested, several of the Thanksgiving Hymns are presented in the voice of a persecuted leader. Most scholars assume either that these hymns are actually the composition of the Teacher of Righteousness himself or that they were composed by members of the community in order to represent his life and experience, though it is also possible that they were the hymns of various leaders (Newsom 2004: 287–300). For present purposes, however, let us assume that these Hodayot were heard by the Qumran community as compositions of the Teacher.

As hymns or thanksgiving prayers, the compositions are formally addressed to God, as they begin with the words, 'I thank you, O Lord.' But thanksgiving prayers were traditionally not private expressions but intended to be recited in a communal context. They may have been addressed to God explicitly, but they were intended also to have an effect on the community who overheard them. And it is this rhetorical dimension that is of particular interest here. Unfortunately, we do not know precisely in what setting the Thanksgiving Hymns were used and who recited them. One plausible suggestion, based on an analogy with the practices of the Therapeutae, is that they were publicly recited after communal meals (Reike 1957). However, it is also possible that, on analogy with the biblical Psalms, they were memorized as part of the educational curriculum of the sect.

The rhetoric of the prayer tradition that is developed in the Thanksgiving Hymns has several important features that are relevant to the effectiveness of these compositions in the sectarian context. First, the prayers are framed in the first person singular, as the confession of the speaker's innermost thoughts and feelings to God. Thus, if these prayers were believed to represent the words of the Teacher himself, then no matter how much time had passed since the death of the Teacher, every time they were recited, they would make his voice and his leadership once again present to the community. Second, in prayer only one voice speaks. The one who prays may quote the

words of others, his friends or his foes, but he alone controls what is said and the way matters are presented. Finally, the tradition of prayer out of which the Hodayot develop is one that elaborately displays the speaker's subjectivity: his humiliation and triumphs, his hopes and fears, and even the sensations of his body. It is an extraordinarily personal and intimate rhetoric. Even though the Hodayot of the Teacher take up many issues of conflict and community disaffection, the rhetoric of the Hodayot shifts the focus from (p. 702) whatever the content of the conflict was about and instead places it on the suffering but courageous persona of the Teacher. Thus the hymns invite the listener (both God and the human audience) to feel compassion for and to accept the Teacher who presents himself. One might describe it as a deeply 'speaker-centred' rhetoric with a focus on ethos and pathos.

Analysing one such prayer may help to illustrate how effective this rhetoric could be. In 1QH 13: 24–15: 5 (column and line numbers follow García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997) the speaker alternates between describing the antagonism of his opponents and the effect of their opposition to the speaker with expressions of divine assistance.

In the first movement of the prayer (13: 22–6) the Teacher draws on traditional language to identify himself as the 'orphan' and 'the poor one', terms that signalled rectitude and piety, as well as vulnerability. Then he describes the conflict, using traditional images from psalms of complaint. He is 'a cause of controversy and quarrels with my neighbours, and an object of jealousy and anger to those who enter into covenant with me', etc. Echoing traditional psalmic language, these are not objective descriptions but phrases that position the speaker as the innocent, wronged one.

Only toward the end of the passage is the specific, sectarian context of the dispute suggested: 'with the secret you had hidden in me they have gone around as slanderers to the children of destruction'. To betray esoteric knowledge to those outside the restricted group is hardly the type of misfortune that a traditional psalm of complaint or thanksgiving would address. Here the speaker is using traditional forms of speech to colonize the new moral territory of sectarian ethics. Since the actual betrayers are unlikely to be part of the audience, the speaker's words can be understood as a sort of 'spin control', an interpretation of a possibly ambiguous event that the speaker casts as rank betrayal. But despite the wicked efforts of the betrayers, God has supported the speaker: 'But in order to [show your gre]atness through me, and on account of their guilt, you have hidden the spring of understanding and the foundation of truth' (13: 25–6). In point of fact, who was entitled to disclose what to whom (and even what counted as 'disclosure') may have been disputed issues. But the language of the psalm dispels all ambiguity—what happened was a victimization of the speaker. The speaker is vindicated, his opponents are judged, and their efforts are shown to have been in vain.

If one looks at the whole text, however, it is not simply so much interested in demonstrating divine judgement as it is in taking the hearer back again and again to a focus on the conflict itself and in particular the effect of the conflict on the speaker (13: 26–32; 13: 35–14: 6). The nasty quality of the opponents is captured through the imagery of snakes with darting tongues and poisonous venom. But it is the description of the distraught emotional state of the speaker that truly forms the central focus of this part of the prayer. Thus the composition solicits sympathy for the speaker.

(p. 703) As the prayer turns to a description of divine assistance, the attention turns away from the speaker himself to the topic of God's assistance. Surprising as it would be to someone who was familiar only with biblical psalmody, the relief offered to the speaker appears to have to do with God's provision of a community which boldly confronts its members about moral shortcomings. '[But you, O my God,] you opened my ears with the ins[tru]ction of those who reprove justly' (14: 3–4). Gradually, the focus moves from the speaker's own reception of instruction to the instruction of the community and the benefits it provides: 'You refine them in order to purify from guilt [and from s]in all their deeds by means of your truth. And in your kindness you judge them with overflowing compassion and abundant forgiveness, teaching them according to your command' (14: 8–10).

Even though the speaker casts these events in wholly positive terms, the aspects of community life to which he refers would have had the potential to create social friction and disaffection. (Even the Community Rule recognizes that the practice of mutual reproof can lead to social friction and has to be controlled carefully; see 1QS 5: 25–6: 1.) Although it would be difficult to draw the lines of connection too specifically, one might suggest that his *hodayah* is a response, in general terms at least, to the system of moral evaluation, mutual critique, and status hierarchy that the social structure of the community created and which could well have provided the environment in which

'refractory murmurers' might have been a recurring problem. Thus the author seems to be acknowledging that even though the very practices of the community may have produced dissatisfaction in some members, they are nevertheless the very source of what supports the speaker. But the appeal is bolstered by the further description of the benefits that will accrue to all who stand with the speaker—communion with the angels and the role of the community as both the world tree and as a spring of light in which all the guilty will be burned up (1QH 14: 12–19).

Yet once more the speaker describes the scenario of conflict and relief (14: 19–36). Again, the cause of distress is described as defection: 'they, who had attached themselves to my witness, have let themselves be persuaded by [...]', (14: 19). The speaker's distress is presented under the image of a sailor caught in a raging storm, while deliverance comes in the image of a secure and fortified city, apparently an image of the covenanted community which the leader directs. In some ways it may seem curious that the community—which apparently has been the source of the 'refractory murmurers'—is represented as sure and reliable. And that the leader, who is clearly a figure to be reckoned with, prefers to represent himself as deeply vulnerable, rescued from death and dissolution by the strength he receives from this community of God's truth. But perhaps this staging of images is highly strategic. In situations where the loyalty of a group is in doubt, there may be an advantage in putting before them images of their proper role and crediting them with fulfilling their function, even if their past performance has been a bit shaky.

(p. 704) If this is indeed the rhetorical strategy of the composition, then it ends in a provocative fashion, for the final preserved lines of the composition apparently follow yet another description of faithless defection. But instead of concluding with a confident assertion of God's deliverance of the speaker, the composition ends instead with language of the speaker's distress. Thus the prayer seems to end with an implicit plea. Four times the audience has been told that in his distress God has always aided the speaker. In the final two cases this aid has been described as manifested through the faithful life of the community itself. By leaving the final act of deliverance unstated, the text implicitly calls upon the community to recognize its support of the speaker as the needed act of divine deliverance. Whether the rhetoric was successful, we cannot know. It is clear, however, that much thought and art went into the shaping of these Hodayot of the Teacher and that they were attempts to affect the reality of a situation through speech.

As these examples have attempted to demonstrate, language was a vital instrument in the creation and maintenance of the sectarian community. Carefully crafted speech aided in transforming outsiders into insiders, gave a sense of identity and purpose to members, and was a means of addressing and transforming conflicts. Rhetorical criticism opens up the mechanisms by which language was put to these uses. As a means of analysis rhetorical criticism is an important complement not only to literary criticism but also to social-scientific approaches, ritual studies, and theological analysis of the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Suggested Reading

Although there are very few self-consciously rhetorical critical analyses of Qumran texts, three by Sharp (1997), Fraade (2003), and Høgenhaven (2003) concern aspects of 4QMMT. Newsom's (2004) monograph, focusing on 1QS and the Hodayot, provides other examples. Earlier works by Newsom incorporated into that volume contain additional reflections on aspects of rhetorical criticism (Newsom 1990a; 1990b; 2001). Reuven Kimelman's (1997) rhetorical analysis of the Amidah prayer is also valuable as a model for comparable work on liturgical texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls. It should also be recognized that many studies on Qumran texts, even though they do not identify themselves as rhetorical analyses, nevertheless contain valuable insights into rhetorical structures in the texts.

For persons interested in doing rhetorical criticism on Dead Sea Scroll texts, an acquaintance with the rhetorical tradition is indispensable. Thomas Conley's (1990) history is an excellent starting place, complemented by Brian Vickers' (1988) *In Defense of Rhetoric*. The recent *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric* (Sloane 2001) is (p. 705) a superb reference work. Two extensive collections of essays (Jost and Olmstead 2004; and Lucaites, Condit, and Caudill 1999) provide not only a contextualized exploration of critical issues in rhetoric but also an important survey of recent critical and theoretical trends. No encounter with modern rhetoric would be complete without Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) and Burke (preferably, *A Rhetoric of Motives* [1969]; or *The Rhetoric of Religion* [1961]), but a more accessible entree into the field is James Boyd White's elegant *When Words Lose Their Meaning* (1984).

The field of rhetorical studies in biblical literature is too recent to have comparable resources. The articles by Dozeman (1992) and Fiore (1992) in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* provide an excellent overview, as do the essays and bibliography of Watson and Hauser (1994) and Watson (2006). For examples of rhetorical analysis the collections by Porter and Olbricht (1993; 1996; 1997) and by Porter and Stamps (2002) provide rich resources. Programmatic approaches to rhetorical criticism of very different sorts can be found in Kennedy (1984) and Robbins (1996a; 1996b). Given the recentness of this endeavour, however, rhetorical criticism of the Dead Sea Scrolls should not be constrained by the models already embodied in biblical studies but should also take its cue from the extensive resources of rhetorical theory and practice, ancient and modern.

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The quest of the historical Teacher of Righteousness provided scholars with a starting point for considering the social setting and historical milieu out of which the Dead Sea Scrolls originated. Accounts of the Teacher emphasize a career of prophetic preaching to his own followers and conflicts with opposing leaders. This article describes the persona of the Teacher as leader and author; critical theory and the death of the author; and the Teacher as an authorial figure. In addition, a variety of scholarly studies have contributed to the view that the Teacher was author of some or many of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls. In this context, the so-called 'Teacher Hymns' and the text of 4QMMT are particularly popular candidates for authorship by the Teacher.

Keywords: Teacher of Righteousness, Dead Sea Scrolls, prophetic preaching, Teacher Hymns, 4QMMT

THE quest of the historical Teacher of Righteousness, although narrower in scope than its better-known analogue, has nonetheless provided scholars with a starting point for considering the social setting and historical milieu out of which the Dead Sea Scrolls originated. Accounts of the Teacher—or a teacher, in any case—emphasize a career of prophetic preaching to his own followers and conflicts with opposing leaders (Knibb 2000). Indications that he was a founding figure in a movement associated with the scrolls appear side by side with passages that suggest that his followers expected his return at the end of days. In addition, a variety of scholarly studies have contributed to the view that the Teacher was author of some or many of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls. In this context, the so-called 'Teacher Hymns' from among the Hodayot and the text of 4QMMT, *Miqṣat* (p. 710) *Maʿašê Ha-Torah*, are particularly popular candidates for authorship by the Teacher (Qimron and Strugnell 1994: 112–21; Douglas 1999).

The fundamental assumptions regarding authorship, textual meaning, and indeed the historical endeavour itself that undergird this scholarly 'quest' have, similarly, been the topic of much debate in recent decades, especially within the loosely-woven field of what is sometimes labelled postmodern thought (Castelli et al. 1995; Adam 2000; Jobling, Pippin, and Schleifer 2001; Collins 2005). Contemporary literary criticism, variously coloured by reader-response approaches, intertextuality, and post-structuralism, as well as the insights of feminist, post-colonial, and queer studies, present challenges to the basic historical-critical endeavour that are just beginning to influence the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Campbell 1995; Grossman 2002; Newsom 2004; Campbell, Lyons, and Pietersen 2005; Davila forthcoming). The extent of these challenges, and their potential for undermining the history of the scrolls in unsettling but ultimately productive ways, come vividly to light when we consider the example of the Teacher as 'author' of the scrolls.

The Persona of the Teacher as Leader and Author

Accounts of the life and challenges of a figure called the Teacher of Righteousness appear in the texts of the

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Damascus Document and the Qumran *pesharim*. From the Damascus Document we get the rather generalized picture of a Teacher who is a community leader and preacher. The text notes the founding of a movement of penitents, a righteous remnant, who existed for twenty years before the Teacher came to show them God's desired path (CD 1: 4–11). Related passages make reference to an opposing preacher, a Scoffer, who 'shed over Israel the water of lies', and thereby led some portion of the remnant astray (CD 1: 11–18). In a separate discussion, the text makes reference to a figure who will 'teach righteousness at the end of days' (CD 6: 11). The 'gathering in' of this end-times teacher is noted, both in connection with the arising of a messiah out of Aaron and Israel (CD 19: 35–20: 1) and in terms of a specific period of time ('about forty years') during which the end of the followers of the Man of the Lie will take place (CD 20: 13–15). References in this text are both to a Teacher of Righteousness, whose voice is to be obeyed (CD 20: 28, 32), and in other passages to a 'Unique Teacher' (or possibly a 'Teacher of the Yahad'; CD 19: 35–20: 1).

From the *pesharim* we get a more fragmentary picture of a figure who is also labelled a Righteous Teacher. We learn from these texts that the Teacher was apparently a priest, and some scholars would say a High Priest in Jerusalem (p. 711) (1QpHab 2: 7–9; 4Q171 3: 15–16), who was also a divinely inspired preacher and interpreter of prophecy (1QpHab 2: 2–10; 7: 1–5), chosen by God to found a congregation for him (4Q171 3: 15–16). Faith in the Teacher of Righteousness is described as having a salvific quality in the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab 8: 1–3), and the suffering of both the Teacher and his followers is emphasized (1QpHab 9: 9–12). The *peshar* on Micah adds the view that the followers of the Teacher will be saved on the day of judgement (1Q14 8–10), and other *peshar* texts imply that the Teacher is also a priest or salvific figure for the end times (4Q173; 1QpHab 2: 5–9).

These texts also highlight a series of conflicts between the Teacher and certain opponents, often framed in familiar coded language. A Spouter of Lies is accused in the Micah Peshar of having led 'the simple' astray (1Q14 8–10), while the Habakkuk Peshar describes a clash between the Teacher and the Man of the Lie, in the course of which the 'House of Absalom' failed to come to the Teacher's assistance (1QpHab 5: 9–12). This text also makes reference to an event in which the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher to 'the house of his exile' on the Day of Atonement (as determined by the Teacher) to dispute with him, presumably on this calendrical issue (1QpHab 11: 4–8). Finally, the Psalms Peshar reports on a conflict in which the Teacher sent a 'Torah' to the Wicked Priest, who responded by biding his time while waiting for an opportunity to have the Teacher killed (4Q171 4: 6–9).

This textual evidence has been the basis for much historical speculation (e.g. Rainbow 1997; Wise 2003). To picture the Teacher as a real person, after all, provides a frame for understanding the historical developments behind this sectarian Jewish movement, marked by a disaffected priestly leadership, a tendency to schism even after an initial breakaway from the mainstream, and a concern for such central issues as Torah, calendar, and priestly authority. Acceptance of historical claims for a conflict between the Teacher and a Wicked (High) Priest in Jerusalem provides still more concrete opportunities for locating the Teacher in light of the history of the High Priesthood in the Second Temple period (Vermes 2004: 46–66; García Martínez 1988; García Martínez and van der Woude 1989–90).

A second sort of historical study of the Teacher of Righteousness expands on the idea of Teacher-as-preacher by speculating on the possibility that the Teacher may have been the author of some of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls. Michael Knibb (2000) has dealt with this issue judiciously in a discussion of the Teacher and his history. He notes that a wide variety of texts have been attributed to the Teacher by scholars, including the Rule of the Community, the Rule of the Congregation, the War Scroll, the Thanksgiving Hymns, the Temple Scroll, and 4QMMT. The Temple Scroll he easily dismisses from the list, because of its early dating, noting however that 'while for most of the other writings just mentioned, nothing prevents the view that the Teacher of Righteousness was their author, nothing in these writings enables us to associate any one of them specifically with him' (Knibb 2000: 920; cf. Vermes 2004: 250).

(p. 712) Other scholars disagree, of course, including Qimron and Strugnell, who attribute the authorship of MMT to the Teacher, speculating that it might even be the 'Torah' that the Teacher is said to have sent to the Priest (1994: 112–21), and Michael C. Douglas, who makes authorial claims for the so-called Teacher Hymns of the Hodayot (1999). Specifically with respect to the Hodayot, Knibb is again judicious, noting the presence of a 'strongly personal character' in these hymns, whose authorial voice reflects awareness of persecution as well as 'very strong claims to authority for his teaching, which he has received under divine inspiration' (2000: 920). Knibb goes on to add, however, that even if we accept the idea that the Teacher wrote the hymns sometimes attributed

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to him, we should not proceed from there to attempt to make historical claims based on 'these poetic compositions, which are cast in biblical language and make constant use of biblical imagery' (2000: 920; cf. Newsom 2004: 287–346).

The act of envisioning the Teacher as the author of any of the Dead Sea Scrolls has significant implications for our understanding of his history and that of his community. One contribution is in the simple category of *data*. Each scrolls text that can be convincingly assigned to the pen of the Teacher is one more confirmation of his existence as a historical figure: to the extent that he wrote the text in question, his authorship makes him more convincingly 'real' on the historical scene. Beyond the quantity of data for his existence, however, Teacherly authorship also provides us with an entirely different *quality* of information, since the texts in question consequently reveal their author's theological assumptions, spiritual challenges, and even (if we permit such a reading) psychological workings. Thus, the authorship of the Teacher allows his life and ministry to become a historical backdrop against which the scrolls can be read, while also serving to put flesh on the bare bones of the textual references to those events.

At the same time, such an approach to the Teacher as historical figure is also fraught with methodological tensions. For all that a theory of Teacherly authorship provides us with new data about the scrolls and their history, it does so at the cost of providing proper *evidence* for such connections. To the extent that such arguments are based on evidence from within the text (e.g. descriptions of the Teacher or words put in his mouth), they force us as readers to rely on the text at face value. This somewhat passive reading of the textual evidence is problematic, as Knibb has warned, in that it keeps us from paying the necessary critical attention to literary forms and their implications. Tools for critical evaluation are a desideratum in a historical project of this sort, and postmodern literary criticism can provide a number of helpful—while potentially destabilizing—tools for just such an endeavour. (p. 713)

Critical Theory and the 'Death of the Author'

Literary criticism in the postmodern mode is a messy and at times uninviting thing. One nice point of entrée into this complex discourse, however, can be found in a textual moment from some forty years ago—but still twenty years after the discovery of the scrolls. In 1968, French literary theorist Roland Barthes published a landmark essay reconsidering the hermeneutical circle of textual interpretation. 'The Death of the Author' is a statement on textuality and literary authority that has had a significant impact upon, and well represents some basic premises of, the mode of thought often labelled postmodern. In it, Barthes considers the idea of writing as 'multiple', asserting that:

In the multiplicity of writing, everything is to be *disentangled*, nothing *deciphered*; the structure can be followed, 'run' (like the thread of a stocking) at every point and at every level, but there is nothing beneath; the space of writing is to be ranged over, not pierced; writing ceaselessly posits meaning ceaselessly to evaporate it, carrying out a systematic exemption of meaning. (Barthes 1977: 147)

The notion that writing partakes of multiplicity, for Barthes, implies first that 'texts' (a term he favours over 'works', in light of their incompleteness and never-fully-writtenness) are always partial and always susceptible to multiple, competing, and contradictory readings. He explores this same issue in another essay, as well, arguing further that:

The Text is plural. This does not mean just that [it] has several meanings, but rather that it achieves plurality of meaning, an *irreducible* plurality. The Text is not coexistence of meanings but passage, traversal; thus it answers not to an interpretation, liberal though it may be, but to an explosion, a dissemination. The Text's plurality does not depend on the ambiguity of its contents, but rather on what could be called the *stereographic plurality* of the signifiers that weave it (etymologically the text is a cloth; *textus*, from which text derives, means 'woven'). (Barthes 1979: 76)

These metaphors of text and textile suggest several key points to me, especially with regard to the distinctions between disentanglement and deciphering. They recognize, first, that textuality is never straightforward but instead always consists of texts in relation to other texts, writing in relation to other writing, and (especially) reading as the point of access to that writing. Perhaps more radically, though, the rejection of 'deciphering' brings with it a twofold rejection of authority, in the sense that the reader *cannot* understand fully, lacks the authority to 'decode', what the text has to say, because the text itself is not capable of fully and straightforwardly saying—or being associated

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with the saying of—any one (p. 714) particular thing. In this sense, texts are always referential, always incomplete, always writing without ever having (been) written.

Prose in this vein, it is fair to say, is precisely the sort of thing that has given postmodernism a bad name. Critics of the overlapping cluster of approaches that fall into this loose category complain that it reflects bad writing—in the worst case, sprawling purple prose that seems purposefully obfuscatory. And it is true that the transgressive ideas that critics like Barthes introduced do seem to make space for grand gestures of a sort that can generate more heat than light. But there is more at stake in the opposition to postmodernism than an argument over clarity and its relative value, as the continuation of the first quotation from Barthes demonstrates:

In precisely this way literature (it would be better from now on to say *writing*), by refusing to assign a 'secret', an ultimate meaning, to the text (and to the world as text), liberates what may be called an anti-theological activity, an activity that is truly revolutionary since to refuse to fix meaning is, in the end, to refuse God and his hypostases—reason, science, law. (Barthes 1977: 147)

The issue, then, concerns far more than prose stylings. In reclassifying literary works as 'texts', Barthes puts us in the situation of acknowledging the fundamental arbitrariness of the written word: its authority is grounded solely in a *claim* to authority, undergirded by nothing more absolute or concrete (1977: 145). As Gertrude Stein might have it, there is no 'there' there, only the infinitely self-deferring search for a 'there' that is not. And when Barthes extends his discussion from 'the text' to 'the world as text', he pushes the situation still further, denying the possibility of absolute meaning in human experience, sacred doctrine, and thus ultimately, as he puts it, 'God and his hypostases'.

To the extent that texts have no fixed meaning, and that the world they occupy is similarly contingent, it should come as no surprise that authorship might be the next domino in the chain to fall. For Barthes, 'the Author' represents a locus of power so great that it too manifests itself in terms of divinity. Texts, he argues, should be understood free of 'a single "theological" meaning (the "message" of the Author-God)', but the assumption of unitary authorship instead serves 'to impose a limit on [a] text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing' (1977: 146–7). Michel Foucault has more to say on the subject, addressing it in somewhat more practical terms. He notes that the name of an author has a particular classificatory role, that the 'author effect' permits a reader to 'group together a certain number of texts, define them, differentiate them from and contrast them to others', while allowing for the establishment of relationships between texts (Foucault 1979: 147). Here again, the problem is not an innocent one. In establishing textual meaning and defining the boundaries on texts, Foucault argues (sounding a bit like Barthes himself), that 'the author is therefore the ideological figure by (p. 715) which one marks the manner in which we fear the proliferation of meaning' (1979: 159).

Scrolls scholars might bristle at the notion that they 'fear' a proliferation of meaning, but an underlying intellectual tension is certainly in play here. To the extent that we can identify a historical Teacher of Righteousness, and to the extent that we can see his hand in the composition of, for example, 4QMMT or the Teacher Hymns of the Hodayot, we create for ourselves whole avenues of historical research. But if the Teacher is *not* the author of those texts—and if the whole question of authorship is put up for debate—then such concrete findings are delegitimized. What Foucault (or Barthes) would classify as an implicitly liberatory 'proliferation of meaning', a Dead Sea Scrolls scholar might legitimately view as the bottom dropping out of the historical-critical process.

Rethinking the Teacher as Authorial Figure

If the author effect is just that, an 'effect', then how do we go about reconsidering the notion of Teacherly authorship with respect to the scrolls? In particular, what can we make of the persona of the Teacher as it appears in the texts we might wish to assign to his pen? The next domino in the literary critical chain—that of audience interpretation—provides a tool that may contribute to this reconsideration. As reader-response critics have argued, the authorial voice we may claim to read in a text reflects less the personal condition of the composer of the text than the construction of a figure *within* it (Castelli et al. 1995). This figure, the 'implied author' of the text, remains a fictional aspect of it, in the sense that he or she is accessible only through the text and as a product of the audience's experiences of it. Audience-oriented critics note the wide range of possible actors 'within' the text, including not only implied authors and their general implied audiences but also narrators and their narratees (who may be explicit characters within the text or who may play a more implicit, largely theoretical role), as well as a

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host of ideal, first-time, and 'informed' readers. Authorship, as a product of textuality rather than a source of it, is thus fully enmeshed in and indeed defined by the interpretations of the audience in the context of their experience(s) of the text.

A few examples may help to clarify this picture. Consider the authorial persona that appears in 4QMMT. In tone the text is largely unpolemical; the legal material that makes up the main body (MMT B in the composite text), although at times explicitly critical of the behaviour of an opposition party, generally focuses on a straightforward accounting of halakhic differences. The tone of the concluding (p. 716) section (composite MMT C) is similarly mild, even as it moves more explicitly to address the matter of sectarian schism:

[And you know that] we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people [and from all their impurity] and from being involved with these matters and from participating with [them] in these things. And you [know that no] treachery or deceit or evil can be found in our hand...(4QMMT C 7–9; Qimron and Strugnell 2004: 58–9)

An audience-oriented approach to this text would recognize the presence of several possible or implied audiences within it: first, and most explicitly, the 'you' of the text, who are not (or not yet) irredeemably associated with the transgressive mainstream. Beyond this explicit audience, such an approach sees others as well: the sectarian readers who copied and transmitted the text in multiple manuscript witnesses; later sectarian leaders, who might pattern their arguments and rhetoric after its claims; and even present-day scholarly readers, who are implicated in the meaning-making of the text in the course of attempting to make sense of its ideological formations and historical claims.

In exposing the presence of multiple audiences, with multiple, complex, and potentially contradictory agendas, an audience-oriented approach also allows us to reconsider the potential constructions of authorial identity as an aspect of textuality. This is nowhere more evident than in the text's parting shot, which asserts the hope that the original implied audience (the 'you' of the text):

will rejoice at the end of time when you discover that some of our sayings are true. And it will be reckoned to you as righteousness when you perform what is right and good before Him, for your own good and for that of Israel. (4QMMT C 30–2; Vermes 2004: 229; cf. Qimron and Strugnell 2004: 62–3)

The tone of this passage is striking: it appears to reflect a purposeful downplaying of authority, creating the impression of a leader so confident in his own powers that he can afford to concede their limits to those outside his own camp. Such self-effacing neutrality, combined with the mature assumption of authority that permeates this passage (and the text more generally), suggests a religious leader in his prime, a figure who knows his own powers, knows where his opposition lies, and is comfortable attempting to shore up support in those areas where opposition is least recalcitrant.

The authorial voice in the so-called Teacher Hymns of the Hodayot (which Carol Newsom more aptly identifies as 'Leader Hymns') is quite different in tone and self-presentation but reflects a similarly vibrant and accessible authorial presence. In one representative hymn, the leader tells of teachers of lies who have seduced his followers away (1Q H^a 12: 5–13: 4; García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997, vol. 1: 166–171; Newsom 2004: 197 n. 12). He speaks of being despised and banished and of losing his followers to preachers who offer an easier, but illegitimate, message. His tone then turns to one of relative confidence: he knows that God will judge the (p. 717) wicked in due time, while those who keep to God's path will be rewarded. The speaker acknowledges that he is a vessel of God, asserting at great length the understanding that although his role is to enlighten his followers, this role is only possible because he is a conduit for God's power and God's knowledge.

Here, again, we can imagine a variety of audiences implicit in—or as part of the historical reception of—the text. In the author's own day, audience members might recognize the situation he describes and recall their own experience of it. Sectarious reading in a later day might similarly imagine how they would have responded to these earlier events, while later group leaders might take this role model as one to emulate in both their doubtful times and their times of more confident faith in God.

The various audiences implicit in these two texts—and the varied presentations of 'authorial self' that the texts offer—suggest tempting sites for historical-critical analysis. But, as an audience-oriented understanding of

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textuality demonstrates, pursuit of such scholarship comes at the scholar's own peril, since it requires reading textual claims as if they were reflective of extra-textual data. Instead, as an audience-oriented approach demonstrates, both the implied authors of these texts and their various implied audiences must be understood as aspects of textuality, accessible through the texts, and only as effects of them.

At times, we may find historical-critical confirmation to support our literary-critical readings (e.g. if the lateness of the 4QMMT manuscripts is to be understood as evidence for this text as a late composition, looking back and imagining, rather than serving as evidence for, the group's founding schism; Fraade 2000; Grossman 2001), but even if we were to understand these texts as early—even if we could find proof positive that they stem from the pen of the Historical Teacher himself—they would nevertheless reflect a literary creation, a fictional representation of the Teacher, if even in his own hand. From a postmodern perspective, the textuality of the evidence creates a *de facto* situation whereby even *actual* compositions must be understood as literary representations—and therefore, effectively, 'fictions'—rather than evidence in the historical-critical sense. What remains when we consider the text from the perspective of Barthes or Foucault is not its claim to historical veracity but rather its fragmented and partial attempt at referentiality, understood and consequently made meaningful through the interpretations of audiences, with assumptions, agendas, and textual expectations of their own.

Some Final Thoughts

Where does this discussion leave us? Does this sort of critical reading require that we jettison the entire historical endeavour? Here, again, Foucault offers a possible (p. 718) option for reconsideration of the situation. In place of questions of historical authorship, he argues, we must begin to ask questions about the larger discursive dynamics, especially those connected with the authority to define meaning and the power to establish boundaries. 'What are the modes of existence of [a] discourse?' he asks, by means of a general starting point. He then continues:

Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? Who can assume these various subject-functions?
(Foucault 1979: 160)

The shift of perspective here is striking, both in its redirection of interpretive energies and in its commitment to *multiple* rather than single, and *destabilized* rather than fixed, historical claims. In place of authorial intent, we find interpretive process; in place of the fixed meanings of a literary work, we find the dynamic referentiality of discourse; and everywhere we find dynamics of power and negotiations of authority.

How does such an approach allow us to rethink the now-fragmented notion of Teacherly authorship in the scrolls? What is left of the historical-critical process? It seems to me that in this context, the historical questions must be understood in light of the dissolution of key absolutes, but that they nevertheless remain trenchant to the discussion. As Knibb has already noted—and without explicit reference to critical theory or postmodern approaches—the literary constructs and genre constraints of a text must be taken into account in the context of historical speculation. What a postmodern approach asserts in addition is that we must go one step further, to recognize, if you will, the genre constraints on the written word as such.

To the extent that Qumran texts take advantage of the literary implications of first-person formations—as both MMT and the Teacher Hymns do—and even to the extent that they make more generalized claims to authority, these texts create opportunities for audiences to 'hearken unto' them, to 'know that no treachery is found' within them, and even to take seriously their promise of divine reward (cf. Newsom 2004, on rhetoric in the scrolls). In that context, they mobilize a discourse whose origin and activation could be wide-ranging. Thinking in Barthes' terms, we might imagine 'running' a variety of scenarios: following different threads of historical possibility and asking ourselves which are most promising, which less so, and whether any might be eliminated as impossible (Grossman 2002). The Teacher as historical author of some of these texts may remain a valid possibility, but we must at the same time be willing to negotiate other distinct alternatives: that a given text was written as a retrospective treatment of the Teacher's message, or as an idealized version of what the Teacher might have said in novel circumstances, or even what a later group member or leader might wish to say, irrespective of the Teacher and his message. And we must recognize that 'original meaning' (in the sense of both historical origin and authorial intent) is (p. 719) only a fragment of a much larger picture, whose ultimate scope is framed all the more so by a diversity of audience interpretations and their constructions of textual meaning.

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Where we leave the story will depend on the particular evidence for any given scenario and our reading of it; the result is *not*, as some critics would have it, a relativistic soup in which any interpretation is equally valid with respect to any other (Magness, forthcoming), at least not by the time the project is complete. As a starting point, that is, we may wish to give every scenario our consideration—since even the most eccentric reading may generate some spark of insight—but ‘running’ the scenarios is not the same thing as holding the conclusions of each in equal esteem.

To the extent that audiences construct textual meaning, an audience of critical scholars can lay claim to the authority to distinguish between more and less nuanced readings of manuscript evidence, literary compositions, material culture, and historical scenarios. What must be given up in the process, however, is the sense of fixed textual meaning and a consequent fixed historical knowledge. The same literary text may ‘read’ differently in different contexts, in light of different intertexts, and when imagined in terms of different historical or temporal subtexts. Thus, a single text may generate multiple possibilities in a historical-critical frame. No one possibility can ever be proven right, but each might serve as an indication of the ancient circulation of discursive meaning and the range of possible subject positions within the ancient groups associated with the scrolls. Each might similarly allow us to acknowledge the dynamics of power—ancient, modern, or postmodern—that come into play when we reconsider the textuality, the audiences, the meanings, and especially the ‘authorship’, such as it is, of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls.

Suggested Reading

Michael Knibb (2000) provides an introduction to key literary and historical issues connected with the Teacher of Righteousness. On the evidence for the Teacher in the *pesharim* and the Damascus Document, see respectively Lim (2002) and Grossman (2002). From the copious literature on contemporary critical approaches to biblical studies, see especially the extensive discussions in Castelli et al. (1995), and the briefer thematic treatments in Adam (2000). Of related interest are the essays in Jobling, Pippin, and Schleifer (2001) and the thoughtful critique provided by Collins (2005). Reader-response criticism has had a particularly significant impact on biblical studies, with Iser (1974, 1978) as a key figure in that discussion; Fish (1980) provides a more radical treatment of interpretive authority that may ultimately prove more useful for an understanding of audiences and interpretation. Of interest in the broader field of religious studies are both Taylor (1998) and Clark (2004). The relative authority of speech and writing has been a topic of considerable concern in postmodern criticism, with Derrida (1976) as a key voice in the debate; his work is often mediated through Culler (1982), while readers of this volume may find Sherwood (2004) equally relevant. Within Dead Sea Scrolls studies, see especially the groundbreaking work of Carol Newsom, including both her early forays into critical theory (1990, 1992) and her more recent work in rhetorical criticism (2004; this volume). Also of note for their engagement with contemporary criticism, in admittedly diverse ways, are Davies (1987), Campbell (1995), Brooke (1998), Grossman (2002), Campbell, Lyons, and Pietersen (2005), and Davila (forthcoming).

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Abstract and Keywords

This article presents the facts and decision in *Elisha Qimron v. Hershel Shanks*; some general remarks on copyright law; and the Issues re-ventilated in *Dr. Lionel Sawkins v. Hyperion Records Ltd.* The fundamental copyright issue in the Dead Sea Scrolls case was what constituted authorship. The discussion agrees with Jane Gisburg's claim that reconstructive editorial work is that of an author. It also notes that the existence of copyright in an edited text does not enable the right-holder to 'lock up scholarship' or prevent access to the material. The very act of publication precludes this, since copyright law does not bar anyone from reading, and the work may be used for private study and research, or quoted from for purposes of criticism and review, so long as that amounts to fair dealing.

Keywords: Elisha Qimron, Hershel Shanks, Israeli copyright law, Lionel Sawkins, Hyperion Records, Dead Sea Scrolls, reconstructive editorial work, Jane Gisburg

Introduction: The Facts and Decision in *Qimron v. Shanks*

The Dead Sea Scrolls began to be discovered in 1947 in caves at Qumran on the West Bank, and were thereafter mostly held at a museum in East Jerusalem. In 1967 the museum came under Israeli control following the Six-Day War, but these political changes left unaffected the work of an international team which had been appointed in 1953/54 to transcribe, edit, and publish the especially rich collections of fragments found in Cave 4 at Qumran, other than bringing it under the control of the Israeli Antiquities Authority. Work proceeded very slowly, and scholars outside the team were denied any access to the unpublished scrolls, leading to increasingly hostile criticism from outsiders.

One of the most important of all the texts to emerge from Cave 4 was the *Miqṣat Ma'asê Ha-Torah* (4QMMT), a Halakhic or legal writing which existed in six fragmentary versions, none complete. Editing this text for publication was assigned (p. 724) in 1954 to John Strugnell, joined around 1980 by an Israeli scholar Elisha Qimron, who rapidly became the main mover carrying the task towards completion. The text's existence became public in 1984, copies circulating thereafter in the academic networks of Strugnell and Qimron. An unauthorized publication in 1990 by the Polish scholar Zdzisław Kaperka was subsequently rapidly withdrawn after challenge from the Israeli Antiquities Authority.

No further publication or authorized wider circulation of the editors' text had occurred when in November 1991 a book entitled *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* and edited by Hershel Shanks with James Robinson and Robert Eisenman was published in the USA by the Biblical Archaeological Society (BAS). As well as photographs of large numbers of the scroll fragments (including those worked upon by Strugnell and Qimron), the book included a 'Publisher's Foreword' written by Shanks. The draft text of 4QMMT as edited by Strugnell and Qimron appeared in an appendix, but was attributed in Shanks' foreword only to the former 'with a colleague'. Neither Qimron nor

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Strugnell had consented to this, and the former raised an action in the Jerusalem District Court against the *Facsimile Edition* participants for infringement of copyright and moral rights in the draft text. In March 1993 this claim was upheld by the District Court (Justice Dalia Dorner), and over seven years later, in August 2000, that judgment was in turn upheld by a unanimous Supreme Court of Israel. As well as an injunction preventing distribution of any edition of the book containing the Strugnell/Qimron text, Qimron was awarded damages totalling NIS 100,000 in respect of both pecuniary and non-material losses caused by the infringement. The court also ordered handover to Qimron of all infringing copies of the book and that his opponents meet his legal costs. In the meantime Oxford University Press had published 4QMMT in an edition attributed to the editorship of Qimron and Strugnell (1994) but containing this statement:

©Elisha Qimron 1994, without derogating from any right vested in the Israel Antiquities Authority with regard to the Scrolls' fragments, photographs, and any other material which is in the possession of the authority, and which the authority has permitted Qimron to use for the purposes of the Work, and its inclusion therein.

As Vermes (2001: 197) points out, this claim has no parallel in any other OUP edition of the scrolls, where copyright is always claimed by the Press; it is doubtless to be explained by the need to avoid apparent concessions against Qimron's interests in the context of ongoing litigation.

The whole saga led to debate, not only within the world of scrolls scholarship, but also that of copyright law. For scholars the issues are essentially about academic freedom, access to unpublished sources, the exchange of knowledge and information ahead of publication, and even freedom to use source material once published. The judgments seem to place significant constraints upon all these customary forms of academic behaviour, with copyright law the principal means towards (p. 725) this end. Is copyright then incompatible with ordinary scholarly activity, at least in fields like those of the Dead Sea Scrolls? For copyright lawyers the case is yet another example with which to test fundamental principles: in particular, given that copyright protects and rewards authorship, what constitutes authorship for these purposes? Even more fundamentally, should authorship, whatever it means, be the starting point for copyright? Other issues include the scope of copyright and how far the rights it confers may be offset by consideration of the exceptions and limitations which copyright law itself imposes, or by setting against the exclusivity of intellectual property rights such human rights as freedom of expression, or concepts of the public interest, public policy, and the public domain.

Most of the published comment has, however, been from the perspective of US law (see e.g. Weinstein 1994; Carson 1994, 2001a, 2001b; Cohen 2000; Birnhack 2001; Elkin-Koren 2001; Nimmer 2001a, 2001b; Oakes 2001; Patterson 2001; Tempaska 2002). While at first sight surprising, given the Israeli location of the case, this perspective is entirely legitimate. The parties initially agreed that any infringing activity had been in the USA and that accordingly US law applied, even though the case was to be heard in Israel. But Justice Dorner was offered no evidence about US law (generally when a court is called upon to apply a foreign law it must be proved as a fact); and so, applying a principle of the presumed equivalence of laws, she took it to be the same as Israeli law, justifying this further on the basis that both laws sprang from the same root in English law. While Israeli copyright law at the time was indeed based on the British Copyright Act 1911, US law had not followed its UK counterpart for some 200 years; so it is not very surprising to find some US copyright lawyers differing from the judge's view of the case. The Supreme Court further clouded the issue by deciding to apply Israeli law directly, on the basis that the *Facsimile Edition* had been marketed and three copies sold in Israel, so that there were infringing acts in the country. On this somewhat tenuous basis US law became irrelevant to the decision-making process, to the frustration of a group of US lawyers consequently denied the opportunity to submit a brief on the matter to the court (Supreme Court judgment, paras. 31–5; Nimmer 2001b: 72–4).

It is however not enough to damn the decision of the Israeli courts that a US court might have decided the matter otherwise. After all, the judgment may well be correct as a matter of Israeli law, of which its courts may be taken to be the masters. But an international and comparative perspective may be preferable for examination of the general questions arising. US copyright law has some special features (notably its express constitutional purpose 'to promote the progress of science and the useful arts by securing for limited times to authors...exclusive right to their writings'), which may make it, for good or ill, not the most reliable guide to how the 4QMMT dispute would or should have been resolved elsewhere. Thanks to Britain's imperial past, its copyright law has influenced that of Israel and many other countries now (unlike Israel) members of the British Commonwealth. I have noted elsewhere

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that the Israeli decision is unsurprising to one brought up in the (p. 726) British copyright tradition, while observing that a different result again might well have been reached in Continental European countries, where the general position is that the person who edits and publishes some pre-existing unpublished work is not deserving of author's rights of protection (MacQueen 2001). What lies behind this apparent diversity of view and how, if at all, may it be resolved?

Copyright: Some General Remarks

Copyright is an internationally recognized legal institution. Invented in the newly United Kingdom in 1710 'for the encouragement of learned men to compose and write useful books' (Act for the Encouragement of Learning by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies (Statute of Anne): preamble; see further Cornish 2000; Deazley 2004; Ginsburg 2006), and adopted in the revolutionary republics of the United States and France late in the eighteenth century (Ginsburg 1994; Davies 2004: chs. 5 and 6), its minimum content has been shaped since the late nineteenth century by international agreement, through successive versions of the Berne Convention (1886) and, most recently, by the Agreement on Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights 1994 (TRIPS) and the WIPO Copyright Treaty 1996 (WCT). Most countries in the world are now member states of the Berne Convention, with its stated aim of 'protect[ing], in as effective and uniform a manner as possible, the rights of authors in their literary and artistic works' (preamble), while ever-increasing numbers are being brought within the ambit of TRIPS and the WCT, generally under economic pressure from the USA in particular. In the Continental European systems, the right is named 'author right'—*droit d'auteur*, *Urheberrecht*, etc. It will be seen from all this that author protection has been in the foreground of the development of the law internationally since early in the eighteenth century.

Today the core principles of copyright so far as material to this article would generally be taken to include the following. Copyright protects literary works whatever the mode or form of their expression, and the author is the first owner of the copyright. Literary works are defined only illustratively in the Berne Convention so as to include, for example, 'books, pamphlets and other writings'. The protection operates for the benefit of the authors of such works and their successors in title (i.e. the right can be transferred outright to others by sale or on death) (Berne articles 2 and 5). The right arises with the creation of the work in question; no other formality is required. The right subsists in the expression of the work, not in its underlying information or ideas (WCT article 2), but is a different right from (p. 727) the property right which may subsist in the material—for example, parchment, paper, computer disk—on which the expression is set down.

The principal right is the exclusive one of reproducing the work in any manner or form (Berne article 9(1)). Reproduction is not confined to literal copying or slavish imitation: for example, an author has the exclusive right to make or authorize translations of her work (Berne article 8). The author's rights are a basis for decisions on whether to publish or not, or to permit others to do so, usually for financial return (a fee or royalties on sales of the copies made, or both). (See further Cornish 2003.) Such permissions are usually licences rather than outright transfers: the licensor remains the owner of the copyright. Typically the licensee is a commercial publisher. Copyright is thus the means of converting the author's work into a marketable, revenue-earning product, but only should that be the author's wish; it may alternatively be a basis for maintaining the author's privacy, since there is no obligation to publish. Unlike patents, which are granted upon public disclosure of an invention, the existence of copyright is not dependent upon public access to the work.

The right lasts for a minimum of the author's lifetime plus at least fifty years from the end of the year of the author's death (Berne article 7). This means that even if the author does not transfer the copyright outright during her lifetime it will be vested in someone else posthumously. Thus it is perfectly possible that the beneficiaries of the copyright will be persons other than the author: it could be either the person to whom the right was transferred by the author in life, or the successors of that person or, as the case may be, the author. Even if the author transfers the exclusive rights outright to another, however, she remains possessed of what are known as the moral rights, namely the right to claim authorship of the work (attribution or paternity right) and to object to any distortion, mutilation, or other modification of, or other derogatory action in relation to, the work which would be prejudicial to her honour or reputation (integrity right). Moral rights last at least as long as the ordinary copyright term already mentioned, and will be enforceable posthumously, usually by the author's estate (see generally Berne article 6 bis). Here the rights protect the link between the author and the work, and help to maintain the latter in the way the

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former wished to present it. The underlying idea is that the work is an aspect of the author's personality and as such deserving of more than the mainly economic right to control copying and related activities such as publication. Hence also the inalienability of moral rights: they belong to the author or her heirs, no matter who owns the economic rights (see for critical discussion Masiyakurima 2005).

Within these parameters of principle national law-makers may elaborate the detail for local application. So, for example, in many countries, including Israel (since 2007), the USA, and the member states of the European Union, the period of protection after the author's death is now seventy rather than fifty years. Indeed, for unpublished works in some systems copyright is, or has been, perpetual, lawful (p. 728) publication being the only way in which the copyright could start to come to an end. Moral rights are recognized only to a very slight degree in the USA, much more significantly so in the UK, and most vigorously in the Continental European tradition, especially in France where the attribution and integrity rights are of indefinite duration (Adeney 2006; see also Dine 1994). But thanks to the international legal structure a person with copyright in one state will also generally enjoy it in other states, albeit having in any country only the rights that country affords. In a famous example, the US film director John Huston was able to sue in France for the colourization of his film *The Asphalt Jungle* as an infringement of the French integrity right even although there was (and is) no equivalent right in the USA. The author may in some circumstances sue in her 'home' court for activities taking place in another jurisdiction and constituting infringements under the law of that jurisdiction, whether or not they do so under the home court's own law: this was how Elisha Qimron's case at least began, although as we have seen the issues involved in this manner of proceeding became somewhat fogged in the Israeli courts.

The significance of the figure of the author in the framing of copyright law—first ownership, duration, moral rights—should by now be clear; and there is no doubt that historically, and indeed still today, copyright law gains much of its moral force and justification from the sense that it is for authors and supports their creative contribution to society's well-being. But despite this the Berne Convention—and, following it, most national laws—contain no explicit indication of what being an 'author' means (Ricketson and Ginsburg 2006: paras. 7.02–7.04).

Most national legal systems require a further element before recognizing an individual's work as having copyright, namely the 'originality' of the person's contribution in the Anglo-American tradition, or its 'intellectual creation' in the Continental European one. What this means in effect is that the work's expression can be attributed to the author rather than anyone or anything else—the causal link. In the Anglo-American tradition this is expressed rather negatively—the expression is not copied from another source but is rather the result of the author's own effort—while in the Continental tradition it is given a more positive spin: the work reflects an individual's creativity to at least some minimal degree. The latter is usually seen as posing a slightly higher hurdle for authors to cross. There is some convergence between the traditions: most important for present purposes is a US Supreme Court decision in 1991 denying copyright to a telephone directory despite the 'sweat of the brow' involved in its compilation, because putting telephone subscriber surnames in alphabetical order along with bare information about individual addresses and telephone numbers lacked any 'spark of creativity' (*Feist v. Rural Telephone Corp Inc*). The UK courts have also been clear that a person's expenditure of mere effort is not enough to make him or her an author for the purposes of copyright: it must be an effort of the kind required to produce a work (p. 729) of the type in question, that is, literary, artistic, or whatever it may be (*Interlego v. Tyco*).

Article 9(2) of the Berne Convention openly invites the national law-maker to exercise discretion (albeit within limits of uncertain scope) to 'permit reproduction of...works in certain special cases, provided that such reproduction does not unreasonably prejudice the legitimate interests of the author' (see Senftleben 2004). In other articles Berne mentions some permissible 'free uses' of copyright works: 'quotation' compatible with 'fair practice' and to the extent justified by the purpose from works already made lawfully available to the public (article 10) is the most important example for present purposes. But there is wide variation in national laws' responses: while the USA has a broad 'fair use' doctrine interpreted through court decisions, the UK allows 'fair dealing' only for specified purposes such as private study, non-commercial research, and (with regard to published works only) criticism and review, although this is supplemented a little by narrowly interpreted judicial notions of 'public interest' and 'public policy' as very occasional limits upon copyright enforcement (see Burrell and Coleman 2005).

Intellectual property rights are private rights, TRIPS tells us (preamble), and in most modern legal systems are classed amongst property rights, the most absolute of all private rights in the sense that they are good against everybody (unlike, say, contract rights, which are only good between the contracting parties and have no effect

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on anyone else). But even property rights are not absolutely absolute: they yield to state expropriation in at least some circumstances, for example, and they may also yield to other claims, some of them the exclusive rights of other individual persons (e.g. my right to gain access to my landlocked ground across the ground of those whose land locks it in); others rights which are held by the public generally (e.g. rights of way in relation to land).

Property in copyright is clearly restricted to some extent by exceptions and limitations in favour of users of works, and also by its relatively limited duration. Thus one can begin negatively to define a 'public domain' of material available to all, which also includes out-of-copyright works and non-copyright matter such as information (or facts), ideas, and unoriginal expressions (Waelde and MacQueen 2007). Copyright critics have raised the question of whether members of the public may also have enforceable rights in this public domain, and the Canadian Supreme Court has even characterized copyright exceptions as 'user rights' (*Law Society of Upper Canada v. CCH Canadian Ltd*). Such an approach would ultimately see copyright, not as an absolute property right with some limited exceptions, but as itself merely an exception to the generality of the public domain, designed 'to promote the progress of science and the useful arts' or, more prosaically, to ensure as far as the market allows, and no further than necessary for that end, recognition and a financial return for authors and their investors in return for their contribution to society's well-being. Copyright, in other words, exists for society rather than individuals and is subject to social goals.

(p. 730) A postmodernist argument, inspired by Foucault (1969), Barthes (1977), and Derrida (1988), is based upon the 'death of the author' in literary theory, and the idea that every author is, not an individual creator of new things, but a product of society whose productions are also in this sense social (Bently 1994; Woodmansee 2001). Copyright critics have taken this to undermine the primacy of the author's claim to exclusive rights of property in her work, and to support the idea that there are also property claims to be made for society and the public (however they may be defined) (Zemer 2007). Where this leaves the author (and her publishers) in the marketplace is not clear, and the idea is not one authors (particularly those who depend upon their writing for a living) have rushed to embrace (Bently 2002). For lawyers too (even those critical of some of the apparent effects of copyright) a more pragmatic response has in general seemed appropriate, for a variety of reasons (Cornish 1995; Nimmer 2001b: 202–9). The Soviet Union at its height had a copyright regime in which the claims of authors were wholly subordinated to those of the state and, while this did not prevent the emergence of great literature, the system fell with Communism and there is no sign of any desire to return to that model, even if it were possible within the Berne Convention (Sundara Rajan 2006).

A less extravagant argument against the absoluteness of copyright may be built upon the foundation of human rights, in particular the right of free expression, to which copyright's constraints on my using your form of expression as I will can appear antithetical (Griffiths and Suthersanen 2005; Angelopoulos 2008). The argument is especially strong in the USA, where as already noted copyright finds its ultimate justification in a constitution under which freedom of expression is also given very great—arguably greater—significance under the First Amendment. Freedom of expression may support the idea of copyright exceptions as 'user rights'. But at the same time the protection of copyright can be seen as a human right of authors: 'Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author', says article 27(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, albeit article 27(1) also states that 'Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.' And it is a human rights truism that the exercise of one right cannot be at the cost of destroying another right. The truth of the matter, however hackneyed it may be, seems to be that copyright law, like human rights, is indeed a matter of 'balance' between distinct, sometimes competing, interests: a balance that law-makers and courts must strive to maintain, however difficult finding it may be at any given moment or in any given case. (p. 731)

The Issues Raised by *Qimron v. Shanks*

The application of Israeli copyright law to the dispute between Elisha Qimron and his American opponents was a matter of more or less complete agreement between the judges who considered the case.

Authorship and Originality

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They were clear first that more than the mere expenditure of effort and skill was needed for original authorship. Justice Dorner saw Qimron's work on 4QMMT as crossing the line once it got beyond transcribing the text (however difficult and complex that might be) or physically fitting together matching fragments, and began instead to draw upon the halakhic and linguistic research which informed the fitting together of non-matching fragments and the reconstruction of large quantities of missing text. Different scholars could have taken other views on such matters, and the judge instanced Strugnell's disagreements with some of Qimron's conclusions (para 22). The Supreme Court agreed with Dorner's conclusion but took a less segmented view of a process which, looked at as a whole, amounted to authorship:

This process at the end of which the bunch of fragments was a complete text that has content and meaning included a number of levels of creation: construction of the fragments according to the way they fit together physically, the arrangement of the 'islands' of fragments that were constructed and their placement in the estimated framework of the parchment of the Scroll, the decipherment of the writing that is on the fragments, to the extent that such decipherment was necessary and the completion of the missing portions between the fragments....These were the fruit of a process in which Qimron used his knowledge, expertise and imagination, exercised judgment and chose between alternatives (para 14).

These conclusions of the Israeli courts have provoked the severest criticism from American commentators who take as their starting point Qimron's undoubted aim of reproducing exactly what had first been written down as the text of 4QMMT. From this perspective, Qimron had merely reproduced a fact: what someone else had written 2,000 years before. Qimron could claim no expression as subjectively his. Nimmer's (2001b: 118–34) is the most sophisticated elaboration of the point, arguing from Qimron's own published accounts that his method was not open subjective choice between alternatives but rather the application of objective criteria derived from the surviving sources to determine what else the author of 4QMMT must have written. While not copying, it was equally not subjective expression by Qimron:

(p. 732)

A scholar who observes something cannot obtain copyright protection over his observations. A scholar who infers something is in the same category—he simply opens his conclusions to reinterpretation based not merely on the strength of his powers of observations, but of his inference as well. In sum, it would seem that Qimron's entire copyright claim is premised on the faulty foundation that the textual variants that he indirectly observed entitle him to copyright protection. That conclusion cannot stand. (Nimmer 2001b: 134)

The disturbing feature of this powerful argument is, however, the strange conclusion to which it leads: that there will be copyright in a reconstruction only when the scholar can be shown to have erred (i.e. failed to achieve the fact of the original text; Nimmer 2001b: 95), or to have decided on wholly personal or subjective grounds having no supporting objective scholarly criterion to introduce material into a work in a more than *de minimis* way (Nimmer 2001b: 127–8). In Nimmer's words again:

Copyright law would ill serve its premises to the extent that it barred first-class scholars from shelter but accorded rights and remedies to inferior scholars....No sensible interpretation of the law can support such a pointless result. (Nimmer 2001b: 144–5)

For Nimmer, it seems, the answer to this conundrum lies in denying all reconstructive editorial work copyright unless the editor can demonstrate that as a result of the work's flaws and editorial weakness there is such a legal entitlement. With respect, this seems a roundabout way of providing support for scholarship. A better alternative, accepting that the *Urtext* content is a fact, might be to presume that all reconstructions, no matter the scholarship with which they are produced, fail to achieve what they pursue, and so have copyright. The presumption may be supported by the probability, or even certainty, that none of the surviving fragmentary copies is the manuscript first written down, so that the basic raw material upon which the scholar works is itself most likely not a perfect reproduction of that text.

Further points against Nimmer might be the lack of any bright line between objective criteria and subjective intent in matters of scholarship, while the objective criteria of editorial work have themselves emerged over time, indeed are probably still evolving. So the distinction may not be the most helpful way of defining the elusive element that carries effort into the realms of original authorship, with copyright in the results. Asking instead whether the work is purely mechanical in nature may be more useful. Simple transcription or photocopying of an entirely legible

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twentieth-century typescript might be a relevant editorial example of excluded matter to set alongside such instances from the copyright case law as tracing the outline of a drawing. If the input is more than the straightforward application of an established technique, and if it is relevant to the production of a written expression, then, it is suggested, we have authorship, not copying or the reproduction of a fact.

(p. 733) So, for example, copyright law generally accepts that a translator is an author, entitled to copyright in her translation (even although, as previously noted, she must first seek the permission of the author of the translated work if still in copyright). A much more marginal example is the old English case of *Walter v. Lane*, where the House of Lords held that a reporter who took shorthand notes of an otherwise unrecorded speech by Lord Rosebery and published a transcript from those notes exercised sufficient independent skill and labour to have copyright in his work (for modern criticism of this decision see Gravells 2007; Pila 2008). Palaeography as distinct from simple transcription raises other tricky questions.

Some difficult issues have also been posed recently by the process of digitizing manuscripts and images (including the scrolls) for publication in CDs or on the websites of public and commercial libraries, archives, museums, and galleries, especially where the originals are out of copyright. Courts in Continental Europe and the USA have been divided over whether the skilled photographic processes involved in making high-quality reproductions of these originals have been enough to create a copyright in the digitized image (Ginsburg 2003: 1083–4). The position in the UK would seem to be that a digitized image has copyright in its own right, irrespective of the rights in the underlying subject-matter (Copinger and Skone James 2005: para 3.142; Laddie, Prescott, and Vitoria 2000: para 4.57; *Antiquesportfolio.com plc v. Rodney Fitch & Co Ltd*); but this is controversial (Garnett 2000; Deazley 2001a, 2001b; Stokes 2001; Arnold 2005).

The Israeli courts did not address the possibility that the deciphered text of 4QMMT was a work of joint authorship involving Strugnell as well as Qimron, meaning joint copyright ownership (Berne Convention article 7 bis; Spence 2007: 96–9), and at least raising a question whether Strugnell should have been called in the action for his interest, rather than simply to give evidence (Nimmer 2001b: 51).

Moral Rights

Israeli law has since 1981 included a moral right of attribution for authors: that is, a right to be named in reproductions of their works. Having concluded that Qimron was an author, the courts then easily found the publication of his draft text of 4QMMT in the *Facsimile Edition* without his name alongside to infringe the attribution right, the reference in Shanks' foreword to a commentary on the text being the work of Strugnell 'and another colleague' being inadequate. The Supreme Court took the view that since Shanks knew of Qimron's contribution this anonymous reference to him was 'contempt and mockery of the poor' (para. 24); but even if the court had accepted Shanks' claim that his target was Strugnell, 'and I did not want to be critical of a young untenured Israeli scholar' (Shanks 2001: 64), this would have made a difference only to the amount of damages payable, not to (p. 734) liability for moral rights infringement (see para. 28 of the Supreme Court judgment).

Nimmer's critique of this aspect of the case is based upon US law where, as already noted, moral rights are significantly weaker than anywhere else, and where, perhaps, Qimron would only have had a claim had the *Facsimile Edition* been guilty of a *misattribution* of the text to some other person (Adeney 2006: paras. 16.186, 16.190–3). Even that possibility has been cast into deep doubt since Nimmer wrote, thanks to the decision of the US Supreme Court in *Dastar Corporation v. Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation*. US law here is wide open to the charge of non-conformity with Berne's international norms (Ricketson and Ginsburg 2006: para. 10.36 and n. 119; Ginsburg 2004). There may be scepticism about the Israeli court's colourful expressions of outrage on Qimron's behalf, but undoubtedly measurement of the damages for infringement of the attribution right must start with the impact upon the author's non-economic interests in the association between him and the work. In this assessment, consideration of personality-based matters such as hurt to feelings and invasion of privacy is legitimate. The question of whether or not the work has already been published with an attribution, much discussed by Nimmer (2001b: 146–54), is strictly irrelevant, however. As Ricketson and Ginsburg (2006: 600–1) put it, one of the 'major situations in which the author should be able to invoke [the attribution right]' is 'where a licensee, assignee, or other party does not make any reference at all to the author on copies of the latter's work (these copies could be authorized or unauthorized)'. The Israeli courts are not even unconsciously driven by any supposed academic convention regarding an *editio princeps* (Nimmer 2001b: 140–3), but by a straightforward

application of moral rights doctrine.

Exceptions to Copyright

Only in the Supreme Court was the possible application of copyright exceptions to the *Facsimile Edition* publication considered. At the time Israeli law followed the UK model with a concept of 'fair dealing for purposes of private study, research, criticism, review or newspaper summary' (the 2007 law follows the US general fair use model, however). The Supreme Court held that the defendants' dealing with Qimron's work was unfair: the text was 'swallowed among the appendices...without comment, explanation, criticism or any reference to its content' (para. 20). Nor was the publication 'newspaper summary'; the publication was not presented as news for its readers, nor was there any summarizing of the text. '[T]he primary purpose was to publish the Deciphered Text in defiance of the research "monopoly" given to the international team of scholars' (para. 20).

Carson (2001a: 90–7) argued for a different result under the US law of fair use, but Nimmer (2001b: 83–5) was very doubtful about this—it is thought, rightly so. (p. 735) In some respects, Carson's points are more in the nature of public policy rather than fair use arguments. In that context, however, it is worth noting that the Israeli courts did consider as a question of 'judicial policy' whether the enforcement of Qimron's copyright ran unacceptably counter to the 'unrestricted flow of research work amongst the scholarly community'. Justice Dorner dismissed the argument as confusing the right to carry out research with the aid of published works, with taking another person's work without consent or due acknowledgement. In the Supreme Court the policy defence was argued on a still wider basis: Qimron's copyright gave him a monopoly over an element of Jewish cultural heritage and would deter scholarship on the text, thus harming the public interest. The court had little difficulty in rejecting the argument. The copyright was in Qimron's reconstruction, not the underlying raw materials, which continued to be available for others to research. On the restriction of scholarship, the court noted that legislation provided the fair dealing exceptions already discussed above, and concluded that 'these exceptions in the [Copyright] Law are sufficient in order to ensure the freedom of academic research' (para 15).

Academic Custom and Implied Consent

Copyright prevents unauthorized reproduction; but authorization does not need to be explicit. Most legal systems recognize that the author's consent may be implicit in the circumstances or from the way in which she behaves with regard to the work. The defendants in *Qimron v. Shanks* argued that there was such consent from Qimron on two connected grounds: (1) a general academic custom allowing for the republication of published material provided that the republication gave attribution to the original author; and (2) an implication arising from the circulation of drafts by Strugnell and Qimron seeking comment from colleagues. The basis for (1) was the publication of the draft text by Kapera in 1990. Once again the courts had little difficulty in disposing of these not very strong arguments. Kapera had requested readers of his publication not to use the text or transmit it to others; in any event the publication had been unlawful and had been withdrawn with an apology. It did not constitute publication for the purposes of copyright, and it was not shown to constitute publication in academic terms either. The republication in *Facsimile Edition* had been made with knowledge of all these facts, and the alleged custom not only lacked any evidential or legal basis but was also contrary to law (custom may supplement the general law but must not normally be inconsistent with it; David 1984: 97–110). Likewise the evidence made clear that Qimron's consent to circulation was limited to a chosen group, and was not for the purpose of enabling others to publish the drafts.

(p. 736) The Limits of the Decision and Issues Left Unaddressed

The courts' conclusion that Qimron's text of 4QMMT was his copyright work is one with important limitations, some expressed and others not. So for example the Supreme Court was clear that 'the Scroll fragments are today in the public domain and may be used by all in the sense that anyone who wishes to attach them (*sic*) and to decipher them is permitted to do so' (para. 10; see also para. 15). As already noted, the Supreme Court was also clear that Qimron's text, once lawfully published, could be used by others for fair dealing purposes, of which perhaps private study, research, criticism, and review are the most significant in the academic context. The decision therefore cannot reasonably be interpreted as making future 4QMMT scholarship subject to Qimron's sole control; nor does that seem to have been its effect in reality, other than perhaps to restrict translation or inclusion in anthologies of

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the whole of the published text. Of greater potential significance, as argued in MacQueen (2001: 112–13), is the right (not Qimron's) to restrict access to the scroll fragments themselves; but even this seems considerably diminished, if not entirely removed, by the publications of, first, photographic and, more recently, digital images of the entire corpus of documents, which have undoubtedly enabled scrolls scholarship to progress far more rapidly in the last two decades than in the previous three (Lim 2005: 3–7).

Some aspects of the Supreme Court's view that the scroll fragments are in the public domain so far as copyright law is concerned may however be challenged. At least in British and US law, an unpublished manuscript has a copyright which belongs to the author and her descendants. Until quite recently in both countries that copyright was of indefinite duration; but the most recent general legislation in each has set in motion timetables under which copyright in all unpublished material that existed at the time the statutes came into force (respectively 1989 and 1978) would expire at particular times (mostly quite far on in the twenty-first century; Copinger and Skone James 2005: para. 6.50; Nimmer and Nimmer 2005: §9.09[A]). Unpublished material that comes into existence after the legislation takes effect is subject to the ordinary rules on duration of copyright. Since Israeli law was until 2007 based upon the British Act of 1911, the earlier rules presumably applied to 4QMMT and all the other scroll material. The new Israeli legislation has nothing to compare with the 1988 Act provisions in the UK but simply states that copyright subsists for the author's lifetime plus seventy years, leaving the position of the manuscript created before the law came into force unclear.

If there is a copyright in the original text, the problem arises of identifying its owner. The writer of 4QMMT has been identified by some as the 'Teacher of Righteousness', but we have no idea of his identity or about his descendants or successors today. The scrolls are therefore a classic example of what is nowadays often known as an 'orphan work', one where the current owner of a copyright (p. 737) cannot be identified. Copyright systems typically have rules to enable the otherwise unauthorized reproduction of such works in certain limited circumstances, usually involving at least reasonable inquiry in pursuit of a person entitled to give authorization or to justify the conclusion that copyright has probably expired. The relevant laws are not very satisfactory, and are under review in many parts of the world to facilitate mass digitization projects for older printed material (see e.g. US, Register of Copyrights 2006; UK, Gowers Review 2006: paras. 4.91–4.101; European Commission 2008). Part of the solution may be a clarification that documents written before copyright was invented are unequivocally in the public domain.

A final point mostly left implicit in the judicial discussion is the author's right to control public disclosure of her work, which takes different forms in the world's legal systems. In the UK, for example, publication generally needs the author's consent, and there is no obligation to publish. Following amendment in 2003, the fair dealing rules now also expressly prevent quotation for criticism and review unless the quoted work has previously been lawfully published (Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, s.30). In France the law goes still further: the author has the right (*droit de divulgation*) to prevent disclosures going beyond publication, such as exhibitions or other public presentations, and to choose whether or not the work should ever be disclosed. The right, classified as moral, does not extend to enabling the author to compel the publication or other exploitation of her work by others. It survives the author but unless while alive she made clear that a work should never be disclosed, those who wish to publish it may be able to challenge her successors when their refusal to disclose amounts to *abus de droit* (see generally Adeney 2006: paras. 8.98–107).

Ricketson and Ginsburg (2005: para. 10.37) argue that the right of disclosure may be implied from the express provisions of the Berne Convention. Thus it seems that in general, principles of copyright law enable those held to be authors, such as Qimron, the right to control when, if ever, their work may be first revealed to the world. French case law and juristic writing explores inconclusively whether the right extends to different types of disclosure or merely enables the author to control the first public disclosure of any kind (Adeney 2006: paras. 8.105–6). Nimmer (2001b: 154–7) argues that this might be relevant where, like Qimron and Strugnell, authors make disclosure of initial drafts to a limited circle of colleagues in order to obtain their comments on the work; but probably this is not public disclosure any more than it is publication (see above p. 735). (p. 738)

The Issues Re-ventilated in *Sawkins v. Hyperion*

Almost all the issues debated in *Qimron v. Shanks* were re-ventilated in 2004/2005 in the English case of *Sawkins*

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v. Hyperion Records Ltd, which was about Dr Lionel Sawkins' modern performing editions of seventeenth-century French baroque music by Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657–1726). Hyperion made recordings using the Sawkins editions but refused to pay copyright royalties for this reproduction, arguing that the editor had no copyright in his editorial work on an otherwise out-of-copyright work. Sawkins had constructed the editions from a range of manuscripts and printed sources, very little of which was directly from Lalande's own hand. His aim was 'to reproduce faithfully Lalande's music' (para. 13, Patten J; para. 22, CA) and 'he had no intention of adding any new notes of music of his own' (para. 36, CA), although he had corrected some of the notes given by his sources and supplied parts missing from the versions available to him. Lalande was known to have revised much of his work, so Sawkins had also to decide which version to use. He had further to transform the notation into modern forms, supply figuring not in the source material, and work out scores for choral and individual orchestral parts for players. To do all this Sawkins used 'his palaeographical and creative musical skills coupled with his knowledge of the period and the composer's style...making informed assumptions' (Patten J, paras. 20–1). Although apparently not referred to *Qimron v. Shanks*, the four judges who considered the case either at first instance or on appeal were unanimous in reaching the same result as their Israeli brethren in the Dead Sea Scrolls litigation: Sawkins was an author, his editions had copyright, and the making of the recordings without his consent was an infringement of those copyrights.

The analysis of the English judges focused not so much on the question of authorship as such, as on the originality (in the copyright sense) and nature of Sawkins' work as music. Originality existed inasmuch as he did not copy his reconstructive work from any other source, and a 'high degree of skill and labour was involved' (CA, para. 85). Lord Justice Jacob commented further:

He re-created Lalande's work using a considerable amount of personal judgment. His re-creative work was such as to create something really new using his own original (not merely copied) work. (para. 85)

The judge also observed:

[T]he true position is that one has to consider the extent to which the 'copyist' is a mere copyist—merely performing an easy mechanical function. The more that is so, the less is his contribution likely to be taken as 'original'. (CA, para. 82) (p. 739)

On whether Sawkins' work was music, Justice Patten quoted the definition in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* ('sounds in melodic or harmonic combination whether produced by voice or instrument') (para. 55), and the Court of Appeal also highlighted music's nature as lying in sound rather than notation on printed sheets. But since the sounds produced by performance of Sawkins' editions were affected by his editorial input, his original contribution was a musical one, and not merely writing a score.

Overall, these conclusions confirm the correctness of the argument that in the British copyright tradition reconstructive editorial work of the kind carried out by Elisha Qimron will be protected by copyright (MacQueen 2001). The court also held that the controversial case of *Walter v. Lane* was still good law, although Sawkins' claim of authorship seems anyway stronger than that of the shorthand reporter (Pila 2008: 548). The court took passing note of Sawkins' success in litigation in France in defence of another Lalande edition against unauthorized recording (*Sawkins v. Harmonia Mundi*). The Tribunal seems to have seen Sawkins' compositional work as transcending the usual Continental view denying the editor, as a mere imitator, the status of an author. There may be some parallels with an earlier French case, in which the heirs of Achille Duchêne, a landscape architect who had restored the seventeenth-century gardens at Vaux-le-Vicomte first designed by Le Nôtre, were held to have copyright in the reconstruction, since the work reflected Duchêne's 'know-how and creative imagination... expressing in an uncontested manner the personality of its author' (Tribunal de Grand Instance, Paris, 10 May 2002; noted by Ginsburg 2003: 1084).

Unlike the parties in *Qimron v. Shanks*, there was a pre-existing relationship between Sawkins and Hyperion such that the offending recordings were made with the former's knowledge. Their difficulties began during negotiation of the contract under which the recordings were to be made. The point in dispute was whether or not copyright royalties should be paid to an editor of an out-of-copyright work. But Sawkins did not object to the recordings going ahead despite this difference with Hyperion, and it was therefore argued at first instance that he had either consented to or acquiesced in what was otherwise infringing activity. Justice Patten held that this was not so, since Sawkins had made his position clear throughout and there was no question of Hyperion being detrimentally misled

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by him. The point was not taken up again in the Court of Appeal.

The pre-existing relationship between Sawkins and Hyperion did however give rise to an echo of *Qimron v. Shanks* on the question of the moral right of attribution. Hyperion issued the CD with the statement 'With thanks to Dr Lionel Sawkins for his preparation of performance materials for this recording'. Since this did not identify Sawkins as the author of a copyright work, the attribution right was held infringed. Moreover, Sawkins had previously 'asserted' his right (a requirement of the UK law of moral rights) with a letter during the negotiations (p. 740) in which he stated that the CD sleeve notes should bear the legend '© Copyright 2002 by Lionel Sawkins'.

Finally, Hyperion ran an argument based on public policy: recognizing editorial copyright in modern performance editions of ancient music would damage the public availability of performances and recordings of such music, since the cost of making them would increase, with adverse effects for the record industry, performers, and orchestras. In rejecting this argument the Court of Appeal held that public policy actually favoured the editor. In the words again of Lord Justice Jacob:

[T]he sort of work done by Dr Sawkins should be encouraged. It saves others the time and trouble of re-creation of near-lost works, but in no sense creates monopoly in them. (para. 86)

He then adds: 'If someone wants to use Dr Sawkins' short cut, they need his permission' (para. 86). This cannot have been meant literally; 'use' should here be read as meaning 'use within the scope of copyright'. The law clearly does not require musicologists (or anyone else) to seek Sawkins' authorization before reading his scores, listening to lawful recordings of them, or quoting from them for purposes of criticism and review.

Taken as a whole, the story of this case well illustrates how copyright gives the author something with which to bargain with publishers and performers, and is a means of providing financial rewards for work of relevant kinds. The publishers and performers can recoup the costs from sales of, respectively, the resulting publications and tickets to attend the performances. It is also worth noting at this point that although Sawkins had once been employed as a music lecturer at the Roehampton Institute, from 1985 he was an independent scholar, reliant for his living upon the ability to turn his Lalande expertise into remuneration (Patten J, para. 5). The point about the role of copyright as an economic tool will be developed further in the conclusions below.

Conclusions

The fundamental copyright issue in the Dead Sea Scrolls case was what constituted authorship. Nimmer (2001b: 209–17) argues eloquently that what he calls 'intent to author' is copyright law's ultimate test for protection, with the strongest example being 'when an individual intends to produce subjective expression unconstrained by external determinants of that expression', but cases of 'partial constraint' where the person still makes subjective choices (for example the translator of a foreign language text selecting the way in which best to convey the sense and meaning in (p. 741) another tongue) also being included. When there is intent to operate in uncopyrightable realms (Nimmer gives examples such as sporting events), or (as in the case of *Qimron*), no intent to introduce subjective expression at all, there is no authorship in the eyes of the law and, as a result, no copyright protection either (see also Zemer 2007: 83–5, 200–5; Pila 2008: 538–46).

The most profound response to this argument has been provided by Jane Ginsburg (2003), another American scholar who however works from a broad comparative rather than the purely US perspective offered by Nimmer. (But it is important to note that Ginsburg [2003: 1086] disputes Nimmer's view as a matter of US law too.) She notes cases of 'accidental' authorship, listing *inter alia* images generated by bad eyesight or frustrated flinging of sponges (to which perhaps we might add texts resulting from bad or careless keyboard work, and Dadaist art: see also Zemer 2007: 117–20). There are also cases of persons giving expression to matter while claiming that it results from some form of spiritual or divinely inspired possession; in such cases both US and UK law have nonetheless firmly attributed authorship to the person physically responsible for the expression.

Ginsburg argues that 'intent to author' is but one of many principles used to attribute authorship in copyright systems. Others include the idea that an author 'conceives of the work and supervises or otherwise exercises control over its execution' but is not necessarily the person who writes it down (Ginsburg 2003: 1072); so for example, an amanuensis is not an author. Again, a person using an implement or machine such as a camera or a

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word processor to create a work becomes less and less an author the greater the role played by the machine in the work's production (Ginsburg 2003: 1074). Originality is synonymous with authorship, even if legal systems vary over what amounts to originality (Ginsburg 2003: 1078), and it follows that to be an author a person need not be creative but must exercise skill and labour that is more than negligible. This means that 'reproductions requiring great talent and technical skill may qualify as protectable works of authorship, even if they are *copies* of pre-existing works' (Ginsburg 2003: 1082). She adds:

The proposition that skilled reproductions are works of authorship rests on a straightforward observation: if you or I could not create/execute this reproduction, it must be copyrightable, and its producer therefore must be an 'author'. (Ginsburg 2003: 1083)

The overall thrust of Ginsburg's principles is clear, despite an absence of reference to *Qimron v. Shanks*: reconstructive editorial work is that of an author (see also Kwall 2003).

The present writer agrees with this conclusion, and not merely as a matter of the correct application of UK copyright law. The editor's contribution merits legal recognition. This does not extend to every element of editorial labour: the 'banasic' (Strugnell 2001: 191–2) or pre-expressive aspects, such as the identification of potential sources, physical preparation of the source for use, basic transcription (although the claim of the palaeographer-editor to be exercising a more than (p. 742) mechanical skill should not be underestimated) and, in the case of musical works at least, layout of notes on a page, clearly do and should fall outside the scope of copyright. The law is engaged with the end result, or the final expression—the editor's literary text, or the music, or, to take the French example, the layout of the garden as an artistic architectural work.

The protection required need not come from copyright, of course. Another possibility may be found in current European Union law, with its rule that 'any person who, after the expiry of copyright protection, for the first time lawfully publishes or lawfully communicates to the public a previously unpublished work, shall benefit from a protection equivalent to the economic rights of the author' (Term Directive 1993, art. 4). The term of protection is however again much shorter than conventional copyright: twenty-five years from first lawful publication or public communication. There is also protection for 'critical and scientific publications of works which have come into the public domain' (Term Directive 1993, art. 5). Part of the background to this is the general position already noted in Continental laws, that the editor of a pre-existing unpublished work is not entitled to author's rights. The right conferred is, however, not a full copyright; it lasts only for thirty years from first publication; and the beneficiary is not specified. The crucial point is the recognition of the contribution involved in editing unpublished material for publication as deserving of some form of protection, even if that is not full-blown author's rights or copyright, and is also clearly for the benefit of the investing publisher. It is submitted, however, that offering protection to the editor within the general umbrella of copyright is to be preferred to the creation of *ad hoc* or *sui generis* hybrid forms of intellectual property for special cases.

The argument for author's protection (or some equivalent) for editors may be reinforced by consequentialist reasoning, always legitimate when considering issues at a policy level. Suppose that rights are denied to an editor doing her best to produce as accurate a version as possible of what some previous author actually wrote or intended to write. As already noted, the editor told that the more she strives for accuracy the less likely she is to enjoy the benefit of copyright may be incentivized thereby to introduce embellishment and error into her work, so undermining scholarship. Again, when it came to negotiating with publishers about publication, the editor's only bargaining tool would be the present physical inaccessibility of the work. Thus the secreting rather than the sharing of work in progress would be advisable; while subsequent scholarship would lack incentive to improve upon any previously available edition through new work on the original sources. Across the negotiating table, the publisher who knew that the editor's work was inevitably already in the public domain so far as copyright law was concerned might well feel disinclined to make significant investment of resources in producing and marketing a work with probably a very limited public appeal if a rival could step in at any time with an undercutting publication. Even subsidized publishers need some lead-time in the marketplace to recoup the outlay involved in making (p. 743) the work available. A final point might be that publication is important, not only to making the work available to anyone interested, but in helping others to acquire the skills that will enable them to become the next generation of textual editors.

It could of course be argued that all this overemphasizes the economic dimension, and that the scholar does not

respond so much to economic incentives as to the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and (just possibly) reputation and peer esteem. Be that as it may, it should be noted nevertheless that such scholars are usually operating from the relative comfort of a salaried position in a university or equivalent institution and so do not 'live by the pen' in quite the same way as the freelance author or independent scholar of the type exemplified for us by Lionel Sawkins. Again, the economics of academic publishing may be changing in the digital environment, where 'open access' and 'author pays' models are emerging and there may in consequence be less dependence on the ability to sell hard copies (whether books, CDs, or some other medium) in the marketplace to ensure the viability of publication. But the author who pays to publish will still probably want the protection of copyright, to ensure that the publication for which she paid is the one to which readers must turn for the benefit of her work, whether or not any financial return is gained as a result. Certainly moral rights, both of attribution and integrity, will remain extremely important in this and the open access model, along with the right to determine the timing and nature of public disclosure of the work, whether that be seen as an economic or a moral right (see further Waelde 2009.)

Lastly, as this paper has sought to make clear, the existence of copyright in an edited text does not enable the right-holder to 'lock up scholarship' or prevent access to the material. The very act of publication precludes this, since copyright law does not bar anyone from reading, and the work may be used for private study and research, or quoted from for purposes of criticism and review, so long as that amounts to fair dealing. There are however other possible threats to these liberties in the digital environment in particular, since commercial electronic publications are commonly protected against any unlicensed use (including perhaps that which might be fair dealing) with technological protection measures backed up by rights management information systems (British Academy 2006: 15). But even these threats are regulated by law, although that regulation cries out for clarification and improvement (MacQueen 2009). Scholarship is thus not endangered so much by copyright as by general ignorance and misunderstanding of its content, over-zealous attempts by government and right-holder interests to enforce what is taken too unquestioningly by others to be the law, and unnecessary law reform designed to bolster interests which in general are not those of the author other than in the most marginal sense.¹ (p. 744)

Suggested Reading

The reader in search of further detail should of course begin by reading the judgments issued in the case of *Qimron v. Shanks*. Unofficial English translations of the original Hebrew of the judgments can be found in Lim, MacQueen, and Carmichael (2001), which also contains the proceedings of a 1999 conference debating the legal and other issues raised by the case. The contributors included a number of the *dramatis personae* in the struggle over 4QMMT, and there is also an extract from what is probably the major other commentary on the decision, David Nimmer's remarkable 'Copyright in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Authorship and Originality' (2001b). Although the present article is critical of some of Nimmer's conclusions, it is only proper to acknowledge the insights also to be gained from perusal of his work, which has been rightly described as a *tour de force*. Most other detailed writing on the case makes points similar to those of Nimmer but with less panache and depth; Nimmer's article is the one to be read if there is no time for anything else.

On the general copyright law debate about authorship, the most recent contribution is Zemer (2007), which espouses many radical ideas and provides a comprehensive bibliography and literature review on the subject. An approach more supportive of the case for the individual author's exclusive entitlements can be found in Ginsburg (2003). Moral rights are dealt with comprehensively in Adeney (2006), as is the Berne Convention in Ricketson and Ginsburg (2006). The major works on UK copyright law are Copinger and Skone James (2005) and Laddie, Prescott, and Vitoria (2000); the relevant chapters in MacQueen, Waelde, and Laurie (2010) and Spence (2007) may be more accessible for the general reader. Finally there is critical discussion of copyright in its relation to humanities and social science research in a British Academy Report on the subject, published in September 2006 and accessible on the Internet at <http://www.britac.ac.uk/reports/copyright/index.html>, along with unofficial guidelines (revised in 2008) for the use of academics and their publishers (see <http://www.britac.ac.uk/reports/copyright-guidelines/index.html>).

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